David G. Hebert

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International Perspectives on Translation, Education and Innovation in Japanese and Korean Societies

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Preface

East Asia is among the most dynamic regions of the world today, with its ancient yet rapidly evolving societies that remain captivating to scholars worldwide, from across an array of academic fields. This book is structured around three central themes that offer a unique interdisciplinary perspective on mechanisms of social change in Japan and the Korean peninsula: translation, education, and innovation. *Translation* is an invariably complex phenomenon that has long attracted the interest of scholars, whether through interpretation of early legends like the Tower of Babel, or application of landmark discoveries such as the Rosetta Stone, or even distinctive phenomena of our contemporary era, with its globalization, online mass surveillance, and instant digital tools. Indeed, a "translation movement" in early scholarship is what enabled scientific development in much of Europe a millennium ago, when "The Arabic–Latin translation movement in the Middle Ages led to the transformation of almost all scientific, medical, and philosophical disciplines in the Medieval Latin world" (Abattouy, 2012). Still, translation entails much more than intercultural communication, for we do something much like translating whenever seeking to explain difficult concepts to a young child, or even sometimes when explaining the latest technology-related slang terminology to an elderly acquaintance. Moreover, the equivalent of translation can also be more broadly recognized within creative processes associated with communication in nonlinguistic forms of discourse, such as visual art, music, dramatic gesture, and dance. Translation enables communication across conceptual boundaries, promoting understandings that transcend both historical and geographic space.

This leads us to *education*, the second theme of this book, which is surely a topic of great relevance to most scholars, since some form of knowledge dissemination is universally part of our work, whether employed at universities, museums, research institutes, or media and publishing firms. Education has long been a characteristic feature to which the notable achievements of East Asian societies are attributed, from ancient times through the present day, whether understood in terms of how the teachings of Confucius were interpreted, or how contemporary Japanese and Korean students perform on international-comparative tests (Mehl, 2005; Okano and Sugimoto, 2017). Finally, *innovation* is a current theme of great

interest to all researchers, since scholars seek through their work to develop new knowledge that enhances our understanding of the world around us and offers various possibilities for the future (Ellis and Bond, 2016). In selecting topics for detailed study, scholars are inevitably attracted to cases that embody creative innovation (Plucker, 2016). Whether in pure or applied fields – whether in natural sciences, social sciences, or humanities – innovation remains an enduring issue, for scholarship that matters must also be in some way innovative, offering new perspectives while also inspiring new possibilities for an enhanced life.

Chapters selected, edited, and carefully revised for inclusion in this book are based on original research papers first presented at the 25th anniversary conference of the Nordic Association for Japanese and Korean Studies (NAJAKS), held in Bergen, Norway in 2013. The NAJAKS conference organizing committee decided on the aforementioned three key concepts to which participating scholars – mostly hailing from the Nordic countries and East Asia – were encouraged to thematically link their proposed presentations: "Translation, Education and Innovation." These three themes were to be interpreted broadly, intended not to delimit but rather to widen perspectives and inspire interdisciplinary approaches. The NAJAKS-2013 organizing committee (Benedicte Irgens, Kristin Rygg, and David Hebert) introduced the conference as follows:

> In these times of globalization and digitization, the world has become increasingly complex and interconnected. Communication across borders and languages from around the world is now an immense feature of daily life, and the need for cultural, linguistic and translational competence is ever present. Migration, ethnic conflicts and environmental challenges call for new forms of international understanding and cooperation, as well as a constant focus on quality in education and on accommodating innovation across diverse fields. This is especially true for modernized Asian countries like Japan and Korea, which have a great economic and cultural impact on daily life in Europe that is often underappreciated. There is much to be gained from deeper communication and cooperation with East Asia, acknowledging its rich past, impressive present, and promising future.

In addition to the aforementioned principal themes of translation, education, and innovation, the process for development of this book also revealed several additional intersecting themes that join together many of its chapters: Social change, nature and sustainability, form and meaning, aesthetics, humor, and technologies.

Interdisciplinary scholarship enables such holistic themes to be considered from an array of disciplinary orientations, and offers unique insights when applied in cross-cultural studies. Mayuko Sano has recently observed that scholars of East Asian studies in the Nordic countries often manage to "overcome conventional disciplinary divisions, or established divisions among area studies" and even noted that a new generation of scholars in this field may be characterized as "nurtured with passion and belief in such strength of the region" (Sano, 2014, p. 3). A robust and multifaceted examination of such themes may enable scholars to produce insights that can meaningfully inform policies to better our world in terms of promotion of improved intercultural understanding, human rights, social justice, creative innovation, sustenance of cultural heritage, or other objectives bolstered by shared human values.

Although the Nordic Association for Japanese and Korean Studies has now been in existence for more than a quarter century, this is the first book on a major academic press to be developed from papers presented at one of its conferences. NAJAKS proceedings have tended to be irregularly published over the years, without establishment of a uniform procedure, and typically on regional academic presses that receive little distribution outside of Northern Europe: e.g., via Copenhagen's Nordic Institute for Asian Studies, Aarhus University (Denmark), and Tampere University (Finland). Specifically, previous NAJAKS proceedings include *Perspectives on Japan and Korea: Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies* (Kalland and Sørensen, 1991), *Transient Societies: Japanese and Korean Studies in a Transitional World* (Kivistö, Merviö, Takahashi, and Waller, 1993a), *Modulations in Tradition: Japan and Korea in a Changing World* (Kivistö, Merviö, Takahashi, and Waller, 1993b), and *Japan and Korea: Contemporary Studies* (Frellesvig and Starrs, 1997).

Professor Yoichi Nagashima of University of Copenhagen, one of the organization's founders, has noted that:

> The observation or reading of a foreign culture includes reflection, and when one describes it, one is inevitably confronted with one's own cultural background through the language to be used for that purpose. Thus, the foreign culture functions here as a mirror. By looking at it, one sees a mirror image of oneself, and if one is attentive, one can simultaneously look into one's own culture (Nagashima, 2014, p. 248).

It follows that in examining this book, which is mostly authored by Nordic and East Asian writers, perceptive readers are confronted with many fruitful opportunities to reflect upon not only the contemporary and historical conditions in Japan and Korea but also how they may compare with the Nordic countries.

East Asia is a particularly complex region for international relations, with seemingly endless tensions caused by the trauma of war across much of the twentieth century (Dudden, 2014; Jager, 2014; Pekkanen, Ravenhill, and Foot, 2014). Still, Japan and the Koreas have responded to western influences with entire national discourses of their own, engendering novel approaches to conceptualizing social relations and the rule of law (Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai, 2013; French and Nathan, 2014; Wilfred, 2014). Such themes even become evident when examining how East Asian children are enculturated, or socialized, into particular worldviews via participation in school activities (Hebert, 2012), and it is up to conscientious educators to determine how knowledge may best be translated and imparted toward the objective of desirable social innovations. Indeed, translation, education, and innovation are intertwined in myriad ways with great potential for both theoretical and practical developments. It is our collective hope that this book will lead to stronger intercultural understanding, mutual respect, and strategic cooperation between the regions of East Asia and Northern Europe.

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Acknowledgments and Dedication

Prior to launching into the Introduction, as Editor, I would first like to thank the leaders of the Nordic Association for Japanese and Korean Studies (NAJAKS) for entrusting me with this extraordinary project of developing a scholarly book based on papers presented at the organization's 25th anniversary conference. To the contributing authors, I express sincere gratitude for their stimulating writings as well as for their great patience across the review process. I deeply regret that there were considerable delays due to some unprecedented disruptions in my life (both serious injury and illness), but all is resolved now, and we ultimately managed to produce a noteworthy volume on Springer, a reputable international press, which is an unprecedented accomplishment for NAJAKS that will surely contribute to the organization's global profile.

I am also very thankful to my Japanese Studies colleagues in Bergen, Norway, who kindly invited me to collaborate with them in their hosting of the NAJAKS conference: Benedicte Irgens at University of Bergen, and Kristin Rygg at Norwegian School of Economics. Benedicte led the project, and was highly effective and inclusive in her approach to strategic planning and decision-making. It was very fulfilling to collaborate with Kristin and Benedicte as well as the rest of the team we assembled in Bergen, including officer Åge Vallestad. We were quite pleased with the outcome: a successful international conference that was truly memorable for participants. We are also very grateful to Sonja Hässler, Gunnar Linder, Jaqueline Berndt, and others for taking NAJAKS forward into 2016 and beyond.

In terms of my personal development in the field of East Asian studies, there are several people who I would like to take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge. While an undergraduate liberal arts student, such professors as philosopher David Boersema, political theorist F. Seth Singleton, and anthropologist Daniel Amos guided me toward interdisciplinary thinking across borders of all kinds. I also thank the members of Seattle's Korean Peace Presbyterian Church, for whom I served as orchestra conductor for a few years, and who shared rich experiences that enabled me to learn more deeply about Korean society and the experiences of Korean Americans. Thanks is also owed to Junghae Choi for teaching me about both Korea and the Zainichi minority in Japan. As a young professor, prolific

chapter proofs for publication. I also thank Zhengcui Guo for assisting with graphics and designing original art for the book cover.

Finally, on *both* a more personal and more universal note, I would like to take the liberty of giving this book an unusual dedication: *To Grandfathers*. Everyone has grandparents, whether or not they ever had the opportunity to meet, let alone develop a strong relationship with them. In the field of East Asian studies, grandfathers – and even great grandfathers – seem especially important nowadays, considering that many of our eldest seniors alive today are survivors of the chaos of wartime that engulfed much of the world while they were young. My personal case is illustrative, with two grandfathers I never met, and two I have been fortunate to know. I was influenced by the stories of even those I never met, both of whom had complicated connections to East Asia. One was a US Marine Corps officer who was ultimately designated Missing in Action during combat in the Korean War. Another was a nuclear scientist who consulted indigenous peoples in Panama and dissuaded the US government from using nuclear blasts to create another intercontinental canal, only later to die of nuclear radiation from facilities used to create some of the earliest atomic bombs. The two who lived much longer were even more impressive, and clearly saw the value of peace. One is a soft-spoken farmer who is known for philosophizing about heritage and the perennial cycle of seasons. The other, who passed away while this book was in production, was an aerospace engineer with a brilliant sense of humor, at one point designated Employee of the Year for the entire Boeing Corporation, and given much credit for designing the "moon buggy" lunar rover vehicle for NASA. My grandfathers challenged me to question borders and dream big, knowing we only get so many seasons in a life that subtly yet constantly changes, as history – often unnoticed – unfolds around us. Confucius was surely correct in advising that we listen carefully to, and honor, our elders.

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David G Hebert is Professor in the Faculty of Education at Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, Bergen. A widely published scholar of global music and international-comparative education, he frequently lectures for China Conservatory in Beijing and previously held positions with universities in the USA, New Zealand, Finland, Brazil, and Russia, as well as in Japan with the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken), Tokyo Gakugei University, and Yamanashi Gakuin University. He is author (or co-author) of such books as *Wind Bands and Cultural Identity in Japanese Schools*, *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education*, *Music Glocalization: Heritage and Innovation in a Digital Age*, and *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology*. Professor Hebert has recently given keynote speeches for conferences in Poland, Estonia, Sweden, Norway, China, Tanzania, and Uzbekistan. A contributor to 30 different professional journals, he has served on doctoral committees for universities in the United States, Canada, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Spain. Professor Hebert is on the Editorial Boards of such journals as *Arts Education Policy Review*, *Journal of Music and Meaning*, *Journal of Research in Music Performance*, and *Research and Issues in Music Education*.

Chapter 1
Introduction: Translation, Education and Innovation in Japanese and Korean Societies

David G. Hebert

Contextualizing Contemporary East Asia

"A great river does not refuse any small streams," claims an old Korean proverb. However, in the sphere of academic writing, the gravity of posterity pulls upon the weight of spontaneous ideas to flow in a clear and understandable direction, with outcomes that ideally resemble that of a serene lake reflecting moonlight and treetops, rather than other conceivable endings: clogged in the unnatural restraints of a cement dam, or suddenly plunging off a waterfall into some unknown abyss. This book raises an array of ideas that will resonate with enduring value to those with interdisciplinary interests in Japanese and Korean societies, some of which will be addressed in Part 1, while others will be dealt with in this Introduction toward the purpose of ultimately reaching some cohesive and meaningful outcomes in the Conclusion chapter. Prior to proceeding further, however, we should take a moment to reflect on the *status quo*, the bigger picture of how Japan and Korea are situated in the contemporary world.

According to recent records, there are currently over 7.3 billion people in the world, nearly one-fourth of whom reside in East Asia. China alone (with 1.4 billion) has a population approximately five times that of the United States, while Japan is the world's 10th most highly populated country with 126 million inhabitants. The outlook for Korean unification still remains very uncertain after more than a half-century of division, but if Korea were united, "the peninsula would have a total of approximately 73,000,000 people and rank #18 among world countries – with more people than Turkey, France, or England" (Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 2016).

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East Asia is an unusually dynamic region, and many recent sociopolitical developments in this part of the world would have been nearly inconceivable just a few decades ago. For instance, in 2014 China became the world's largest economy, by many measures rivaled only by the world's military superpower, the United States, a nation to which China is currently the second largest creditor after Japan. According to the CIA's *World Factbook* (2016), Japan still boasts the world's third largest economy in terms of nominal GDP (following the United States and China), with its position "among the world's largest and most technologically advanced producers of motor vehicles, electronic equipment, machine tools, steel and nonferrous metals, ships, chemicals, textiles, processed foods." South Korea, with its population of more than 49 million, also enjoys a strong economy and high standard of living, boasting an estimated per-capita GDP of US$36,500, largely attributable to its high tech economy of "electronics, telecommunications, automobile production, chemicals, shipbuilding, steel" (*World Factbook*, 2016). The notoriously isolated nation of North Korea, on the other hand, with its population of nearly 25 million, has a per-capita GDP of less than US$2000, making it among the poorest countries in the world. North Korea still cooperates with Laos (which only a few generations ago was, per capita, the world's most heavily bombed nation), but has few other international partners, and faces crippling sanctions and strained relationships with each of its neighbors due to its insistence on pursuing development of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. Even Malaysia has ended relations with North Korea due to a recent incident in which a North Korean official appears to have been assassinated by his countrymen, using globally banned VX nerve gas while on a visit to Malaysia. Meanwhile, the "pivot to Asia" in US policy has led to further redeployment of the world's largest navy toward Asian waters, while the US continues to maintain over 80,000 soldiers in the region, mostly divided between bases in Japan and South Korea.

In terms of international relations, it is quite notable that in May of 2016, the Chinese government formally declared the Cultural Revolution period of the 1970s to have been a "total mistake" with many regrettable consequences, while Mao Zedong is now officially recognized as having been only "70% correct and 30% wrong" (Hornby, 2016). Approximately 8.5% of the population of China is comprised of its 55 officially-recognized ethnic minorities – millions of people with distinct languages and traditions – several of which have populations larger than that of most Nordic nations. This includes nearly 2.5 million Koreans, for instance, many of whom have lived in China for generations. The most complex political challenges for the Chinese national government have long been concentrated in western regions for which ethnic Han have historically *not* been the majority, such as Xinjiang and Tibet. North Korea continues to be a concern for all of its neighbors, but even its government has in recent years begun to open parts of the country after decades of strict isolation, announcing 25 new economic development zones that could be to some extent available to foreign investment. Meanwhile, the Japanese government has offered mixed messages regarding its commitment to peace in the region during this period in which its influence appears to be diminishing. Japanese leadership tends to be concerned about

"increases in tension over North Korea. Even though the prospect of war in the peninsula does not strike most Japanese as likely, many see the Korean situation as deeply troubling" (Stockwin, 2004, p. xiii). It is worth noting that as of 2017, North Korea reportedly has "the fourth-largest army in the world, as many as 200,000 highly trained special forces, 10,000 artillery pieces in the mountains north of Seoul, mobile missiles that can hit all American military bases in the region (there are hundreds), and nuclear weapons more than twice as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb" (Cumings, 2017).

An encouraging reconciliatory gesture between Japan and South Korea came at the end of 2015, in the form of an agreement that "the South Korean government will set up a foundation to support former comfort women and that the Japanese government will provide 1 billion yen ($10 million) to the endeavor" (Makino, 2016). However, in general Japan has across recent years pursued an increasingly nationalistic policy, provoking public protest through deliberate self-serving inaccuracies in its school history curriculum as well as plans to strengthen and expand the activities of its military in cooperation with the United States. News media across East Asia frequently report on very minor incidents associated with ongoing territorial disputes between Japan, Korea, China, and other nations in the South China Sea, mostly regarding tiny islands which thus far seem to have very little real value, but which national leaders appear to find symbolically useful toward their agenda of bolstering nationalism while simultaneously distracting the citizenry from substantive domestic challenges (O'Shea, 2015). As Kim and Gates observed, the United States recently determined to "carry out the 'pivot to Asia' policy and to strengthen the existing alliance relationships with its regional allies including Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK). The United States is strongly encouraging Japan to be a 'normal state' and to share a larger military burden, and is trying to introduce the missile defense system in the Korean peninsula" (Kim & Gates, 2015, p. 222). As of mid-2016, the United States and South Korea, which hosts over 35,000 American troops, have agreed to install a state of the art THAAD missile defense system near the Korean DMZ, which China regards as a provocation that is likely to bring even more instability to the region. For some perspective, it is worth noting that, thus far, China maintains a stockpile of nuclear weapons that is less than 5% the size of that of the United States. It should certainly be no surprise that North Korea has long viewed US actions as provocation, for as Bruce Cumings, Chair of History at University of Chicago puts it, "North Korea is the only country in the world to have been systematically blackmailed by US nuclear weapons going back to the 1950s, when hundreds of nukes were installed in South Korea" (Cumings, 2017).

Surely all modern democratic nations encounter occasional government scandals, but South Korea has arguably faced more than its fair share in recent decades, a fact often discussed in the world press. In December of 2016, for instance, South Korean lawmakers voted 234 to 56 to impeach the nation's first woman president Geun-hye Park over allegations of corruption and bribery. This situation offered strong evidence of the profound influence that religion continues to exert in contemporary human life, despite the gains of science, since the grounds for

impeachment were largely due to Park's conflicts of interest from her close relationship with "spiritual advisor" Soon-sil Choi. President Park was temporarily replaced by Kyo-an Hwang until Jae-in Moon was elected the new President of South Korea in May of 2017.

East Asia in Global Context

We live in an exciting age in which new technologies are rapidly transforming traditional life worldwide, often in ways that are disorienting to both the most and least powerful in society. The power of multi-national corporations is particularly seen in how profoundly new technologies are changing all aspects of human life, from home to the workplace, to schooling, and even the arts (Hebert, 2016). Due to pervasive globalization, the effects of many sociopolitical problems are nowadays spread throughout much of the world, but certain concerns disproportionately affect East Asia due to both overpopulation and rapid modernization. Moreover, a reactionary emphasis on local interpretations and reframing of global forces, described by some as "glocalization," adds an additional dimension to the trajectories of social change (Khondker, 2005; Roudometof, 2016). This may be understood as an era of corporate power, in which even the authority of national governments is swayed by the influence of multi-national corporations, while rampant social inequality is unchecked by largely dysfunctional democracies (Chua, 2002; Picketty, 2014). It is widely appreciated that one potentially positive aspect of this condition is that cross-nationally integrated economies would appear to decrease the likelihood of catastrophic war, but they also come with some characteristic risks, particularly for the working class. As Manfred Steger observes, "those who applaud the spread of consumerist capitalism need to pay attention to its negative consequences, such as the dramatic decline of traditional communal sentiments as well as the commodification of society and nature" (Steger, 2013, pp. 80–82). In Japan and South Korea, companies such as Sony and Samsung, respectively, lead the world in innovation and sales of niche technological products. China and Taiwan also boast an array of successful companies that have contributed to development of an increasingly high quality of life for their citizenry. Still, the extent to which any of these nations can convincingly claim to have generally attained a healthy "work-life balance" is highly questionable, as are claims to have well-functioning democracies with effective preservation of civil liberties, gender equity, uninhibited freedom of the press, and judicious protection of the natural environment, for instance. All of these are important areas for which the Nordic nations, despite having some characteristic weaknesses of their own (e.g. "*Janteloven*" repressive social conformity, inefficient welfare state bureaucracy, cultural nationalism, etc.), are arguably able to offer important models worth careful consideration.

By the end of October 2016, Japan had overtaken China as the greatest holder of United States debt (1.13 trillion USD, compared to China: down to 1.12), due to

China's unloading of US treasuries to ease the recent slowing of its own economy after decades of remarkable growth. Also in a year in which Hillary Clinton received more votes than any other politician in the history of western democracies, seeking to become the first woman president of the United States, the world received a shock. Due to its "electoral college" system, the US presidency was awarded to Donald J. Trump, a wealthy business mogul with no government experience who ran on a populist platform that was rejected as demagoguery by many of his own party. The US election was remarkably turbulent, fraught with "fake news" disseminated widely via social media and even formal allegations of politically-motivated hacking from the Kremlin that may have altered US voter perceptions in favor of Trump. Indicative of Japan's strategic importance is the fact that the first world leader to meet with Trump after his victory was Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

Such developments in the US fit the broader pattern of increasing support for populist movements (some even with fascistic tendencies) that arose in Europe across recent years, including in Denmark and Finland, largely in response to the unprecedented wave of migration from war-torn regions in the Middle East and Central Asia. It is undeniable that as such movements gain greater political power, there is likely to be more support for efforts that promote national economies, rather than research – in such fields as East Asian studies – that seeks to bolster intercultural cooperation, improvement of international understanding, and global empathy. If such trends continue, the United States, and increasingly Nordic nations (e.g., Denmark), may no longer be able to convincingly press authoritarian East Asian nations toward democratic reforms, as it becomes increasingly clear that their own democratic processes and values are deteriorating (Folkenflik, 2016; Sillito, 2016; Stockman & Corasaniti, 2016).

Another recent development with wide reaching implications for human rights and international relations is the exposure of systemic global mass surveillance of all digital communications. As Glenn Greenwald observed, under such conditions, "government sees what everyone else in the world does, including its own population, while no one sees its own actions. It is the ultimate imbalance, permitting the most dangerous of human conditions: the exercise of limitless power with no transparency or accountability" (Greenwald, 2014, p. 169). It had long been known that the government of China tightly controls its domestic Internet and electronically monitors its own population. Chinese companies have also frequently been accused of industrial espionage in western news media. However, it is now increasingly clear that the US government and US-based corporations, and their partners, are hypocritically guilty of much the same behavior on an even larger – but more secretive – scale (Schneier, 2015), albeit with consequences that have thus far been less noticeable to the citizenry of western democracies. Such practices threaten the credibility of western nations to make any claim toward a "moral high ground" in relation to democracy and human rights, thereby severely weakening their chances to negotiate improvements in an area that is likely to have profound global implications for the human condition in the future.

It is revealing that in 2016, as the UK voted in favor of the "Brexit" departure from the European Union, several East Asian governments expressed concern

while simultaneously insisting on their own resilience, thereby conforming to international norms of effective public relations strategies. According to news reports, "Both South Korea's President Park Geun-hye and Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said their countries were prepared to react to market volatility," and "Huang Yiping, a member of China's central bank monetary policy committee, said Brexit could mark a 'reversal of globalization,' which would be 'very bad' for the world" (Neal, 2016). This serves to show how Japan and the Koreas are situated in a complex milieu, facing challenges that are increasingly shared with the rest of the world, including the Nordic nations. More broadly, this situation may also be understood in terms of Japanese and Korean societies staking a claim to rich and unique cultural heritage, with ancient traditions that have been sustained for many generations, and that creatively respond in diverse ways to an array of social forces. Scholarly examination of processes associated with translation, education, and innovation offers a valuable perspective by which to understand these distinctive societies as well as particular mechanisms of social change in this context.

Translation, Education, and Innovation

The three principal themes of this book were fully introduced in the Preface, so it seems that little additional discussion of their significance is needed here. However, what arguably merits some emphasis at this point is a consideration of how sociocultural change in Japan and the Koreas can be productively understood in terms of developments in the spheres of translation, education, and innovation. From ancient times, people, products, services, and ideas traveled – in both directions – along the Silk Road, which ultimately impacted all of East Asia. Moreover, pioneering East Asian seafarers, such as Zheng He, traveled widely in the early fifteenth century for trade, conquest, and discovery, including even as far as Arabia and East Africa. Along with various products disseminated from such wide intercultural trade, Buddhist practices and Confucian thought also came from China to both Japan and the Koreas, making translation of Chinese and Sanskrit a vital concern in these countries long before any significant amount of direct European influences. By the mid-seventeen century, *Rangaku* (literally, "Dutch Studies") became the term commonly used in Japan for studies of European languages and ideas, since the Portuguese missionaries had been expelled, and direct trade with the west was limited to a single company for nearly two centuries (Dutch East India Company, or VOC, a notable early model for international corporations) permitted to trade exclusively via the man-made island of Dejima, beside Nagasaki. While Korea tended to be less isolated, its national language from the time of the Joseon Dynasty became more standardized and distinctive through the use of Hangul characters. Translation inevitably became a central feature of education, due to its importance for both trade and dissemination of knowledge. By the start of the twentieth century, Japan was rapidly changing its

educational system to accommodate a new era of foreign interaction initiated with the start of the Meiji period in 1868. Schooling was arguably based as much on Prussian and American influences as its earlier Confucian roots by the turn of the twentieth century, when the Japanese empire spread to Korea and elsewhere in Asia and the Pacific.

Now, more than a century after the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty (1910), we are able to reflect on how translation and education broadly affected these societies during an era of rapid global change, as nations sought to recover from war and foreign occupation. As mentioned earlier, Japan and South Korea have now become powerful economic forces, which might largely be credited to their educational systems that consistently perform highly on international comparative measurements. Heavy industry and technology, two sectors dependent on creative innovation rather than mere agriculture and natural resources, have ultimately been the main contributors to national wealth. North Korea, however, offers an important contrasting case for comparison, where a failure in its governance to effectively interact with the rest of the world – via robust forms of translation and education – has minimized innovation, ultimately leading to a comparatively poor quality of life. Taken as a whole, the East Asia region, through both its unifying and contrasting characteristics, illustrates how *translation engenders education* that *fosters innovation*, and Japanese and Korean societies appear to offer unique insights into these general tendencies. The various chapters of this book, while covering a broad array of topics, collectively demonstrate this notion from divergent angles of inquiry.

Overview of Chapters

The Preface and opening sections of this Introduction have provided a general introduction to the background and major themes of this book, and we now proceed to an overview of the book's chapters. The first section is called *Part 1: Keynotes on Cultural Change*, and in its opening Chap. 2, keynote speaker Nanyan Guo offers an insightful interdisciplinary discussion of both how and why the usage of specific terminology to represent nature – and nature-related themes – evolved across the history of the Japanese language. Guo traces the origins of "nature" as a concept in both ancient Chinese and Latin texts, and examines how it is addressed in early dictionaries that mediate between Japanese and European languages. Next, she considers how the concept of nature was realized in early Japanese school textbooks, uncovering how this representation, along with that associated with modern dictionaries, ultimately influenced the role of nature in contemporary Japanese discourse. Combining historical, linguistic, and educational concerns, Guo's robust analysis reveals the development and function of discursive practices in an era in which economic development often proceeds with inadequate consideration of the natural environment. Our other keynote speaker Keith Howard's chapter, "The Life and Death of Music as East Asian Intangible

Cultural Heritage" offers a richly detailed discussion of the development of national systems for recognition of cultural heritage in Korea and Japan. Howard examines a complex array of arguments associated with the establishment of legislation supporting the protection of traditions, including issues of authenticity within evolving cultural practices, delineation of folk and "high" arts, the ambivalent role of academic experts, and the commercial forces of tourism. The discussion compellingly demonstrates how cultural policy – from the global reach of UNESCO to national legislation in Japan and Korea – ultimately influences how intangible cultural heritage is "taken, manipulated, and becomes owned by professional performers and craftsmen."

Part 2: Translational Issues in Literature begins with Barbara Hartley's Chap. 4, which returns us to the theme of nature through its examination of the use of scientific discourse to describe environmental phenomena in a novel by Ariyoshi Sawako (1931–1984). Sawako's novel has been credited with serving as a major source of inspiration for the organic food movement in Japan. Hartley effectively demonstrates the social context of this influential work and its author's intentions to expose deep political tensions while playing with a discursive gap between the world of science and society at large. Based on a content analysis of eight works of Japanese fiction, Erik Oskarsson examines the literary representation of non-Japanese in his Chap. 5. Interestingly, Oskarsson determined that the language of foreigners was only occasionally simplified in the sampled works, and typically just in the case of minor characters. Still, among major non-Japanese characters, certain identifiable characteristics consistently indicated their status as non-native speakers. Oskarsson's analysis also identifies interesting examples of Japanese modifying their speech in order to facilitate understanding by foreign characters, and notes that for the most part, a common convention for literary representation of foreignness could not be determined. Alexandra Holoborodko offers another perspective on issues in translation, with her approach to discourse analysis of emotive language in Chap. 5. In this chapter, Holoborodko illustrates her Emotional Discourse Analysis (EDA) method through its application to (1) interjections associated with divinities, (2) culturally-specific emotional terms, and (3) discourse associated with the notion of "heart." She concludes that this approach offers important insights into particular languages and literary traditions, as well as more universal challenges in translation and language education.

The book continues with *Part 3: Analyses of Korean and Japanese Languages*, which begins with Chap. 6. In this chapter, Jung compares how Korean and Italian languages establish "definiteness" through presentation of a typology and subsequent comparison in terms of several discrete aspects: noun phrases, articles, null agreement, and topic foci. Interestingly, despite many unsurprisingly significant structural differences, Jung's analysis also identifies notable similarities in the expressive functionality of an East Asian and South European language. The next chapter offers a comparative linguistic analysis of Japanese and Korean languages: "Unmarked Plurality and Specificity in Korean and Japanese Plural Nouns: A Preliminary Study," by Kiri Lee, Young-mee Yu Cho, and Min-Young Park. In Chap. 7, these authors challenge conventional understandings of "definiteness," by

demonstrating how the construct "specificity" is a more suitable way of understanding the actual use and function of plural nouns in Japanese and Korean. The authors' claims are bolstered by many examples that illustrate the characteristic features of Japanese and Korean, including both the differences and similarities between these languages.

In Chap. 8, Toshiyuki Sadanobu reports on the development of a unique audio-visual collection of humorous interactions in Japanese language, as well as some examples from a series of linguistic studies stemming from examination of this preliminary corpus. Following detailed description of the collection of this data material, Sadanobu demonstrates its application for generating richer understandings of the expressive features of pitch and phonation in contemporary spoken Japanese. In Chap. 9, Gøran Vaage offers insights into contemporary perceptions of the Kansai dialect of Japanese, based on interviews with 131 residents of the Kansai area. Vaage notes that Kansai-based humor is widely known and appreciated throughout Japan, and analyzes its conventions and standard joke forms, concluding that although humor rooted in Kansai dialect is appreciated in other regions, actual participation in its distinctive patterns of joking is quite difficult for those from outside Kansai.

The book continues with *Part 4: Language Education*, beginning with Chap. 10. Epistemic and evidential modal expressions present a challenge for the teaching of Japanese grammar that Larm confronts through his rigorous examination. Based on this linguistic analysis, Larm asserts that the focus of Japanese language teaching "should be on structural properties rather than on meaning and usage" and that the key to facilitating acquisition of elusive expressions such as modal markers lies in systematic exploration of the forms of a language. One perspective on language education comes in the form of a creative experiment: Chap. 11. Specifically, the study compares the basic kanji learning of Swedish university students in a beginning Japanese course with that of grade 2 Japanese elementary school students, enabling an interesting perspective into first and second language learning at different stages of development. Among the findings of this experiment are that the differences in errors between first and second language learners of kanji are greater in reading than in writing tasks and that second language learners have less developed awareness of the basic components of kanji.

Part 5: Innovation in the Professions begins with a perspective on Japanese forensic linguistics offered by Mami Hiraike Okawara, in Chap. 12. Okawara describes what she finds to be the first legal case applying forensic linguistics in Japan, which determined that across 10 meetings the prosecution most likely inappropriately influenced the discourse of a witness through coaching, which tainted the testimony and ultimately altered the course of justice. Okawara's analysis demonstrates how forensic linguistics is a promising new field of research that also offers an important tool for improvement of Japan's criminal justice system. Next, we are fortunate to offer a chapter by another important pioneer of forensic linguistics in Japan, Makiko Mizuno. In Chap. 13, Mizuno describes current issues for court interpreting in Japan, particularly since the 2009 introduction of the lay judge system, and reports on the results of two innovative experiments. Mizuno's

analysis uncovers serious issues affecting the lay judge system, namely, how various approaches to translation, for cases in which the accused are non-Japanese, can significantly impact the perceptions of non-professional judges. Mizuno's chapter will be of interest to scholars across an array of fields, since it effectively demonstrates challenges associated with the role of interpreter as cultural mediator.

Next is Alexandra Lichá's Chap. 14. Lichá considers urban development in the Incheon area through the theoretical lens of normative isomorphism, and uses Songdo as a platform for critique of the "u-eco-city" model in urban planning. This chapter offers many important insights into how environmental concerns are adopted by the commercial and political forces of globalization, and demonstrates the complicated role of such international organizations as the OECD.

Part 6: The Arts in Innovative Societies begins with Shuk-ting Kinnia Yau's examination of gender in contemporary Japanese cinema: Chap. 15. Yau observes the phenomenon of a "declining masculinity" evident in films that depict Generation Y in the recent post-bubble period of Japan. She also notes their counterparts, described as "unprecedentedly loyal, devoted and understanding" women, who offer their support to men who openly agonize and even cry when confronted with difficult circumstances. According to Yau's analysis, Japanese film generally no longer tends to feature the heroic and even macho characters seen in previous generations, and the vulnerabilities of men are increasingly exposed, reflecting gradual changes to gender roles in society during economically challenging times. In Chap. 16, Jonathan McCollum describes the historical background and performance techniques associated with his work as an accomplished non-Japanese performer of traditional Japanese flute music. McCollum reflects on how shakuhachi music has evolved across time, as well as its role in contemporary Japan. He also describes his own experiences as a student of shakuhachi, and the array of complex techniques and considerations required for performance of a program of selected shakuhachi repertoire that he has personally mastered through many years of intensive training. In Chap. 17, Mika Merviö demonstrates how the legacy of artistic works depicting animals may represent characteristic features of Japanese aesthetics and attitudes toward life. Beginning with a sensitive discussion of sparrow painting, Merviö moves to description of Shintô and Buddhist influences, traditional paintings of horses and birds, Edo period *ukiyo-e* prints, and finally manga and other contemporary popular culture forms. Merviö concludes with the realization that due to rapid urbanization "much has been lost in terms of experiencing the Japanese nature," yet art offers important insights into how nature is understood, as well as glimpses into beauty of the past, and possibilities for the future of Japan.

In Chap. 18, Herbert Jonsson examines both poetic techniques and critical interpretation associated with the rich tradition of Japanese haiku poetry. Focusing on treatment of the theme of spring rain across an array of haiku, Jonsson offers insights into issues associated with how the *hon'i*, or "essence," of haiku is conceived by poets and critics. Jonsson's analysis, which ultimately centers on the haiku of Buson, determines that the theoretical discourse of *hon'i* has to some

extent become detached from poetic techniques, which leads him to conclude that critics should seek to maintain a more intimate contact with the actual contents of haiku. In Chap. 19, I describe some ways of conceptualizing the various approaches taken by creative musicians who seek to "translate" expressions from the discourse of one musical genre to another, across cultural divides. The examples used to illustrate this process include both Japanese and non-Japanese artists who fuse influences from Japanese traditional music with western avant-garde art music, jazz, and popular music genres. Due to responsibilities on the hosting committee, this final paper was not actually presented at the NAJAKS conference, but Nordic and Japanese scholars responded to it at symposia in Stockholm and Kyoto, and its theme is highly relevant to methods and themes of other chapters (especially Chaps. 5 and 16) as well as arguments developed in the Conclusion. Additionally, one of the music groups analyzed in this chapter is Helsinki Koto Ensemble, which gave a dinner concert for the NAJAKS conference in Bergen. The purpose of the final part, *Conclusion: Cultural Translation and Social Change in East Asia*, is to summarize essential points woven throughout this book while also proposing some new directions for scholarship in Japanese and Korean studies.

Intersecting Themes

Sociocultural change – as seen in the spheres of *translation, education, and innovation* – may be understood as a broad theme that encompasses this entire book (and is thoroughly treated in the Conclusion chapter), but it may also be illuminating at this point to briefly consider five additional unifying themes that intersect several chapters: nature and sustainability, form and meaning, aesthetics, humor, and technologies (see Table 1).

Nature and sustainability. This theme first appears in Chap. 1, where Nanyan Guo offers a penetrating analysis of how the very notion of "nature" was defined and translated across Japanese history. Sustainability is also briefly treated in Chap. 3 by Barbara Hartley in her discussion of environmental concerns in the work of novelist Ariyoshi Sawako. In Chap. 14, Alexandra Lichá describes an enormous "green" project of innovative urban planning in Korea. Mika Merviö's focus in Chap. 17 is on how the animal world is portrayed in Japanese art, and in Chap. 18 Herbert Jonsson examines *haiku* that convey poetic images of rain in natural settings.

Form and meaning. Area studies – including Japanese and Korean studies – is an interdisciplinary field that often emphasizes language and linguistics, so it follows that four chapters in this book are concerned with analyses of Japanese and Korean sentence structure and meanings, while the aforementioned *haiku* study also considers meanings in the context of poetic forms. Chaps. 6 and 7, address syntactical issues in Korean and Japanese relative to other languages, while Chaps. 10 and 11 are concerned with ways of effectively instilling accurate comprehension among language learners.

Table 1 Unifying themes of the book

Chapters	Translation	Education	Innovation	Nature	Form	Aesthetics	Humor	Technology
1	X	X	X	X	X			
2			X		X	X		X
3	X			X		X		X
4	X		X		X		X	
5	X				X			
6	X				X			
7	X				X			
8	X		X		X		X	X
9	X		X		X		X	
10	X	X						
11	X	X						
12	X		X		X			
13	X		X		X			
14			X	X				X
15			X				X	X
16		X		X	X	X		
17				X	X	X	X	X
18			X	X		X		
19		X	X		X	X	X	

Aesthetics. This theme is introduced by Keith Howard's discussion in Chap. 2, as readers are guided toward a careful consideration of how, and why, certain East Asian traditional arts are regarded as more valuable and worthy of government support than others. Aesthetic issues are also very briefly touched upon in relation to literature (in Chap. 3) and urban planning (Chap. 14), and then aesthetics returns as a major theme for all 5 chapters in the concluding Part 6: *The Arts in Innovative Societies*.

Humor. Two chapters explicitly address humor from the perspective of linguistics: Chap. 8: Toshiyuki Sadanobu's study of speaking style variation in the telling of humorous stories, and Chap. 9: Gøran Vaage's study of the inner workings of Kansai humor. Other chapters briefly address humor in a more subtle way. For instance, the challenging of gender roles can entail ironic humor, which inevitably victimizes its subjects, as depicted in Kinnia Yau's study of changing masculinities in Japanese film (Chap. 15). Continuing with this theme of cinema and gender, we may also note that most Japanese know shakuhachi flute has a hidden meaning expressed in phrases that may be translatable – at least by a James Bond-esque "cunning linguist" – as something like "I wonder why Suzuki-san is in such a good mood today. Maybe his wife practiced shakuhachi this morning?" However, shakuhachi flute is usually regarded as a profound instrument associated with the serious contemplation of Zen practices. McCollum's discussion (Chap. 16) sustains its focus on the latter, more serious side of shakuhachi, but

does so in an eclectic way that captures the reader's interest with its engaging style. Also, in Chap. 19, examples of musical humor can be found in the irony of Yoshida Brothers bringing shamisen into a Heavy Metal context, or of Tokyo Brass Style ("Brasta") playing extremely complex and sophisticated arrangements of what are actually rather mundane videogame melodies. There is also subtle humor embedded in many of the unusual sounds made by the Moscow Pan Asian ("Wa-On") Ensemble, which includes surprising noises that many listeners would find bizarre or even absurd.

Technologies. Keith Howard's chapter examines how traditional arts of "Living Treasures" are mediated via new technologies (Chap. 2). Later, technologies associated with science are considered in relation to Ariyoshi's fiction (Chap. 3). Innovative uses of video data and corpus analysis enabled Sadanobu's research on language use in humorous stories (Chap. 8). New technologies, in terms of both materials and methods, are emphasized for innovative approaches to urban design (Chap. 14), and of course, an array of new technologies also contributes to film making (Chap. 15). It is interesting to note that many examples discussed in individual chapters also make an appearance – albeit, often in very different forms – in studies by other authors in this collection. The two chapters on uses of forensic analysis in Japanese legal cases (Chaps. 12 and 13) demonstrate how researchers have simultaneously pioneered approaches to study of this professional development. Another example of intersecting research is the fact that the music for *Battle Royale*, one of the Japanese films discussed in Kinnia Yau's chapter, was created by Masamichi Amano, a composer I interviewed for a separate study on Japanese composers (Hebert, 2008).

The challenge of describing entire nations is a formidable one for even the greatest of scholars, which is why cooperative and interdisciplinary scholarship, of the kind that this book embodies, is surely necessary. We are hopeful that through this book, readers may learn more deeply about Japan and the Koreas, while also gaining an understanding of how Nordic countries offer some unique contributions in the field of East Asian studies. Hopefully readers will also develop a deeper understanding of processes and social mechanisms associated with the pervasive cultural phenomena of translation, education and innovation.

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Part I
Keynotes on Cultural Change

Chapter 2
From *Shizen* to *Nature*: A Process of Cultural Translation

Nanyan Guo

Introduction

Translation can sometimes be as simple as substituting one word for another, such as *yama* 山 for mountain, or combining words with different meanings, such as *shi/ji* 自 ("from itself") and *zen/nen* 然 ("thus it does"), to make *shizen* 自然, meaning *nature*. However, translation is not merely a transaction between two languages, but rather a more complex negotiation between two or more cultures. This paper will explore this process by focusing on how the word *shizen* became the standard Japanese translation for *nature* from the 1860s.

Modern-day Japanese language dictionaries have slightly differing concepts of *shizen*, but most contain three common definitions: (1) the physical world that includes or excludes humans; (2) the situation as it is without human interference; (3) the inherent characteristics and principles of things and human beings.[1] These meanings are similar to those of *nature* as it is understood in current English usage. For instance, *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines *nature* as: (a) the inherent and innate disposition or character of a person or an animal; (b) the creative and regulative physical power which is conceived as operating in the material world and as the immediate cause of all its phenomena; (c) the material world, or its collective objects and phenomena.[2] From this comparison we can surmise that

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[1] *Daijisen; Kōjien; Daijirin; Nihongo.*

[2] *The Oxford English Dictionary.* Also see Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, 219–221, which summarizes three major meanings of *nature* as: (i) the essential quality and character of something (from the thirteenth century); (ii) the inherent force which directs either the world or human beings or both (from the fourteenth century); (iii) the material world itself, taken as including or not including human beings (from the seventeenth century).

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the first meaning of *shizen* corresponds to the third meaning (c) of *nature*, and the third meaning (3) of *shizen* partially shares the first (a) and second (b) meanings of *nature*. The second meaning (2) of *shizen* is close to the adverbial form of *nature* in English, i.e., "naturally."

In ancient Japan, *shizen* did not mean "the physical world."[3] However, it started to acquire this meaning in the mid-sixteenth century, and from the 1860s onwards this usage became popular. In order to understand this process, we need to analyze how the meaning of *shizen* developed, how it acquired a multivalent sense through contact with European civilization, and how it was employed after the act of translation took place. However, as Raymond Williams wrote, "Nature is perhaps the most complex word in the language," and "Any full history of the uses of nature would be a history of a large part of human thought."[4] Therefore, this paper will only mark several reference points on a map to show how *nature* came to be translated as *shizen*, including the approximate time when *shizen* started to indicate "the physical world" in Japan, and when the use of *shizen* became popular.

Early Use of Chinese *Ziran* and Japanese *Shizen*

Etymologically, *shizen* is traceable to the Chinese word *ziran* 自然 which was used in ancient texts to refer to a situation "as it is," unaltered by human beings.[5] *Ziran* was mentioned several times by Laozi (Lao-Tsze) who probably lived during the second century BC and founded philosophical Taoism.[6] In the text *Laozi*, he writes: "Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; the Heaven takes its law from the Tâo (*way*); the law of the Tâo is its being what it is (*ziran*)."[7] Here *ziran* refers to the intrinsic, unaltered principle of the world.

In ancient China and Japan, the physical world was referred to by other words such as *wanwu* 萬物 (all things; Jp. *banbutsu*), *tiandi* 天地 (heaven and earth; Jp. *tenchi*), *zaohua* 造化 (created things, Jp. *zōka*), and *niaoshou caomu* 鳥獸草木 (birds, animals, grass, trees; Jp. *chōjū sōmoku*),[8] while *ziran*, the principle of the world, was

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[3]Saigusa, "*Shizen to iu yobina no rekishi*," 333. For recent research on *shizen*, see Chen, "Riben *Ziran* gainian kaobian," 103–135.

[4]Williams. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, 219–221.

[5]Wei, *Zhongguo zhexue cidian*, 288–289; *Zhongguo zhexue dacidian*, 122.

[6]Kanaya, *Rōshi, Sōshi, Resshi, Sunshi, Goshi*, 486–489.

[7]This translation of *Laozi*'s text 人法地、地法天、天法道、道法自然 (Section 25) is by Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Taoism*, 68. 道法自然 were also translated as "Tau takes its law from what it is in itself" in Tetsugakukan, *Kanei taishō Dōtokukyō*, 16; or "the rule for Tao: Things as they are," in LaFargue, *Tao Te Ching*, 84; or "And the Way Models itself on (its own) spontaneity" in Isutzu, *Lao-tzŭ: The Way and Its Virtue*, 73.

[8]Itō, *Ichigo no jiten: Shizen*, 50–62. Although there is no single Japanese word to refer to the whole physical world, this does not mean that the Japanese did not have such a concept, as mistakenly believed by Tellenbach and Kimura, "The Japanese Concept of 'Nature,'" 154.

supposed to be followed by the people. Laozi saw a "sage" as one who "helps the natural development of all things, and does not dare to act (with an ulterior purpose of his own)."[9] By all accounts, *ziran* was highly revered by the ancient Chinese. Its meaning was explained by the philosopher Guo Xiang (c. 252-312CE) thus: "Being natural means to exist spontaneously without having to take any [deliberate] action. Therefore the great *peng* bird can soar high, and the quail can fly low; the cedrela can live for a long time, and the mushroom for a short time. All are capable of doing so not because of their taking any action but because of their being natural."[10]

Ziran started to refer to the physical world itself in the second century AD.[11] For instance, in the *Annotation of Zhouli* written by Zheng Xuan (127–200), mountains and ponds were taken as "the residence of nature" (自然之居) for living creatures.[12] *Hou Hanshu*, a book of Chinese history written by Fan Ye (398–445), records the life of a tyrant who ordered his workers to construct gardens, hills, forests, and valleys, "like nature itself" (有若自然).[13] The same book also mentions the "destruction of nature's treasure" (損自然之財) in the Xiqiang region.[14] These references indicate that a shift in meaning from "the intrinsic principle" of the world to "the physical world" itself took place almost 1800 years ago.

In ancient Japan, 自然 was pronounced *onozukara* or *jinen* to mean "spontaneously," or *shizen* to mean "if, accidently."[15] This former sense of "spontaneously" corresponds to the sense of "as it is" in the Chinese *ziran*. The Japanese also used the expression "the inherent principle" of all things. For instance, Ki no Yoshimochi wrote in the preface for the *waka* anthology *Kokinshū* (early tenth century): "Like a nightingale in spring warbling among the flowers, or a cicada in autumn humming

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[9]This translation of *Laozi*'s text 聖人慾不慾、不貴難得之貨、學不學、復眾人之所過、以輔萬物之自然、而不敢為 (Section 64) is by Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Taoism*, 108. 以輔萬物之自然 was also translated as: "his aim being to promote spontaneity in all things, while he dares not act (upon them)" in Tetsugakukan, *Kanei taishō Dōtokukyō*, 43; "So as to help along the naturalness of the thousands of things without presuming to be a Worker" by LaFargue, *Tao Te Ching*, 156; "Thus he assists the spontaneous being of the ten thousand things. He refrains from interfering with it by his own action" by Isutzu, *Lao-tzŭ: The Way and Its Virtue,*150.

[10]*Zhuangzi*'s original text reads 自然者、不為而自然者也、大鵬之能高、斥鴳之能下、椿木之能長、朝菌之能短、凡此皆自然之所能、非為之所能也, in *Guo* and Arii, *Sōshi hyōchū*, 4. The English translation comes from De Bary and Irene, *Sources of Chinese Tradition: Second Edition,* 386.

[11]Kasahara, *Chūgokujin no shizenkan to biishi*, 39–40.

[12]The original text reads 禁山之為苑、澤之沈者。為其就禽獸魚龜、自然之居而害之. In Zheng, *Shisanjing zhushu: Zhouli zhushu*, 1141.

[13]The original text reads 又廣開園囿、採土築山、十里九坂、以像二崤、深林絕澗、有如自然、奇禽馴獸、飛走其間, in Fan, *Hou Hanshu, Sanguozhi*, 318.

[14]The original text reads 夫棄沃壤之饒、損自然之財、不可謂利；離河山之阻、守無險之處難以為固, in *Hou Hanshu, Sanguozhi*, 748.

[15]Satō, *Goshi*, 176–80. In twelfth century dictionary *Iroha jiruishō*, 自然 was pronounced *shizen* and *jinen,* see Tachibana, *Iroha jiruishō*.

high in a tree, although without much musical melody, each expresses itself by singing. All creatures do so, because of their inherent character."[16]

In Japan the earliest written example that can be found to show that *shizen* indicated "the physical world" is from early sixteenth century. The introduction to the 1518 folk song anthology *Kanginshū (Songs of Leisure)* states: "Wind and rain are the songs of heaven and earth 天地之小歌, floating water and dropping leaves are the songs of all things 万物之小歌. The voices of dragons, tigers, cranes, phoenixes, spring nightingales, autumn grasshoppers, animals and insects are the songs of *shizen* 自然之小歌."[17] Sagara Tōru interprets *shizen* in this context to mean "animals."[18] However, I believe that the rhetorical device of repeating the sentence structure indicates that *shizen* here is closer to "the sky and the earth" and "all things."

However, this usage had not yet gained currency in Japan at the time, and *shizen* was still used in the conventional way around the same time by the scholar Kiyohara Nobukata (1475–1550): "Since the beginning of heaven and earth, it has been the inherent principle 自然ノ道理 that all things have their own voice. A crane crying, the wind blowing, a rooster crowing and a dog barking are all meaningful."[19]

Meaning of the Latin Word *Natura*

There were two major periods in which Western languages had a significant influence on the Japanese and Chinese languages. The first period was in the sixteenth century: in 1549, a co-founder of the Society of Jesus, Francis Xavier arrived in Japan and introduced Christianity to the country; in China, Christianity was introduced by Italian Jesuits Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci in 1583. The second period was in the nineteenth century, when Protestant missionaries published books and newspapers in China and Japan.[20] The process of translating *nature* as *shizen/ziran* spans these very two eras. Given that *nature* was an essential concept in Christianity and the natural sciences in Europe, we first need to look at how it was translated by the missionaries.

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[16]My translation of the original text 若夫春鶯之囀花中、秋蝉之吟樹上、雖無曲折、各発歌謡。物皆有之、自然之理也, in Ki, "Manajo", 282. My translation differs from Grzanka, "Manajo: the Chinese Preface," 379: "It is like an oriole in spring warbling among the flowers, or like a cicada in autumn humming high in a tree. Though they are neither harassed nor disturbed, each one puts forth its song. That all things have a song is a principle of nature."

[17]The original text reads 風行雨施、天地之小歌也。流水之淙々、落葉之索々、万物之小歌也。加之、竜唫虎嘯、鶴唳鳳声、春而有鶯、秋而有蜚、禽獣昆虫歌、自然之小歌者耶, in Asano, *Kanginshū*, 19.

[18]Sagara believes that *shizen* here only indicated animals, not nature in general, *Sagara, chosakushū 6: Chōzen, Shizen*, 84.

[19]The original text reads 有天地以来万物之情備乎音声是自然之理也故雖鶴唳風声鶏鳴犬吠皆可得而通 written in the teaching notes of *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀抄 by Kiyohara Nobutaka 清原宣賢, quoted from Tenri toshokan, *Nihonshoki sanso, Nihonshoki shō*, 166. This sentence is read in the Japanese manner 天地アテヨリ以来万物音声ヲ備ルハ自然ノ道理也 故鶴唳風声鶏鳴犬吠ト云モ皆可得而通 by Kobayashi, "*Kanginshu* 'jo' no hyōgenronteki kaishaku to *Nihonshoki shō, Mōshi shō*," 19.

[20]Arakawa, "Nicchū goi no kōryūshi," 6.

The word *nature* comes from the Latin word *natura*, which is in turn a translation of the Greek *physis*. During the medieval period (sixth to sixteenth century) *natura* signified (1) birth; (2) nature: a. the power that determines; b. the physical world; c. God, supreme nature; d. God's agent; e. opposite to art: f. to defecate; g. to die; (3) nature as the age before the Law; (4) natural or normal state or condition; (5) creation; (6) inherent quality; (7) sexual organ; (8) sort, ability; (9) form; (10) matter, substance.[21] It is the underlined meanings that are most relevant in my analysis. Let us examine how these meanings have been translated in dictionaries and texts since the sixteenth century in Japan.

In *Dictonarium Latino–Lusitanicum ac Iaponicum* (1595), only a few of the meanings of the Latin word *natura* were translated, namely *monono xǒ* (the character of things), *xǒtocuno xei* (the inherent character), *chicara* (power), *xisuru* (to die), and *xeiqio suru* (to die).[22] Similarly, in *Dictionarium Siue Thesauri Linguæ Iaponicæ Compendium* (1632), *natura* was translated only as *vmàretçùqi* (the inherent thing), and *naturaliter* as *tènnèn* (as it is) and *vonózzucara* (spontaneously).[23] Neither of these dictionaries rendered the meaning of "the physical world" inherent in *natura*. The latter dictionary translated "Caelum et terra et omnis creatura" (heaven and earth and all creatures) as *tènchi xinra mànzǒ* 天地森羅萬象. This shows that the meaning of "the physical world" in *natura* was probably not dominant, and so the dictionary authors did not try to translate it into the Japanese. Other European–Japanese dictionaries only used idioms to indicate "the physical world," such as "Vonaruji Deus xinra manzǒuo 森羅萬象 tçukuri tamǒ" (The Lord Deus created all things) in the Japanese–Portuguese dictionary *Nippo jisho* (1603–1604),[24]

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[21] Howlett, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 1890. These meanings are better explained in another dictionary that deals with contemporary meanings of *natura*: Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1158–1159. *Natura* today means (1) the conditions of birth; (2) the power which determines the physical properties of animals, plants, and other natural products; (3) the power which determines the innate character and feelings of human beings; (4) the power which governs the physical universe and directs all natural processes; (5) the guiding principle in life; (6) the natural course; (7) the physical world, creation; (8) the physical characteristics, size, shape, structure, etc, of a person or thing; (9) the nature of a thing regarded as determined by its function or properties; (10) a particular distinctive feature of characteristic; (11) character, temperament, nature; (12) abilities, natural endowments; (13) a natural appearance; (14) category of existence; (15) the external organs of generation.

[22] A dictionary of Latin, Portugal and Japanese languages, *Dictonarium Latino–Lusitanicum ac Iaponicum* (1595), 487.

[23] A Latin, Spanish, Japanese dictionary edited by Collado, *Dictionarium Siue Thesauri Linguæ Iaponicæ Compendium* (1632), reprinted in *Dictionarium Siue Thesauri Linguæ Iaponicæ Compendium*, 16, 51, 85, 285, Ōtsuka and Kojima, *Koryādo jihitsu Seinichi jisho*, 5 才、15 才、17 才 (original page numbers).

[24] *Nippo jisho*, 301 (original) / 613 (reprint), 19 (original) / 49 (reprint); 304 (original) / 619 (reprint), based on *Vocabvlario Da Lingoa De* Iapam, Nagasaqui 1603-4 belonging to Bordleian Library of the University of Oxford, reprinted version.

and "Deus tenchi manzŭuo 天地万像 gosacu nasareta" (Deus created all things) in *Arte da lingoa de Iapam composta pello* (1604).[25]

Meanwhile, 自然 retained its conventional meaning in *Kirishitanban rakuyōshū* (1598), a Japanese dictionary published in Nagasaki to help missionaries study *kanji*. It was pronounced *shizen,* meaning *mizukara* (by itself), *yori* (from), and *onozukara* (spontaneously).[26] Similarly, in *Nippo jisho*, its pronunciations and meanings are *iinen* (spontaneously) and *xijen* (if) respectively. In *Arte da lingoa de Iapam composta pello* (1604) and *Vocabulario de Iapon* (1630),[27] *xijen* still meant "if." Christovão Ferreira (c. 1580–1650), a former Jesuit missionary who committed apostasy, used *shizen* several times to mean "the inherent character" in his treatises on Western astronomy.[28]

These missionary dictionaries and Ferreira's book are unable to show us whether or not *natura* was sometimes used in the sense of "the physical world." In fact, in the teaching of Christianity, *natura* tended not to be translated, but only transcribed using *hiragana* なつうら or *katakana*. For instance, a textbook on Christian doctrines (1591) contains expressions such as (1) "the blessing light that transcends なつうら," (2) "every created matter was given なつうら by Deus," (3) "the child of Deus was born by the spirit that transcends なつら," and (4) "it proves that the son of Deus was given human なつうら and died."[29] However, the meaning of each *hiragana* word can be gleaned: (1) and (3) mean "the physical world" which forms the meaning "supernatural," while (2) and (4) mean "disposition" and "character."

We can therefore conclude that *natura* actually meant "the physical world" even though it was not translated as such. This meaning appeared in other textbooks written in 1595 for the Amakusa College of the Society of Jesus. For instance, "Corporis Phisici" was explained as "ナツラル全体 (the whole natural world),"[30] and "Ars imitatur naturam" was explained as "Human products are the imitation of ナツウラ."[31] Both uses show that *natura* indicated "the physical world."

To sum up, the meaning of "the physical world" was inherent in the word *natura*, but was not translated in either missionary related textbooks or dictionaries. This meaning was represented by other words apart from *shizen* during the period of late 16th to the mid-seventeenth century.

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[25]Rodriguez, *Arte da lingoa de Iapam composta pello*, with translation by Tsuchii, Tadaoi. *Nihon daibunten*, 318.

[26]Originally published in Nagasaki in 1598. Reprint: *Kirishitanban rakuyōshū*, 96.

[27]*Vocabulario de Iapon.*

[28]For instance, "precious products created by heavenly principle" 天性自然の尊品, "there is the manner which occurred inherently" 自然の風儀あり, and "there is behavior that was formed spontaneously" (自然の行あり) in Sawano, *Kenkon bensetsu*, 6.

[29]"Dochiriina Kirishitan," 25, 28, 29, 31.

[30]Obara, *Iezusukai Nihon korejo no kōgi yōkō*, *Ichi* (vol. 1), 117.

[31]Obara, *Iezusukai Nihon korejo no kōgi yōkō* (vol. 2), 177.

Shizen in the Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries

During the Edo period (1603–1868) several philosophers contemplated the physical world and its principles. A Japanese scholar of Confucianism Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685) believed that the universe was formed by the combination of *li* (principle) and *qi* (energy), which is "the spontaneous marvel of heaven and earth, *tenchi shizen no myō*" 天地自然之妙.[32] This term was often used in his teaching to indicate "the inherent character" that cannot be reproduced by humans.

In 1753, a Japanese philosopher Andō Shōeki (1703–1762) published *Shizen shineidō* (lit. the true way of administering according to the principle). He frequently used *shizen* in three contexts: (1) pronounced as *hitori suru*, meaning "to do by itself uniformly, unaffectedly"; (2) *shizen*, "the whole world"; and (3) *shizen*, "spontaneously, consequently, inherently."[33] Tōjō Eiki and Terao Gorō point out that it was Andō who initiated the use of *shizen* to indicate the physical world.[34] However, some scholars believe that Andō's *shizen* only referred to the movements of the world, and did not yet encompass the meaning of the physical world.[35] Since Andō's book did not enjoy a large circulation, its impact is hard to estimate,[36] but his usage of the word was unique and memorable. In comparison, his contemporary Miura Baien (1723–1789), who closely observed the physical world, studied Western science, and contemplated the world philosophically,[37] still used *shizen* to refer to "the principle of the world," not the world itself.

Sagara Tōru believes that in the Edo period *shizen* gradually lost its original meaning and gained the same meaning as *tenchi* (heaven and earth).[38] This hypothesis requires further research and more examples in order to be proven, but it can be said that when the Western concept of *nature* was introduced to Japan, the use of *shizen* seems to have increased.

The first dictionary to translate *nature* as 自然 was the Dutch–Japanese dictionary *Haruma wage* (commonly known as the *Edo Haruma*, 1796) compiled by Inamura Sanpaku (1759–1811) and several other Dutch science scholars,[39] and based on a Dutch–French dictionary, *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en fransche*

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[32]The original text reads 太極之說、近取譬人生胎託之初、理氣混合而為一點子之象...天地自然之妙、日用事物之理, Yamaga, *Yamaga Gorui*, 393.

[33]Andō, *Andō Shōeki zenshū* (vol. 13), 97, 103.

[34]Tōjō, *Andō Shōeki no "Shizen seiseron,"* 27. Terao Gorō also believes that Andō was the first in Japan to use 自然 in this sense, Terao, *"Shizen" gainen no keiseishi*, 220. Tōjō and Terao based their opinion on the "Draft of *Shizen shineidō*" in Andō, *Andō Shōeki zenshū* (vol. 1), 65. Itō Shuntarō also thinks that Andō's term *shizenshin* 自然真 dropped 真 over time and meant something similar to today's *shizen* (nature), Itō, "Shizenkan," 203.

[35]Yasunaga, *Andō Shōek,* 309. Sun, "Andō Shōeki ni okeru shizen," 134.

[36]Norman, *Ando Shoeki and the Anatomy of Japanese Feudalism*, 248–50.

[37]Saigusa, "Shizen hen no kaisetsu," 5. Kitagawa, "Wagakuni shakaigaku no reimeiki (1)," 154.

[38]Sagara, *Sagara Tōru chosakushū 6: Chōzen, Shizen*, 93.

[39]Inamura, *Haruma wage*, 416.

taalen (1729)[40] by Francois Halma (1653–1722). The completion of this dictionary is considered to be a hallmark event in the history of translation in Japan.[41] Given that the number of copies was about 30, it more than likely was not widely circulated.[42] Halma's original dictionary listed 10 basic meanings of the Dutch *natuur*, accompanied by example sentences, which are similar to those of the medieval Latin *natura*. However, Inamura only translated the basic meanings, and omitted the example sentences.

Fourteen years later, one of Inamura's students, Fujibayashi Fuzan (1781–1836), published an abridged version of the *Haruma wage* titled *Nederduitsche Yakuken* (1810) in which *natuur* was also translated as *shizen*.[43] From about 1812–1833, a complete translation of Halma's dictionary was made by Hendrik Doeff (1777–1835), the Dutch commissioner of the Dejima trading post in Nagasaki, and several interpreters working for the trading post. In their translation (commonly called *Nagasaki Haruma*), *natuur* was not translated as *shizen*.[44] Forty years later Katsuragawa Hoshū (1751–1809) revised Doeff's dictionary and published *Oranda jii* in 1858.[45]

In order to understand the context of Inamura's translation of *natuur* as *shizen*, listed below are the original terms and some relevant sentences from Halma's dictionary (1729), along with part of Katsuragawa's translation in *Oranda jii* (1858), and Inamura's translation (1796) underlined.

1. NATUUR. z. v. ond. w. 't Geschapene heelal. (造物者ニ作ラレタル物)
   Inamura: 自然 *(shizen)*
2. Natuure, weezen (本體)/Vroeg of laat moet ieder een tolaan de natuur betaalen. (人毎ニ早クカ遅クカ一度ハ造物者ニ運上ヲ拂ハ子バナラヌ)
   Inamura: 助詞、行ク、為ス *(a verb, to go, to do)*
3. Natuur, de kragt van God in 't geschapene gelegt. (造物者ノ力)
   Inamura: 神力ニテ造ル *(to create by divine power)*
4. Natuur. God, de Schepper van 't heelal. (造物者)
   Inamura: 造化神 *(the creator)*
5. Natuur, eigen aart, inborst. (性質　万物ノ有マヘノ)
   Inamura: 性質 *(character)*
6. Natuur, stand, gesteldheid, staar (受得タル善ノ侭ナル有様)
   Inamura: 形状 *(form)*

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[40]Halma, *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en fransche taalen*.

[41]Sugimoto, "Inamura Sanpaku to kindai Nihongo no sōshi," 64–68.

[42]Fujibayashi, *Nederduitsche Yakken*, 2. Also see Sugimoto, "Ran Nichi taiyaku jiten no kenkyū," 406.

[43]Fujibayashi, *Nederduitsche Yakken*, 154. *Natuur* → 自然、性質、形状、造化、好欲、本理、損枯; *natuurkennis* → 自然学 *(shizengaku)*; *natuurkunde* → 自然学 *(shizengaku)*. Forty-seven years later a revised version was published, in which 究理学 *(kyūrigaku)* was added in the following manner: *natuurkennis* → 自然学, 究理学 *(shizengaku, kyūrigaku)*; *natuurkunde* → 自然学, 究理学 *(shizengaku, kyūrigaku)*. See Hirota, *Zōho kaisei Yakken kaiseizōho*, 83.

[44]Doeff, *Dōyaku Haruma*; Sakurai, "*Oranda ji* denshi tekisutoka ni yoru *Eiwa taiyaku shūchin jisho* shohan no yakugo no kenkyū," 29, note 18.

[45]Katsuragawa, *Oranda jii*; Sugimoto, "Ran Nichi taiyaku jiten no kenkyū," 408–417.

7. Natuur, de ingeschape reden of kennis. (天然ノ道理)/Leert de natuur niet dat'er een God is? (造物者ノアルト云事ハ天然ノ道理ガ教ルデハナイカ)
   Inamura: 自然ノ理 (the inherent principle)
8. Natuur, neiging, genegenheid, begeerte. (生得ノ好ミ)
   Inamura: 欲シ好ム (to desire)
9. Natuur, natuurlijke liefde of zugt. (天ヨリ受得タル憐愍ノ心)
   Inamuara: 自然ノ好欲 (desire given by the heaven)
10. Natuur, verdorventheid, bedorve stand. (ヨゴレ切タル心ザマ)/Uit de natuur. (自然ト)/Dat is tegen de natuur of onnatuurlijk. (夫ハ自然ニ背ク事デアル)
    Inamura: 損ズル、枯ル (to lose, to die)

From the context, we can see that Inamura was able to correctly understand the use of *natuur* thanks to the explanations and sentences. In (1) he used *shizen* to mean "created universe," similar to its modern-day meaning, and in (9) *shizen* means "the heaven" or "nature." In (7) *shizen no ri* refers to "the inherent principle." In contrast, Katsuragawa did not use *shizen*, but rather "things created by the creator" in example (1). In example (10) Katsuragawa used *shizen to* mean "inherently" in "*shizen to,*" and in "*shizen ni somuku*" and "*shizen ni somuku tsumi*" to mean that "the inherent principle is broken." Inamura's use of *shizen* to refer to the physical world can be taken as either an example of his initiative or as a reflection of the way the word was used in society at the time. However, examples of this kind of usage are far and few between in other dictionaries from the same time period.

In Morishima Chūryō's Japanese-Dutch dictionary *Bangosen* (1798), there is no entry for *shizen*, but we do find 天然 pronounced as ナチュールレイキ (*natuurlijke*) meaning "natural."[46] This is a step closer to *shizen* becoming *nature* in Japanese. Furthermore, the earliest English-Japanese dictionary, *Angeria gorin taisei* (1814), rendered *nature* as *tenri shizen* 天理自然 (the principle of the sky).[47] However, *shizen* on a smaller font may well mean "the physical world" because in one of this dictionary's sources, *A Compleat Dictionary, English and Dutch* (1766),[48] "nature" was explained in one sentence: "God is the author and master of nature."

Four decades later, *shizen* was definitively translated as *nature* in *Sango benran* (1854), edited by Murakami Hidetoshi, which lists the terms for Japanese words in French, English and Dutch.[49] The first several terms under the category "astronomy" are listed below, following the same order as the original.[50]

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[46]Morishima, *Bangosen fu bankoku chimeisen*, 69.

[47]Motoki, *Angeria gorin taisei*, 590. Nature → 天理自然 (*tenri shizen*).

[48]Sewel, *A Compleat Dictionary, English and Dutch.* "Complete" was spelled as "Compleat" then. This possible source is suggested by Miyoshi, "*Angeria gorin taisei* to *Eiwa taiyaku shūchin jisho* ni miru reimei hanseiki no eigaku no shinten," 299.

[49]Murakami, *Sango benran*, 636.

[50]One of the original sources for Murakami's dictionary was *Nouvelle méthode familiére à l'usage de ceux, qui veulent apprendre la laugue française* (1832), according to Sakurai, "*Sango benran* no hensan katei," 61–48, 32; and Tanaka "Hotetsu, *Sango benran* kō," 57.

天文 *Tenmon* (astronomy)

1. 天地既成 (*tenchi kisei*, the formation of heaven and earth)

French	chaos
English	chaos
Dutch	mengelklomp

2. 物 (*mono,* things)

French	matiere
English	stuff
Dutch	stoffe

3. 自然 (*shizen*, nature)

French	nature
English	nature[51]
Dutch	natuur

4. 全世界 (*zensekai*, the whole world)

French	univers
English	universe
Dutch	heelal

The fact that Murakami used *shizen* as the heading for *nature* and *natuur* means that this usage had probably already gained currency by then. Several years later, a dictionary of five languages English, French, Russian, Dutch and Japanese, *Gokokugosen* (1860), edited by Matsuzono Umehiko, was published, partially based on *Sango benran*. The word *shizen* appears among the 61 words in the シ (*shi*) section. There are 20 words in the "N" section, among which three are "nature" (French), "nature" (English) and "natuur" (Dutch), all translated as *shizen*.[52] The frequency of the use of *shizen* and *nature* in the vocabulary here means that people were paying closer attention to the natural world and had found *shizen* to be a suitable word to refer to it.

Ten years after publishing *Sango benran* (1854), Murakami edited a French dictionary, *Futsugo meiyō* (1864), in which he translated *nature* as *shizen* and *seishitsu*

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[51]In the first edition (1854) the English term was "surely", but in the second edition (1857), it was changed to "nature."

[52]Sugimoto, *Gokokugosen*, 228.

(character). However, for reasons unknown and which require further research, in the second edition (1870), he dropped *shizen*, and only retained *seishitsu*.[53]

The Influence of Textbooks

After the Meiji Restoration (1868), many geography textbooks were written in which *shizen* often refers to "the physical world." One example can be found in *Sekai kunitsukushi* (All the countries of the world, 1869) written for school children by the influential enlightenment writer Fukuzawa Yukichi(1834–1901).[54] Partially based on *Mitchell's School Geography*[55] and *Cornell's High School Geography*,[56] this book has three chapters: *Tenmon no chigaku* (astronomical geography), *Shizen no chigaku* (physical geography), and *Hito no chigaku* (human geography).

For the chapter *Shizen no chigaku*, Fukuzawa translated the following paragraph from *Cornell's High School Geography*: "Physical Geography is that branch of science which includes a description of the solid and fluid parts of the earth's surface; of the atmosphere which surrounds it, and of all animal and vegetable life."[57] Undoubtedly *shizen* meant "the physical world" in this context. Fukuzawa also used some illustrations from *Mitchell's School Geography* in the chapter "Natural or physical geography."[58] From these examples, there is no doubt that in Fukuzawa's understanding *shizen* equaled *nature*.

Fukuzawa's textbook was so popular among school children that they would recite it from memory.[59] The textbook's poetic 5–7 syllabic rhythm lent itself towards such memorization.[60] Two years later, this book was re-printed (1871), and then formally adopted as a primary school textbook in 1872, enjoying many subsequent reprints.[61] Fukuzawa said that he used simple and understandable phrases and Chinese characters in this book that followed the teaching style at *terakoya* for the children of commoners.[62] He chose to use *shizen* either because it was already widely known, or because he believed that *shizen* would be easier for children to understand than *kyūri* 究理 which was frequently used to translate

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[53]Murakami, *Futsugo meiyō*, 36: *nature* → 自然, 性質. In the 2nd edition, 17: *nature* → 性質.

[54]Fukuzawa, *Sekai kunitsukushi*.

[55]Mitchell, *Mitchell's School Geography: a System of Modern Geography*.

[56]Cornell, *Cornell's High School Geography*.

[57]*Cornell's High School Geography*, 9. Fukuzawa's translation is 自然之地學——其論述海陸山川之區別、草木禽獸之異同、物產時候風雨雪霜之模樣" in Fukuzawa, *Sekai kunitsukushi* (vol. 6), 2.

[58]Minamoto, "Fukuzawa Yukichi *Sekai kunitsukushi* ni kansuru ichi kenkyū," 12-14.

[59]Tsuchiya, *Yo ga mitaru Fukuzawa sensei*, 56.

[60]Tamura, "*Sekai tsukushi* kō," 435.

[61]Nakagawa, "Kaisetsu". In Fukuzawa, *Fukuzawa Yukichi chosakushū* (vol. 2), 409.

[62]Fukuzawa, "Fukuzwa zenshū shogen," 37.

"physics" and "natural science."[63] It is easy to imagine how popular the use of *shizen* became due to the widespread circulation of this textbook.

Another geography textbook, *Yochishiryaku* (1870), written by educator Uchida Masao (1838–1876),[64] was used in primary, secondary and normal schools,[65] and became one of the three "most popular books"[66] in the Meiji period (1868–1912), along with Fukuzawa's *Gakumon no susume* (Encouragement on Learning, 1872) and Nakamura Masanao (1832–1891)'s *Saigoku risshihen* (Stories of successful lives in the west, 1870–1871, a translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self–Help*). Uchida's *Yochishiryaku* was written mainly based on the geography books of Mckay, Goldsmith, Kramers, etc.[67] In the introduction, Uchida divided all things into three groups: astronomy, geography, and national system. He wrote, "The first and the second are *tenzō no shizen* (the world created by heaven), largely unaltered since ancient times. The third concerns human power or *jinriki*, which changes constantly."[68] Obviously, *shizen* means the natural world. Influenced by the ideas in Mckay's book,[69] and the emphasis on the difference between natural history and human history in Edmund Heale's *A Manual of Geography* (1853),[70] Uchida's differentiation of nature and humankind shows that his *shizen* means *nature*.

Nakamura Masanao's *Saigoku risshihen* is a translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self–Help* (1859, 1866). Nakamura read Smiles' book while studying in London in 1866 and brought it back to Japan in 1868. *Self–Help* used *nature* several times,

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[63]*Angeria kōgaku shōsen*: natural philosophy→ 理学 (*rigaku*). *A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Japanese Language,* 298: physics→ 究理学 (*kyūrigaku*). Arai, *Eiwa taiyaku jisho*, 347: physical→ 窮理学ノ (*kyūrigaku no*), 医術ノ (*ijutsu no*). Shibata, *Eiwa jii*, 747: physical geography→ 地形学 (*chikeigaku*).

[64]Uchida, *Yochishiryaku*. Akimoto, "Uchida Masao no rireki to shiryō," 5.

[65]Masuno, "Mieru minzoku, Mienai minzoku: *Yochishiryaku* no sekaikan," 50.

[66]Masuno, "Uchida Masao *Yochishiryaku* no kenkyū," 64–93.

[67]Uchida, "Hanrei." Uchida was probably referring to Mckay, *Manual of Modern Geography, Mathematical, Physical and Political*; Goldsmith, *A Grammar of General Geography: for the Use of Schools and Young Persons*; Kramer, *Geographisch– Statistisch–Historisch Handboek*.

[68]The original text reads 其一地球ノ形状運動ヨリ度数等ノ都テ天文ニ関係スルモノヲ天文ノ部トシ海陸山川ノ位置、風雨寒暑ノ自然ヲ論シ都ヲ地勢地質ニ関スルモノヲ地理ノ部トシ各国ノ境界形勢及ヒ人民ノ風俗沿革等総テ人事ニ関スルモノヲ邦制ノ部ト称ス蓋シ第一第二ハ天造ノ自然ニ出テ萬古変更少ナイシト雖モ第三ハ人力ニ関係スルカ故ニ変革常ナラズ, Uchida, *Yochishiryaku*, 1.

[69]*Manual of Modern Geography, Mathematical, Physical and Political*, 1: "*Physical Geography* treats of the configuration of the Earth's crust; the materials of which it is composed; the soil and climate that prevail at different parts of the surface; and the effect of the latter on its living inhabitants – plants, animals, and man. *Political Geography* … treats of the artificial or political divisions of the surface into empires and states; their extent, population, and material resources; their government, people, religion, language, and civilization."

[70]Heale, *A Manual of Geography: Compiled for the Use of Military Students*, 1: "*Physical Geography*, which treats of the great natural divisions of the earth's surface; its material and structure; its various productions, animal and vegetable; its atmosphere, climates and other particulars respecting its physical or natural condition. This branch of geography is connected with natural history and natural philosophy. *Political Geography* … is connected with history and political economy."

but Nakamura did not translate it as *shizen*. However, when he translated the following sentence about geologist William Smith who "possessed himself of records of borings, <u>natural</u> and artificial sections, drew them to a constant scale of eight yards to the inch, and colored them up"[71] he used "*shizen no mono*" to translate the underlined word.[72] Here *shizen* referred to "the natural world."

In 1876, Dutch educator Th. J. van Kasteel published his Japanese translation of Charles Northend's book *The Teacher's Assistant*. The underlined part of the original sentence, "You may do much to awaken in your pupils a love <u>for the study of Nature</u>"[73] was translated as "*shizen no gakushū*."[74] This translation shows that foreigners familiar with the Japanese language also used *shizen* for *nature.*

Shizen in Other Dictionaries

Most European–Japanese dictionaries published in the early Meiji period do not clearly show that *shizen* means *nature*. For instance, in *Nouveau dictionnaire Française—Japonais* (1871), *nature* is translated as *shizen* 自然, *taishitsu* (character), *shurui* (sorts), *rikugō* (the sky, the earth and the four directions), *jinshu* (race), and *tenmei* (destiny).[75] Here *shizen* likely means the natural world. However, we cannot be certain that *shizen* meant the natural world in *Eiwa jii* (1873), in which *nature* is translated in the following order: *tenchi* (heaven and earth), *banbutsu* (all things)*, uchū* (cosmos)*, hinshu* (sort)*, hontai* (inherent character)*, shizen* 自然*, tenri* (the inherent principle)*, seishitsu* (disposition)*,* and *zōbutsusha* (the creator).[76] A similar uncertainty also exists in *Deutsch-Japanisches Wörterbuch* (1873), in which *natuur* is translated as *shizen* 自然, *seishitsu* (disposition) and *banbutsu* (all things).[77]

Conclusion

Saigusa Hiroto, one of Japan's prominent philosophers, in an incorrect assumption that has gone largely unquestioned until today, stated that that it was during the period of 1887–1907 that *shizen* acquired the meaning *nature*, and that Fukuzawa Yukichi was responsible for popularizing the words *bunmei* (civilization) and *bunka* (culture),

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[71]Smiles, *Self–Help,* 128.

[72]Nakamura, *Saigoku risshi hen*, vol. 4, Chapter 5, Section 35, p. 30.

[73]Northend, *The Teacher's Assistant*, 275.

[74]Kasteel, *Kyōshi hitsudoku*, 524: Japanese text: 足下又生徒ヲシテ自然ノ学習ヲ好愛スル念ヲ発生セシメ得ヘキナリ.

[75]*Nouveau dictionnai Francais-Japonais*, 279: *nature*→ 自然(*shizen*), 体質(*taishitsu*), 種類(*shurui*), 六合(*rikugō*), 人種(*jinshu*), 天命(*tenmei*).

[76]Shibata and Koyasu, *Eiwa jii*, 748.

[77]*Deutsch-Japanisches Wörterbuch*, 368.

but not *shizen*. Saigusa believes that *shizen* did not have the meaning of the natural world until the mid-Meiji period (around the 1880s).[78] Yanabu Akira also takes 1880s as the time when *shizen* was more often used to translate "nature."[79] Both Sagara Tōru and Terao Gorō agreed with this view.[80] However, as this paper has shown, Fukuzawa was indeed the first person to popularize *shizen* from 1869 onwards.

Shizen originally meant "the inherent principle" of the world or the situation "as it is," but it did contain the nuance of "the physical world" as early as the second century in China and 1518 in Japan. Andō Shōeki used *shizen* frequently in the mid-sixteenth century, and then the missionaries used *natura*, with the nuance of "the natural world," in the 1590s. From 1796, *shizen* started to mean *nature* in several European–Japanese dictionaries, and in the late 1860s *shizen* was used widely in Japan in books that introduced Western thought.

Shizen is more abstract when referring to the natural world than conventional words such as *banbutsu* (all things), *tenchi* (heaven and earth), *zōka* (created things), and *chōjū sōmoku* (birds, animals, grass, trees). In Japan, the abstract and vague character of *shizen* enables it to indicate *nature*, as in the totality of the physical world, on the one hand, as well as to point to individual natural objects such as trees, birds, or rice paddies, on the other hand. There also exists a vast wealth of research on natural objects, to which spirits have been attributed, harking back to Japan's ancient times.[81] Today *shizen* is often used to translate Western terms like "environment," "wildness," and "wildlife,"[82] a new extension of meaning that needs to be further studied.

This paper has examined how the word *shizen* became the standard Japanese translation for *nature* from the 1860s. When this process is clearly marked, the meaning of *shizen* used in the 1860s and 1870s can be eventually correctly understood. There are, however, still other aspects that need to be explored in order to reveal the full picture of this fascinating process of cultural translation.

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[78]Saigusa, *Saigusa Hiroto chosakushū* (vol. 12), 90.

[79]Yanabu, *Honyaku no shisō: Shizen to Nature*, 36–37.

[80]Sagara, *Shizen no shisō: Ri, shizen, michi, ten, kokoro, dendō*,38, and Terao, *"Shizen" gainen no keiseishi*, 237.

[81]Ogawa, "A Cultural History of Science Education in Japan: An Epic Description," 139–161.

[82]Konno, "Gendai Nihon ni okeru 'shizen' gainen no kentō," 91–92.

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Chapter 3
The Life and Death of Music as East Asian Intangible Cultural Heritage

Keith Howard

L. P. Hartley begins the prologue to his 1953 novel *The Go-Between* with what has become a well-known line: "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there." The author has found a diary, hidden within a cardboard collar-box full of relics from his early life, with which to remember his early years. David Lowenthal takes this quote as the title of his 1985 book, telling us that the past has an ever-changing role in shaping and making sense of the present; some of the past is celebrated while some is purged. Museums, likewise, present our shared history, but are increasingly contested sites, where the typical focus on the monumental, on what East Asian scholars typically refer to as the "Great" rather than the "Little" tradition, is challenged by a requirement to include the vernacular, and where the ownership of artifacts that they house but which originate in other countries is questioned.[1]

My contention in this paper is that our contemporary zeitgeist is to accept a past that is both, to paraphrase the South Asian theatre director and critic Rustom Bharucha, alive and venerated (1993: 21).[2] Rather than the objects housed in museums, it is the intangible cultural heritage, as it is performed and presented, that allows the past to live. And, by making the past live, we attempt to sustain our identity, or, as academics, we interpret difference, in an effort to challenge the hyper-real consumerism of our post-modern condition, and to counter "cultural grey-out" caused by the industrial commodification that bombards our senses on TV, in films, and in the soundworlds that surround us – the commodified products

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[1]I discuss my "take" on history in Howard (2014).

[2]Bharucha, referencing Gordon Craig, writes how, "instead of venerating 'the past', the Japanese artist is now under a new compulsion to breathe a fresh spirit into it" (Bharucha 1993: 20).

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that Theodor Adorno (1991) told us were synthetic and formulaic productions designed to generate profits. Critics tell us how Western commodification "ventriloquizes the world" (Shohat 1992; see also Shohat and Stam 1994: 191), how Orientalism reinforces the dominant culture by matching the familiar to the exotic (Said 1979), how Hollywood films create flashy, shallow forms that disperse cultural divides (Moretti 2001), how world music is, to quote Philip Spencer (1992), "easy to take but not at all bland, unfamiliar without being patronizing," and how we indulge in "lite difference" (Gómez-Pena 2001), sampling globalized menus in restaurants that constitute eatertainments in our shoppertainment malls.

What is wrong with resistance to this? A national culture, John Tomlinson (1999) tells us, can react to globalization by balancing and countering it, or as Bert Feintuch argues in the introduction to his edited book, it can spark people to remember local life, to "think about matters close at hand and close at heart" (Feintuch 1988: 1). Beyond the national, the late Alan Lomax (1972) – to whom we owe much of our knowledge of Gaelic psalmody, the Blues, and Bluegrass – had it that the world is an agreeable and stimulating habitat precisely because of cultural diversity. The complex whole that constitutes culture comprises both tangible and intangible elements. And so it is that tourists search out the 1031 tangible World Heritage Sites recognized by 2015 by UNESCO. These, to Myriam Jansen-Verbeke (2009: 58), are the tangible "places to visit before you die," and, unlike previous generations, tourists are able to visit them since they can travel readily and cheaply around the globe courtesy of Boeing 747s and Airbus 380s. World Heritage Sites build on a global collective legacy that began with the international concern about Egypt's 1954 proposal to flood the valley containing the Abu Simbel temples, and grew when Venice was threatened with flooding. Articulated in the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and National Heritage, few would today question the basic tenet: conservation of the tangible heritage is a good thing. The pernickety still voice concerns: should a ruined castle be left as it is, should discrete repairs be made to keep walls standing, should the public be allowed to ramble amongst the rubble? In Japan and Korea, unlike Europe, the tradition has been to rebuild: wooden temples need frequent repair, and their external walls require regular painting. Reinforcing with concrete today may strengthen ancient stone foundations. This happened with the rebuilding of the Unified Shilla-era Pulguk Temple in Korea in the 1970s, but the nearby Sŏkkuram grotto, rediscovered in the 1920s by Japanese archaeologists, underwent several restorations that struggled to separate the precious stones from people. One restoration allowed rain to seep in, another failed to control humidity, and a third rebuilt the entrance hall in front of the grotto and installed a glass screen to keep people out. The rebuilt old walls of East Asian palaces are, likewise, both new and old, incorporating modern mortars, stones of the same size rather than smaller stones at the top, and less taper bottom to top than in ancient times (Figs. 1 and 2).

So, the tourist gaze is captured by buildings, monuments, natural sites, and by artifacts displayed in museums. However, it also falls on souvenir shops and on music and dance shows. Shops sell trinkets that tourists buy in the largely

Fig. 1 Pulguksa grotto, Kyǒngju, Korea

misguided hope that they have found something "authentic" and "real." Music and dance shows, as with what has by many been called "airport art,"[3] claim connections to a tradition that may stretch a point, but which also provides an income for struggling artists. Local and international festivals have become sites of pilgrimage. Some local festivals in Japan, such as the Chichibu night festival, or in Korea the Kangnǔng tanoje (often romanized these days as Gangryeung Danoje) spring festival or Jeonju's [Chǒnju's] Sori Festival attract hundreds of thousands. Europeans travel *en masse* to the Festival of the Desert in Essakane or the World Sacred Music Festival in Fes. And the contemporary ease of travel also means that distant musicians and dancers traverse the globe on festival tours, presenting their arts in our own backyards, and selling their trinkets at our local festivals.

Conserving the intangible – local customs, costumes and cuisines, performance arts and crafts – appears to remain more controversial than conserving the tangible. Criticism of efforts to conserve it may reflect contemporary lifestyles, beliefs, morality and aesthetics. So it must be if history shapes the present. As an illustration of this, Korea's shaman rituals provide a notable example. Long considered backward, the government's drive to modernize and the widespread embrace of Christianity – not least by the educated, by scholars and government officials – led to an antipathy to shamanism as superstition and animism. In the 1960s, two festivals with shaman rituals were appointed as Korean Important Intangible Cultural Properties (*Chungyo muhyǒng munhwajae*), Ǔnsan pyǒlshinje (Property 9, appointed February 1966) and Kangnǔng tanoje (Property 13, appointed January

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[3]Kaeppler (1977, 1979), De Kadt (1979), O'Grady (1981), Moeran (1984), Hitchcock *et al.* (1993).

Fig. 2 Sŏkkuram grotto, Kyŏngju, Korea

1967), but the shaman aspect in each was downplayed. Only in the 1980s, long after student protests had harnessed shamanism, and after scholarly consensus shifted from the reality of the spirit world to an essentializing acceptance that shamanistic worldviews are part of a Korean's inner being, were rituals and ritualists endorsed more openly. Experiments with staging virtual concert versions of rituals were taking place, bringing shamanism to an urban and increasingly affluent, middle class audience. A flurry of intangible property appointments was made, and within a few years these embraced representative shaman rituals from each of Korea's geographical areas (Howard 2006a: 135–58).

But, if history serves the present, then giving intangible heritage life in today's world requires shifts in presentation style and symbolism. Watch a shaman ritual on stage and the spirits don't join the ritualists. The symbolism in props is partially discarded, the music made more interesting and less repetitive, and, often, secular musicians and dancers will join the stage forces. For example,

Fig. 3 Shaman rituals meet secular music – album covers

southwestern ritualists have mixed ritual music with improvisation in a series of celebrated albums (Fig. 3).[4] Again, the professional quartet SamulNori encouraged southeastern ritualists under Kim Sŏkch'ul (1922–2005) to create stand-alone percussion pieces that were recorded and disseminated.[5] These recordings were then analyzed, dissembled and reassembled to create a new percussion language by the Australian jazz drummer, Simon Barker[6] – documented in the

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[4]*Kuŭm tasŭrŭm/Unrestrained Sound* (Samsung Nices SCO-024CSS, 1994), *Ch'ŏnmyŏng/ Supreme* (Samsung Nices SCO-055CSS, 1995), *Eurasian Echoes* (Samsung Nices SCO-070CSS, 1996), *West End* (Samsung Music SCO-121CSS, 1997), *Ahn Sook Sun, Kim Dae Ryeh Live Concert* (Samsung Music SCO-166CSS, 1998), *Ascend* (Samsung Music SCO-167CSS, 1998).

[5]*Muak: Tonghae musok samul/Tong-hae-mu-sok-sa-mul* (Samsung Nices SCO-041CSS, 1994).

[6]Detailed in his PhD dissertation (2011).

film by Emma Franz, Intangible Asset Number 82,[7] and now taught in both Japan and Korea.[8]

Contemporary tastes may also question the significance of specific intangible heritage. Korea's Important Intangible Cultural Property 81, *Tashiraegi*, for example, is a masque relating to a second burial custom, tracked back to a period when it was customary to place the dead in a straw house for three years (Howard 2006a: 121–5). No more, and when the state broadcaster KBS made a documentary that featured this custom in 1987, the deceased was a Christian so much of the symbolism of the tradition was judiciously cut to accommodate the family. In fact, *Tashiraegi*'s appointment has been heavily contested, to the extent that rival groups have gone to court to claim ownership, lining up a village group in Tonji against the island cultural centre in the local town. It is clear that the authorized version ignores a multitude of alternatives, so that many consider labeling it a Hobsbawmian "invented tradition": for a masque given three years after death, why are shamans now involved? Why incorporate a set of local funeral songs? Why does the drama echo mask dance dramas from further north and east in Korea? Again, consider puppetry. Korea's Property 3 incorporates a play known as *Kkoktu kakshi norŭm*, and is, to say the least, ribald – one character urinates over the audience. Property 79, *Palt'al* foot puppets, is, simply put, of dubious quality, simply because manipulating a puppet with one's feet has to be inferior to using hands. *Kkoktu kakshi norŭm*, though, is only one of six listed art forms preserved within Property 3. Appointed first for the play itself in December 1964, since 1988 the designation has been for "*Namsadang nori*" – the arts of male itinerant troupes. In contrast, *Palt'al* was appointed in 1983 as something of a consolation prize, with its first holder, Yi Tongan (1906–1995), reputedly having been overlooked three years earlier as the holder of another Property, *Hagyŏnhwa taehap sŏlmu*, a crane dance (Property 40, initially known as *Hakmu*).

Staging presents major issues. Take, for example, Korean *Namdo tŭllorae*, southern rice agriculture songs (Fig. 4). Preserved since 1973 as Property 51, land reform in the 1950s reduced their use among communal work teams, as tenant farmers became owners of smallholdings. Then, in the 1960s and 1970s, mechanization destroyed any remaining reason to keep these songs. So, the photographs commonly printed today are staged. Images taken in the locale show people dancing in paddy fields, carelessly treading on the precious crop, and recreating a tradition in which prior to harvest the most successful tenant farmer might be loaned an ox for the next agricultural season. When performed outside of the locale, at festivals and shows, plastic rice shoots with lead bases and pantomime cows are required, aspects that are rarely embraced in the official

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[7]See www.intangibleasset82.com. All websites cited in this paper were last accessed on 6 February 2014 unless otherwise stated.

[8]The rationale for doing this begins with the observation that what jazz drummers play in Australia as well as East Asia is basically East Coast American music of the 1920s and 1930s. It asks whether a more appropriate regional musical language can be found, and, using southeastern Korean models, develops one.

Fig. 4 *Namdo tŭllorae* with plastic rice shoots. Photo by Keith Howard

photographs. Take these aspects away, though, and the songs are still iconic: they are recorded in a multitude of versions, they feature in films, in school music textbooks, and so on.

The polemic against conserving the intangible comes in a number of King Canutian flavours for holding back the tide.[9] Anthropology's structural-functionalist discourse has proved influential: intangible culture, we are told, is part of social production, and so as society changes, so must the intangible (Blacking 1978, 1987: 112; Nettl 1985: 124–7; Bohlman 2002: 63; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). If it does not change, culture, and within it a performance art, will lose its meaning as it is "frozen in time and space like a museum display" (Hesselink 2004: 407). Again, the undermining of folklore within political and ideological agendas has found resonance for the critics of government interventions in conservation, as they, to cite Henri J. M. Claessen (in Nas 2002: 144), "pay people to sing incomprehensible songs that have long [since] lost their meaning." Outsiders are typically charged with the validation of folklore, introducing a top-down approach where scholars and bureaucrats police production (Seitel 2001; Nas 2002; De Jong 2007) or focus on archiving (Alivizatou 2009: 173), in so doing devaluing the ownership stakes of individuals and local communities (Skounti 2009; George 2009: 76). Folklorists argue against this, emphasizing that it is essential for local ownership and control to be maintained (see, for example, Abrahams 1968; Baumann 1971; Ben-Amos 1971; Hymes 1975), an approach recently resurrected with more beneficial hindsight in the volume *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping Cultural Heritage* (Schofield 2014), for which the blurb runs: "The chapters collected here launch a convincing attack on the ways in

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[9]For a more extensive discussion of these points, see Howard (2012a).

which 'expertise' has been used to build authority and hence to exclude laypersons from an involvement in heritage. They … show how counter-heritages can radically undermine older models to provide … more democratic ways of understanding heritage and its role in contemporary society."

In fact, conservation *does* shift ownership. Financial support comes, to put it with a slight sense of irony, at a cost. For this and other reasons, conservation gives rights to governments – who control, for example, UNESCO's national committees – or, more negatively, to companies, as with biomedicine and mining concessions in South America and Papua New Guinea (Ziff and Rao 1997; Gillespie 2010). Or ownership is claimed beyond the local community by economically savvy players working on national and international stages, including those contracted to provide shows for tourists, or by those with intimate knowledge of the cultural industries (Alaszewska 2012; Kraef 2012; Ó'Briain 2012) – a matter I will return to later. This is not uncommon, and is made more likely by intellectual property regulations that typically leave folklore in the public domain, but allow those who *arrange* folklore – including those who arrange it for staging – to claim copyright. And, we should not forget that elevating specific versions of intangible heritage has the potential to undermine other versions, thereby accelerating decline – although the threat of loss remains a common theme in conservationist interventions (Cleere 2001; Meskell 2002; Holtorf 2006; Rowlands 2007).

Regardless of these arguments, the intangible heritage is now widely subject to efforts to conserve, preserve and sustain it. There are at least three reasons. First is a realization that the tangible and intangible belong together. When the concentration camp at Auschwitz-Birkenhau was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1979, and following it the atomic bomb site at Hiroshima and the bridge at Mostar, in 1996 and 2005 respectively, the necessity of indelibly linking to the values, attitudes and activities of people was recognized. It could, then, be said that cultural heritage is performed, so an understanding of the intangible – the production and use of the tangible – is a necessity (Vergo 1989; Woodhead and Stansfield 1994; Dean 1996; Goulding 1999; Dicks 2000; Jewell and Crotts 2001; Breathnach 2003; Hall 2009). Peter Aronsson at Linköping University, to link to somebody not so distant from the site of the conference where I first presented this paper, has written in relation to Norden identity how performed heritage, repeated to shape society and identity and to frame history, takes place in prestigious institutions such as museums and archives, in officially sanctioned spaces such as at jubilees and public monuments, but is also found in more mundane, ephemeral and banal cultural practices (Aronsson 2013: 2). He sees in the latter "the naming of phenomenon, viewing exhibitions or walking in the countryside." To complete the circle, then, heritage should balance what in East Asia are often called the Great and Little traditions, the aristocratic and literati led "classical" with the "folk." Arguments about conservation tend to be more concerned with the latter, finding in the former, perhaps because public acceptance places them in institutions, museums and archives, little to worry about.

The second reason for conserving the intangible is that academics have a penchant for nostalgia. As I reach middle age, I recall with fondness the Korean

cultural production I encountered during fieldwork 30 years ago. But my nostalgia is also concerned about shifts in cultural consumption, since where I experienced music made by the people as participants during my fieldwork I now see music produced for the people as consumers. Third, though, academic support for conserving the intangible has been bought. I do not imply in any way that this is a negative aspect, merely the reality. Governments have long turned to academics, or to committees that include academics, to validate conservation efforts. However, the most striking example in recent times has been the UNESCO programme to appoint Masterpieces in the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. In each of the three rounds of Masterpiece appointments, in 2001, 2003 and 2005, member states nominated genres, places or aspects of their intangible cultural heritage; some member states clubbed together to nominate genres that moved across borders. The agencies of member states commissioned documentation and reports, often from academics. Then, once UNESCO received a nomination, it was sent out for expert review. Music and dance nominations were passed to the International Council for Traditional Music, an organization in correspondence with UNESCO, who commissioned its members to act as experts. Given that the International Council, founded in London in 1949, hosts an international biennial conference and many study groups to which a large percentage of ethnomusicologists and ethnochoreologists are affiliated, this would suggest that a large number of academics were involved.

Why is this important to those of us within the European academic community who study Asia? Well, we have an advantage when discussing conservation, in that we can speak with authority about what has actually happened in respect to the conservation of the intangible heritage in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and mainland China. In the following pages I am going to briefly focus my attention on Japan and Korea, in keeping with the membership of NAJAKS but also because these two countries have some of the longest histories in the world of preserving, promoting and sustaining – the three elements that my use of the term "conservation" bring together – the intangible.

Long before UNESCO took an interest in the intangible heritage, in 1950, Japan did. It promulgated its Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (*Bunkazai hogohō*). Korea followed suit in 1962, with its Cultural Properties Preservation Law (*Munhwajae pohobŏp*). Taiwan joined in, in 1982, with its Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (*Wenhua zichan baocun fa*), and China has caught up in the last decade, with 2011 seeing the enactment of its Law Concerning the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the PRC (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fei wuzhi wenhua yichan fa*). The Chinese law followed a number of earlier edicts, so concern stretches back well before 2011 (Rees 2012: 23–35). Laws to protect the tangible heritage date back earlier in Japan, to the early Meiji years, and in Korea to the Japanese colonial period (Negi 2001: 10; Howard 2006a: 1–4; Alaszewska 2012: 198). But, after 1945, a shift brought consideration of the intangible. Admittedly, the immediate context of the 1950 Japanese legislation was a fire the previous year in the main hall of the Hōryūji temple that destroyed wall paintings (Negi 2001: 13), but the law addressed the tangible (*yūkei*), intangible (*mukei*), and monuments and sites (historic,

scenic, natural – *shiseki, meishō, tennen kinenbutsu*). An amendment in 1951 differentiated performing arts from craft techniques, while a new category for folk performing arts and crafts was introduced in 1954 (Kawamura *et al.* 2002: 68–9; Alaszewska 2012: 198–9).

The Japanese legislation strongly influenced those drafting Korea's law. As uncomfortable as this is to many contemporary Koreans, many of the incoming government under the general-turned-president Park Chung Hee had trained in Japan. So, too, had many of the senior academics tasked with preparing research reports, notably those associated with the Korean Folklore Society (Minsok Hakhoe),[10] to justify which intangible heritage should be appointed. The same terms appear: "Intangible cultural properties" (J: *Mukei bunkazai*; K: *Muhyŏng munhwajae*; sometimes rendered as "treasures," "assets" or "heritages"), and the prefix "important" (J: *jūyō*; K: *chungyo*) to designate an appointment of national significance; "Living human treasures" or "Living human properties" (J: *Ningen kokuhō*; K: *In'gan munhwajae*) – more formally designated as "guardians" or "holders" (J: *hogosha* (more normally, though, *hojisha*); K: *poyuja*), and so on. Article 1 is virtually identical, the Japanese translating as "to preserve and utilize cultural properties, so that the culture of the Japanese people may be furthered and a contribution made to the evolution of world culture," and the Korean, "to promote the cultural improvement of all people as well as to contribute to the cultural advancement of the nation by preserving and utilizing cultural properties."[11] In both, it is of note that the aim is stated to be not just preservation but evolution and utilization.

The Japanese law and the system it introduced proved influential elsewhere, particularly because of the activities of the Tokyo-based Asia-Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO, in places like the Philippines and Thailand. Taiwanese officials and scholars explored both the Japanese and Korean systems as they drafted their own legislation. Korea became more influential in the 1990s, and at times usurped the role of Japan, for example, when it sponsored a set of policy meetings and regional workshops between 1996 and 2002, the culmination of which was a redrafting in Seoul of the formerly Franco-centric guidelines on supporting "living human treasures" that I was closely involved in and which remains largely in force.

From the outset, there was a distinct difference between Japanese and Korean legislation. Essentially, Japan focused primarily on classical or "high" arts, and for these supported senior practitioners who had supposedly dedicated their life to a genre; practitioners of folk arts were only acknowledged as part of a group. Korea, in contrast, gave equal status to the court and folk traditions, and was primarily concerned with the art or craft rather than with its practitioners. The reason

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[10]See Yi Hŭisŭng et al. (1967: 372, 379, 613, 936) and Howard (2006a, particularly 2006a: 23 (footnote 8)).

[11]http://www.tobunken.go.jp/~kokusen/ENGLISH/DATA/Htmlfg/japan/japan01.html and 1995 English version of Korean legislation, available at www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/republicofkorea/korea_act_1984_engl_orof.pdf.

behind this was that the Korean government, craving legitimacy, saw in conservation a way to strengthen Korean identity by evoking nationalism (*minjok chuŭi*), thereby balancing modernization with a pride in nationhood that had been dented by centuries of subservience to China, Japanese colonialism, and the destructive Korean War. Evoking nationalism through court culture, or through aristocratic and literati cultural forms, was simply not an option because most of this had been inherited from China. Giving folk arts and crafts equal prominence was therefore a felicitous solution. The pillar of legitimacy involved, namely, assigning Korean roots to folklore, might well prove problematic. But work had already been done by cultural nationalists and folklorists such as Yi Nǔnghwa (1868–1956), Ch'oe Namsǒn (1890–1957) and Song Sǒkha (1904–1948) during the first half of the century when, under colonialism, they had claimed shamanism and mask dance plays as totally Korean. In doing so, they downplayed Siberian and Chinese connections, and, indeed, the very nature of Tungusic inheritance. Hence, among the first eight intangible cultural properties appointed in Korea, *Chongmyo cheryeak* (Music at the Royal Ancestral Shrine) and *kat il* (bamboo and horsehair hat making – dating from the days when Korean men had topknots, rather than cutting their hair) – were joined by six folk or folk inspired genres that included *p'ansori* epic storytelling through song and the southwestern women's-song-and-dance genre, *Kanggangsullae*.

In Japan, folk genres also gained greater access to support in a 1975 revision to the law, but a distinction was maintained between intangible cultural properties (*mukei bunkazai*) and folk intangible culture properties (*mukei minzoku bunkazai*). An example of the distinction is seen in a comparison between classical *Kabuki* theatre and folk *Kagura*. The first is an intangible cultural property, the second an intangible folk cultural property. An interview by Shino Arisawa with Hirotsugu Saito in 2010, then Chief Specialist for Cultural Properties (*Shunin bunkazai chōsakan*) within the Cultural Properties Department (Bunkazaibu) at the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō), elicited the supposed difference: In classical *Kabuki*, actors specialize in a specific role, spend most of their time training and performing it, and earn money from doing so. They also earn money through performing *Kabuki*. But, folk Shintō *Kagura* performers are ordinary people (*ippan jin*), who engage in other work most of their time and only perform *Kagura* for calendric Shintō festivals (cited in Arisawa 2012: 187–8). The *Bunraku* puppet theatre offers another example. It is an intangible cultural property, but 16 other genres of puppetry, as *Ningyō jōjuri*, are intangible folk cultural properties, with six sharing the same *Bunraku* performance style – three puppeteers to a puppet, plus *shamisen* plucked-lute accompaniment and chanting. *Bunraku* as a property delineates a single professional troupe founded in the nineteenth century by Bunraku-ken Uemura, who moved from Awaji Island to Osaka, but Awaji puppetry remains only a folk property, conserved largely by farmers.

The distinction between cultural and folk cultural properties seems iniquitous. But, it is equally clear that no state-supported system can appoint every art or craft genre for preservation. Choices have to be made, and these are articulated, for better or worse, in sets of operational principles and procedures, and in administrative

and budgetary practices (after Baumann 1991: 22). In Japan, control for much of the legislation's history has been vested in the Agency for Cultural Affairs while in Korea, it has been the responsibility of the Korean Cultural Properties Administration (Munhwajae ch'ong); the organization of these bodies, and which arm of government they come under, has changed over time. The public face of conservation, though, will seek to hide the power games – the political dimensions and the jockeying for benefit by individuals or groups and their supporters. And, at the bottom line, there will always be a limited amount of funding available.

Politics, though, are always at play. In each of the three UNESCO Masterpiece rounds, in 2001, 2003 and 2005, China, Japan and Korea were among a very select minority of member states to get their nominations accepted each time. In 2003 and 2005, the Japanese Masterpieces were *Bunraku* and *Kabuki*. Korea's 2001 and 2003 Masterpieces were *Chongmyo cheryeak* and *p'ansori*, two of its very first domestic intangible cultural properties. But the Korean 2005 Masterpiece was Kangnŭng tanoje, which had been appointed a property back in 1966. Kangnŭng tanoje is a spring festival with Confucian and shaman rites, music, games and a market. While appointed initially with no shaman, in keeping with the downplaying of shamanism as superstition that was going on at the time, a shaman became a holder in 2000, after the student-driven culture of the masses had bedded in: Pin Sunae (b. 1959). The Masterpiece designation, however, threw out a challenge across the region, since the festival itself had originated in China. China's reaction was to vastly accelerate its own efforts to identify and protect intangible heritage, placing scholars and officials in the driving seat at a time of rapid modernization and change. China soon spread its tentacles out in ways that sent its own shock waves reverberating around the region, as it sought to embrace the arts and crafts of the ethnic minorities living in its territory. This impacted Korea when China proposed the Korean farmer's band dance genre, *nongak*, and also the Korean folksong "*Arirang*" as Chinese items on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Beyond Korea, China did much the same with the Kyrgyz *Manas* epic, and with Mongolian harmonic singing, *khoomei*. Anyhow, in 2009, on the basis that *nongak* is part of the cultural landscape of the northeastern Jilin Province, where Koreans have settled since the nineteenth century, China succeeded with the first. Korea hastily moved to stamp its ownership on "*Arirang*," a song that back in the 1930s and 1940s was well-known and loved in Japan, and which in more recent times has served as the anthem for pan-Korean sporting teams for the two rival Korean states (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea). "*Arirang*" was duly inscribed on the list as Korean in 2012; then it did the same with *nongak*, which was inscribed on the list as Korean in 2014.[12]

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[12]http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00445; http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00213; http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/nongak-community-band-music-dance-and-rituals-in-the-republic-of-korea-00717.

Arguments and debates about the intangible heritage often concern the preservation of "authentic" archetypes, but once we escape the grasp of archivists, conservation has a second side: promotion. The operational principles of systems increasingly allow, and many expect, intangible properties to develop aspects of their presentation that will accommodate, say, the media, tourism, or commercial marketing. As a result the many systems in place around the world place different emphases on preservation and/or creativity, and the balance between these two dimensions. In Korea and Japan, although there are plenty of appeals made to preserve an art or craft without change, and which thus appear to reject new creativity, the two dimensions routinely co-exist.

Let me first mention Korea's local percussion bands, *nongak* or *p'ungmul*.[13] Clearly Korean rather than Chinese, such bands, playing drums and gongs with, occasionally, a shawm and natural trumpet, were for many centuries ubiquitous to the countryside. They were an integrated part of pre-modern life, serving local rituals (*maegut*, after the Sino-Korean *maegwi ant'aek*, and related terms), fundraising events (*kŏllip, kŏlgung, madang palpki, chishin palpki* and so on; note that the scope and meaning of terms varied from place to place), and communal activities related to farming and fishing (*ture, p'ungjang, kim maegi non maegi*, and additional terms) (Howard 1990: 31–3; Hesselink 2006: 15–17). The twentieth century saw decline: metal gongs were melted down as Korea's colonizer, Japan, moved to a war footing in the 1930s; post-liberation land reform reduced communal farming teams as many a villager became a smallholder; village guardian spirits succumbed to the spread of Christianity, and the need to hold local rituals that would chase malevolent goblins away from wells, kitchens and storehouses reduced as sanitation, refrigeration, and medication improved.

National contests kept the entertainment performances (*p'an'gut*) of local bands going, but as they did so they encouraged bands to adopt new styles of typically virtuosic performance, as they learnt from other bands, where rural isolation had typically framed local styles. While more pan-regional styles may have existed, contests set such regional styles in stone, allowing performances to be judged. Southeastern (*yŏngnam*), southwestern "left style" and "right style" (*chwado* and *udo*, respectively, but applied as if looking south from Seoul, so that right is to the west), central (*kyŏnggi*) and eastern (*kangwŏn*) styles became archetypal, relating to topography, agriculture, and regional relations between local percussion bands and itinerant troupes. Decline was further countered in 1966, when *nongak* was

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[13]*Nongak* is the term encountered in most scholarly publications, but, and particularly since the 1980s, the term has come to be contested, with claims that it was a term introduced during the Japanese colonial period. While it is hard to prove or disprove, I note that the Sino-Korean characters were used in Korea earlier, *ak* dating back to the Confucian classics in China, and *nong* signifying agriculture – in the late nineteenth century, a central campaign to leverage agriculture used the character "*nong*," while it was also used in respect to a folksong within the *p'ansori* repertory "*Ch'unhyangga*/Story of 'Spring Fragrance'". However, *p'ungmul*, as a term considered more Korean in derivation, has become the preferred term amongst those part of or influenced by the 1970s and 1980s *minjung munhwa* culture of the masses movement.

appointed Korea's Intangible Cultural Property 11. Initially, and given that the president and his National Assembly were largely from the region possibly for reasons of political expediency, the southeastern style, based on a band hailing from the port of Samch'ŏnp'o but stretching inland to Chinju city, was appointed. Equally significant bands had not died, but still existed elsewhere. So, as the Samch'ŏnp'o band itself declined, representations were made to make the cultural property more inclusive. New research reports were commissioned, and in December 1985, Intangible Property 11 was expanded, first to include three southwestern, central and eastern bands based around Iri in North Chŏlla, P'yŏngt'aek in Kyŏnggi, and Kangnŭng in Kangwŏn provinces) second to reappoint Samch'ŏnp'o (in 1986), and third to add two additional southwestern bands based around Imshil and Kurye (in 1988 and 2010).

Nongak today survives, but as a living form it is contained strictly within the frame of set and prescribed regional styles. Performances last between 30 minutes and an hour, where the last *nongak*-based village ritual I attended, in 1984, went on for four days.

I guess the parallel in Japan would be the genre of festival music typically featuring a *shinobue*-type flute and a percussion group comprising two types of drums – small and high-pitched *kodaiko* and larger and more deeply resonant *ōdaiko*, and possibly one or more gongs. Let me take the music at the Chichibu Night Festival, *Chichibu Yatai-bayashi*, as my example. The ensembles of musicians are crammed inside a number of floats, each of which has in recent years featured a flute, a gong, four small drums (each played in alternation by two players) and a large drum (the layout is shown in Alaszewska 2012: 206). As part of Saitama Prefecture, *Chichibu Yatai-bayashi* was appointed a prefectural intangible cultural property in 1956, with Takano Harumichi (1902–1983) appointed as guardian or holder (*hojisha*). But, as disagreements over his leadership and teaching roles mounted, the genre was reappointed a prefectural intangible folk cultural property in 1977, shifting to a group identity without a single holder. Takano, and his son, Takano Ukichi II, nonetheless remained central. Local accounts have it they devised a semi-professional ensemble, Chichibu Shachu, which moved outside the festival floats to perform on stages (Fig. 5). Suddenly unrestricted by space, Chichibu Shachu multiplied the large drums, increased the tempo and rhythmic elaboration, and moved to a style of performance framed by visual spectacle. Just as in Korea, the staged version became the form promoted outside the immediate locale, favoured by the media and by paying audiences.

At this point, the real professionals entered. In 1972, the group Ondekoza arrived in Chichibu, wanting to learn festival drumming, and to do so from Takano. Ondekoza had emerged a year before on Sado Island, off the coast of Niigata Prefecture. Their stated aim was to elevate *taiko* [-*daiko*] drumming from festival culture to an artistically inspired stage performance. With them, and with a second group, Kodo, the large *ōdaiko* drum became the globally recognized symbol of Japanese drums. Contrasting the local account, Ondekoza – or rather, the drum professional Hayashi Eitetsu – writes how he struggled to learn *Yatai-bayashi* in Chichibu, recording, notating, and analyzing the piece, then changing

Fig. 5 Chichibu Shachu. Photo by Jane Alaszewska

Fig. 6 SamulNori, on stage in 2014. Photo by Keith Howard

the instrumentation by increasing the number of large drums, and fusing sequences of rhythms to create the Ondekoza piece (Bender 2012: 74–7). Hayashi claims his group took ownership, structuring the flexibility of local folkloric transmission:

> At the time, we had no idea that we were intentionally arranging the piece… For better or worse, the *Yatai-bayashi* that resulted was our own creation. Its high tension owes more to our communal lifestyle and training regimen than to the carefree, festival spirit of the original (1992: 63).

There is something of the *furusato,* "old village," idea here, from which ownership has essentially been wrested by a professional group.

Back in Korea, local percussion bands, with local rituals rather than the regional styles, equally evoke images of the *kohyang,* "hometown." The Korean equivalent to Ondekoza is SamulNori, a quartet of percussionists who first took to the stage in Seoul in February 1978 (Fig. 6). Within a four-year period SamulNori established a canon of seven pieces that neatly fixed and captured the central, southeastern and southwestern *nongak* repertoires (Howard 2006b, 2012b). Where *nongak* is danced, SamulNori musicians, in all but one of their pieces, sit on stage. And, just as *taiko* groups have spread across the globe, notably since the group Kodo gave their American debut shortly after they crossed the finish line at the 1975 Boston Marathon, so has SamulNori. Both, though, have faced criticism at home. *Taiko* groups don't fit either the high art criteria of Japanese intangible properties or the *furusato* locality of intangible folk properties. SamulNori lack a sufficient history, and are an urban take on something inherently "hometown" oriented. Both are groups of professionals who claim ownership of their repertoires, run study camps and festivals, and sell copyrighted notations, workbooks and recordings. In so doing, they replace local percussion bands and ritual ensembles in the global imagination; in fact,

SamulNori has recently replaced *nongak* in some Korean school textbooks as well as on school playgrounds.[14]

In this discussion, I have moved to an area that most literature ignores: how preserved folklore can be taken, manipulated, and becomes owned by professional performers and craftsmen. This is a global phenomenon – think Bolivian panpipe ensembles in Europe's public spaces – and deserves our consideration. But, I must move towards a conclusion. To summarize my argument, then, much of the music appointed in Japan and Korea as intangible cultural heritage – particularly folk genres, and, I would contend, as elsewhere – underwent transformation within the conservation process to create staged, visual performances that community owners maintained. The transformations lost their connection to many of the former functions and uses, but were designed to better present performance. But second, and beyond the conservation systems, a further transformation has taken place as both *nongak* and *Yatai-bayashi* have become the basis for new creativity. Today, and particularly to less local audiences, it is often the latter that substitutes for anything local, and, indeed, *Yatai-bayashi* is one of the most virtuosic and celebrated pieces of many a European or North American *taiko* group. In fact, as I was writing this paper, I was sent a video of Mugenkyo, a Scottish *taiko* group, filmed in Glasgow in 2012 performing *Yatai-bayashi,* and in the transformation that has occurred, all connection to Chichibu, to its festival and to its floats, has been lost. This does not mean that the performance is diminished as a result: what Mugenkyo perform is, to my mind, wonderful.

There are two processes at work here, although, to prove my case, would require many more pages. Both processes have significance. The first captures the reality of conservation. With social change, modernization and development, and with the influx of Western forms of cultural production, so the functions and uses of much of the intangible cultural heritage have been reduced to practices that interpret the tangible remains of our past – ruined buildings, museum objects and folkloric practices. In a sense, this heritage is "dead" rather than "alive." However, as performance, the intangible is presented on stage. Presentation demands links be retained to the past to comply with the received definition of culture, which, as Clifford Geertz has it (1973: 7), is as "an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men communicate." Critics of conservation systems for the intangible heritage miss the last part of this: communication requires that accommodation be made for contemporary audiences.

The second process returns us to Article 1 of the legislation: evolution, not just preservation, is required. New artistic practice must fit the expectations of the contemporary world, with its concert halls and festivals. Here, our received definition

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[14]See Kim In-suk, "Research on *Samullori* education in Schools," available at: http://www.soas.ac.uk/koreanstudies/overseas-leading-university-programmes/soas-aks-working-papers-in-korean-studies-ii/file83333.pdf. SamulNori even replaced *nongak* in the video initially uploaded to the UNESCO site to illustrate the inclusion of *nongak* as Chinese – which, no longer available, was once at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00213.

of culture tends to become too narrow, as the symbols and systems that mark links with the past lose relevance, and so artists must find new ways to inject "life." John Tomlinson might call this reterritorialization, after the global flows of Appadurai-esque deterritorialization; really, though, it is a matter of commerce, as musicians and artists secure their audiences. But, in the new performances, the spirits of the past, like Elvis, leave the building; shaman rituals, staged, lose touch with the world of spirits; Chichibu, as much as Korean villages, end up lost somewhere in the mist of time. This worries many of the academic community, as much as it worries many of those who claim ownership of the intangible heritage, though whether we should be concerned depends on whether we are prepared to supplement the "dead" heritage with something more "alive" for contemporary society.

To me, both processes are desirable. The first, to take the words of the Czech novelist Milan Kundera, serves "the struggle of memory over forgetting," and provides a foundation and a reassurance for identity. The second – providing it avoids "cultural grey-out," "lite difference," and shallow forms that are bland and patronizing, synthetic and formulaic – breathes life into that identity. The second provides excitement, a way for us to enthuse about Japanese and Korean creativity, and it allows musicians and other artists a place on the global stage. I closed my presentation at NAJAKS with a video of the Korean percussionist Kim Duk Soo, the drummer most associated with SamulNori since its beginning, at a UNESCO-sponsored conference performance, demonstrating how SamulNori can evolve beyond its seven-piece canon, layering the iconicity of a distant past onto an iconicity of the 1980s, and layering on top of this elements in tune with the twenty-first-century world. The video was part of our digital world, full of layering, dubbing, and elements akin to *manga* comic-strip productions. So, to return to Hartley's diary, which allows us to remember earlier times: it is not the diary, but the retelling of the past in the present that makes it alive and venerated.

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Part II
Translational Issues in Literature

Chapter 4
Translating Scientific Discourse in Ariyoshi Sawako's *Fukugô osen*

Barbara Hartley

Introduction

In 1974 and 1975 *Asahi Shinbun* serialised the novel, *Fukugô osen* (Compound Pollution), written by one of post-war Japan's most prolific and widely-read novelists, Ariyoshi Sawako (1931–1984). Other writers had certainly addressed environmental issues. Ishimure Michiko (b.1927) had, for example, received literary awards the previous year for her Minamata disease writing. Ariyoshi's work, however, was arguably the first that fully captured the imagination of a mainstream readership. In mounting a case against the concurrent use of multiple agricultural pesticides and related chemicals – the compound pollution of the title – Ariyoshi set herself the herculean task of "translating" scientific discourse into a language that was accessible to the general reader.[1] This chapter will probe the obstacles facing Ariyoshi in that translation task.

While general readers embraced Ariyoshi's *Fukugô osen*, there was considerable resistance to the work among some sections of the scientific and associated communities. There is an uncompromising quality to Ariyoshi's text that inevitably incurred the wrath of the chemical pesticide and other economically and therefore politically powerful industries that she targeted as serial polluters. She confronted an establishment comprised of a tight network of government

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[1]Ariyoshi, in fact, discusses this process in the course of her novel. See Ariyoshi Sawako. *Fukugô osen* (jô). Tokyo: Shinchôsha, 1975, p. 93.

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and (semi-) private concerns that was rarely challenged and thus used to having its own way. The ideologies that sustained this network prioritised profit and corporate success over any negative impact of its practices or policies on consumers.[2] This possibility is easier to understand in a post-11 March 2011 era when the operations of the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) have become visible for all to view and judge.[3] We might also remember the now clear evidence that the tobacco industry worked to elide information that was unfavourable to its product from the public view.

Yet, even acknowledging the difficulties thrown up by the political ramifications of a text that advocated environmental reform, we cannot help but conclude that much of the *Fukugô osen* controversy resulted from the attempt by a novelist with no specialist scientific training to translate highly specialist scientific discourse into the language, genre and format of post-war Japanese literary narrative. Noting that in the translation process there are "shifts" in both "cohesion" and "levels of explicitness," Shoshana Blum-Shulka argues that these are inevitable when taking a text in one language and re-presenting that text in another.[4] Blum-Kulka's argument relates primarily to host and target languages, with the author referring at one point, for example, to studies into lexical repetition differences between English and Hebrew.[5] I argue, however, that the shifts referred to can also occur in movement between, or "translation" of, discourses within a single language and thus have strong applicability to the *Fukugô osen* case. Ariyoshi had a reputation as a prodigious researcher who worked untiringly to gather the information necessary to ensure the authenticity of her work. Her preparation for *Fukugô osen* was similarly meticulous. Nevertheless, given the enormous gap – the veritable chasm, in fact – between the language of science and the language of the serialised newspaper novel, it was inevitable that Blum-Shulka's "shifts in cohesion" and "shifts in levels of explicitness" would occur. In fact, we might regard the attempt to "translate" scientific discourse into the language of the everyday as exemplifying what Gayatri Charavorty Spivak argues is the "impossibility" – but also the necessity – of the translator's task.[6] To demonstrate the impossible nature of the project for which

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[2]In his discussion of the organic farming movement in Japan, Darrell Gene Moen cites a 1991 interview with the then Senior Director of the Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA) as follows: "Capitalism fosters the attitude of anything for profit, without regard for the environment or human well-being." Darrell Gene Moen. "The Japanese Organic Farming Movement: Consumers and Farmers United." *The Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29(4) 1997, p. 3.

[3]See, for example, Andrew DeWit. "In the Dark with Tepco: Fukushima's Legacy for Nuclear Power." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11(30), No. 3, August 5, 2013. Available at: http://www.japan-focus.org/-Andrew-DeWit/3974?rand=1394245504&type=print&print=1. Accessed 15 August, 2013.

[4]Shoshana Blum-Kulka. "Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation." In *Interlingual and Intercultural Communication: Discourse and Cognition in Translation and Second Language Acquisition Studies*. Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1986, 18.

[5]Ibid., p. 19.

[6]Gayatri Charavorty Spivak. "Translation as Culture." *Parallax* 6(1), 2000, 13.

Ariyoshi assumed responsibility, I will consider selected excerpts from *Fukugô osen* and the nature of the various responses to these.

In October, 1974, Ariyoshi Sawako was one of Japan's best known novelists. In 1967 and 1972 she had had fictional works, – *Hanaoka Seishû no tsuma* (The Doctor's Wife) and *Kôkotsu no hito* respectively – listed in the general best-seller schedule compiled by *Nihon chosha hansoku sentaa* (Japan writers' marketing centre).[7] *Kôkotsu no hito* was, in fact, the number-one selling book in 1972 Japan, followed in fourth place by the political classic, *Nihon rettô kaizô ron* (trans. Richard Samuels as *Outline Plan for the Reconstruction of Japan*),[8] written by then Prime Minister of Japan, Tanaka Kakuei (1918–1993).[9] I cite this latter to emphasise the nature of the political environment that Ariyoshi set out to contest.[10] A scan of her publication record between 1960 and 1975 indicates that she produced an average of two novels per year – often, firstly in serialised and then *tankôbon*, or single book, form. Her cultural production activities, furthermore, were not confined to novels. She also wrote short stories, *bunraku* puppet and *kabuki* theatre scripts, and not infrequently supervised the production of these. In addition, she was involved in many film and theatre adaptations of her novels. Ariyoshi's work continues to be recognised in the theatre world of Japan. A *shin-kabuki* adaptation of her long novel, *Koge* (1962, Incense and Flowers), was chosen as one of the works to be performed in 2013 to mark the hundredth anniversary of Osaka's iconic theatre, Shôchiku-za.[11]

Serialising *Fukugô osen*

1974 saw the serialisation commence of what was arguably Ariyoshi's most significant work. On 1 October of that year, the morning edition of the national newspaper, *Asahi Shinbun*, carried the first instalment of *Fukugô osen*, the

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[7]For *Nihon chosha hansoku sentaa* homepage, see http://www.1book.co.jp/. See http://www.1book.co.jp/001346.html for 1967 information and http://www.1book.co.jp/001351.html for 1972 information. Accessed on 2 March 2014. Since these statistics include all book sales, figures dealing exclusively with novels clearly give Ariyoshi an even higher best-seller ranking.

[8]Richard J. Samuels. *Machiavelli's Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005, p. 154.

[9]See the *Nihon chosha hansoku sentaa* 1972 information http://www.1book.co.jp/001351.html, which also gives a book entitled in upper-case English *HOW TO SEX* at number 5. Accessed 3 March 2014.

[10]For details on the political environment of Japan just prior to the publication of *Fukugô osen*, see Chalmers Johnson. "Tanaka Kakuei, Structural Corruption and the Advent of Machine Politics in Japan." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 12(1) (Winter 1986), 1–28.

[11]Although Shôchiku's archiving system appears inaccessible on-line, this blog on Ikehata Shin'nosuke (b. 1952), the actor known popularly as Peter (Piitaa) who played the female lead, provides performance details http://ameblo.jp/32jun9/entry-11617032388.html. Accessed 17 January, 2014.

environmental novel which, when released in two-book form (there were, as is often the case in Japan, *jô/ge*, part one and part two, editions of the work) became the second best-seller in 1975 Japan. Ariyoshi's novel was outranked only by a work from the Japanese master of the historical novel, Shiba Ryôtaro (1923–1996).[12] There is considerable discussion around the genre of the work, with some commentators disputing the label "novel", given the dependency of texts of that nature on fictional re-presentations rather than the presentation of fact. Nevertheless, given that a key character in the work is a construction of Ariyoshi's imagination, we can probably classify *Fukugô osen* in this way.[13] This fictional character, referred to as *Yokochô no go-inkyo*,[14] is a retiree whose age gives his memory access to a time when foods and other commodities were not subject to the industrialised production techniques that are the target of Ariyoshi's critique. Often referred to – after Rachel Carson's work – as Japan's *Silent Spring*,[15] a label sometimes also given to the 1969 work by Ishimure Michiko (1927) entitled, *Kugai jôdo: waga Minamata-byô* (Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease),[16] *Fukugô osen* ran each day until 30 June 1975. As noted above, the title of the work is generally translated as "compound pollution," a reference to the fact explained by Ariyoshi during the course of the serialisation and reiterated in the afterword to the first part of the book form of the novel that, "as known for over fifty years through demonstrable data,"[17] there is a side-effect multiplier that operates when toxic substances are combined. In other words the "compounded" impact of several toxic substances used in tandem is likely to be geometric rather than arithmetic. Etsugu Tomoko notes in her synopsis of the novel that this "compounding" can include the impact of up to eighty varieties of chemical substance in one day,[18] while Ariyoshi herself suggests the presence of as many as one hundred if all pollutants, such as car exhaust, are taken into account.[19]

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[12]See *Nihon chosha hansoku sentaa* information for 1975 http://www.1book.co.jp/001354.html. Accessed 3 March 2014.

[13]Aiyoshi herself notes at one point that she is not sure whether her work can be referred to as a novel. *Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 227.

[14]The term has its roots in the Edo era (1603–1867). *Yokochô* is a small street away from main roads while *go-inkyo* is a term for a retired person, conventionally a male. The term is sometimes translated as 'retired master'.

[15]Rachel Carson. *Silent Spring*. London: Penguin, 1965.

[16]Ishimure Michiko. P*aradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease*, translated by Livia Monnet. Ann Arbor: Centre for Japanese Studies University of Michigan, 2003.

[17]Ariyoshi Sawako. *Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 100. Here Ariyoshi defines compound pollution as "the combined effect of more than two poisonous substances." In the afterword to the first section of the book form of the novel she notes that the data relating to this issue is "demonstrable" and has "been known for fifty years." See the afterword section in Ibid., p. 269.

[18]Etsugu Tomoko. "Fukugô osen." In *Gendai shinbun shôsetsu jiten* (The Contemporary Dictionary of Newpaper Novels) edited by Hasegawa Izumi and Takeda Katsuhiko as a special additional edition of *Kaishaku to Kanshô* December, 1977, p. 288.

[19]See *Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 100. Ariyoshi also notes that in the modern era 2,000,000 new chemical substances have been produced. *Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 81.

Fukugô osen commences with an account of the 1974 election campaign of pre-war women's suffrage activist, Ichikawa Fusae (1893–1981), then eighty-one years old.[20] While campaigning for Ichikawa, Ariyoshi heard one of the older woman's protégés, Kihira Teiko (b. 1928), speak on the impact of environmental pollution.[21] She also heard an Ichikawa supporter, critic Yoshitaka Teruko (1931–2012), link birth deformities or chronic ill-health in children, such as skin conditions, to environmental factors.[22] Ariyoshi further speculated that the regular headaches from which she herself suffered were perhaps caused by pollutants such as car exhaust fumes.[23] Seemingly casual reference to issues of this nature eventually becomes a confronting discussion of environmental degradation in Japan. While topics canvassed in the work are manifold, a key focus is the pollutant impact of chemical fertilisers and pesticides, particularly when these are used in the quantities required by modern agricultural techniques. Attention, however, is also given to the health risks of synthetic detergents, the risks of food additives, the problems of mass production livestock/agricultural techniques, the association between tooth decay and the cooking of food, and the health risks of air pollution. Concomitantly, the author lauds small organic agricultural enterprises, the use of traditional soap, the production of additive free foods, the taste of the free-range egg, and the benefits of the home vegetable garden. The narrative strategy generally used by the author to advocate these methods is to provide an account of an intimate discussion with a *shomin* – everyday person – type character. This individual then explains how, having noticed the negative effects of modernised production/consumption patterns of a designated product, he or she through trial and error has either devised her or his own positive technique or reverted to traditional practice. While Ariyoshi's stated aim was to "translate" specialist information on environmental matters to a general audience, this did not prevent her uncompromisingly inserting scientific and mathematical devices such as tables and formula into more familiar narrative strategies designed to appeal to a general readership.

A particular target of Ariyoshi's critique was the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF; Nôrinsuisanshô). She also shone the interrogation spotlight on the Japan Agricultural Cooperatives organisation – known by the Japanese abbreviation *nôkyô* or the English acronym JA. In order to understand the power held by these entities at the time that Ariyoshi was writing, it is useful to read retrospectively from the work of Aurelia Mulgan George who examines the transition that occurred in what she refers to as "agricultural politics" during the 1990s and 2000s in Japan. According to George, in the post-war era MAFF held sway over "an elaborate system of direct market intervention, regulatory control,

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[20]Ichikawa's youth support group is led by an enthusiastic young man by the name of Kan Naoto (b. 1946), the future Prime Minister of Japan. See, for example, *Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 47.

[21]Ibid., pp. 26–27.

[22]Ibid., p. 28.

[23]Ibid., p. 40.

and financial subvention."[24] Aided by what she labels "a malapportioned electoral system" – in other words, a gerrymander, a fact foregrounded also by Ariyoshi[25] – George suggests that the well-known political dominance of the farm lobby in Japan was in part due to the tight organization of farm lobby groups. The most prominent of these, the writer argued, was JA, "a single, monolithic farmers' agricultural cooperative organization."[26] Noting the turn of the century decline in JA influence, George nonetheless observed that this cooperative had previously "encompassed practically all farm families and served the entire range of production, business and social needs of farm households."[27] She further pointed out the past "infamous" capacity of the group to "direct votes in elections by mobilizing cooperative executives, staff and farmer members,"[28] and to furthermore put these groups onto the streets in large numbers during political campaigns. This, then, was the network against which Ariyoshi pitted herself. Even at the time of *Fukugô osen*'s publication, however, questions were being asked by astute farmers about the efficacy of JA practices.[29]

In the section of *Fukugô osen* on companion planting, for example, Ariyoshi records exchanges with Suga Kazuo, a young organic farmer from Saitama, who, while implementing the agricultural techniques advocated by JA, endured several bad years of shallot production. Disillusioned with JA's standard fertilizer and pesticide dependent advice, he began his own trial and error investigation in order to identify optimal shallot yield conditions. Eventually, Suga rejected the use of chemical fertilizers or pesticides, instead planting his seedlings as companions to commonly occurring weeds such as *konagi*, *monochoria vaginalis*, a noxious plant of the hyacinth family considered an invasive weed by most rice growers. Since he planted the shallots in rice paddies immediately after the rice harvest he found that, in addition to an annual shallot yield that far exceeded the local average, his rice production also improved.[30] It might be noted, explains Ariyoshi, that Suga's commitment to organic agriculture is strongly related to his membership of *Meshiya-kyô*,[31] a new religion that rejects chemical fertilizer and pesticide use as

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[24]Aurelia Mulgan George. "Where Tradition Meets Change: Japan's Agricultural Politics in Transition." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 31(2) 2005: 263 (261–298).

[25]See, for example, *Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 89.

[26]Aurelia Mulgan George. "Where Tradition Meets Change: Japan's Agricultural Politics in Transition," p. 263.

[27]Ibid., p. 264.

[28]Ibid., p. 265.

[29]A 2012 *Japan Times* blog gives a report on this organisation, noting the organisations almost total control still of agricultural activities throughout the archipelago and the high level of dissatisfaction with these. Available at: http://blog.japantimes.co.jp/yen-for-living/tag/nokyo/. Accessed 3 March 2014.

[30]See *Fukugô osen* (ge), pp. 19–30.

[31]The English language page for this "new" Japanese religion, which is headed *jôrei* – johrei in romanized English, pure spirit, is available at http://meshiya-eng.net/. The Japanese page is http://www.meshiya.net/. Both were accessed on 3 March 2014.

unnatural.[32] Ariyoshi, in fact, notes that many of the people she met who were committed to organic production had strong religious convictions.[33] One of her most respected sources, for example, is a devout Buddhist. The author also commends the Kômeitô as the only political party to demonstrate any interest in environmental matters, an interest she concludes is not disconnected to the party's ties to the Sôka Gakkai religion.[34] As with companion planting, the benefits of using old style soaps rather than chemical-derivative shampoos are presented to *Fukugô osen* readers in the form of a confidential discussion with a figure from the ranks of the Japanese everyperson. In this case, Ariyoshi's informant is her own hairdresser who confirms the damage caused to women's hair by chemically-based shampoos and related products. She also expresses concern that many of her clients reject the older style soaps in favour of heavily fragranced synthetic substances. The hairdresser explains that her resistance to synthetic shampoos results from her belief that it was the constant use of these products that led to the skin on the tips of her fingers gradually eroding away.[35]

In *Fukugô osen*, the expression "*kindaiteki*" – modernised – is often used negatively with respect to production methods for a range of consumer items.[36] In this sense the work draws on a style of discourse reminiscent of the ideas of the father of Japanese folklore studies, Yanagita Kunio, a discourse that locates the essence of Japan in the "unspoiled" lifestyle of a pre-modern past.[37] This includes the depiction in the novel of those who practise organic agriculture in terms that invoke the notion of *yoki Nihonjin* (good Japanese). This term appears repeatedly in the 1965 publication, *Kitai sareru ningenzô* (The Image of the Ideal Person), an extended essay prepared by Kyoto School philosopher, Kôsaka Masa'aki (1900–1969) for the Central Commission of Education, which presented a theory of the ideal person – in reality, the ideal Japanese person.[38] It is also a notion that strongly resonates with Yanagita's widely circulated concept of the *jômin*, Japanese commoner. *Jômin* was a term coined by the folklorist in preference to *heimin*, the conventional word for commoner, which Yanagita regarded as having both socialist and militarist overtones.[39]

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[32]The connection between Suga's religious beliefs and his farming practice is found at *Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 37. There is also a discussion here of the nature of *Meshiya-kyô*.

[33]Ibid., p. 37.

[34]Ibid., pp. 37–38.

[35]*Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 102.

[36]See for example, *Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 139.

[37]See, for example, Harry Harootunian. *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, pp. 415–425.

[38]Andrew E. Barshay provides an astute discussion of this publication. See Andrew E. Barshay. "Postwar Social and Political Thought." In *Modern Japanese Thought*, edited by Bob. T. Wakabayashi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, particularly pp. 335–337.

[39]Mori Kôichi. "Yanagita Kunio: An Interpretative Study." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, June-September 1980, 91.

Much critiqued,[40] Yanagita's discourse nevertheless gained a strong hold in the pre-war and even in the post-war Japanese consciousness.[41] Suga-san, for example, is depicted as a *tokunôka* – an ordinary hard-working farmer. The soil he develops, without specialist knowledge or qualification, by humbly prostrating himself before nature and learning through trial and error, is fragrantly (*hôkô wo hanatsu*) friable through the addition of *tsumigoe*, compost. On one occasion, Ariyoshi is told that since the soil is good enough to eat, it will not matter if, before consumption, she does not remove all of the dirt from the small, sweet carrots pulled from the earth of Suga's field.[42] Suga's wife, softly spoken with a gentle smile,[43] is an ideal daughter-in-law dedicated to the welfare of her aging in-laws.

In terms of her success as a popular novelist, Ariyoshi was undoubtedly a consummate reader of the public mood. While we can only speculate whether she deliberately chose to use this Yanagita-style discourse or presented it more instinctively, her language surely captured the hearts and minds of her readers. Where Yanagita's language, however, was appropriated by an administration which I would argue perverted the conscious intention of the much-maligned folklorist, Ariyoshi's invocation of this discourse is in fact deployed to contest the power elites of early 1970s Japan. The writer further cleverly engages in her own war of discourse appropriation by referring to herself as *hoshûteki* – conservative – in desiring a right to clean food, clean air and good health in a rebuttal of criticism of her work.[44] In similar fashion she notes that as a writer she was unable to ignore the threat presented by environmental degradation to Japan's *kachô fûgetsu* – flower, bird, wind and moon – cultural foundation.[45] These narrative techniques scaffold Ariyoshi's intimate style of communicating with readers. The hairdresser anecdote, for example, is preceded by the confession that the author often has her hair washed and dried at a local beauty salon as a form of stress relief therapy.[46] In making reference to birth deformities she expresses a desire to rush through the explanation she provides in deference to readers who may be pregnant.[47]

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[40]Harry Harootunian's discussion cited above is representative scholarship that sees Yanagita's project as, at the least, misguided, and at the most, actively complicit with official suppression of the common people in Japan. According to Harootunian, Yanagita "misrecognised his task [and thereby] passed over to the side of the enemy [….] even if, at the same time, he put the claims of the enemy into question." See *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*, pp. 419–420.

[41]See, for example, Millie Creighton. "Consuming Rural Japan: The Marketing of Tradition and Nostalgia in the Japanese Travel Industry." *Ethnology* 36(3) Summer 1997, pp. 239–254.

[42]*Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 30.

[43]*Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 27.

[44]Ariyoshi Sawako, "Fukugô osen wo oete," in *Gendai shinbun shôsetsu jiten*, p. 99.

[45]*Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 241.

[46]*Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 101.

[47]*Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 30.

Reception to *Fukugô osen*

Reception to *Fukugô osen* was impassioned. The enthusiasm of the general readership rocketed the book to second place on the best seller list. However, as with Carson, trenchant criticism of Ariyoshi and her work from some elements within the scientific and associated bureaucratic community was swift and even vicious. Of course, Ariyoshi also had supporters within these communities, a number of whom actively worked to provide her with information and sources for the book.[48] Nevertheless, there was also vociferous opposition to the text, opposition that often unfairly simplified the arguments presented and that mis-represented information discussed. While *Fukugô osen* never proposed the complete rejection of chemical pesticides, for example, critics argued that Ariyoshi had made such a demand, which they then damned as unreasonable. This refutation of Ariyoshi, it might be noted, was very similar to criticism of Rachel Carson for her alleged support for the complete abolition of DDT.[49] Other experts argued that Ariyoshi's warnings against the dangers of items such as detergents and food additives were exaggerated. A number of scientific specialists whose work Ariyoshi had consulted during her preliminary research – she referred to more than 300 publications in preparation for the production of the novel – furthermore protested the manner in which she had used data and information provided. In addition, Ariyoshi faced the possibility of at least one legal action as a result of the work, with Muramatsu Sadataka discussing the writer's response to the threat by Kôseishô – the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare – to sue for her public use of what ministry officials claimed were confidential documents.[50]

The most overt attack, however, came in the form of the publication entitled *Fukugô osen e no hanshô* (Refutation of *Compound Pollution*). This was a collection of essays published in October, 1975, by Kokusai shôgyô shuppan kabushiki kaisha (International Business Publishing Company Limited). The first chapter, entitled "Shôsetsu *Fukugô osen* no kyokô" (The Fabrications of the Novel *Compound Pollution*) written by journalist, Yusa Katsuhiko – other contributors included a Tsukuba University professor and holder of a medical doctorate, a Tokyo Agricultural University professor and holder of an agricultural science doctorate, and a housewife advocate and commentator – mounted a scathing attack on Ariyoshi's lack of scientific credentials. The writer further claimed to have learnt

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[48]Her main sources are listed in the afterword of the final book. See *Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 240.

[49]With the hundredth anniversary of Carson's birth, there has been renewed vilification of this writer on this point with internet postings condemning her alleged advocacy of DDT abolition and claiming that this has resulted globally in the deaths of millions of children from malaria. The rachel was wrong website even quantifies this with the estimate given of one child dying every thirty seconds. See, http://rachelwaswrong.org/malaria-legacy/. Accessed 3 March 2014. (This commentary, which appears to have been incorporated into the safechemcial policy.org site, has been modified since 2014 but continues, as of January 2018, to attribute to Carson's book the deaths from malaria of 'millions of people around the world'.)

[50]Muramatsu Sadataka. *Kindai sakka episoodo jiten*. Tokyo: Tôkyôdô shuppan, 1991, pp. 13–15.

only one new piece of information from *Fukugô osen*,[51] although this claim is a little contradictory in terms of other reasons given for damning the book. Yusa, moreover, infantalised Ariyoshi and her readers by comparing the serialised news-paper novels that she so successfully produced to works of *kamishibai*.[52] This is a reference to pre-war itinerant entertainers who narrated stories using a series of sequential illustrations, often shown from a tiny makeshift "theatre" mounted on the back of a bicycle.[53] Attacking from all fronts, Yusa also denigrated Ariyoshi for stating that she commenced researching a book on environmental matters just at a time that he concludes is the year of the release of Rachel Carson's classic.[54] The implication is that somehow the Japanese work is a mere replication of *Silent Spring*. While lacking space to elaborate in detail, I would argue that there is a strong gender element in the campaigns against both Carson and Ariyoshi. In fact, in discussing the attacks on *Fukugô osen*, Ichinohe Yoshiyuki also invokes gender by drawing attention to the erasure of Rosa Franklin from the glory showered on James Watson and Francis Crick for their "discovery" of the structure of DNA.[55]

While there are many elements of *Fukugô osen* worthy of analysis I want to focus as noted at the outset on the herculean task that Ariyoshi set herself of "translating" highly specialist scientific discourse for a general readership. I noted that the uncompromising tone of Ariyoshi's text undoubtedly incurred the wrath of the industries – and the government entities – that she set in her sights. We might conclude that Ariyoshi did not help her cause by adopting a tone that was likely to draw a counter-attack. A more damning perspective, however, is taken by Chikami Gô who, citing the Lockheed, Recruit and Sagawa scandals, sees the virulence of the official negative response to Ariyoshi's work – recall that the Ministry of Welfare threatened legal proceedings – as related to the web of corrup-tion and dirty money politics that has dogged post-war Japan.[56] In her text, Ariyoshi repeatedly calls on those who govern the nation to consider the impact of their policies and to make decisions that have the welfare of the *kokumin* rather than big business concerns at heart. Given Aurelia Mulgan George's observations regarding the dominance of agricultural politics, which saw interest groups able to marshall "more than a million organisational votes,"[57] this was an appeal that was always likely to fall on deaf ears. In translating the discourses that supported this

[51]Yusa Katsuhiko. "Fukugô osen no kyokô." In *Shôsetsu Fukugôen e no hanshô*, edited by Iwamoto Tsunemaru et al. Tokyo: Kokusai shôgyô shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1975, p. 9.

[52]Ibid., p. 7.

[53]This mode of street theatre is discussed in Sharalyn Orbaugh. *Japanese Fiction of the Allied Occupation: Vision, Embodiment, Identity*. Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 249–255.

[54]*Shôsetsu Fukugôen e no hanshô*, see, for example, p. 21.

[55]Ichinohe Yoshiyuki. "Fukugô osen wo yomu" (Reading *Compound Pollution*). In *Ariyoshi Sawako no sekai* (Ariyoshi Sawako's World), edited by Inoue Ken et al. Tokyo: Kanrin shobô, 2004, p. 69.

[56]Chikami Gô, *Sengo bungaku no sakkatachi*. Osaka: Kansai shoin, 1995, p. 197.

[57]Aurelia Mulgan George, "Where Tradition Meets Change: Japan's Agricultural Politics in Transition," p. 268.

appeal, it was Ariyoshi who was often successfully painted by vested interests as operating against the public good.

As noted, the more trenchant criticism directed against Ariyoshi recalls the pillorying received by Rachel Carson. This is in spite of the fact that, as Tom Quiggin and Tim Lamber note, in a stirring defence of the American writer that can be applied also to Ariyoshi, the most striking feature of this type of critique is the "ease with which it can be refuted."[58] We might, however, observe one important difference between Ariyoshi and Carson, namely that Carson was a trained scientist, a marine biologist employed by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. Ariyoshi, on the other hand, was a literature major from a woman's university, a fact that made her much more vulnerable to critique from those schooled in the scientific mode of thought and that also made her translation task all the more formidable.

Translating Scientific Discourse into Novelistic Style

An absence of formal scientific credentials did not, however, prevent Ariyoshi from expressing concern at what she saw as lax government regulatory practices and the unjustified promotion by government bodies of, for example, the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides in quantities that she claimed were at the least unnecessary and at the most harmful to those consuming the items produced. And although never advocating a ban on any of the substances she critiqued, Ariyoshi certainly urged caution regarding quality, quantity and mode of use. In a number of sections of the book, furthermore, she exposed what she saw as the nexus between, for example, wartime chemical explosive production and peacetime chemical fertilizer manufacture. In elaborating on this connection, her discourse was far from that of scientific objectivity. Rather she pointedly noted the following:

> The rapid development of chemical and [related] production technologies is always the result of war and once that war ends there is no enterprise that will allow the diminishment of the productive capacity that has been achieved. The [war-time] production and synthetic technologies of explosives are transformed into the chemical fertilisers of peacetime agriculture, while poison gas has a name change to become pesticide or some other agricultural chemical and is thrown around over rice paddies and vegetable plots. ABS [a common thermoplastic polymer] becomes soap and pollutes the soil and waterways. (And it is not just ABS. The phosphoric acid component of detergents is also a huge problem).[59]

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[58] The names John Quiggan and Tim Lamber were given as the authors of this article when it was first accessed in July 2012. The article now only has Quiggan's name as author. However, it is widely cited by other commentators as authored by both Quiggan and Lamber. I provide the information given on the last date of access. John Quiggan. "Rehabilitating Carson." *Prospect* 24 May, 2008. Available at http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/rehabilitatingcarson/. Accessed 6 March 2014.

[59] *Fukugô osen* (ge), p. 127.

Ariyoshi also argued – more indirectly and therefore perhaps less convincingly – that the war-time promotion of advances in engine technology for motor vehicles was indirectly responsible for the huge rise in exhaust pollutants.[60] The vehemence and directness of language deployed by the writer in mounting these arguments is astonishing to read in a neo-liberal twenty-first century when the increasing threat of official action against dissenters makes self-censorship the order of the day.

In the article, "Translation as Culture," Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak declares the translation process to be "[i]n every possible sense …. necessary but impossible".[61] Spivak goes on to argue that the translator "must have the most intimate knowledge of the rules of representation …. which make up the substance" of her or his own culture, while also being "responsible and accountable" to the "presupposed original".[62] Perhaps no translation task would be so impossible as taking data from the physical sciences and making this data accessible through a novel format to a general readership. While as one of the leading novelists of the time, Ariyoshi undoubtedly had a strong grasp of the "rules of representation … which [made] up the substance" of her own novel-writing culture, a number of specialists strongly rejected, in spite of the massive research she undertook for the project, her capacity to be "responsible and accountable" to the "supposed original" of scientific discourse. On repeated occasions, however, Ariyoshi denies the legitimacy of that "supposed original" and instead condemns the putative "responsibility and accountability" of that discourse. One of the more notable examples of this comes when she and a researcher supportive of her enterprise discuss the different opinions held by specialists (*gakusha*) regarding chemical additives to foods.

> Well [her companion concludes] there are different types of researchers. Something that is shameful for we researchers is the fact that [our colleagues] who work for large enterprises for some reason remain silent [on the implication of data to which they have access].

> It's criminal, don't you think [asks Ariyoshi], for researchers who understand [the impact of] virulent poisons, and who should be aware of the impact of these on people, to remain silent.

> You're right [replies the researcher], it's a crime.[63]

This passage is clearly not a matter of misinterpretation or lack of understanding of the cultural norms of science. It is an undisguised condemnation of certain practices in that field or at least of the practices that have been developed by modern science in the context of agriculture. In "translating" these practices into everyday discourse – and in simultaneously presenting alternatives to the claims of scientific discourse – Ariyoshi often deploys the novel's sole fictional character,

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[60]Ibid., p. 211.

[61]Gayatri Charavorty Spivak. "Translation as Culture," p. 13.

[62]Ibid., p. 13.

[63]*Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 229.

the suburban retiree referred to in the opening section of this discussion. The author's exchanges with this individual, in fact, enable her to insert reader-friendly commentary into the sometimes "dry" scientific aspect of her text.

In the afterword to the second part of the book version of *Fukugô osen*, Ariyoshi explains her motives for producing the novel and also provides insights into the translation process in which she engaged. She neither sought, she points out, to accuse nor to warn.[64] Rather, she deliberately chose novelistic techniques to ensure that the material she was presenting was easy to understand and interesting for readers.[65] This 1975 statement is expanded upon in an essay included in a 1977 collection on the serialised newspaper novel edited by Hasegawa Izumi. Here, Ariyoshi recalls being assailed by a specialist in animal deformities who expressed his disappointment that she had not warned her readers more overtly to be prepared for an increased incidence of birth defects among children.[66] However, in recounting this anecdote, Ariyoshi re-states that her purpose was neither to scare nor to speculate on what might be. This was in spite of the fact that among the huge number, *obitadashii*, of letters she had received from readers there were two main categories – those that expressed terror at what the future held and whose writers were now fearful, for example, of what foods were safe to eat, and those that castigated her for not being more direct in her statements of warning for the future.[67] Urging people to consult the *kôgai koonaa* (pollution corner) of any bookshop where they would find both warnings and accusations made by specialist researchers and environmental movement activists, Ariyoshi noted that her concern was the very fact that these works had a limited readership. Emphasising that her motive for writing *Fukugô osen* was primarily to spread more widely information that was already in the public domain - *Motto mina shiru beki da, to iu no ga watashi ga* Fukugô osen *no fude wo totta dôki datta* (I wrote *Compound Pollution* so that everyone could find out more [about the issues canvassed])[68] – she unequivocally stated her desire to bring the contents of specialist books to a much wider readership in a language that was much more accessible. In other words, she explicitly declares her intention to translate the specialist language of the scientist into the non-specialist language of the *chûkan shôsetsu*, or popular novel.

A prime example of the almost absolute slippage between the everyday general discourse of Ariyoshi's novelistic world and the much tighter (although Ariyoshi implies unreasonably so) discourse of the scientific world comes in part two of the book form of the novel. Here, the author/narrator sets out to explain Suga's methods of organic agriculture to a researcher who claims that is it impossible that the rotation of shallots and rice in a single field in the manner related by Ariyoshi could replenish the calcium and mineral elements necessary to the soil. Ariyoshi persists.

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[64]Ibid., p. 238.

[65]Ibid., p. 238.

[66]Ariyoshi Sawako. "Fukugô osen wo oete," in *Gendai shinbun shôsetsu jiten*, p. 98.

[67]Ibid., p. 99.

[68]Ibid., p. 99.

A: He's been doing this for eighteen years now and his yield has increased.

R: I don't know how (*kangaerarenai*). You say that after the rice harvest he lets the weeds proliferate?

A: No, after the harvest he plows the ground and then immediately plants shallots with half the waste from the rice harvest worked back into the soil.

R: So he puts half the waste back into the soil?

S: That's right. And he uses the other half on other crops.

R: I can't believe it. This gives the rice paddy no time to lie fallow.

A: Well, after the shallots have finished, he fills the field with water. But the water can provide nutrients and mineral trace elements.

R: And that's all he does? And you say he's been doing this for eighteen years?[69]

The researcher's response is clearly one of disbelief. The exchange continues in this manner, until Ariyoshi takes the evidence from her handbag in the form of two healthy rice husks produced by the method she has just described and two weakened husks from a different source in the area. "Well," concludes the researcher, "there really is a difference, isn't there. …. But I don't know how that can be."[70] As the discussion intensifies, Ariyoshi eventually asks whether or not the researcher is calling her a liar.[71] Of course, her companion backs away from this position but notes that it would be difficult for the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to advocate Suga's methods without further investigation. For the frustrated Ariyoshi this is a matter of theory dismissing practice. The researcher, she maintains, "has no knowledge of the soil."[72] Driven, she implies, by an obsession with data that is replicable and all of the assumptions that underpin that approach, he remains unconvinced even when shown evidence in the form of the quality of the rice.[73] This researcher, on the other hand of course, is merely complying with the scientific method principles according to which he has been rigorously trained. Translating Ariyoshi's practice to his theory appears to be, as Spivak notes, nothing short of impossible.

The Legacy of the Impossibility of Translation

Ultimately, Ariyoshi set herself the task of presenting to a general Japanese readership the tropes and motifs of a specialist culture to which that readership would otherwise have had either extremely limited or no access. Inevitably, her work was

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[69]*Fukugô osen* (jô), p. 31.

[70]Ibid., p. 32.

[71]Ibid., p. 33.

[72]Ibid., p. 32.

[73]Ibid., pp. 32–33.

therefore sometimes subject to the "shifts in cohesion" and "shifts in levels of explicitness" that Shoshana Blum-Shulka notes are often a feature of the changing "textual and discoursal relationships" that "the process of translation necessarily entails."[74] In "translating" the language of science for a general readership, Ariyoshi incurred the wrath of some in the scientific and associated communities. The scientific texts that she invoked, to draw once more on Spivak,[75] guarded their secrets and thereby ensured that the "ethical task" of translation was "never quite performed."

Fukugô osen nevertheless, left a considerable legacy. Hitomi Nakamichi notes that, although the Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA) was established in 1971, the first real "organic boom" began with the publication of Ariyoshi's novel.[76] (The second followed Chernobyl.) Other researchers refer to her contribution to raising consciousness around environmental issues.[77] Organic foods sites in Japan also continue to pay homage to Ariyoshi's influence. A contemporary English language blog on *teikei* – the system of matching organic producers with consumers who support this production – acknowledges the debt owed to Ariyoshi by the organic food movement.[78] Meanwhile, this movement continues to grow incrementally in Japan. It may be that Spivak is correct and that translation is ultimately impossible. Nevertheless, even in the face of this impossibility, like Ariyoshi, the dedicated translator must work to ensure that her or his efforts become a part of what Spivak, citing Melanie Klein, notes is "the incessant shuttle that is life".[79] In doing so, the translator can fulfil the mission to bring otherwise inaccessible material to the widest possible audience.

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[74]Blum-Shulka. "Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation," p. 18.

[75]Gayatri Charavorty Spivak. "Translation as Culture," p. 21.

[76]Hitomi Nakamichi. "The Development of Alternative Production and Consumption Activities Related to Food Safety and Security and Associated Gender Issues." In *From Community to Consumption: New and Classical Themes in Rural and Sociological Research*, edited by Yoshio Kawamura et al. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2010, p. 35.

[77]See, for example, Darrell Gene Moen. "The Japanese Organic Farming Movement: Consumers and Farmers United." p. 4, and Koichi Ikegami, "Implication of Organic Agriculture Movement for Fair Trade Movement in Japan." Kinki University unsourced paper available at http://www.docin.com/p-57115470.html, p. 2. Here Ikegami refers to both Ariyoshi and Carson. Accessed 3 March 2014.

[78]Shinji Hashimoto. "Teikei System in Japan." *Urgenci*, available at: http://blog.urgenci.net/?p=71. Accessed 3 March 2014.

[79]Gayatri Charavorty Spivak. "Translation as Culture." p. 13.

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Chapter 5
Foreigner Talk or Foreignness: The Language of Westerners in Japanese Fiction

Erik Oskarsson

Introduction

This paper, based on my undergraduate thesis in Japanese studies,[1] seeks to compare characteristics of how native speakers of Japanese address non-native speakers in reality – hereafter "primary foreigner talk" – as reported in previous research, to the speech style of non-native speakers in Japanese fiction – hereafter "secondary foreigner talk."[2] Also the register used in fiction for addressing non-native speakers is treated. Connections between these phenomena have been reported in English, and here, the possibility of such relations in the Japanese language is discussed. Only fiction featuring Westerners (people with a Caucasian appearance) is treated here. My study pays focus to lexical, syntactical and morphological properties of foreigner talk, although discourse-level features (like redundancy) are discussed as well.

Firstly, the history of the language of Westerners in Japanese fiction is sketched, and the concept of foreigner talk (in general and in Japanese) is introduced. Then, the method and the material of my study are discussed. The major part of this paper concerns the findings of my study, discussing language characteristics thematically.

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[1]Brockstedt Oskarsson, Erik. "Foreigner Talk eller Foreignness – västerlänningars språk i japansk skönlitteratur" [Foreigner Talk or Foreignness – The Language of Westerners in Japanese fiction]. Lund University, 2012. http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/2798437/file/2798440.pdf 2014-02-27.

[2]As defined in Ferguson, Charles A. "Toward a Characterization of English Foreigner Talk." *Anthropological Linguistics* 17:1 (1975), 2.

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Finally, my findings are discussed on a more general level, and possible topics for further studies are presented.[3]

Previous Studies

The speech style of foreign characters in Japanese fiction has previously been studied from the viewpoint of *yakuwari-go*, hereafter "role language" – the way in which readers can get a picture of fictional characters (their gender, ethnicity, etc.) judging from their speech style. People in reality do not necessarily use these speech styles – instead, readers learn to associate fictional speech styles to different kinds of characters due to consumption of media from young age.[4] Role language has, however, often developed from actual historical language. This is also the case concerning the role language of Westerners.

In fiction written from the opening of Japan in 1853 until the Second World War, Westerners, as well as other foreign characters, are frequently portrayed speaking *aru yo-kotoba* – hereafter "*aru yo*-language" – a role language possible to trace back to the pidgin language known as Yokohama dialect/Japanese ports lingo. One of its most distinctive characteristics is the use of the verb of existence *aru* ("be"/"have") as a copula, either in its plain form – *aru* – or in its polite form – *arimasu*. This role language was used frequently for depicting foreigners regardless of their ethnicity until the early twentieth century. It was also used for depicting Japanese speaking foreign languages badly.[5] Later in the century, Chinese characters use plain forms more conventionally than before, while Western characters generally use polite forms/addressee honorifics. This is likely due to the Japanese territorial expansion during the early century, leading to the spread of Japanese-based pidgins featuring plain forms.[6]

Aru yo-language has become rather conventionally associated to Chinese characters, while Western characters do not use this speech style anymore. Westerners

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[3]The following abbreviations are used for Japanese example sentences:

ALL	Allative	N.PAST	Non-past	PAST	Past	Q	Question
COP	Copula	NEG	Negative	POL	Polite form	QUOT	Quotative
GEN	Genitive	NML	Nominalizer	POT	Potential	TOP	Topic
GER	Gerund	NOM	Nominative	PROG	Progressive		

[4]Kinsui, Satoshi. *Vaacharu nihongo – yakuwarigo no nazo* [Virtual Japanese – The Riddles of Role Language]. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 34–35, 41–43, 205.

[5]Yoda, Megumi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no katakoto nihongo" [Broken Japanese as a Role Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no tenkai* [The Development of Role Language Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2011), 222–224.

[6]Kinsui, Satoshi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no pijin nihongo no rekishi" [The History of Pidgin Japanese as Role Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no chihei* [The Horizon of Role Language Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2007), 199–209.

are, however, still depicted speaking a substandard form of Japanese, characteris-
tized by:

- Mispronunciations (for example, *deesu* instead of *desu*)
- Frequent use of foreign words[7] instead of their Japanese equivalents
- Typographical peculiarities, like using *katakana* instead of *hiragana*

These characteristics started to replace the old *aru yo*-language after the
American occupation period in the 1950s, possibly due to a closer contact between
Japanese and Westerners than before. One characteristic of *aru yo*-language is still
frequent when Westerners talk in fiction, namely the polite speech style.[8]

Characteristics of the language of Westerners in fiction can be roughly divided
into two groups. There are mere exoticisms not found in reality – hereafter termed
"foreignness". One example is the exclamatory *oo*, likely originating in nineteenth
century translations of English literature. Since no direct equivalent exists in the
Japanese language, this expression was just transcribed by the translators. Thus, the
expression got a flavour of Westernness, and it is still used, even by Japanese authors
depicting Westerners, for giving this flavour.[9] Other peculiarities might be related to
real life interaction with Westerners, like the polite speech style. It has been posited
that this feature might be related to how Japanese and Westerners interact today.
Partly because Japanese and Westerners often meet in formal situations like overseas
trade, honorifics are frequently used when addressing Westerners. This could make
Westerners believe that the polite style is the standard form of Japanese, possibly
making politeness an easily recognizable characteristic for mimicking Westerners.[10]

This theory implies a connection between the primary foreigner talk used when
addressing non-native speakers in reality and the secondary foreigner talk used by
non-natives in fiction also in the Japanese language. Ferguson, the pioneer of for-
eigner talk studies, posited the existence of such a connection in English.
Comparing simplified sentences addressed to non-native speakers (elicited using a
questionnaire) to the language used by foreigners in a novel, he found features
common to both primary and secondary foreigner talk, like dropping of the copula
(*We not afraid*) and reduplications (*talk-talk*).[11]

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[7]Foreign words are defined as words not established in the Japanese language, as opposed to
loanwords.

[8]Yoda, Megumi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no katakoto nihongo" [Broken Japanese as a Role
Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no tenkai* [The Development of Role Language Research],
ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2011), 214–220.

[9]Yoda, Megumi. "<Seiyoojingo> "Oo, Romio!" no bunkei" [<The Language of Westerners>
The Sentence Pattern "Oh, Romeo!"] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no chihei* [The Horizon of Role
Language Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2007), 166–170.

[10]Yoda, Megumi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no katakoto nihongo" [Broken Japanese as a Role
Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no tenkai* [The Development of Role Language Research],
ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2011), 241–243.

[11]Ferguson, Charles A. "Toward a Characterization of English Foreigner Talk." *Anthropological
Linguistics* 17:1 (1975), 2–4, 7–8.

The origin of foreigner talk has been explained in several ways. Some scholars propose that native speakers, when using foreigner talk, revert to earlier stages in their language development. Other scholars regard foreigner talk as an imitation of broken speech.[12] Another theory claims that secondary foreigner talk has impact on how native speakers simplify language. In Ferguson's study, where the informants reported simplifications which they were likely to do, this tendency was found,[13] but in real life experiments, differences between primary and secondary foreigner talk have been reported. For example, the object form of the first personal pronoun (*me*) as a subject form in English is frequent in fiction, but it is not found in real life. This feature might be a translation loan from Roman languages.[14] Other characteristics of foreigner talk reported by Ferguson, however, like omissions of form words, have been found also in experiments. These features might be triggered by, for example, the type of interaction and the language mistakes of the non-native speaker.[15] Thus, when treating connections between primary and secondary foreigner talk in Japanese, the methods in real life experiments have to be taken into account, as is shown in Table 1.[16]

There are differences between the methods used, and also between the reported characteristics. For example, some studies report frequent stress of particles, while others report frequent particle omissions. Furthermore, these studies provide different theories on the origin of foreigner talk. Skoutarides and Uzawa regard foreigner talk as an accommodation to the language proficiency of the non-native speaker. Uzawa also proposes that foreigner talk is listener-oriented – native speakers try to become understood and give the listeners opportunities to speak.

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[12]Muysken, Pieter. *Functional Categories*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 234–237.

[13]Ferguson, Charles A. "Toward a Characterization of English Foreigner Talk." *Anthropological Linguistics* 17:1 (1975), 11.

[14]Lipski, John M. "Mi No Saber: On the Origins of "Ape-Man" Foreigner Talk." Pennsylvania State University, 2006. http://www.personal.psu.edu/jml34/apeman.pdf 19-25. 2012-02-03.

[15]Snow, Catherine E., van Eeden, Roos & Muysken, Pieter. "The Interactional Origins of Foreigner Talk: Municipal Employees and Foreign Workers." *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 28 (1981), 86, 90.

[16]Skoutarides, Alina. "Nihongo ni okeru forinaa tooku" [Foreigner Talk in Japanese]. *Nihongo kyooiku* [Japanese language education] 45 (1981); Uzawa, Kozue. *Foreigner Talk in Japanese: Speech Adjustments of Native Speakers with Intermediate and Advanced Non-Native Speakers*. (Vancouver: The University of British Colombia, 1986); Onaha, Hiroko. "Foreigner Talk in Japanese: A Comparison of Ellipsis of Particles and Noun Phrases Between Foreigner Talk and Speech to Native Speakers." *JACET Bulletin* 18 (1987); Sokolik, Margaret. *A Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Foreigner Talk Syntax: English, Japanese and Spanish* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1987.); Long, Daniel. "Nihongo ni yoru komyunikeishon – nihongo ni okeru forinaa tooku" [Communication in Japanese – Japanese Foreigner Talk]. *Nihongogaku* [Japanese Linguistics] 11 (1992).

Table 1 Characteristics of foreigner talk (X=Frequent feature)

Study		Skoutarides (1981)	Uzawa (1986)	Onaha (1987)	Sokolik (1987)	Long (1992)
Method		Interview (JFL[a] students)	Experiment (JFL students)	Experiment (JFL students)	Questionnaire	Road description
FOREIGNER TALK FEATURES	Repetition by rewording	X	X	Not tested		X
	Addressee honorifics	X	X (not clear)	Not tested	X	
	Overuse of "pronouns"[b]	X			X	
	Avoidance of particle ellipsis	X		X		
	Particle ellipsis				X	X
	Foreign words	X	X (repetition)	Not tested		X
	Basic/simple vocabulary			Not tested	X	X
	Simple/short sentences	X	X	Not tested	Not tested	X

[a]JFL = Japanese as Foreign Language.
[b]The existence of pronouns as a word-class in Japanese can be discussed – therefore, quotation marks are used.

This results in clarifications and sentences with few coordinate forms.[17] Sokolik, on the other hand, means that foreigner talk reflects language universals.[18]

It should also be noted that the features reported above are not ungrammatical Japanese, but they should rather be regarded as frequency differences when compared to the standard register. This was taken into account in my own study, as these possibly foreigner talk-related features, when found in fiction, can be connected to factors such as the individual style of the author. Thus, the language of the Western characters had to be compared to the language used by native speakers of Japanese in the studied fictional works.

[17]Skoutarides, Alina. "Nihongo ni okeru forinaa tooku" [Foreigner Talk in Japanese]. *Nihongo kyooiku* [Japanese Language Education] 45 (1981), 60; Uzawa, Kozue. *Foreigner Talk in Japanese: Speech Adjustments of Native Speakers with Intermediate and Advanced Non-Native Speakers*. (Vancouver: The University of British Colombia, 1986), 4–6.

[18]Sokolik, Margaret. *A Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Foreigner Talk Syntax: English, Japanese and Spanish*. (Los Angeles: University of California, 1987).

Materials and Method

Eight works of fiction, featuring Westerners interacting with Japanese but written during different periods of the twentieth century and belonging to different genres, were studied as part of this research. As discussed above, previous studies treat different features of how foreign characters speak and what makes them recognizable as foreign characters. The connections between these speech styles and what is known about foreigner talk are, however, not treated. For this reason, the following works were chosen (Table 2):

Of course, this material does not give a complete picture of modern Japanese fiction. In particular, there is a gap between 1939 and 1982, and the modern works are comics while the older works are written in prose. Still, the works above were considered appropriate to study as they all represent different stereotypes about Westerners. Okamoto and Unno are mentioned by Kinsui[19] as texts featuring speakers of *aru yo*-language, while Urasawa and Takeda & Koyama are quoted by Yoda[20] for examples of modern Westerner role language. Nagai and Tanizaki are

Table 2 Studied works

Title	First publication	Medium	Genre	Role of Western character
Nagai: "Omokage" from *Furansu monogatari*	1909	Short Story	"Highbrow literature"	Protagonist
Okamoto: *Hanshichi torimonochoo: Kani no Okado*	1920	Short Story	Crime	Crime suspect
Tanizaki: *Tomoda to Matsunaga no hanashi*	1926	Novel	"Highbrow literature"	Minor char.
Unno: *Jinzoo ningen Efu shi*	1939	Novel	Science Fiction	Villain (revaled later)
Yamamura: *Moeta hanayome*	1982	Novel	Crime	Protagonist
Takahashi: *Ranma ½* (vol. 16)	1987–1996	Comic	Action comedy	Comic minor char.
Urasawa: *Yawara!* (vol. 3)	1986–1993	Comic	Martial Arts	Comic minor char.
Takeda & Koyama: *Ooi! Ryoma* (vol. 5 & vol. 6)	1986–1996	Comic	History/ biography	Friend to protagonist + Minor char.

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[19]Kinsui, Satoshi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no pijin nihongo no rekishi" [The History of Pidgin Japanese as Role Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no chihei* [The Horizon of Yakuwarigo Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2007), 209.

[20]Yoda, Megumi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no katakoto nihongo" [Broken Japanese as a Role Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no tenkai* [The Development of Role Language Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2011).

noted authors for their treatment of the meeting between Japan and the West.[21] Takahashi and Yamamura, finally, are well-known contemporary authors of popular fiction. Thus, this study could give a rough picture of connections between foreigner talk and how foreigners speak in Japanese fiction, and it could show if foreigner talk in Japanese fiction is relevant to study further at all.

Not only the language of the Western characters, but also the speech style of one Japanese character for each work, was studied. This was done for the sake of validity (checking that the studied features, when found, were really due to foreigner talk) and for studying if foreigners are addressed in a simplified way in Japanese fiction. Therefore, statistics are divided into sentences addressed to Westerners and into sentences addressed to other Japanese.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. First, the average sentence length of the characters was measured. Previous Japanese studies measuring sentence length have argued for the merits of counting the number of graphemes/sentence,[22] but since I studied dialogue, I chose to count the number of mora. Studies of spoken language sometimes measure sentence length using utterances as a unit.[23] This unit was not considered appropriate when studying dialogue in written material, where the length of an utterance is hard to determine.[24] Thus, graphic sentences were measured instead.

The ratio of main verbs[25] per sentence containing verbs (excluding expressions functioning as copulas) was also counted for measuring syntactic simplicity. A sentence containing two verbs likely contains coordinate and/or subordinate clauses, and avoidance of complex sentences has been regarded as a feature of real Japanese foreigner talk. A low ratio of verbs does, however, not necessarily mean that the text is "simple." Instead, this might be an indication of a high frequency of nominalizations – a characteristic of a rather formal style. Thus, the presentations of statistical results are followed by discussions on the reasons for the differences found between native and non-native speakers. Interactional features, as well as cases of redundancy, are taken into consideration, and example sentences are provided.

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[21]Hutchinson, Rachael. *Nagai Kafu's Occidentalism – Defining the Japanese Self.* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2011); Tsuruta, Kinya. "Images of Westerners in Tanizaki Junichiro and Nakazato Tsuneko" in *Images of Westerners in Chinese and Japanese Literature*, ed. Hua, Meng & Hirakawa, Sukehiro (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 153–154. Tanizaki's work also features a character alternating between a "Japanese" and a "Western" personality – his language does not, however, change depending on his personality.

[22]Tateishi, Yuka, Ono, Yoshihiko & Yamada, Hisao. "Nihonbun no yomiyasusa no hyookashiki" [Formula of Evaluating Readability in Japanese Texts] in *Bunsho shori to hyuumanintafeisu* [Text Editing and Human Interface] 18:4 (1988), 2.

[23]Uzawa, Kozue. *Foreigner Talk in Japanese: Speech Adjustments of Native Speakers with Intermediate and Advanced Non-Native Speakers.* (Vancouver: The University of British Colombia, 1986), 28–30.

[24]One reason is that the length of an utterance is partly determined by means of prosody.

[25]Auxiliary verbs following the gerund form (like *–te shimau*) are excluded. Morphemes like the passive *–rare* are regarded as inflections and thus not counted.

Furthermore, the frequencies of foreign words and markers of politeness are treated. These features have been reported also in previous studies.[26] Here, they are mainly studied for checking how they correlate to speech styles depicted as "simplified." It will also be discussed whether these features are used by Japanese characters addressing Westerners or not.

Some works feature more than one Western character. In these cases, the sentences of the character uttering the largest number of sentences will be provided when presenting statistics.

Results

Sentence Length

In Fig. 1 (below), the average length of the sentences uttered by the characters is summarized. To begin with, one factor contributing to the relatively short sentences in the newer works is likely that the newer works are comics. There are, however, works featuring Westerners uttering shorter sentences than the Japanese characters. When studying this chart, however, it has to be taken into account why the sentences are shorter.
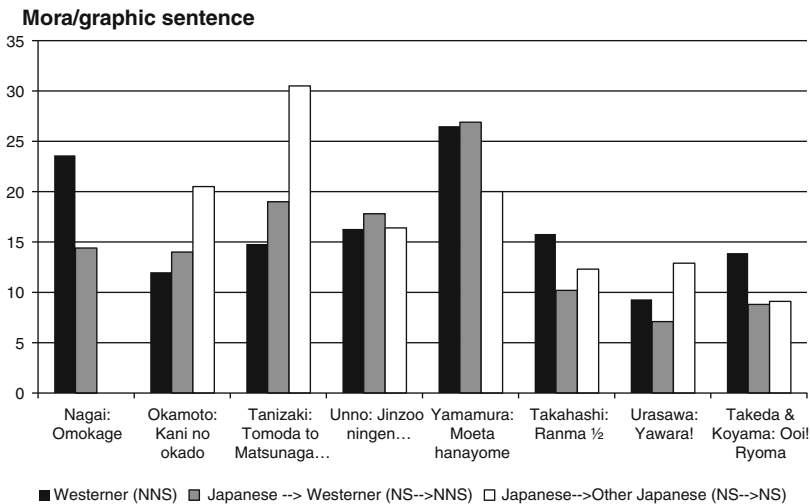
Fig. 1 Sentence lengths

[26]Yoda, Megumi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no katakoto nihongo" [Broken Japanese as a Role Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no tenkai* [The Development of Role Language Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2011).

In Tanizaki, one contributing factor is that the Western character is of minor importance to the story, while the native speaker addressed is the protagonist, making the dialogue featuring him more complicated both in contents and form. In Yamamura, as a contrast, the foreigner is the protagonist, the sentences uttered by and addressed to her being long. In Urasawa, many of the sentences consist of short exclamations and of broken sentences – contributing to a low number of mora. In Okamoto, the register used by the Japanese character (NS) when addressing the Westerner (NNS) was possible to compare to the register used when addressing a Japanese character with a similar function to the story.

(1)

NS:	Sono	nihonjin-wa	nan-to	ii-mas-u	ka.	
	that	Japanese-TOP	what-QUOT	say-POL-N.PAST	Q	
	"What's the name of that Japanese?"					
NNS:	Shimada-san…	Nagasaki-no	hito	ari-mas-u.[27]		
	Shimada-san	Nagasaki-GEN	person	COP-POL-N.PAST		
	"Shimada… He is from Nagasaki."					
NS:	Toshi-wa	ikutsu	des-u	ka.		
	year-TOP	how many years	COP.POL-N.PAST	Q		
	"How old is he?"					
NNS:	Toshi,	shiri-mas-en.	Waka-i	hito	des-u.	Nijuushichi…
	year	know-POL-NEG	young-N.PAST	person	COP.POL-N.PAST	twenty-seven
	"I don't know. A young person. Twenty-seven…"[28]					

In (1), the sentences uttered by the Westerner are short, and they only feature basic sentence patterns. The sentences uttered by the native speaker function as information requests and the topics generate short turns. This is an occasion where the register of the Japanese character might reflect a discourse feature of real-life

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[27]This is an example of *aru yo*-language, where the verb *aru* has the function of a copula.

[28]Okamoto, Kido. *Hanshichi torimonochoo: Kani no Okado* [Detective Stories of Hanshichi: Okado with the Crab]. Reprint of the 1986 edition, Aozora bunko. http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000082/files/982_15036 Chap. 3, 2012-02-09.

foreigner talk – listener orientation – as this pattern is not this frequent when native speakers interact in this work. In the other works studied, however, this tendency was not found when Japanese interacted with Westerners. It is striking that Western characters with passive roles have been considered representative of Westerners in Japanese fiction – but the statistics in Fig. 1 do not say that Western characters should speak a truly "simplified" variety of Japanese.

Frequencies of Verbs

Fig. 2 shows the ratio of main verbs/graphic sentence containing verbs.

But the works where the sentences of Westerners contain fewer verbs than those of Japanese characters are in many cases the same as the works where the sentences of the Westerners are short. The differences are, however, often small, and when significant (like in Tanizaki), the differences have other reasons, like the importance of the characters to the story.

But long sentences and a high ratio of verbs can be related to a portrayal of foreigner talk features, namely in the depiction of redundancy and clarification. It is hard to conclude, however, whether this feature, when found, is really due to a depiction of simplified/clarified speech or due to the style of the author. For further studies on this, the intuition of a native speaker is necessary. There are, however, works (Okamoto, Tanizaki, Unno and Urasawa) featuring more occasions of clarification when native speakers and non-natives interact than when native speakers
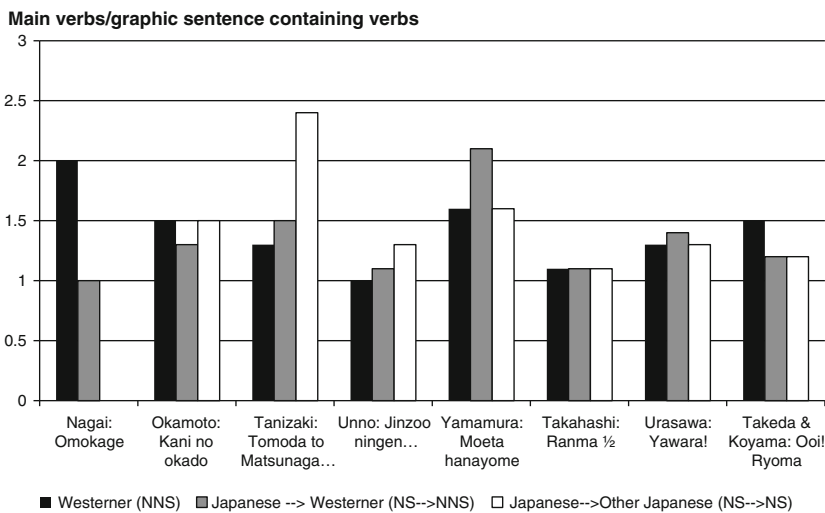
Fig. 2 Frequency of verbs

talk to each other (this is a feature of Japanese addressing foreigners rather than a characteristic of how foreigners talk). Consider the following example:

(2)

Anata[Ø],	Shimada-to	i-u	hito-no	shashin[Ø],
you [Ø]	Shimada-QUOT	call-N.PAST	person-GEN	photo[Ø]
mot-te	i-masen	ka.		
own-GER	PROG-POL.NEG	Q		
"Do you have a photo of the person called Shimada?"[29]				

Here, the Japanese character refers to a person well known to the Westerner being addressed. Still, the explanatory expression *to iu* ("who is called") is used. Also the personal pronoun *anata*, when used more frequently in interaction between foreigners and Japanese than in interaction between native speakers (as in Okamoto and Urasawa), can be regarded as over-clarifying if understood from the context. This is, however, a tendency – in all of the works, there are examples of *anata* not being written out explicitly. Furthermore, other language features of clarification, such as confirmation checks[30] (like *Do you understand?*), were not more prominent in interactions with foreigners than in interactions between native speakers.

Furthermore, in Okamoto and Unno – the works featuring speakers of *aru yo*-language –iterations expressing stress/emphasis are frequent, as in (3).

(3)

Ik-e-mashen,[31]	ik-e-mashen.
go-POT-POL.NEG	go-POT-POL.NEG
"You can't go, you can't go."[32]	

This could reflect a limited vocabulary, as emphasis could be expressed using, for example, adverbs instead. This characteristic could be further studied treating more works featuring *aru yo*-language – as it has been noted that iterations are found frequently in simplified registers.[33]

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[29]Okamoto, Kido. *Hanshichi torimonochoo: Kani no Okado* [Detective Stories of Hanshichi: Okado with the Crab]. Reprint of the 1986 edition, Aozora bunko. http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000082/files/982_15036 Chap. 3, 2012-02-09.

[30]As defined in Onaha, Hiroko. "Foreigner Talk in Japanese: A Comparison of Ellipsis of Particles and Noun Phrases Between Foreigner Talk and Speech to Native Speakers." *JACET Bulletin* 18 (1987): 100.

[31]"Ikemashen" is a mispronunciation of "ikemasen."

[32]Unno, Juza. *Jinzoo ningen Efu shi* [The Robot F]. Reprint of the 1989 edition, Aozora bunko. www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000160/files/3372_15511 Chap. 1, 2012-02-09.

[33]Aitchison, Jean. ""Say, Say It Again Sam": The Treatment of Repetition in Linguistics" in *Repetition,* ed. Fischer, Andreas (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1994), 29–31.

Foreign Words

It was reconfirmed (as noted by Yoda) that Westerners frequently use foreign words instead of their Japanese equivalents in fiction. There is a difference over time – foreign words are more frequently found in the newer works (Yamamura, Takahashi, Urasawa, Takeda & Koyama) than in the older ones. There is, however, only rarely a correlation between foreign words and speech styles depicted as simple. Instead, these expressions should rather be regarded as markers of foreignness. With exception of foreign expressions established in Japanese, most of these expressions are of a basic nature – like interjections (*yes* replacing *hai*) and honorary titles (*miss* replacing *-san*). This has been mentioned as a characteristic of primary foreigner talk too – Long, for example, provides an example of a native speaker using the English word *walk* instead of *aruku*[34] – but in the fictional works, these expressions are used regardless of the language proficiency of the Westerner. Furthermore, there are occasions when it is marked that the characters speak English – for example by whole sentences written in English (in Urasawa,[35] 24 sentences are written in English). It can also be mentioned in the narrative that sentences are uttered in English (Tanizaki).

In Yamamura, Takahashi and Urasawa, foreign words are omnipresent also when Westerners are addressed by Japanese. In these cases, the expressions used are similar to those uttered by the Westerners themselves (greeting phrases and titles). They are, however, used also when the Western characters are depicted speaking fluent Japanese – thus, this was not concluded to be a conventionalized means for expressing accommodation to speakers with low language proficiency. At least in Takahashi, the foreign words might be due to the setting in a stereotypically "Western" environment. In Urasawa, however, there is a first encounter between a Westerner and a Japanese character where the Westerner is addressed as in (4):

(4)

Howai	yuu-ga	Japan-ni	ki-ta	no-wa	naze
why	you-NOM	Japan-ALL	come-PAST	NML-TOP	why
des-u	ka.				
COP.POL-N.PAST	Q				
"Why did you come to Japan?"[36]					

Here, English words are used as a means of accommodation to the non-native speaker. This is, however, the only occasion featuring this speech style in the material.

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[34]Long, Daniel. "Nihongo ni yoru komyunikeishon – nihongo ni okeru forinaa tooku" [Communication in Japanese – Japanese Foreigner Talk]. *Nihongogaku* [Japanese Linguistics] 11 (1992), 27–28.

[35]Urasawa, Naoko. *Yawara!* (vol. 3). Rev. ed. (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1998 [1986–1993]).

[36]Urasawa, Naoko. *Yawara!* (vol. 3). Rev. ed. (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1998 [1986–1993]), 170.

Polite Speech Style

In Nagai, Okamoto, Unno and Takahashi, addressee honorifics were used almost consistently by the Western characters. Correlations between polite forms/addressee honorifics and a simplified speech style are, however, only rarely to be found. Furthermore, the characters use honorifics even when they speak their mother tongue and when thinking, and they know how to form the plain forms of verbs in, for example, subordinate clauses. Sometimes, it is also hard to conclude whether the high frequency of honorifics contributes to the impression of foreignness or if it is due to other factors, like the occupation of the character (the Western character in Takahashi, for example, using a polite speech style consistently, is portrayed as a waiter stereotype).

In three of the studied works, namely Nagai, Okamoto and Yamamura, there are Japanese characters using honorifics frequently when addressing Westerners. In Okamoto, other Japanese characters of the same social status as the Westerner (inferior and out-group) are addressed using plain forms, while the Westerner is consistently addressed using addressee honorifics. In Yamamura, the Western character, although being a close friend to the Japanese character,[37] is addressed using polite style. Here, however, the Westerner is depicted speaking rather fluent Japanese (in spite of using English words like *yes* and *miss*), and the utterances of the Japanese character are not depicted as simple at all - thus, the polite style cannot be regarded as a depiction of a simplified register in this work. This can be said also concerning Nagai.

Other Features

One feature found in several works (Unno, Yamamura, Takahashi, Urasawa, Takeda & Koyama), also reported as a characteristic of real foreigner talk,[38] is the phenomenon of compliment – native speakers praising the language proficiency of the Westerners. There are also works where the Japanese language of the non-native speaker is stated to be bad – either as a self-accusation uttered by the foreigners themselves (Tanizaki, Unno, Yamamura) or written in the narrative (Okamoto, Tanizaki). In Tanizaki, the actual utterances are neither depicted as simplified language nor characterized by other markers of Western nationality. This might be due to that substandard language in fiction tends to give a comical impression, as is noted by Yoda,[39] but it can also be due to the individual author's opinions on how to portray dialogue.

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[37]The Western character is a private detective, while the Japanese character functions like an assistant. This might contribute to a sense of social inferiority – triggering polite style – but the characters are also close friends.

[38]Uzawa, Kozue. *Foreigner Talk in Japanese: Speech Adjustments of Native Speakers with Intermediate and Advanced Non-Native Speakers*. (Vancouver: The University of British Colombia, 1986), 59–60.

[39]Yoda, Megumi. "Yakuwarigo toshite no katakoto nihongo" [Broken Japanese as a Role Language] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no tenkai* [The Development of Role Language Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2011), 229–232.

An example of a highly simplified speech style used when addressing foreigners was also found, as illustrated below:

(5)

Antara-no,	ie…	sum-u	ie…	ne-ru	tokoro…
you-GEN	house	live-N.PAST	house	sleep-N.PAST	place
"Your house… the house where you live… the place where you sleep…"[40]					

This speech style is characterized by short, broken sentences, redundancy (repetition using periphrasis) and the use of analytical constructions (*sumu ie* instead of *sumai*). Furthermore, gestures are used for clarification. Example (5) was, however, found in a conversation with another Asian character. Furthermore, example (4), where foreign words are used as a means of accommodation, is uttered in a first encounter with a non-native speaker. This gives ideas for further studying foreigner talk in Japanese fiction – to study the language used by and in interaction with characters explicitly speaking "bad" Japanese, and to study the language used in first encounters between characters.

Discussion

The results of this study are summarized in Table 3 and it is difficult to identify any particular trends.

Once again, the purpose of this study was not to establish characteristics of one particular register, but rather to study different registers from a foreigner talk perspective. It is, however, always marked linguistically that the characters are Westerners, but the way of depiction differs – in some works Westerners speak in a simplified way, but in other works, the speech style of Westerners just conveys an "exotic" flavour – foreignness. What characteristics of foreigner talk do then reoccur when foreigners speak in Japanese fiction?

At first, morphological differences to standard Japanese are rare. This is also the case in real life foreigner talk. Uzawa posits a reason for this – that Japanese would regard complex verb forms as single words, not necessary to simplify.[41] Uzawa does not develop this point further, but the hypothesis could be further studied comparing properties of secondary foreigner talk in languages of different typological criteria (agglutinating, isolating, etc.).

[40]Takeda, Tetsuya & Koyama, Yuu. *Ooi! Ryoma* (vol. 6). Rev. ed. (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2006 [1986–1996]). 68.

[41]Uzawa, Kozue. *Foreigner Talk in Japanese: Speech Adjustments of Native Speakers with Intermediate and Advanced Non-Native Speakers*. (Vancouver: The University of British Colombia, 1986), 6.

Table 3 Summary of results (?= characteristic found but not necessarily due to a simplified register, but rather due to factors like the importance of the character)

		Nagai: "Omokage"		Okamoto: Kani no Okado		Tanizaki: Tomoda to Matsunaga…		Unno: Jinzooningen Efu shi		Yamamura: Moeta hanayome		Takahashi: Ranma ½		Urasawa: Yawara!		Takeda & Koyama: Ooi! Ryoma	
		NNS	NS→NNS	NNS	NS→NNS	NNS	NS→NNS	NNS	NS→NNS	NNS	NS→NNS	NNS	NS→NNS	NNS	NS→NNS	NNS	NS→NNS
	Language of NNS (stated)			Bad		Bad		Bad		Bad				Bad			
FOREIGNER TALK FEATURE	"Simple" sentences			X	X	?	? to Asian	X						?	?	X minor	X to Asian
	Details, redundancy, repetition			X repetition	X		? to Asian	X	repetition					X	X	X	X repetition
	Foreign words	?		?		English?	English?			?	?	?	?	?	?, X	?	
	Politeness	?	?	?	X			?	?	?	?	?	?				
	Other			Aru yo-language				Aru yo-language						Grammar mistakes[a]			

[a]Addition of the copula *da* to verbs, adjectives (*sugoi da*) and other forms of the copula (*desu da*).

On the other hand, there are works featuring Westerners speaking in a simple way – consistently uttering short sentences with a syntactically basic structure, as in example (1). The occurrence of this phenomenon is related to the importance of the characters to the story – the language of minor characters is generally depicted as "simpler" than that of the protagonists. If short sentences with simple structure should be regarded as indices of foreign nationality, this is in accordance with Kinsui's notion that minor characters tend to use more stereotypical language for quicker conveying a picture of the character.[42] This finding should, however, be regarded as a tendency, not as a rule, as all of the characters do know how to form syntactically complex clauses. This is also the case in works featuring Westerners speaking *aru yo*-language – although being a stereotypically depicted, possibly pidgin-related role language, as a system, it is not necessarily portrayed as simplified.

Polite style and foreign words, when found in fiction, are only rarely related to simplified language. These phenomena are found also in real life primary foreigner talk, but judging from this study, it cannot be concluded if their use is really due to a depiction of secondary foreigner talk – characters using polite forms and loan words rarely speak in a simplified way. Concerning the frequency of foreign words, it also appears possible that they have their origin in the first works of Japanese literature set in the West, as well as in early translations of Western literature. The use of foreign words in these works has been accounted for in several ways, including that they create an exotic atmosphere.[43] Whatever the reason, this way of depicting Westerners, both when they speak Japanese and when they speak Western languages, then got established as the norm, in the same way as Yoda proposes that the exclamatory *Oo* has become a marker of Westernness.[44] It could also be noted that foreign words are used also by protagonists of Western ethnicity – something that would appear contrary to Kinsui's theories on when stereotypic language is used. Still, these protagonists do not serve as objects of identification to the reader (stereotypic language makes characters harder to identify with than if they speak "standard Japanese").

Concerning the polite speech style, on the other hand, no explanations like those proposed above appear sufficient. For this material, it appears possible that the polite speech style is due to that the interaction often takes place in elegant environments – but it could be studied to what extent these environments are perceived as typically "Western" environments.

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[42]Kinsui, Satoshi. *Vaacharu nihongo – yakuwarigo no nazo* [Virtual Japanese – The Riddles of Role Language]. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 41–42.

[43]Hutchinson, Rachael. *Nagai Kafu's Occidentalism – Defining the Japanese Self*. (New York: State University of New York Press, 2011), 80–81.

[44]Yoda, Megumi. "<Seiyoojingo> "Oo, Romio!" no bunkei" [<The Language of Westerners> The Sentence Pattern "Oh, Romeo!"] in *Yakuwarigo kenkyuu no chihei* [The Horizon of Role Language Research], ed. Kinsui, Satoshi (Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 2007), 166–170.

However, also when the language is portrayed as simplified, there are differences between the means of depicting the language of the Westerners. Thus, it was not concluded that there is one conventionalized means for marking the language of non-native speakers as simplified in a way reminiscent of known features of real life foreigner talk.

Is it, then, possible that the speech style of Westerners in fiction gets impact on how Japanese address foreigners in reality, in the way that Ferguson posited in English?[45] Such a theory would get support especially by similarities between the language in fiction and the study by Sokolik, as this study uses the same method as Ferguson. Such similarities are not found, however. Ferguson posits that children might learn how to use the speech styles of foreigners in fiction when playing in peer groups. While it might be the case that Japanese children do not "play" Westerners, it has to be further studied why the properties of fictional language do not seem to appear in Sokolik's material.

In some works, there are utterances of Japanese characters addressing foreigners in a way sharing characteristics with foreigner talk. These characteristics are found when the language of the characters is depicted as (or claimed to be) "bad," and in first encounters between characters. There are differences between this speech style and the results of studies on foreigner talk in reality, however, especially when compared to studies treating language students, where the native speakers know that the foreigners have a basic command of Japanese. It can also be noted that interactional features of foreigner talk (comprehension checks, typical patterns for turn-taking, etc.) are largely absent when foreigners are addressed in fiction. This might be due to factors like the opinion of the author on the depiction of dialogue – should dialogue in fiction be close to reality or only convey what is important for the story? It is also possible that linguistic stereotypes indicating situations become conventionalized in fiction in a way similar to that of stereotypes indicating personality types. A more general study on how dialogue in Japanese fiction relates to conversation in real-life would be of benefit for developing further on this point. Furthermore, the results of real life studies are not always relevant for studying stereotypes, as many studies of Japanese foreigner talk focus on conversation analysis, a field not focusing on stereotypes. More varied kinds of real life experiments have to are necessary also for further studying the language in fiction.

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[45]Ferguson, Charles A. "Toward a Characterization of English Foreigner Talk." *Anthropological Linguistics* 17:1 (1975), 11.

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Chapter 6
Emotional Discourse Analysis of Japanese Literary Translations

Alexandra Holoborodko

Introduction

Every language possesses a vast amount of means to express and name emotions, which is often a challenge to translators and language-learners. Moreover, many emotion words (EWs) and expressions are culture-specific and require a thorough examination and analysis. While in 1991 linguists spoke about the lack of a comprehensive linguistic theory that would focus on the study of EWs in a language or a text, as well as the lack of a translation theory that would deal with rendering emotions (e.g., James Russel describes existing translation theories as focusing mainly on the transmission of cognitive information rather than emotions),[1] the past 10 years witnessed much research on emotions in language: issues of culture-specific EWs have been dealt with by Anna Wierzbicka,[2] emotions in multilingual speakers have been studied by Aneta Pavlenko[3] and Jean-Marc Dewaele,[4] while a highly thriving field of sentiment analysis has attracted attention of researchers from many fields.[5] Japanese language research saw a few works on emotional

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[1]Russel, James. "Culture and the Categorization of Emotions." *Psychological Bulletin* 110.3 (1991): 426–450.

[2]Wierzbicka, Anna. *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

[3]Pavlenko, Anna. *Emotions and Multilingualism.* Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

[4]Dewaele, Jean-Marc. *Emotions in Multiple Languages.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

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expressions, which have focused on language-learning[6] and sociological aspects of emotional language.[7]

This research is an attempt to devise a consistent framework for classifying emotions, while using a small corpus of Japanese texts. The paper focuses on some of the means to express emotions in the Japanese language, and describes the EDA method in its steps and procedures, some results of applying EDA to Japanese literary translations, as well as some peculiarities of Japanese emotional language.

Background and Rationale

It has often been pointed out by scholars[8] that culture can directly influence the way that people speak of the phenomena and notions that surround them, including emotions.[9] Just as the names of colors across different languages do not always correspond (the English concept of "blue" does not correspond with the Russian concept of *голубой* / "goluboj," nor the Japanese concept of 青い∨ "aoi"), in the same way, names of emotions and emotional states are not always equivalent (e.g., the Japanese notion of 思いやり/ "omoiyari" – "consideration," "sympathy") is considered unique to the Japanese language, with no direct equivalents in other languages).

Japanese, being the language of an extremely introverted culture, has a multitude of ambiguous EWs that can pose a problem for translation, and when applying them to render a seemingly equivalent word from another language (e.g., 驚く– "odoroku" in Japanese has the dual meaning of "to be scared" and "to be surprised," while 面白い– "omoshiroi" can mean both- "interesting" and "funny").

Such differences and difficulties in translation do not suggest that what people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds see or what they feel necessarily differs, but that the words they choose to describe those feelings, the aspects that they point out as more or less important to be lexicalized, differ, resulting in translation problems and misunderstandings in intercultural communication. The different ways of conceptualizing emotions result in different ways of lexicalizing them, and consequently, in different ways of translating them. Such differences stem from cultural peculiarities, contrasting worldviews and social norms.

The main questions investigated in the study are: What are the difficulties posed by the translation of EWs into Japanese, and where do such difficulties stem from? What are the peculiarities and culture-specific characteristics of EWs

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[6]Maynard, Senko K. *Expressive Japanese: A Reference Guide to Sharing Emotion and Empathy.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.

[7]Matsumoto, David. *Unmasking Japan: Myths and Realities about the Emotions of the Japanese.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996.

[8]Boucher, D. Jerry. "Culture and Emotion." In *Perspectives on Cross-Cultural Psychology I,* edited by Marsella, A.J., Tharp, R.G., Ciborowski, T.V., 159–178. San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1979.

[9]Izard, Carroll Ellis. *Human Emotions*. New York: Plenum, 1979.

in Japanese? How can such difficulties be overcome? And can emotional discourse analysis (EDA) be of assistance to a translator?

This paper argues that a complex and comprehensive approach to the study of EWs and a tool to the translation of EWs can be provided by EDA.

Methodology of Emotional Discourse Analysis

The author first developed the term EDA and its framework when conducting a contrastive analysis of three Japanese translations of a Russian novel. The objects of research were both the three Japanese translations, and their relation to the source text. In this paper I will only touch on the methodology of EDA, its framework and steps, and some findings concerning Japanese EWs, obtained from applying EDA to the three Japanese texts. It should be noted, that the contrastive approach, which involves several languages, is very beneficial and can highlight many peculiarities of the languages studied.

The EDA approach incorporates several existing linguistic and sociolinguistic theories and involves several steps, among which are: structuring and categorizing EWs in the source text, creating a taxonomy of EWs of the source text (textual analysis), contextual analysis, with further ascertaining the means, strategies and difficulties involved in translating EWs into the target language, and the final sociological interpretation of EWs in the two languages.

The corpus for the research consists of the Russian source text ("White Nights" by F. Dostoevsky) and its three Japanese translations. First, I classified and categorized the EWs found in the source text into three major groups (expressive, descriptive EWs, and metaphors and metonymy): this was done in line with the theory of Z. Kövecses.[10] The group of descriptive EWs was broken into seven subcategories, following the communicative theory of emotions, proposed by P.N. Johnson-Laird and K. Oatley.[11] According to their theory, the semantic field of emotions is based on the five basic emotion modes, and words that refer solely to these modes have no internal semantic structure: the modes are primitive and unanalysable states. There are other EWs that refer to emotions that combine basic modes with a knowledge of the object or cause of the emotion. Also, there are terms that denote complex emotions that depend on cognitive evaluation of the self.

Combining the theories of Kovecses and Johnson-Laird and Oatley, the taxonomy of emotion-related words is organized as follows (Fig. 1):

Secondly, I developed a taxonomy of translation strategies, based on (1) the theory of equivalence by E. Nida,[12] (2) taxonomy of translation strategies by

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[10]Kövecses, Zoltan. *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture and Body in Human Feeling.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

[11]Johnson-Laird, P.N. and Oatley, Keith. "The Language of Emotions: An Analysis of a Semantic Field." *Cognition and Emotion* 3.2 (1989): 81–123.

[12]Nida, Eugene. "Principles of Correspondence." In *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Venuti, L., Baker, M. London: Routledge, 2004.

emotion language

expressive   descriptive

literal   figurative

metaphor   metonymy
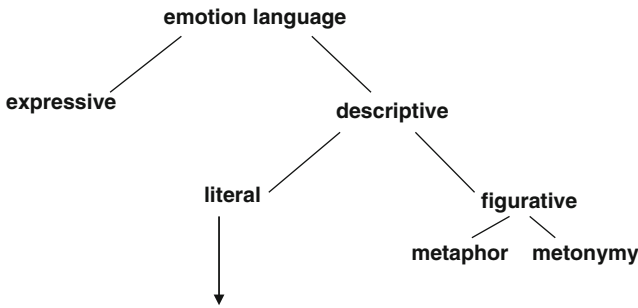
0. Generic emotion terms (e.g. emotion, feeling, passion, 感情，情熱，気持ち)
1. Basic emotional terms (e.g. happiness, elation, 喜び，恐怖)
2. Emotional relations (e.g. love, hate, 愛，恋)
3. Caused emotions (e.g. gladness, horror, 楽しみ)
4. Causatives (e.g. irritate, reassure, 悩まされる)
5. Emotional goals (e.g.desire, need, 熱望，好奇心，不満)
6. Complex emotions (e.g.embarrassment, pity,恥，後悔)

Fig. 1 Taxonomy of emotion words.

P. Newmark,[13] and (3) the theory of non-equivalence by M. Baker.[14] In both cases of constructing taxonomies (of EWs and translation strategies) I had to undertake a complex, combined approach and use the findings of several researchers as the basis, as there is no comprehensive theory or approach to dealing with EWs in translation.

Thirdly, I introduced the notion of EDA, and, applying two discourse analysis theories (by Widdowson[15] and Ruiz[16]), created an analytical framework for such an analysis. As a result, I came up with a methodological base for the analysis of my corpus, which I named EDA. Applying the taxonomies and frameworks to the case study texts has further demonstrated the way to perform an EDA, and has provided some very interesting results.

Japanese Emotional Discourse

The vastly different semantic and morphological structure of the Japanese language (in relation to Indo-European languages), as well as its etymological uniqueness leads to difficulties in the translation of EWs. This was revealed in the analysis of the translation of expressive EWs (interjections): the extensive use of expressions involving divine names to express emotions in languages of Christian

[13]Newmark, Peter. *A Textbook of Translation.* New York; Tokyo: Prentice Hall, 1984.

[14]Baker, Mona. *In Other Words. A Coursebook on Translation.* London: Routledge, 1992.

[15]Widdowson, Henry. *Text, Context, Pretext. Critical Issues on Discourse Analysis.* Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.

[16]Ruiz, Jorge. "Sociological Discourse Analysis: Methods and Logic." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 10.26 (2009), 2.

culture poses problems when they are translated into Japanese, as there are no such lexical means of expressing emotion in the Japanese language.

Among other findings, interesting cases of culture-specific EWs have also been revealed. The following are some of the Japanese culture-specific EWs that have been studied and analyzed: びっくりする ("bikkuri suru") and 驚く ("odoroku"); 恥 ("haji"); なつかしい ("natsukashii"); highly figurative, proverbial expression 狼狽振り ("roubai buri"); 狐につままれたように ("kitsune ni tsumamareta youni" – literally, "as if bewitched by a fox").

Translation of Interjections Involving Divine Names

This was revealed when the translation of expressive EWs (interjections) was analyzed: the extensive use of expressions involving divine names to express emotions in Russian (as well as in English, e.g., "Oh my God," "Oh Lord," etc.) poses problems to translators into Japanese, as there are no such lexical and cultural means of expressing emotion. Translators most often have to resort to dynamic equivalence and reduction and omission strategies (using EWs like なるほど ("naruhodo"), which is an interjection and a gap-filler in Japanese, denoting partial consent and mild surprise. Some translators use formal equivalence to render EWs formed with the use of divine names. Taking into account the popularity of Western literary works in Japan, we can assume that such a translation strategy has become accepted, and that the appearance of transferred exclamations such as "oh my God" (おお、神様!) in Japanese (which are not natural to it) may not be striking to the reader of the target text (TT). On the other hand, the use of dynamic equivalence results in using more natural equivalents in the TL, and evokes an immediate response in the reader. It immediately renders the emotionality of the phrase.

Translation via Culturally-Specific Emotion Words

My study has revealed interesting cases when source language EWs were rendered in the target language with Japanese culture-specific EWs. When a culture-specific EW is used to render a culturally neutral SL EW, this constitutes a strategy of semantic expansion, as the TT reader is exposed to an EW with a broader semantic structure. In such case the translation leaves it to the TT reader to decide which of the TL EW's meanings match the context, and can often lead to misunderstanding of the text. On the other hand, the use of a culture-specific EW is a dynamic translation, which makes the TT sound more natural and easier to comprehend. This is the case with the Russian EW *удивление* ("udivleniye" – "surprise") which is often rendered in Japanese by the culture-specific EWs びっくりする ("bikkuri suru") and 驚く ("odoroku"). These Japanese EWs denote feelings of both surprise and fear. Such a translation strategy expands on the propositional and

expressive meanings of the source language EW, but adds to the expressivity of the target text, easing comprehension by the target reader.

Another example is the translation of the Russian EW *стыд* ("stid" – shame, guilt) with the Japanese EW 恥 (haji); this is the usual formal literal equivalent that any dictionary would suggest, however, the Japanese "haji" denotes a feeling of shame in relation to and caused by others, and also sadness due to losing face. On the other hand, in Russian, the EW *стыд* ("stid") denotes a deep inner feeling, caused by the realization of one's own wrongdoings, regret and sadness about them (not necessarily related to others' evaluation, but rather a feeling of disgust that one feels towards oneself).

Another Japanese EW, that denotes a culture-specific concept relating to the feeling of being ashamed, losing one's face is 侮辱される/させる ("bujoku sareru/saseru"). It is a verb that denotes the action of causing an insult to some-body or putting somebody to shame. The word is constructed of two characters, one of which denotes "shame." The words 辱める ("hazukashimeru" – "to put to shame") and 侮辱させる ("bujoku saseru" – "to insult") are often used as synonyms, or to define each other. Thus, the notions of "causing an insult" and "putting to shame" are closely connected in the Japanese language and culture. This points to the high value that is attached to honor, "face" and social standing. Making a person lose face is considered an insult. It again points to the fact that the Japanese word for emotion "shame" (恥//辱 – "haji") is not exactly equivalent to what the English word denotes. In Western cultures, shame is what a person feels in relation to the bad things that he/she has done, it is a feeling of guilt, sad-ness and embarrassment that one experiences when one knows that what they have done is wrong or inappropriate. In contrast, the Japanese word 恥/辱 ("haji") that is most often translated and used to denote "shame," is connected to "losing face," the evaluation of one's actions by others, and not the inner feeling of guilt or embarrassment. This also demonstrates that Japan is a collective-oriented culture (vs. the more individualistic Western cultures).

When such an analysis is conducted, it becomes evident that the Russian word *стыд* ("stid"), as well as the English word *shame* are not equivalent to the Japanese EW 恥 ("haji"), and therefore the Japanese EW can be considered a translator's "false friend." Moreover, the Japanese EW appears to be culture-specific, as it denotes a feeling of sadness, caused by the loss of face or by peo-ple's criticism. It is, thus, a socially-oriented emotion, caused not by the inner eva-luation of self, but by the reaction towards the others' evaluation of self.

Two expressions that derive from Buddhism and are currently used figuratively in everyday Japanese, were also found to translate culturally-neutral Russian EWs. These are 有頂天になる ("utyoten ni naru," which refers to the highest sky in the world, and, figuratively, the feeling of excitement that one would feel when he or she reaches it) and 歓喜 (when pronounced "kanki," this refers to a high degree of happiness, but when pronounced "kangi," it denotes "religious joy"), which are used to render the Russian culturally-neutral EW *восторг* ("vostorg" – excitement). Also, the Russian EW *участие* ("uchastiye" – sympathy, concern) is rendered by the Japanese culture-specific EW 思いやり ("omoiyari") which is a

Japanese culture-specific EW denoting a feeling of sympathy, compassion or attentiveness to the feelings of others.

Cultural Specificity of Words Denoting "Heart"

The index of culture-specificity is especially high for the words denoting "heart" in Japanese language. Thus, when a translator faces the need to translate the Russian word *сердце* ("serdtse"), which denotes "heart" and encompasses both the internal organ, the shape of the heart, and the figurative "heart," the "container" and "seat" for feelings and emotions, they come across four Japanese words denoting different aspects of this notion: 心 ("kokoro"), 胸 ("mune"), 心臓 ("sinzou"), and ハート ("haato").

Japanese *kokoro* is regarded as the seat of not only emotions, but also of thoughts and intentions (this is in contrast to Russian culture in which *сердце* is the container for emotions and feelings, as distinguished from the "head" and "conscience," which embody the rational).

Mune (roughly, "chest," "breast") is the place where Japanese believe *kokoro* is located, but it also acts in many cases as the container for emotions, e.g., 胸は喜びにあふれた / "mune ha yorokobini afureta" / "heart was full of joy"; 胸がどきどきする / "mune ga dokidoki suru" / "feel one's heart pounding"; 胸が高鳴る / "mune ga takanaru" / "heart leaps up."

Hara (roughly, "the gut" or "abdomen") can be also be used to refer to the seat of "thinking" and emotions (for example, anger arises in the *hara*:腹を立てる / "hara wo tateru"/ "be angry").

The term *ki* (roughly, "breath," "the spirit, soul, life energy,") is also used for expressions dealing with emotions, temperament and behavior, e.g., 気が狂う "ki ga kuruu" / literally "ki is rotating," figuratively "go mad, crazy"; 気が立つ / "ki ga tatsu" / literally "ki is rising," figuratively "to be irritated."

There is also the term *mushi* – literally, a "worm," which, according to the old belief, exists in the *kokoro* and gives rise to emotions. It is used in fixed expressions such as ふさぎ虫 (fusagimushi – "blue") and 泣き虫 (nakimushi – "crybaby").

Thus, when it comes to translation, we confront similar expressions and corresponding images (emotions embodied, but in slightly different parts of the body), however, there are significant differences in the semantic fields of words that embody emotions.

Concluding Remarks

The conclusion reached in this study is that application of EDA to a text is a useful analytical tool for a translator. This is because such use of EDA for textual analysis reveals the general tone of the novel (e.g., it determines the number of EWs that denote "happiness" as opposed to the number that denote "sadness" or

"anger"). Also, situational analysis makes clear the background of the literary text and gives a clue to the emotional state of the author and the epoch involved in the creation of the novel, while intertextual analysis elucidates the connection of the analyzed text to other contemporary texts. Each of these analytical instruments as well as other elements of EDA, are useful for translators in understanding how the text functions as a whole.

As a result of this case study, I have arrived at the conclusion that it is viable applying taxonomies of EWs and translation strategies to the analysis of EWs in existing translations (in their descriptive modes). This method provides an analytical framework for revealing the ways EWs function in a language. Applying these taxonomies to texts under translation can also be useful, because by categorizing and structuring the lexical units in the source text a translator acquires a full picture of the emotional discourse of the text.

The EDA conducted over a set of source and target texts can also be a valuable study aid in language education. As a result of applying emotion discourse analysis, not only can the translator improve the quality of translation, but also some interesting linguistic data about lexical means of expressing emotions can be acquired. The attempt undertaken in this study to analyze the translated texts from this approach of emotion discourse analysis is the first of its kind, and therefore while this pilot study has significant implications for fields of sociolinguistics, translation studies, and language learning, it still requires a comprehensive framework that will be attained via further development.

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Part III
Analyses of Korean and Japanese Languages

Chapter 7
Definiteness in Korean: A Contrastive Study of Korean and Italian

Imsuk Jung

Introduction

Why is my research focused on the phenomenon of definiteness in Korean, and why is it important to deepen contrastive analyses between Italian and Korean languages?[1] These were questions raised during my first experiences of teaching of Korean language. There can be no doubt that the article system in Italian constitutes an obstacle for Korean learners, and on the other hand the opacity of definiteness in Korean, which might be expressed by other elements, remains an elusive aspect for Italian learners (Jung 2008, 2011a, 2012).[2] Many previous studies on the concept of definiteness have focused on Western languages, regulated especially by the article system and by the specification of gender and number (Hawkins 1978; Giacalone Ramat 1988; Lyons 1999; Renzi 2001; Gebert 2007). Indeed the contribution of Lyons (1999) shows how languages express definiteness from a comparative and a theoretical point of view. It surveys many

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[1]The definitions of definiteness and specificity, proposed by Ionin et al. (2004) are provided in: If a Determiner Phrase (DP) of the form [D NP] is [+definite], then the speaker and the hearer presuppose the existence of a unique individual in the set denoted by NP. If a Determiner Phrase (DP) of the form [D NP] is [+specific], then the speaker intends to refer to a unique individual in the set denoted by NP and considers this individual to possess some noteworthy property. (Ionin et al. 2004, 5).

[2]A noun phrase or nominal phrase (NP) is a phrase which has a noun or pronoun as its head word and most commonly functions as a subject, object, predicative expressions, and complements of prepositions (Crystal 1997; Lockwood 2002). A typical noun phrase consists of a noun and can be accompanied by modifiers, determiners, and various types of complements.

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languages to discover the range of variation related to definiteness.[3] Conversely, there has been less research on languages like Korean or Japanese where the definiteness can be expressed via other linguistic elements such as case markers, demonstrative pronouns, numeral classifiers or pragmatics.[4] Recently, however, some outstanding research on Korean studies related to the question of definiteness (Lee 1994, 2000; Suh 2005; Kim 2007; Van Hoof 2008) has been completed.

The Korean language is characterized by a lower definiteness, without definite or indefinite articles: *nanŭn Ø-ch'aek-ŭl il-gŏt-ta*[5] (I-TOP[6] Ø-book-ACC read-PAST, EN: I have read <u>the/a</u> book/ IT: Ho letto <u>il/un</u> libro). Languages that have not developed the category of the article, express determination and indetermination using other functional elements, which may substitute articles (e.g., demonstrative pronouns such as *kŭ*, meaning "that, the," numeral classifiers or quantifiers, case markers such as *–ŭn/nŭn* and *–i/ka* or pragmatic context).

(1) a. KO: *Mina-ka <u>ch'a-rŭl</u> satta*
             *Mina-NOM Ø <u>macchina</u>-ACC comprare-PAST.
        IT: Mina ha comprato <u>una/la macchina</u>.
        EN: Mina has bought <u>a/the car</u>.
     b. KO: *Mina-ka <u>kŭ ch'a-rŭl</u> satta*.
             Mina-NOM <u>quella/la macchina</u>-ACC comprare-PAST.
        IT: Mina ha comprato <u>la macchina</u>.
        EN: Mina has bought <u>that car</u>.
     c. KO: *Mina-ka <u>ch'a han dae-rŭl</u> satta*.
             Mina-NOM <u>macchina una CLAS</u>-ACC comprare-PAST.
        IT: Mina ha comprato <u>una macchina</u>.
        EN: Mina has bought <u>a/one car</u>.

These examples (1) illustrate how the syntactic constructions of the two languages are distinct and how each language expresses the definiteness of NP in context. The most common form in Korean is the bare NP (1a), since normally Korean does not require any determiners. In this way all uses of the definite and indefinite article in Italian can simply be translated in the bare form without

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[3]Most languages do not have "articles," and in those that do they vary strikingly in both their form and their range of use. All languages have demonstratives, personal pronouns, possessives, and other expressions which either seem to be inherently definite or to interact in interesting ways with definiteness; but again, there is considerable variation in the ways in which these expressions relate to definiteness (Lyons 1999, 15).

[4]Some languages use articles (indefinite and definite article), other languages, without article system, indicate definiteness via affixes, modifying adjectives and grammatical case and some languages doesn't express it at all.

[5]For the transliteration I use McCune-Reischauer Romanization, one of the two most widely used Korean language Romanization systems.

[6]The following abbreviations are used: ACC-accusative, ADJ-adjective, AFF-affirmative, CLAS-classifier, COP-copula, DAT-dative, DEF- definite, DEM-demonstrative, FOC-focus, GEN-genitive, IND-indefinite, INT-interrogative, LOC-locative, N-noun, NOM-nominative, NP-noun phrase, NUM-numeral, PAST-past tense, PL-plural, PRES-present, TOP-topic

Table 1 Noun phrases: structure, interpretation, translation

	Structure of NP	Interpretation of NP	Translation in Italian
1	Ø simple N	Depends on context	Def./ind. art. + N
2	DEM. + N	Specific or strong	Definite art. + N
3	N + NUM. + CLAS	Non-specific or weak	Indefinite art. + N

indicating any definiteness. Note that in Italian among the three sentences the first one is the only incorrect form (1a). In any case in order to specify the identity of the referent in Korean the demonstrative pronoun can be used for a definite interpretation (1b) and the classifiers for an indefinite interpretation (1c). However Lee (1994) claims that the NP with the demonstrative pronoun can be performed as a strong and specific element, while the NP with the classifier can normally be interpreted as a weak and non-specific element (Table 1):

A large part of the present article will be dedicated to the usage of null argument and marked topic/subject which are strongly linked to the question of definiteness. Korean is a well-known discourse-oriented language, in which empty arguments can be identified through discourse topics,[7] and subjects may drop for pragmatic reasons, if predictable in the immediate context. Another important issue of linguistic debate on the Korean language concerns the exact role of the case markers *-ŭn/nŭn* and *-i/ka* for the topic and the subject of the sentence, respectively, which can be easily elicited from the discourse or context, contributing consequently to the lack of definiteness in the Korean language. The following sentences are proposed by Kim (2007, 68) and modified with the addition of the Italian translation:

(2) A mother-child interaction: Mary is Jack's baby sister.
    a. Mother: *Jack-ŭn Mary-ka hangsang yeppŏ*?
        Jack-TOP Mary-NOM always is pretty?
      EN: Jack, is Mary always pretty? / Do you always like Mary?
      IT: Jack, Mary è sempre bella?/ Jack, Mary ti piace sempre?
    b. Jack: *Na-nŭn unŭnkŏt-to yeppŭko utŭnkŏt-to yeppŭko, ta yeppŏ*.
        I-TOP crying also is pretty laughing also is pretty, everything is pretty
      EN: I like [her] crying, [her] laughing, and I like [her] everything.
      IT: Per me è bella sia quando piange sia quando ride. E' sempre bella.
    c. Mother: *Ŏmma-nŭn unŭnkŏt-ŭn pokisil-ŏ*.
        Mother-FOC/TOP crying-FOC is ugly
      EN1: I (FOC) don't like crying.
      IT1: Non mi (FOC) piace piangere.
      EN2: I (TOP) don't like [her] crying.
      IT2: A me (TOP) non piace veder[la] piangere.

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[7]Li & Thompson (1976) state that discourse-oriented languages have topic prominence. Huang (1984) claims that discourse-oriented languages share clustering properties, which are not observed in sentence-oriented language, and have a topic deletion, by which a topic can be deleted and identified as its discourse antecedent.

Considering that the topic in Korean may coincide with the subject or another element of the discourse, the sentence (2c), containing two topic markers *nŭn* and *ŭn*, can be problematic for its correct interpretation. The first case marker *-nŭn*, followed by *mother*, might be a focus (EN1/IT1) or a topic (EN2/IT2) at the same time; its interpretation depends on the context without the exact contrast between *mother* and *daughter*. With the pronoun referring to *daughter*, *her* in English and *la* in Italian, the marker *nŭn* can be only a topic, but in Korean its interpretation is ambiguous. In this case it's clear that the person who cries (focus) is *daughter*, not *mother*. It all depends on the discourse and interpretation. The second marker *ŭn* is the focus, drawing directly a comparison between *crying* and *laughing*. There are often these kinds of sentences that do not offer a clear distinction between topic and focus, establishing an *aboutness*-relationship among them.

The present contribution will provide an overview of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic differences between Korean and Italian through a contrastive analysis of the two languages and examine how the definite or indefinite concept in NP can be expressed.

Contrastive Analysis of Italian and Korean

It is well-known that Korean lacks the article system and expresses definiteness and specificity through other linguistic elements such as pronouns, particles or pragmatic contexts, unlike Italian, which has a widely developed article system. This section discusses how the NP in Korean and Italian are structured and focuses the contrastive analysis of the two languages around definiteness.

Typological Contrast between Italian and Korean

Modern typology divides the languages of the world into four types based on their morphological characteristics.[8] Italian is an inflectional language where a word is formed by a lexical root and one or more morphemes, indicating different information or grammatical functions. Whereas Korean is known to be a highly agglutinative language and it does not provide the use of articles and prepositions. Complex words are formed by affixes and compounds and the grammatical functions of a sentence are not determined by the order of words but by particles. In fact Korean preserves the postpositions indicating the subject and the direct object. Sohn (1999, 215) states that Korean, a typical agglutinative language, has over 600 affixes (prefixes and suffixes).

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[8](1) Inflectional or semi-inflectional languages such as Arabic, Somali, Hebrew and, in general, all Indo-European languages; (2) agglutinative languages like Turkish, Basque, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean and Swahili; (3) isolating language such as Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai and Hawaiian; (4) polysynthetic or incorporating languages, such as many Amerindian languages.

The morphology of Korean verbs is a verbal lexeme followed by multiple inflectional suffixes. The grammatical operators, expressing grammatical categories such as time, aspect but not the person, gender and number as in Italian, are expressed by these endings, and the order between them is fixed. In addition to verbal inflectional morphemes there are also connective, nominal, adjectival and adverbial suffixes, and two or more verbs can be coordinated by connective suffixes.

According to the order of major syntactic constituents, languages are divided into three types.[9] In Korean, the verb always appears at the end of the sentence, while the other constituents may vary by location (Banfi and Grandi 2008, 275). As in other typical SOV languages, the affirmative, interrogative, imperative or proposals propositions are distinguished by different particles at the end of the sentence, and word order in Korean can be totally flexible, thanks to case markers. Korean case markers are divided into two groups: the first group marks the cases, such as *-i/ka* (NOM), *-ŭl/rŭl* (ACC), *-eke* (DAT), *-ŭi* (GEN), *-e/ekesŏ* (LOC), etc., and the second contains those that provide special implications in NP like *-ŭn/nŭn* (topic, focus). Unlike Italian, verbs do not conjugate, thus they are usually accompanied by the subject, even if the latter is easily omitted.

Another contrast is in the typological system of classifiers, applied to nouns, which can express definiteness in some cases. In Korean, like Japanese, there are different suffixes, called classifiers, which are used to count and differentiate between objects and object groups, depending on their physical appearance or category to which they belong. The use of the classifier is required for all Korean nouns, while in Italian only some uncountable or mass nouns might use the classifier (e.g., *una tazza di tè:* a cup of tea/ *un bicchiere di latte:* a glass of milk).

In general nouns in Korean appear without any distinction of definiteness, while in Italian it is well expressed through the articles. In fact the sentences, such as *mi piace Ø pizza*, *studio Ø grammatica* or *vivo con Ø mia famiglia,* without any use of articles explain the typical linguistic behavior of Korean native speakers who learn Italian, due to the interference of L1 (Cho 2004, 319).

This kind of typological contrast can be of help in grasping comprehensively the syntactic-semantic difference between Italian and Korean. In the next section, in accordance with these criteria, the properties of the constituents of NP will be developed.

Noun Phrase Constructions in Italian and Korean

There are many cases where Korean syntactic structure is not maintained in those of the Romance languages and recently some considerable works (Jun 1999; Yang 2001; Cho 2004; Jung 2008; Shin 2009) have focused on the comparative and contrastive analysis between Korean and Romance languages. For example, the

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[9]SOV languages like Japanese and Korean; VSO languages such as Arabic and Welsh; SVO languages like Italian, English and Chinese.

structure of the type *noun + verb* can be translated into *noun + adjective* or the
structure of the type *noun + adjective* into *noun + verb* (Shin 2009, 38).

This subsection will analyze in a contrastive perspective how Korean and
Italian NP are constructed. The distributional criteria of the nouns, proposed by
Chomsky (1965, 82),[10] are used to compare the classification of Korean and
Italian nouns and to reproduce two tree diagrams, based on the analysis of Yang
(2001) and adapted to Italian and Korean nouns as follows (Fig. 1):

From these two diagrams the distinction of NP between both languages is
obvious. It is evident that in Korean there is no syntactic distinction between coun-
table and uncountable nouns, so that Italian-speaking learners often face difficulty
due to the resulting ambiguity in Korean. In fact the grammatical number of the
nouns is not crucial in Korean to determine the syntactic content, since the quanti-
fication of all the common nouns can be accompanied by a classifier.

(3) KO1: *jip*/ IT1: cas-a (house)
     KO2: *jip-tŭl* (noun + pl. suffix)/ IT2: cas-e (root + ending) (houses)

The example above (3) shows that Korean nouns are invariable, not requiring
the presence of gender and number as in Italian. Korean is highly dependent on
context and tends to omit everything that is thought to be clear, obvious or already
mentioned (Bruno and Ahn 2009, 23). To specify the number in this case it is suf-
ficient to add the suffix *tŭl* indicating the plural as in (3/KO2), but the number in
Korean is not crucial to determine the syntax, and the addition of the plural suffix
could rather make the sentence unnatural or incorrect (4b/KO2).

(4) a. KO: *ch'aek han-kwŏn*
             libro un-CLAS
         IT: un libro (a book)
     b. KO1: *ch'aek du-kwŏn/* KO2: *ch'aek du-kwŏn-*tŭl*
             libro due-CLAS/ libro due-CLAS-PL
         IT: due libri (two books)

Regarding to the syntactic order of the elements within the NP, Seo (1996) and
Mok (2002) claim that the order of Korean constituents might be "DEM-NUM-
ADJ-N" (5d), while for some other linguists like Song (1997) the NP modifiers
can change places among themselves as "DEM-NUM-ADJ-N" (5d), "DEM-ADJ-
NUM-N" (5e) or "ADJ-DEM-NUM-N" (5f):

(5) a. KO: *kŭ yŏja* (DEM - N)
         IT: quella donna (that woman)
     b. KO: *se yŏja* (NUM - N)
         IT: tre donne (three women)
     c. KO: *yeppŭn yŏja* (ADJ - N)
         IT: bella donna (beautiful woman)

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[10]a. N → [+N, ± common], b. [+ common] → [± countable], c. [+ countable] → [± animate], d.
[− common] → [± animate], e. [+ animate] → [± human], f. [- countable] → [± abstract].
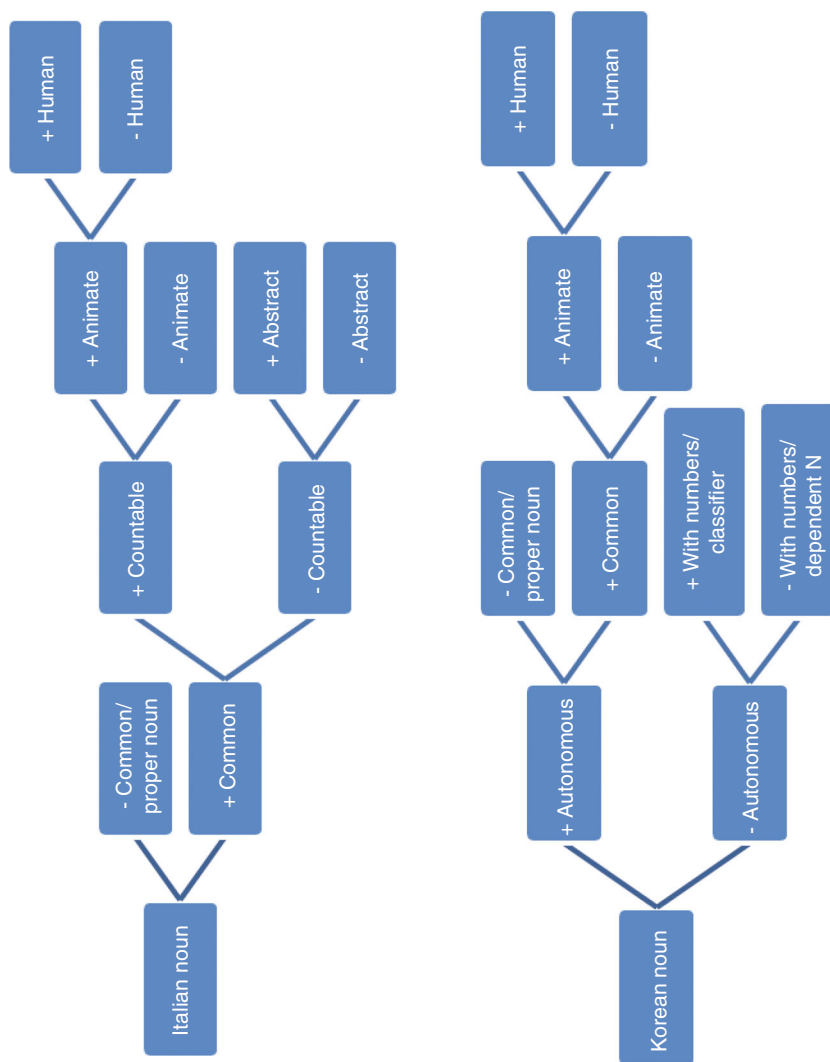
Fig. 1 Tree diagram of Italian and Korean nouns

    d. KO: *kŭ se yeppŭn yŏja* (DEM - NUM - ADJ -N)
       IT: quelle tre belle donne (those three beautiful women)
    e. KO: *kŭ yeppŭn se yŏja* (DEM - ADJ - NUM - N)
       IT: *quelle belle tre donne (those beautiful three women)
    f. KO: *yeppŭn kŭ se yŏja* (ADJ - DEM - NUM - N)
       IT: *belle quelle tre donne (beautiful those three women)

In the examples above (5a~5f) all modifiers precede the noun in that Korean is strictly head-final language[11] with the predominantly SOV word order, so dependent elements usually precede their heads. All modifiers, whether they are adjectives, adverbs, numerals, relative or complement clauses, subordinate or coordinate clauses, determiners, or genitive constructions, must precede the element they modify (Sohn 1999, 265). It seems that the last two orders (5e, 5f) may not work in Italian according to the hierarchy established in the general syntactic constructions.

Secondly, in Korean, unlike Italian, even those elements, which do not have syntactic-semantic autonomy, are considered nouns.[12] These nouns are divided into two subtypes: the first one is called "classifier" which requires the co-occurrence of numbers, and the second type is called "dependent noun" and needs other modifiers. Excluding particles, all Korean nouns can be considered autonomous and independent.

As mentioned before, in Korean the gender is also absent and all nouns are used as if they were neutral. However, in cases where one needs to mark the gender, one may use the Sino-Korean prefixes: *nam/yŏ* (male/female, respectively) for humans (e.g., nam-sŏnsaeng-nim/ professor man, *yŏ-sŏnsaeng-nim*/professor woman), and *su/am* (male/female) for animals (e.g., su-t'ak/rooster, am-t'ak/hen) (Yang 2001, 193).

Korean Equivalents of Italian Articles

In many languages of the world the concept of definiteness is widespread. In Italian, the definiteness is transmitted by using definite and indefinite articles, which precede the noun and differentiate various kinds of phrases (Renzi 2001,

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[11]Across the world's languages, there is a statistical tendency toward a basic format in which the head of a phrase consistently is placed in the same position – either first or last – across different types of phrase. English and Romance languages are often given as examples of head-initial languages, whereas Japanese and Korean are given as examples of head-final languages. An SOV language, which the object comes before the verb like Korean, is primarily head-final language. It means that heads are often found at the end of their phrases, with a resulting tendency to have the adjectives before nouns, to place the postpositions after the noun phrases, to put relative clauses before their referents, and to place auxiliary verbs after the action verb. Head-initial languages tend to have prepositions before the noun phrase (such as *"at home"*), whereas head-final languages tend to have postpositions following the noun phrase (such as *"home at"*). Anyway the mixed nature of head-initial and head-final structures is common across languages, for this reason it is hardly possible to classify languages as entirely head-initial or purely head-final (see supporting arguments in Flynn 1985; Flynn and Espinal 1989; Nichols 1986; Sohn 1999; Christiansen and Chater 2008).
[12]See Lee (2000).

Table 2 Equivalents of definite articles

Use of Italian definite articles	Equivalents in Korean
1. Deictic use	1.1. DEM {*i* (this)/ *kŭ* (that)/ *jŏ* (that)} + N 1.2. Ø N 1.3. Ø (Null NP)
2. Anaphoric use	2.1. DEM (*kŭ*) + N 2.2. Ø N (Repetition) 2.3. Ø (Null NP)
3. Cataphoric use	3.1. Modifier + (*kŭ*) N
4. Use based on shared knowledge	4.1. Ø N
5. Generic use	5.1. Ø N

377). In this subsection, some possible equivalents in Korean for each Italian article are suggested and used to understand which grammatical elements can replace them (Table 2).

Regarding the article for deictic uses it is useful to refer to these three different possible structures proposed by (Yang 2001) and modified with the addition of Italian translation.

(6) IT: Posso aprire la finestra? (May I open the window?)

    a. KO1: *I/kŭ/chŏ ch'angmun-ŭl yŏrŏdo tweyŏ*? (May I open this/that window?)

          Questa/quella/codesta finestra-ACC aprire posso?

    b. KO2: *Ø ch'angmun-ŭl jom yŏrŏdo tweyŏ*? (May I open Ø window please?)

    c. KO3: *Ø yŏrŏdo tweyŏ*? (May I open Ø?)

The demonstrative pronouns in Korean *i/kŭ/chŏ* would replace the Italian article as in (6a) even if it might produce a greater degree of definiteness compared to Italian. However, as mentioned above, its use is not mandatory, since it is often the context that identifies the referent. In (6b), the NP is simply composed of a noun accompanied by the accusative particle *ŭl*. Finally, when the contextual information is sufficient, the referent can often be omitted as in (6c). Of these three possible translations in Korean only the second one (6b) cannot be grammatically accepted because Italian requires the use of the article or some other determiners in NP. Another example proposed by Yang (2001, 222) is the following:

(7)   a: KO: *Ø ne jikab-ŭl poassŏyŏ*?

       IT: Mio portafoglio hai visto? (My wallet have you seen?)

    b1: KO: *kŭ jikab-ŭn ch'aeksang wie issŏyŏ*.

       IT: Quel portafoglio c'è sulla scrivania. (That wallet is on the desk)

    b2: KO: *Ø jikab-ŭl mot poassŏyŏ*.

       IT: Portafoglio non ho visto. (Wallet I haven't seen)

    b3: KO: *Ø ch'aeksang wie issŏyŏ*.

       IT: Sulla scrivania c'è Ø. (On the desk there is Ø)

Table 3 Equivalents of indefinite articles

Use of Italian definite articles	Equivalents in Korean
1. Indefinite use	1.1. IND {*ŏttŏn/ ŏnŭ/ han/ musŭn/ muŏnka,* ecc.} + N 1.2. Ø N
2. Use of numerals and classifiers	2.1. NUM (*han*) + N 2.2. NUM (*han*) + CLAS + (GEN) + N 2.3. NUM (*han*) + N + CLAS 2.4. NUM (*hana*) + N
3. Use of "dei, degli, delle" as approximate quantifications	3.1. QUAN {*myŏt* + CLAS/ *myŏt-myŏt*} + N 3.2. N + QUAN {*myŏt* + CLAS/ *myŏt-myŏt*}
4. Emphatic use	4.1. DEM {*i/ kŭ/ jŏ*} + ADJ + N 4.2. ADJ + N
5. Generic use	5.1. –*ramyŏn* ("if" conditional)

There are three possibilities in answering the question of (7a): the use of the demonstrative pronoun *kŭ* (IT: codesto/ EN: that) (7b1), the repetition of the same noun (7b2) and the elision of the referential expression (7b3). The demonstrative pronoun *kŭ* denotes the uniqueness of the referent focusing itself and allowing the listener to identify it. However, when the same referent is repeated several times, the use of the demonstrative pronoun can be redundant in Korean. In this case it is more natural to repeat the noun, as in (7b2). The following Table 3 suggests the possible equivalents in Korean for each Italian indefinite article.

When the indefinite article gives an undefined value at NP it can be translated into Korean by using indefinite adjectives like *ŏttŏn/ ŏnŭ/ han/ musŭn/ muŏnka,* etc. accompanied by a noun (8), whereas when the indefinite article has a numeric value of the NP it can be translated into Korean by the four constructions using the numeral *han* (one) followed by a classifier (9): "*han*+N" (9a), "*han*+CLAS +(GEN)+N," "N+*han*+CLAS" (9c) "N+*hana*" (9b).

(8) IT: Io conosco <u>una</u> ragazza che visse nel mio quartiere. (I know <u>a</u> girl who lived in my town)
    KO: *na-nŭn uridongne-e sarrattŏn (<u>ŏttŏn</u>) yŏja-rŭl anda*.
    Io-TOP mio quartiere-LOC vivere-PAST (<u>qualcuna</u>) ragazza-ACC conoscere-PRES.

(9) a. KO: <u>*han*</u> *haksaeng-i okoitta*. (han + N)
       IT: <u>Uno</u> studente sta arrivando. (<u>A</u> student is coming)
    b. KO: *haksaeng* <u>*hana*</u> (N + hana)
       IT: studente <u>uno</u> (student <u>one</u>)
    c. KO: *haksaeng* <u>*han-myŏng*</u> (N + han + CLAS)
       IT: studente <u>uno</u>Ø (student one Ø)

Among the possible equivalent forms in Korean the first one, composed of the numeral *han* as in (9a), is limited to the nouns with the criterion [+human]. The numeral *myŏt* (some) can express the approximate quantification of Italian indefinite articles in plural form like *dei, delle, degli* (10).

(10) IT: Sono venuti <u>degli</u> amici. (Friends came)
    KO1: <u>*myŏt-myŏt* ch'ingutŭl-i watta</u>.
      alcuni amico-PL-NOM venire-PAST (Some friends have come)
    KO2: *ch'ingutŭl <u>myŏt-(myŏng)-i</u> watta*.
      amico-PL alcuni-CLAS-NOM venire-PAST (Some friends have come)

Null Argument in Korean

Being a situation-oriented language, Korean allows all major constituents of sentences, including noun phrases and predicates, to be left unexpressed if discoursally or situationally recoverable (Sohn 1999, 401).

In addition, Korean topics with the function of subject or object have a high level of freedom, allowing the extensive use of null argument. These ellipses are mostly optional and easily inferred from a preceding utterance. The zero pronoun is a linguistic phenomenon very common in Korean, especially in colloquial speech, as shown in the following example (11b), but largely ruled by the main sentence (11a). Italian does not allow the omission of the only pronoun in a syntactic perspective (11b).

(11) a. KO: *Maria-<u>nŭn</u> ŏttŏn ŭmsik-ŭl joahae*?
        Maria-TOP quale cibo-ACC piacere-INT
     IT: Quale/che tipo di cibo piace a Maria? (What kind of food Maria likes?)
   b. KO1: Ø *p'ija-rŭl joahae*/ KO2: Ø *p'ija joahae.*
     Ø pizza-ACC piacere-AFF/ Ø pizza piacere-AFF
     IT1: *Ø piace la pizza. (*Ø likes pizza)
     IT2: <u>Le</u> piace la pizza. (<u>She</u> likes pizza)

The particle *nŭn* in (11a) is used to define the new information and, once mentioned, the subject can be omitted if understood from the discoursal or situational context. In fact, the previously mentioned *Maria* drops in the next sentence (11b), even if the Italian version needs to apply an indirect pronoun (IT2). Nominative, accusative, dative, static locative, goal and genitive particles are frequently omitted in sentences, especially in colloquial speech, because these cases are most easily predictable from the syntactic structure, word order and the nature of the predicate used (Sohn 1999, 327). Thus, for instance, *p'ija* (pizza) in (11b/KO2) is still in the accusative case, despite its not being marked by any particle.

Focus and Topic

In Korean there are structures in which more than one subject or object appear, and these are called multiple subject and object structures (Sohn 1999, 289). The structures from multiple subjects are predominant in Korean and consequently involve the use of case markers for topic and focus. The notion of topic/focus is

normally associated with relational givenness/newness despite its use not always being clearly distinct because of a non-explicit discrimination between the different levels of speech. The topic-contrast delimiter *ŭn/nŭn*, meaning *as for, concerning*, has been widely discussed in the linguistics literature since its use is very common in Korean, but it is not easy to determine. The topic delimiter may sometimes coincide with the subject or another element. The following sentences explain the difficulties of Italian native learners[13] faced with the ambiguous use of case markers for topic and focus.

(12) KO: *hankugŏ-rŭl kongbuhanŭnkŏt-ŭn** *jaemi-issŭljul mollassŏyo*.
      coreano-ACC studiare-TOP* interessante non sapere-PAST
   IT: Non sapevo che sarebbe stato interessante studiare coreano.
   EN: I didn't think that studying Korean would be interesting.

(13) KO: *uri kajok-i** *apŏji, ŏmŏni, oppa kŭriko jŏ modu ne-myŏng-ieyo*.
      mia famiglia-NOM* padre, madre, fratello e io, tutti quattro-CLAS-COP-PRES
   IT: La mia famiglia è composta da padre, madre, fratello e me, e siamo in quattro.
   EN: My family is composed of father, mother, brother and I, and we are all four.

The NP in (12) is about a general comment that requires the case particle for the subject *i/ka*, not a particle *ŭn/nŭn* for topic. Whereas in (13) *my family* is newly introduced information,[14] not mentioned before (newness) and the structure requires the use of the particle for the subject *i/ka*, so the speaker would have to use the topic-delimiter *ŭn* instead of *i*. Once mentioned, the entity may be accompanied by the topic- marker *nŭn*. Because of the ambiguity, Italian-speaking learners might be expected to omit particles and the frequent exchange of case markers for topic/focus.

(14) KO: *Yumi-nŭn Roma-ka arŭmdaptta-ko saenggakhanda*
      Yumi-TOP Roma-NOM bello-PART pensare-PRES
   IT: Yumi pensa che Roma sia bella.
   EN: Yumi thinks that Rome is beautiful.

In (14) the Italian version seems have two subjects *Yumi/Roma* but at the discourse level the informational structure of the sentence implies that *Yumi* is the

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[13]Some students, who attended my Korean language course at the Department of Oriental Studies at the University of Rome La Sapienza, were chosen to fill out questionnaires from 2011 to 2012. This *corpus* of 10 subjects at the advanced level became the fundamental sample of my research. The questionnaires were distributed to various groups of Italian learners who were studying Korean, in order to impress upon them the difficulties faced in the process of learning and to explain the correct use of the definiteness system in the Korean language.

[14]According to some linguists such as Ree (1974) and Bak (1981), a NP accompanied by the particle *nŭn*, which stands at the beginning of the sentence, is a topic and cannot be used with the interrogative pronoun, while the particle *ka* is employed as the indefinite pronoun in interrogative sentences. Ree (1974) states that *ka* indicates new information within the NP, while *nŭn* indicates information already known and mentioned. KO: *nu-ka yorihaeyo?* (INDF-NOM cucinare-PRES-INT/ IT: Chi cucina?/ EN: Who cooks?) KO: *Mara-ka yorihaeyo.* (Mara-NOM cucinare-PRES-AFF/ IT: Cucina Mara/ EN: It's Mara who cooks).

theme, while *Roma* is the subject. So the syntactic structure and the informational one do not match in Korean. This is a very frequent phenomenon and is inserted into the grammatical rules of languages such as Japanese and Korean, which distinguish the subject from the topic.

(15) KO: *Mario-nŭn k'i-ka k'ŭda.*
      Mario-TOP altezza-NOM essere alto-AFF
   IT: Mario è alto/ *Mario l'altezza è alta.
   EN: Mario is tall/ *Mario the height is tall.

The case particle *nŭn* is considered as topic-marker and the particle *ka* as subject-marker in traditional Korean grammar. Although this sentence (15) seems have two subjects, *Mario* represents the topic while *altezza* (height) is the real subject. Naturally, in Italian and English the subject is just *Mario*. Another hypothesis is that *ka* is the marker for focus and *nŭn* for topic.

(16) a. KO: *Mario-ka haksaeng-ida*
       Mario-FOC studente-COP-PRES
     IT: Mario è lo studente (colui che è studente è Mario)
     EN: Mario is the student (among many people)
   b. KO: *Mario-nŭn haksaeng-ida*
       Mario-TOP studente-COP-PRES
     IT: Mario è uno studente (A proposito di Mario, è uno studente)
     EN: Mario is a student (general information)

The syntactic subject *Mario*, accompanied by the particle *ka* in (16a), is the focus, making it the center of interest. In Italian it can be translated using the definite article and it could be the answer to the question, *Who is a student?* On the other hand, the NP preceding *nŭn* is the topic (16b). It is a simple statement of a general characteristic of *Mario*, so the particle *nŭn*, then, marks the generic subject.

The major difficulty in learning Korean concerns the correct use of the markers/particles. There is no doubt that the lack of clarity in the use of these case markers contributes to non-definiteness in the Korean language. The ambiguity is evident due to the absence of a clear distinction between syntactic definiteness and indefiniteness in Korean, so that the sentence requires the interpretation of the discourse and context. For this reason Korean language students tend to omit important particles in Korean noun phrases. It is necessary to internalize the frequent multiple subject structures in Korean not only from the syntactic but also from semantic and pragmatic perspectives.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused mainly on a contrastive analysis of Korean and Italian, elaborating especially upon the different ways to express definiteness. From this contrastive analysis we observed that Korean expresses definiteness and specificity

using other elements, such as demonstrative pronouns, while the marking of definiteness is not necessary in Korean.[15]

First a typological comparison of the two languages was presented in order to lay the ground for the next stages of my research. The second part focused on analyzing the discrepancies between nominal phrases in Italian and Korean. Some possible equivalents in Korean for each usage of an Italian article were suggested. The question of definiteness was developed in detail regarding the extensive usage of null argument and the exact role of particles and case markers for the topic and the subject, which can easily be omitted and elicited from the discourse.

In this contribution we could verify that the Korean language, without the article system, is characterized by a lower definiteness, nevertheless, the definiteness can be expressed via other linguistic elements such as case markers, demonstrative pronouns, numeral classifiers or pragmatics. The contrastive analysis between two languages, adopted in this research, was useful to understand the concept of definiteness and can serve as a starting point in clarifying the definiteness expressed in the Korean language and in achieving an appropriate methodology that may also be applicable to other languages.

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[15]See Jung (2012)

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Chapter 8
Unmarked Plurality and Specificity in Korean and Japanese Plural Nouns: A Preliminary Study

Kiri Lee, Young-mee Yu Cho and Min-Young Park

Introduction

In classifier languages such as Korean and Japanese, in most cases countable nouns do not have to be obligatorily marked for plurality even though these languages have plural suffixes *–tul* in Korean and *–tachi* in Japanese. One major typological difference between the two languages is that, while Japanese *–tachi* is generally attached to animate countable nouns, Korean *–tul* is attached to all countable nouns. Note, however, that the *–tul* forms are found predominantly more in human than in animal nouns, and to a lesser degree in inanimate nouns (Baek 2002, Kang 2007). What is more, in Japanese, there recently have been cases where *–tachi* is also attached to inanimate nouns. In such cases, *–tachi* seems to make a noun more playful/affectionate.[1] Unlike Korean *–tul*, Japanese–*tachi* is used more often in informal

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[1]We found several utterances of inanimate nouns with *–tachi* in Japanese. The following is the one of the examples from an interview with an architect who was looking at the old wood materials affectionately:

Naga-nen tsukatte-kita zairyō-**tachi** desu kara…

Many-years using material-plural be so

"(They are) the materials we have been using for a long time, so…"

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speech. We found less frequent uses of *–tachi* in formal writing and speech such as newspapers, scholarly articles, and political speeches.[2]

The following examples demonstrate that plural marking is not obligatory in Korean and Japanese; countable nouns without plural markers are used for both singular and plural in (1) and (2).

(1) Alupaithu-lo ai-lul tolpoko-issta
(2) Arubaito-de kodomo-o mite-iru.
    Side-job-for children-acc watch-be
    "I am taking care of/watching a child/children as my side job."

In these sentences, *ai* and *kodomo* "child" can be construed as either singular or plural without the plural suffixes. This is exemplified more specifically in the following sentences (3) and (4) where numeral classifiers are used after each noun.

(3) Alupaithu-lo ai-lul sey-myeng tolpoko-issta.
(4) Arubaito-de kodomo-o san-nin mite-iru.
    Side-job-for children-acc three-classifier watch-be
    "I am taking care of/watching three children as my side job."

In fact, Noh's (2008) corpus analysis shows that a numeral and *–tul* are seldom used together. This can be attributed to the general principle of language. That is, when plurality is explicitly expressed by means of a predicate or an adverb, or by the use of a numeral with a classifier, it is much more appropriate and natural not to mark a noun with *–tul* or *–tachi* (Zheng 2011). Also, with a verb such as "to gather," which anticipates collectiveness as its subject, the plural meaning is assigned to the subject noun even when it is in the singular form.

At the same time, it is well documented that when these nouns occur with the plural markers, they do not only mark simple plurality but also denote an additional meaning (Kurafuji 1999, 2004, Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004, Hosoi 2005, Kim 2011). Observe (5) and (6):

(5) Alupaithu-lo ai-**tul**-ul tolpoko-issta.[3]
(6) Arubaito-de kodomo-**tachi**-o mite-iru.
    Side-job-for children-acc watch-be
    "I am taking care of/watching (the) children as my side job."

In (5) and (6), the countable nouns *ai-tul* and *kodomo-tachi* can denote a particular group of children such as "my friend's children," "the children in our neighborhood," and so on. Therefore the two kinds of readings observed here are: (1)

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[2]In comparing the Korean-Japanese bilingual articles in *Choongang Ilbo* Newspaper (Jan. 12, 2013), we found significantly more uses of *–tul* such as *kwukmin-**tul*** "people" and *celmun kica-**tul*** "young journalists" in the Korean version than Japanese counterparts *kokumin-***tachi*** and *wakai kisha-***tachi***.

[3]The *–tul* and *–tachi* are written in bold to highlight the contrast.

ai-tul and *kodomo-tachi* are mere plurals (unmarked reading), (2) they refer to a specific group of children whom the speaker knows, or both the speaker and hearer know (marked reading). For Korean *–tul*, several researchers claim that the marked reading is derived from "Specificity" of an NP (e.g., Kim 2011). For Japanese *–tachi*, the analyses are widely varied and not consistent. It has been argued that it is derived from a "definite" NP (e.g., Kurafuji 1999, 2004), a "specific" NP (e.g., Hosoi 2005), or non-committal (Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004). In this paper, while we investigate the behavior of the plural suffixes in Korean and Japanese and examine their similarities and differences both in unmarked and marked readings, we argue that the marked reading given by the plural suffixes *–tul* and *–tachi* stems from "Specificity," not "Definiteness."

In the rest of this paper, we will first present the treatment of these suffixes in previous studies. Then, we will discuss why we take "Specificity" as a relevant notion for the marked reading of Korean and Japanese plural suffixes by adopting the definitions of "Specificity" and "Definiteness" proposed by Ioni, Ko and Wexler (2004). Next, we will present cases supporting our claims, and also point out that the Korean plural suffix functions more freely as a genuine plural marker, compared to the Japanese suffix. We conclude that the associative reading that is only available to Japanese plural suffix is responsible for this tendency. Finally, we give a summary of our findings in our concluding remarks.

Our roles for this collaborative study are as follows: Lee is responsible for the overall organization of the paper and the Japanese data while Cho is responsible for the Korean data. Lee and Cho collaborated on literature review and jointly came up with the analyses put forward in the chapter. Park, as a Korean-Japanese bilingual, provided a valuable comparative perspective and contributed the bilingual newspaper data.

"Specificity" and "Definiteness"

In this section we discuss previous studies on the plural suffixes in Japanese and Korean, which deal with the marked reading of such NPs, and justify our claim that "Specificity" is at work for the marked reading of the plural suffixes.

There are a number of studies on Japanese plural suffix *–tachi*, especially in the framework of formal semantics, and we note that the treatment of *–tachi* has not been particularly consistent. Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) challenge the frequently made claim that the Japanese plural suffix *–tachi* obligatorily carries the "Definite" denotation (e.g., Kurafuji 1999). They present examples with an unmarked reading of NP-*tachi*, and conclude that…"*–tachi* plurals cannot be uniformly treated as definite…" (Nakanishi & Tomioka 2004: 123). Instead, they propose the so-called "Non-Uniformity Hypothesis" which does not assume inherent definiteness of NP-*tachi*. In response, Kurafuji (2004), while accepting the non-obligatory marked reading of *–tachi*, still maintains that NP-*tachi* in Japanese

tends to be interpreted as definite. Hosoi (2005) gives a yet another account; he argues that the definiteness-like phenomenon discussed in previous studies is, in fact, manifestations of specificity a la Fodor and Sag's (1982) finding in English that an indefinite NP is semantically ambiguous in specificity. These studies are narrowly concerned with the ways marked reading of *–tachi* is formalized in formal semantics.

On the other hand, based on a discourse-based analysis and focusing on the parameters of Definiteness and Specificity in classifier and non-classifier languages, Kim (2011) adopts the discourse definitions of "Definiteness/Specificity" proposed in Ioni, Ko and Wexler (2004). Crucially, she accepts the position that a specific expression could be either definite or indefinite, and concludes that Korean plural suffix *–tul* denotes a specific reading when given a marked reading, but maintains that marked readings of Japanese plural suffix *–tachi* derived from "Definiteness," rather than "Specificity."

As mentioned earlier, our study provides more comprehensive analysis of the meanings of the plural suffixes in Korean and Japanese in discourse, and strongly argues that "Specificity" is at work in marked readings for both Korean and Japanese. As in Kim (2011), we adopt the definitions of "Specificity" and "Definiteness," by Ioni, Ko and Wexler (2004) as the most appropriate ones, as quoted verbatim below:

> The feature [+definite] and [+specific] are both discourse related: they are related to the knowledge/mind state of the speaker and/or the hearer in the discourse. This is shown by the informal definition in (3): the feature [+definite] reflects the state of knowledge of both speaker and hearer, whereas the feature [+specific] reflects the state of knowledge of the speaker only…

(3) Definiteness and Specificity: Informal definitions
    If a Determiner Phrase (DP) of the form [D NP] is …
    a. [+definite], then the speaker and hearer presuppose the existence of a unique individual in the set denoted by NP.
    b. [+specific], then the speaker intends to refer to a unique individual in the set denoted by the NP and considers this individual to possess some noteworthy property. (Ioni, Ko & Wexler 2004: 5)

According to these definitions, a noun can be categorized in the following four ways: [+definite, +specific], [+definite, –specific], [–definite, +specific], and [–definite, –specific], shown in Table 1 with example sentences.

They examine each combination very closely, and conclude that "the specificity distinction is independent of definiteness distinction...The conditions on specificity can be satisfied, or not satisfied, in both definite and indefinite contexts" (Ioni, Ko & Wexler 2004: 9).

After examining each combination with regard to nouns in Korean and Japanese, we have found occurrences of *–tul/-tachi* in [-definite, +specific], which will be discussed in 3.3 in detail. Based on these findings, we argue that the marked reading in Korean and Japanese is due to "Specificity," and is independent of "Definiteness." In the following section, we will present cases supporting our arguments.

Table 1 Four categories of noun specificity

[+Def, +Spec]	[+Def, –Spec][4]
Pronouns:	Definite but non-specific noun:
"**She** is a lawyer."	"I want to interview **the winner** of Boston Marathon next
Demonstratives:	year – whoever that is. I am writing a story about this race
"**This** person is a lawyer."	for the newspaper."
	[Ioni, Ko & Wexler 2004: 8–9 their (9b)]
[-Def, +Spec]	[–Def, –Spec]
Indefinite but specific noun:	Generic sentences/Kind-taking predicate:
"I want to marry **a lawyer**.	"**The whale** is a mammal."
His name is John."	Interrogative pronouns:
	"**Who** is coming?"
	Indefinite and non-specific noun:
	"I want to marry **a lawyer**. Where can I find one?"

Case Studies

In this section, we will present four cases from Korean and Japanese in order to compare the behavior of Korean –*tul* and Japanese –*tachi*. Each case strongly supports our claim that the marked reading of the plural suffixes is due to the specificity of the nouns.

No Plural Suffix Allowed: Always [-specific]

First, we present cases where no plural suffix is allowed in both languages: (1) they are generic and kind-taking sentences, and (2) interrogative pronouns.

1) Generic/Kind-taking sentences
Sentences in (7) and (8) are a generic statement about "the whale." Similarly, sentences in (9) and (10) have a kind-taking reference. In these sentences, the nouns do not refer to any specific "whale" or "child"; therefore, they are [–specific].

    (7) Kolay-nun/kolay-***tul**-un phyoyutongmul-ita.[5]
    (8) Kujira-wa/kujira-***tachi**-wa honyū-rui-da.
        Whale-top/whale-plural-top mammal-be
        "Whales are/The whale is a mammal."
    (9) Kyelhon-un hayss-ciman ai-nun/ai-***tul**-un epss-e-yo.
  (10) Kekkonshite-imasu-ga kodomo/kodomo-***tachi**-wa ima-sen.
        Married-being but child/child-plural-top be-neg
        "I am married, but I don't have children/a child"

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[4]Whether or not this category [+definite, –specific] is applicable to all the languages is unclear. See Sect. 4 for our discussion on this.

[5]Asterisks indicate that adding a plural suffix is not acceptable in the given context.

If we compare (9) and (10) to (11) and (12), the contrast between [–specific] and [+specific] becomes very obvious:

(11) A: Caceypun-un/-*tul-un iss-useyyo?
        Child(honorific)/child(honorific)-plural-top have (honorific)
        B: Ney, twul iss-eyo. Ai-tul-un cikum hakkyo-e iss-eyo.
        Yes, two-have child-plural-top now school-at be

(12) A: Okosan/okosan-*tachi -wa irasshai- masuka?
        Child(honorific)/child(honorific)-plural-top have (honorific)
        B: Ee, futari-imasu. Kodomo-tachi-wa ima gakkō-ni itte-imasu.
        Yes, two-have child-plural-top now school-at be
        A: "Do you have any children?"
        B: "Yes, I have two. They (my children) are at school now."

The noun *caceypun* in (11) and *okosan* in (12) in Speaker A's utterance has a kind-taking reference, thus the nouns are [–specific]. Then, after Speaker B acknowledges that she has two children, *ai-tul/kodomo-tachi* is natural with the plural marking. In Speaker B's utterance, *ai-tul/kodomo-tachi* means her children, and therefore, it is [+specific].

2) Interrogative pronouns
    Another case where plural suffixes are not compatible involves interrogative pronouns such as "who" in (13) and (14). Observe:
    (13) Ece nwu-ka/nwuku-*tul-i pangmun-hayss-supnika?
    (14) Kinō dare-ga/dare-*tachi-ga tazunete-kimashita-ka?
          Yesterday who-nom/who-plural-nomvisit-came-Q
          "Who came to visit yesterday?"

Even if the situation is such that the speaker in (13) and (14) expects more than two visitors, the plural suffixes cannot be attached to *nwukwu/dare*. *Nwukwu/dare* as interrogative pronouns are inherently [–specific].

Genuine Plural Cases

Next, we examine cases where a noun with –*tul/tachi* is interpreted as unmarked, that is, as a mere plural noun.

(15) Santhakhullosu-nun cen-sekey-uy ai-tul-eykey salang pat-nunta.
(16) Santakurōsu-wa sekai-jū-no kodomo-tachi-ni aisare-te-iru.
      Santa Claus-top world-throughout-gen child-plural-by loved-being
      "Santa Claus is loved by children throughout the world."

Ai-tul and *kodomo-tachi* in (15) and (16) respectively are interpreted as children in general, thus [–specific]. Observe more:

(17) Kongwen-ey ai-tul-i iss-ta.
(18) Kōen-ni kodomo-tachi-ga ita.
      Park-in child-plural-nom be-past
      "There were children in the park."

The Japanese sentence in (18) is the sentence from Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004). They state that it "can be uttered as a mere description of what the speaker witnessed, and it does not require the presupposition that there are particular children whose existence is known to the speaker and the hearer" (2004: 120). We agree with their observation about the mere plural reading, and the Korean sentence in (17) has the same judgment.

In (19) and (20), *koyangi* and *neko* with the plural suffixes can also be interpreted as general "cats," so they are [–specific].

(19) Yumi kunche-ey-nun encena koyangi-**tul**-i nathana-nta.
(20) Yumi-san-no-mawarini-wa itsumo neko-**tachi**-ga yatte-kuru.
     Yumi-title-gen-around-top alwaya cat-plural-nom come
     "Cats always come up to Yumi."

Obligatory Marked Reading: Always [+specific]

In this section, we present cases where nouns with –*tul/tachi* have an obligatory marked reading. These involve demonstrative pronouns, adnominal demonstratives, and pronouns. In order for them to occur in the right context, they must have specific references, so they are always [+specific].

As for demonstrative pronouns, Japanese has both singular and plural forms, while that is not the case in Korean. Compare (Table 2 and 3):

Note that Japanese allows –*tachi* even when other plural elements such as classifiers and plural demonstratives exist within the same utterance. For example, the

Table 2 Korean demonstratives

Demonstratives	Singular/plural	Examples
This/those	i	i salam "this person" i salam-tul "these people"
That/those	ku	ku chayk "this book" ku chayk-tul "those books"
That/those over there	ce	ce koyangi "that cat over there" ce koyangi-tul "those cats over there"

Table 3 Japanese demonstratives

Demonstratives	Singular	Plural	Examples
this/these	kono	kore-ra[a]-no	kono gakusei "this student" korerano gakusei "these students"
that/those	sono	sore-ra-no	sono gakusei "that student" sorerano gakusei "those students"
that/those over there	ano	are-ra-no	ano gakusei "that student over there" arerano gaukusei "those students over there"

[a]Note that –*ra* is another plural suffix in Japanese. It can be used very similarly to –*tachi*, but, depending on the noun which it attaches to, it could sound very formal, casual, or even vulgar.

sentence (21) with *kono* (singular demonstrative) and *gakusei* (singular noun) only denotes a singular reading, but all the combinations of *kono/korera-no* and *gakusei/gakusei-tachi* in (22) render a plural reading.

(21)   Kono gakusei-wa keizai-o senkō-shiteiru (Only singular reading)
       this student-top economics-acc majoring-be
       "This student is majoring in economics."
(22)   a. Kono gakusei-**tachi**-wa keizai-o senkō-shiteiru
       b. Korera-no gakusei-wa keizai-o senkō-shiteiru
       c. Korera-no gakusei-**tachi**-wa keizai-o senkō-shiteiru
       "These students are majoring in economics." (plural reading)

The adnominal demonstratives in Korean and Japanese are *ilen/konna* "this kind of," *kulen/sonna* "that kind of," and *celen/anna* "that-over-there kind of," and *etten/donna* "what kind of", respectively. In order to render the plural reading, a noun must occur with –*tul/tachi*, such as *ilen-salam-**tul*** and *konna-hito-**tachi*** for "this kind of people." The singular nouns cannot be interpreted as plural here.

As mentioned, pronouns are always [+specific]. Korean and Japanese pronouns are shown in Table 4 and 5. Notice that, unlike other nouns, plural marking in pronouns are obligatory because they can only referred to specific individuals.

The next cases are such that the context forces both *ai-tul* and *kodomo-tachi* "children" to have a marked reading, similar to the context shown in (11) and (12) before.

(23)   Samusil-eyse tolao-nikka ai-**tul**-un pelsse cako iss-ess-ta.
(24)   Shigoto-kara kaeru-to kodomo-**tachi** wa mō nemutte-ita.
       work-from came-home-when child-plural-top already sleeping-were
       "When I came home from work, (my/the) children were already asleep."

Ai-tul in (23) and *kodomo-tachi* in (24) have an obligatory marked reading. They have to be the children of the speaker, or a specific group of children rather than some non-specific plural children. This case strongly supports our hypothesis that the marked reading derives from "Specificity," not "Definiteness." Consider a

Table 4   Korean pronouns

Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st person	na/ce (neutral/ humble)	uli/cehi (neutral/ humble)
2nd person	ne/tangsin (neutral/ humble)	nehi/tangsin-tul (neutral/formal)
3rd person	ku/kunye (masculine/feminine)	ku-tul/kunye-tul (masculine/feminine)

Table 5   Japanese pronouns

Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st person	watashi	watashi-tachi
2nd person	anata	anata-tachi
3rd person	kare/kanojo (masculine/feminine)	kare-ra/kare-tachi (neutral or masculine) kanojo-ra/kanojo-tachi (feminine)

question such as "You are busy with your job, right?" In it, the speaker does not have to know if the listener has a child or not. However, in answers to questions such as those shown in (25) and (26), where the speaker mentions her children, they are unique individuals. Hence *ai-tul/kodomo-tachi* is [+specific].

(25) Nye. hangsang opethaim-ilase cip-e tolao-myen ai-**tul**-un pothong cako-isseyo.
(26) Ee. itsumo zangyō-de ie-ni kaeru-to kodomo-**tachi**-wa taitei nete-imasu.
      Yes always over-time-with home-to return-to children-top usually sleep-be
      "Yes. I always work overtime, and when I get home, my children are usually asleep."

Another case which forces a marked reading is the "associative" function of –*tachi,* a function only available in Japanese. In this reading, "noun X-*tachi*" means "a group of people who are represented by noun X." Observe (27) and (28). *Tanaka-san-tachi* in (27) has only the "associative" reading because the noun here is a proper noun, whereas *musume-tachi* in (28) can be interpreted as either "(my) daughters" or "my daughter and others." The sentence in (28) was taken from an interview from Japanese news, and it was uttered during the interview by a father who had lost his daughter in a car accident. Viewers found out that his daughter took a trip with her friends, and thus *musume-tachi* here has an associative reading.

(27) Tanaka-san-**tachi** wa saki-ni itta.
      Tanaka-Mr.-plural-top ahead went
      "A group of people represented by Mr. Tanaka went ahead."
(28) Musume-**tachi**-wa ryokō-chūni jiko-ni makikomareta.
      Daughter-plural-top trip-during accident-in involved
      "My daughter and others got involved in the accident during their trip."

Note that the context which *musume-tachi* was uttered confirms that this noun has a reference only in the speaker's discourse, not in the hearer's because this is the first time for the viewers of the news to hear about it. This is another evidence that the marked reading of –*tachi* is due to "Specificity," not "Definiteness."

Ambiguous Readings

There are cases where –*tul/tachi* are ambiguous for both readings. However, Japanese –*tachi* has stronger preference for a marked reading than Korean –*tul*.

(29) Kakey-lul tat-ulyeko ha-nunte sonnim-i tule-wassta.
(30) Mise-o shime-yō-to shi-tara kyaku-ga haitte-kita.
      Store-acc close-about-do-when customer-nom came-in
      "When I was about to close the store, a customer/customers came in."
(31) Kakey-lul tat-ulye-ko ha-nunte sonnim-**tul**-itule-wassta.
(32) Mise-o shime-yō-to shi-tara kyaku-**tachi**-ga haitte-kita.
      Store-acc close-about do-when customers-nom came-in
      "When I was about to close the store, (the) customers came in."

In (29) and (30), *sonnim* and *kyaku* "customer" can be either singular or plural, but in (31) and (32), it is very awkward to interpret *kyaku-tachi* in Japanese as unmarked plural while the Korean *sonnim-tul* can have an unmarked plural reading quite freely. Thus, when the pragmatic context allows the marked reading of specificity, Japanese has a strong tendency to interpret a noun with a plural marker as specific, whereas Korean can allow both readings equally (Baek 2002, Zheng 2011). We claim that this preference in the Japanese *–tachi* is attributed to the "associative" property of the plural suffix.

As mentioned earlier, Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004) attempt a unified account for *–tachi* in formal semantics by proposing "Non-Uniformity" hypothesis. Their "Non-Uniformity" hypothesis is stated as follows: "…X-*tachi,* where X is a name of the property that we consider as representative for the plural entity. It is not crucial whether everybody has/is X, as long as it helps us pick out the plural entity in question…" (2004: 131). Following their hypothesis, *gakusei-tachi* "student-plural suffix," for example, is a group of people represented by *gakusei* "student." This group can consist of all *gakusei* or *gakusei* and their associates. If the group consists of all *gakusei*, it can be either a specific group of students (marked reading) or just more than two students (unmarked reading). This entails that, whenever X-*tachi* is used, it is ambiguous in trifold in Japanese: (i) everyone in the group does not consist of X but is represented by X (the associative reading) and it has an obligatory marked reading; (ii) members of the group are all X and it has a marked reading; or (iii) members of the group are all X and it has an unmarked reading. Therefore, when a Japanese speaker encounters X-*tachi*, the probabilities of X-*tachi* being interpreted as marked are higher than unmarked. It is thus very difficult to automatically interpret X-*tachi* as a mere plural. Recall that Korean does not have this function in *–tul*. We claim that this added function of *–tachi* in Japanese, namely, the "associative" reading, is responsible for not allowing unmarked reading as freely as Korean.

Final Remarks

In this study, we have presented discourse/pragmatic meanings of the Japanese and Korean plural suffixes, by adopting the definitions of "Definiteness/ Specificity" of Ioni et al. (2004). As evidenced in our examples throughout this paper, we conclude that nouns with plural suffixes which render a marked reading are always [+specific] in both languages, not [+definite], as some researchers have proposed in the past. In addition, we found that there is a much stronger preference for Japanese *–tachi* to be construed as a marked reading than Korean *–tul* when *–tul/tachi* are open for both readings. We claim that Japanese *–tachi* exhibits this tendency because of the existence of its "associative" reading, which is not available in Korean.

One issue we have not been able to clarify is the existence of [+definite, –specific] Japanese/Korean NPs. Whether or not this category [+definite, –specific] is

applicable to all languages should be determined first. This particular feature combination might be relevant only to languages with definite/indefinite articles. In the example sentence in Ioni et al. (2004), "I want to interview the winner of Boston Marathon next year – whoever that is…," they claim that "the winner" is the category which would be filled with specific information after the race is over. In the following Korean and Japanese sentences (33) and (34), similar to the sentence under discussion, the NPs with the plural suffixes are not very felicitous. In fact, in Japanese, the plural suffix is almost unacceptable.

(33) Tongkye ollimphik-i kkuthna-ko metalswuyeca/?**tul**-uy myengtan-i naol
     kes-ita
(34) Tōki orinpikku-no ato-de medarisuto/???**tachi**-no risuto-ga de-ru-sou-da
     Winter Olympics-gen after medalist-of list-nom appear-said-be
     "After the winter Olympic games are over, the list of medalists will be made
     available."

The marginality/unacceptability of these sentences with –*tul*/-*tachi* is not problematic for our analysis, for the NPs in (33) and (34) are [–specific]. Furthermore, this observation may be construed as further evidence that "Definiteness" and "Specificity" function independently. However, what we can say about definiteness of these NPs requires further investigation.

Our study has further implications in the areas of diachronic change, language pedagogy, translation, and sociolinguistics. We note that marking plurality in Korean has undergone many visible changes over the past 500 years. In Middle Korean,[6] plural marking was divided between cases of honorific (therefore, human) nouns/pronouns and non-honorific nouns/pronouns (again, predominantly human) (Ko 2006). However, the eighteenth century data suggest that the division along the honorific dimension had given way to a unified notion of plurality. The twentieth century change is attributable to the ubiquitous plural marking in Indo-European languages, especially, English. While plurality is still marked on human nouns, the usage has spread dramatically to other animate nouns and even to countable inanimate nouns. The change in Japanese is not as dramatic as in Korean, but we now observe usages of –*tachi* with inanimate nouns much more frequently as mentioned in Introduction.

As for pedagogical implications, in numerous KFL textbooks, –*tul* is glossed as "a plural marker" or "a plural particle," with a simple explanation that its use is OPTIONAL. We find only one book that describes plural marking in any detail. *Functional Korean: A Communicative Approach* (1989) states: "When the noun in a sentence indicates some specific person(s), the plural marker – 들(–*tul*) is required. (By 'specific' or 'definite,' we mean something or somebody specifically referred to by the speaker and understood by the listener. In this instance, the English speaker would use 'the' in English.)" Similarly, in major JFL textbooks, –*tachi* is

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[6]We would like to thank Professor Chung-Kon Shi of KAIST in Daejon, Korea for his help with Middle Korean data and analyses.

glossed as "makes a noun plural" or "plural markers for people." Except *Japanese: the Spoken Language* (1990), they do not mention anything about the "associative" reading of *–tachi*. We suggest our findings on the link between specificity and plurality should be properly incorporated into Korean and Japanese language instruction.

We hope that other issues not touched upon in our paper such as cross-language translation and textual-indexing of plural marking will be areas of future research.

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Chapter 9
The "My Funny Talk" Corpus and Speaking Style Variation in Japanese

Toshiyuki Sadanobu

Introduction

In this paper, I discuss how we can deepen our understanding of speech communication with special reference to our new Japanese corpus, the "My Funny Talk" corpus (*Watashino Chotto Omoshiroi Hanashi* in Japanese, henceforth MFT). Before introducing it in detail, I shall clarify our background and the objectives of this corpus.

The background of MFT is concerned with the progress of spoken language research.

The unique status of spoken language relative to written language has been acknowledged by several twentieth-century linguists. For example, Charles Hockett pursued features that distinguish human spoken language from other communication systems, including written language (Hockett 1960). Additionally, John Lyons called the priority of spoken language over written language as "one of the cardinal principles of modern linguistics" (Lyons 1981). However, actual research on language has focused on the written form, and language education has also followed this trend.[1] Consequently, there are very few textbooks based upon spoken language. Such a discrepancy between the ideal and reality concerning the

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[1]Before the twentieth century, written language was generally viewed as superior to spoken language, as described by Izre'el (2005). Izre'el (ibid.) also pointed out that the linguistic focus on spoken language is still limited and partial, with phonetics and phonology as its center. Although it might possible to regard the view of priority of spoken language over written language as prevailing during the long history of philosophy since Socrates, I am not sure whether that tradition is really concerned with spoken/written distinction rather than langue/parole distinction.

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status of spoken language is gradually being mitigated by the development and spread of technology. Advancements in recording, editing, and the release of audio-visual information enable us to develop and utilize various corpora as data for research and education on spoken language.[2]

In the case of spoken language in Japan, the biggest corpus is the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese (CSJ), developed in 2004 by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, the National Institute of Information and Communications Technology, and the Tokyo Institute of Technology. It includes utterances consisting of approximately 7.5 million words (660 hours) collected mainly from academic presentation speech and simulated public speaking (Maekawa 2004). More recently, smaller but more focused corpora, featuring a greater concentration on the dynamics of conversation than found in the CSJ, have appeared. For example, Mayumi Usami and others developed a new corpus of utterances consisting of about 800,000 words (70 hours) from a pragmatic per-spective based on their transcription system, Basic Transcription System for Japanese (BTSJ) (Usami and Nakamata 2013). Another example is our first corpus (40 hours), KOBE Crest FLASH (KCF), developed by Nick Campbell and jointly released online in 2012. The most prominent feature of KCF is that it includes visual indications of the temporal distribution of utterances during natural dialo-gue, in addition to audio-text information (Fig. 1).

At the center of Fig. 1, the reader can see double disconnected lines: a blue line (upper) and a pink line (lower). Each line reflects the temporal distribution of utterances by speakers, with the blue line reflecting one speaker's utterance, the pink line reflecting the others', and the line breaks representing periods of speaker silence. Therefore, a very short line implies that the speaker's utterance ends in a
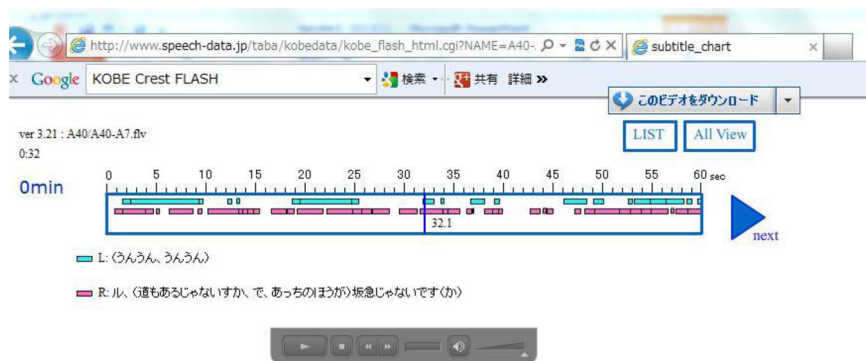
Fig. 1 Sample screen of KOBE Crest FLASH (http://www.speech-data.jp/taba/kobedata/)

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[2]Paul Hopper says, "To start with discourse is not simply to use discourse data for the same projects that were previously carried out with invented sentences, but to face the prospect of beginning anew and finding new generalizations about the language, based on entire texts and contexts rather than convenient selections. It may even lead us to rethink our ideas about language itself." [Hopper 1995: 140.]

very short time, as in the case of backchannels. With such visual indications, KCF is an effective tool for researching the temporal aspect of dialogue structure, including utterance overlapping and back channel usage.

While use of the CSJ requires a fee (¥50,000 for researchers and ¥25,000 for students), and the BTSJ corpus necessitates a legal contract for use, we are gradually releasing the KCF on the Internet[3] so that anyone can download the corpus free of charge. Although only a small part (two hours) has been released so far, interested readers can contact us to access the remaining portion of the corpus before the release. Sunakawa (2011) provides more detailed information about these corpora.

Our motivation for developing and releasing further corpus (i.e., MFT) is partly concerned with the treatment of visual information. Although the KCF includes visual indication of the temporal distribution of utterances, like its CSJ and BTSJ counterparts, it does not include visual information on the conversation itself. Unlike these previous corpora, our new corpus MFT includes such audio-visual information on speech. However, our motivation for developing and releasing MFT is not so much concerned with the problem of multi-modality as it is concerned with the issue of balance: an ideal corpus should be well-balanced for the given research or education. In order to clarify the dietary habits of the Japanese, for example, it would not be effective to investigate 50 informants from Hokkaido and 50 informants from Okinawa and conclude that lamb and goat meat are popular among Japanese people. Before gathering data, we should prepare an inventory of dietary cultures in Japan and then select informants carefully on the basis of the population and age-distribution of each dietary culture, rather than on a per capita basis of administrative districts. With this in mind, we cannot help but propose that none of the present corpora are well balanced, as our current knowledge of variation in spoken Japanese is still very limited.

The way of speaking during conversation changes drastically in accordance with style, situation, speech act type, and even speaker type (Sadanobu 2011). This begs the question, how many variants of speaking style does the Japanese language have? In what situations does each variant appear, and to what degree? How many speech-act types and speaker types does the Japanese language contain? All of these questions should be regarded as very important if we seek to construct a well-balanced corpus. Unfortunately, many of these questions remain unanswered, which limits the effectiveness of quantitative research based on corpus data, as is pointed out by Emanuel Schegloff: "… and in many areas we are not yet (in my judgment) in a position to satisfy these prerequisites that allow the possibility that quantitative analysis will deliver what is wanted from it and what it promises" (Schegloff 1993: 103). Nevertheless, with the information and resources available at present, we can offer a description and clarification of variation in Japanese speech, and this is the main goal in our construction of the MFT, started in 2010. As far as we know, it is the first and the only audio-visual corpus of Japanese speech and of funny talks (i.e., discussion that includes humorous contents) released on the Internet. In the next section, we describe its specifications for achieving the objective above.

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[3]http://www.speech-data.jp/taba/kobedata/

Specifications of MFT

Our new corpus, My Funny Talk (MFT), is a collection of talks, all lasting only a few minutes in length, that were entered in a funny spoken-story tournament, held annually in collaboration with the Research Center for Media and Culture of Kobe University[4] and my "kakenhi" project,[5] and sponsored by the Media Culture Campaign Council.[6] As noted above, the primary goal in our construction of the MFT is to shed light on variation in Japanese speech. Moreover, the MFT is constructed for at least three additional purposes, which are not necessarily affinitive but are interconnected and fully compatible with one another. First, MFT is useful as research material regarding modern Japanese folk storyteller's art ("wagei," in Japanese). Of course, existing materials on Japanese storytelling such as "koudan," "rakugo," and "joururi" are plentiful, but these are traditional data sources rather than modern ones. Although modern funny talks by professional comedians are quite common in TV programs, it is too simplistic to equate them with folk storytellers' funny talks. Beyond this, and most crucially, they are not usable because of copyright issues. Second, MFT is useful as educational material on "live" Japanese speech for Japanese learners and their teachers. Third, MFT serves as an experimental trial for collecting conversational data, shown in detail later in the section. In order to simultaneously achieve these various aims, numerous precautions are taken throughout the construction of the MFT. Before entry, participants are told the tournament rules, and they attest that they waive their rights to privacy, publicity, and copyrighted works (e.g., phrases, poems, and songs that they hit upon and utter during their talk) through documents prepared by our lawyer; this is necessary to release their talks online.

We received 17 talks for the first tournament (2010), 72 talks for the second (2011), 43 talks for the third (2012), and 44 talks for the fourth (2013). Although the total number of hours of data currently available is quite limited (about 10 hours), it already has surprising varieties of Japanese speech, as is shown in Sect. 3. The yearly variation in the number of talks resulted from trial and error. For the second tournament, we strengthened the advertisement to increase the number of entries and thus obtain more speech variety. However, we later realized this was not beneficial to the research. The score of each participant was determined purely by Internet voting without any manipulation. Such a large sample size makes it significantly more difficult to assure sufficient gratuitous voters who click on, watch, and mark entered talks, rather than base their vote on the tournament speakers, especially when the number of entry talks is as large as in the second tournament. We therefore decided to decrease the number of entries, which proved to be difficult, as most participants loved the tournament and were eager to participate in it again.

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[4]http://www2.cla.kobe-u.ac.jp/cmec/

[5]This project is supported by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (A), 23320087. http://www.speech-data.jp/kaken/

[6]"Media Bunka Suishin Kyougikai," in Japanese.

Talks entered into the tournament are not identical in form. Many of them are fragments of conversation between three or four housekeepers, some are elicited from a cocktail party conversation among businessmen, and others presenters simply enter and talk by themselves alone. All talks are presented as an audio-visual movie file with Japanese subtitles, which helps Japanese learners understand the content. Seven from the first year tournament lack this visual information because of technical issues. The remaining nine talks of the first tournament have English, French, and Chinese translations in addition to Japanese subtitle for learners of basic Japanese. The watcher can choose his/her favorite design from the two prepared presentations. One format has parallel presentation, while the other has a language-switcher on the upper right side (Fig. 2), and we are presently planning to add these translations for entries in other tournaments as well.[7]

Fig. 2 Sample of movie file with parallel translations (No. 9, 2010) http://www.speech-data.jp/chotto/2010_sub/flash/2010009s4.html

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[7]I think the readers probably noticed the quality of images is not so high. Let me explain about it. The low quality of images is connected with the basic conception of the "My Funny Talk" project, which is the theme of this paper. As I wrote earlier, one of the objects of this project is to share research data among researchers over the world via the internet. We lower the video quality and downsize the data volume in order to facilitate those researchers who have little to no research funding to watch and download the video easily.

As shown in Fig. 2, we give special treatment to person names. We substitute the graphic characters of their names with the symbol "**" so that the watchers do not know who is being talked about in the clips. Likewise, we add a beep sound over personal names in the sound files in order to conceal the identities of the individuals being discussed. Besides these precautions, there are still other legal or ethical issues. A few talks judged as strongly insulting to a particular person were cut off. During one talk, the speaker confessed to childhood shoplifting, and therefore the screen was blurred to prevent viewer identification. This measure was taken despite the fact that the presenter himself assured us that he did not need such treatment.

The tournament system was selected, but our aim is not to classify native speakers into several groups, from a group of fluent and eloquent speakers to that of unsophisticated, artless speakers. As previously noted, participant score was determined through Internet voting, but little attention was paid to this score. Although we agree with Mark Durie (1999) in asserting that the notion of skill is important to grammar, we do not think that the skill of a native speaker is so easily determined. Rather, our aim in utilizing a tournament system derives mainly from benefits in collecting and sharing corpora.

The collection of conversation data is becoming increasingly popular among Japanese linguists, but most of this data stems from conversations among students. This is because such data is the cheapest and easiest for university teachers to gather. However, students are not representative of most speech, and collecting non-students' conversational data can often be expensive, time-consuming, and exhausting. We have to take the necessary yet tedious steps of asking for the informants' cooperation, paying them for the rights to their likeness, and transporting equipment to their homes or offices. For researchers, the tournament system was an experimental trial in shifting all these burdens onto the informants' side. At the beginning, we expected that by offering a small amount of prize money, informants might create their own videos and send them to us at their own cost. What we found was that most applicants preferred visiting the university and having us take their videos. Therefore, the tournament system has not worked so well in this respect, but we maintain that the experiment is worth continuing.

Obstacles are not limited to data collection phases. Difficulties have been encountered in sharing corpora as well. A researcher might be reluctant to release his data lest his analysis should eventually prove to be wrong. Even if it is released, other researchers might not be interested, as they cannot understand it as deeply as they understand their own data because of differences in background. Alternatively, neither researchers nor L2 learners might enjoy viewing the data, simply because it is boring. We thought that brief, funny stories entered in a tournament might be an effective way to significantly reduce such obstacles. That is to say, we expected that in order to get the prize, applicants would do their best to make their stories funny, short, and easy to understand for any watcher without an extensive background in the story's subject.

Examples of Speech Variations Examined via MFT

Regarding the content of the stories, all applicants discussed personal experiences, and thus far we have not received any table jokes like "A cruise ship founders on a reef, and a man just manages to swim some miles and crawl up on a desert island …" This strong tendency of Japanese people to prefer personal experiences to jokes and anecdotes as funny talk could be related to characteristics of Japanese culture, since it coincides with what Oshima (2011) found in Japanese written funny stories. Future investigation could help develop a cross-linguistic study focusing on the culture of spoken-stories by conducting the same funny story tournament in other societies and comparing the entries with those in this corpus.

The overall structure of narrations of personal experiences is another research theme for further investigation. There are two different ideas concerning the order between subparts of narratives (i.e., "evaluation" and "resolution"). One is given by William Labov (e.g., Labov and Waletzky 1967, Labov 1997), who asserts that "evaluation" precedes "resolution" as in (1). And the other is given by Senko Kumiya Maynard (1989), who conversely puts "resolution" before "evaluation" as in (2). Although our preliminary work (Kaneda *et al.* 2013) indicates Japanese narratives fit better with the latter, further studies are required to make this point clear.

(1) Overall Structure of Narratives (William Labov)
  1. Abstract "is an initial clause that reports the entre sequence of events of the narrative" [Labov 1997: 402.]
  2. Orientation part serves "to orient the listener in respect to person, place, time, and behavioral situation." [Labov and Waletzky 1967: 32, underlines provided.]
  3. Complication or complicating action means "the main body of narrative clauses usually comprises a series of events" [Labov and Waletzky 1967: 32.]
  4. Evaluation "is defined by us as that part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others." [Labov and Waletzky 1967: 37.]
  5. Result or resolution means "the set of complicating actions that follow the most reportable event" [Labov 1997: 414.]
  6. Coda is "a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment" [Labov and Waletzkey 1967: 39.]
(2) Overall Structure of Narratives (Senko K. Maynard)
  1. Prefacing: (obligatory)
     Expressions used to signal the transition from the current discourse into a narrative. Includes seven different categories, any one of which is obligatory and minimally one category must appear prior to the main body in which the narrative appears. Categories 2 through 7 may appear elsewhere in the main body of the narrative.
  2. Setting: (obligatory if unknown to the listener)
     Specifics of the situation such as time and location where the event takes place, along with descriptions of characters involved in the event.

3. Narrative Event: (obligatory)
   Describes how the identified participants conduct or experience an event that is thought to be interesting to the story recipient. The description of the narrative event must minimally contain an event sequence consisting of two related chronologically ordered actions.
4. Resolution: (optional)
   The result of or the conclusion to the narrative event.
5. Evaluation/Reportability: (optional)
   Refers to the point of the narrative (why it is told) as defined by Labov (1972).[8] Includes relevance of the narrative to the story recipient, and both mental and emotional reaction of the narrator with respect to the narrated event.
6. Ending Remarks: (optional)
   Expressions that signal the end of the narrative frame and the shift of the framework from the narrative to another discourse unit.
   [Maynard 1989: 117–118.]

In this paper we focus on the complementary effectiveness of this corpus in our understanding of the varieties of spoken Japanese. Although we cannot say that the stories entered in a tournament are as natural as everyday conversation in all aspects, MFT abounds in speech variations scarcely addressed in hundreds of hours of standard spoken-language corpora. By using this corpus as a complement to previous corpora, we are better able to address actual variation in Japanese speech. We shall briefly provide two examples below.

Pitch

The first notable example is pitch. According to the traditional view, such as Amanuma *et al.* (1978), intonation cannot break patterns of lexical accents in Japanese. Recent research (Abe 1998, Sadanobu, 2005a, 2013) concludes that lexical accent can be affected by intonation to such a degree that it completely loses its original shape. Sadanobu (2005a, 2013) argues that this happens especially when the intonation is connected with the speaker's strong attitudes or feelings.

In MFT, we find cases that support this position. Here is just one example (Fig. 3).

The phrase *ki-ta*, which means "came" in English, has a falling pitch accent. The first mora *ki* bears a high pitch, whereas the second mora *ta* bears a low pitch. In this excerpt, the speaker utters this phrase three times in total, as shown in (3) below.

(3) 03: 34 *ah, ki-ta-ze!* "Oh, it has come!" (Direct speech of cry)
     03: 35 *ki-ta-zo!* "It has come!" (Direct speech of cry)
     03: 37 *kaette-ki-ta* "came back" (Representative speech of thought)

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[8]Labov, William. 1972. *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fig. 3 Example of utterance where falling lexical accent is deleted by rising intonation (No. 38, 2011) http://www.speech-data.jp/chotto/2011/2011038.html

The pitch of the third utterance seems to preserve the falling accent in calm representative speech, although this is not so clear as it is not a main verb, but instead acts as a supplementary verb attached to the phrase *kaette*, meaning "go back." In contrast, the first and the second utterances do not preserve the lexical accent in the speaker's direct speech (i.e., cry of strong joy). They are uttered in rising intonation like *yatta!* (I did it!).

Phonation

The second and final example is phonation. MFT has plenty of utterances with various phonation types, including pressed (Fig. 4), whispery (Fig. 5), and rounded phonations.

Their meanings are culturally dependent, as a pressed voice can convey the attitudinal meaning of *kyoshuku*, which connotes a psychological shrinking with the feeling apology and embarrassment to native Japanese speakers (Sadanobu 2004; 2005b); however, this same voice comes off as arrogant to French speakers (Shochi *et al*. 2005).

The rounded phonation with shooting out the lip (*togarase* in Japanese) is one to which much attention is paid, especially in recent years. Through MRI (Magnetic Resonance Images) experiments,[9] we are now identifying articulatory types of

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[9]By using MRI, we are able to visually document various articulatory behaviors in the oral cavity and throat. Furthermore, instead of recording video images in real time, it is possible to construct video data by repeating the same utterance 96 times, using a recording that synchronizes the timing of imaging and speech using two types of trigger signals: a scan signal and a noise burst (Masaki *et al*. 1999, Honda 2006). All permissions have been secured for the use Figs. 6 and 7 for this paper.

Fig. 4 Example of pressed phonation utterance (No. 8, 2010) http://www.speech-data.jp/chotto/
2010_sub/jwplayer/2010008s.html

Fig. 5 Example of whispery phonation utterance (No. 18, 2012) http://www.speech-data.jp/
chotto/2012/2012018.html

rounded phonation (Figs. 6 and 7), one of which is an adult phonation with the attitude of *kyoshuku*, similar to that seen in the case of pressed voice.

We can see this demonstrated on data elicited from MFT (Fig. 8).

Here, a female speaker discusses her past experience of joining a conversation with the general manager of her company and a visiting guest, who was the president of another company. She imitates these two people when she directly quotes their conversation. It is important to note here that the general manager has a

Fig. 6 MRI of "common" phonation
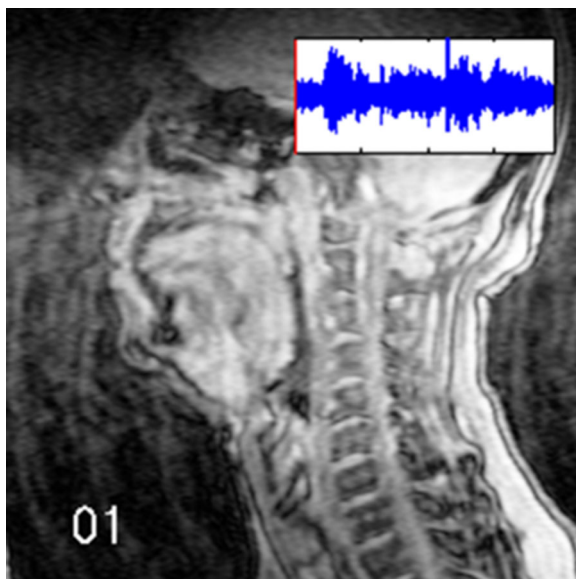
higher status than the president, probably in accordance with the relative strengths of their companies.

What is interesting is that she speaks with a pressed and rounded phonation only when voicing the president. She speaks using this phonation four times in total and the utterances are shown in (4) below.

(4) 02: 48 *ah, haa, nandesuka?* "Oh, yes, what is it?"
　　02: 57 *iyaa* "Noo"
　　03: 09 *iyaa* "Noo"
　　03; 14 *iyaiya* "No, no"

The first example is an utterance showing the president's attitude of attentive listening to the general manager's speech. The three remaining utterances are negative answers in response to the general manager's questions. These four utterances begin not with rounded vowels, but with the vowel "a" for the first utterance and the vowel "i" for the remaining responses. However, the speaker's mouth is rounded at the top of these four utterances. The general manager's speech begin with "i" at 2:50. At this time, however, she does not round her lips. This rounded phonation is an adult phonation with the attitude of *kyoshuku* that we saw above (Sadanobu and Hayashi 2016). However, a slight change in phonation drastically changes its impression into a child's complaint (Zhu and Sadanobu 2016). Do these two phonations differ in their articulatory way of rounding the lips, or do they share the rounding articulation and differ in voice quality only? The details should be investigated further, but our main argument is that we can utilize MFT, which abounds in such utterances, as a supplement to deepen our understanding of speech variation in the Japanese language.

Fig. 7 MRI of rounded
phonation
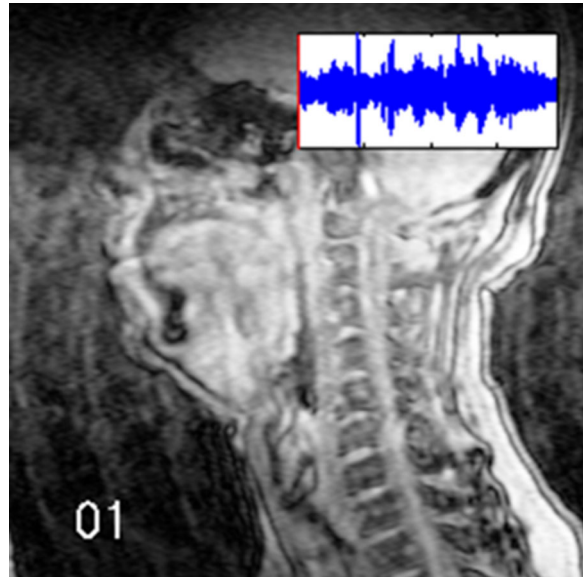
Fig. 8 Example of rounded phonation utterance (No. 47, 2011) http://www.speech-data.jp/
chotto/2011/2011047.html

Remaining Issues and Future Directions

Lastly, we shall introduce two doubts sometimes cast on the usability of the MFT
corpus, and clear away them by showing our recognition of "dialects in the study
of spoken language" and "technology of synthesizing expressive speech." The first
doubt is that it appears that most of the talks were performed in Kansai dialects

and few in other dialects. It is true that most speakers of the MFT corpus are from Kansai (Osaka and Kobe, inter alia), and we should investigate why. One of the possible reasons is geographical. Since the tournament applicants preferred visiting our university (Kobe University) and having us take their videos rather than editing and sending them to us, as is described in Sect. 2, it is natural that they mostly reside near our university. In addition to this, there might be a cultural reason for the maldistribution of speakers. Kansai people are generally less hesitant about relating funny stories. In order to make sure of this, it is necessary to investigate, by questionnaire, feelings about relating funny stories in public not only for the applicants but also for the non-applicants who did not want to participate in the tournament. We should acknowledge much more that observing funny talks entered into the tournament is not sufficient to investigate the modern Japanese folk art of storytelling. However, it does not follow that we should collect and present funny talks for each dialect. This point is deeply related with the question "How should we treat dialectal difference in the study of spoken language?" Although it may have been a tradition of dialectal study to take only a small group of people through several generations in the dialectal area under investigation as "pure" informants and to exclude many people who have moved from other areas as "impure" informants, we do not aim to construct a "specimen case" of funny talks. By making the MTF corpus we just want to promote the study of spoken Japanese. And in spoken language all speakers are interconnected "by air." Unlike a specimen case, there is no wall to differentiate speakers of one dialect from speakers of the others. At any time speakers of other dialects or "hybrid" speakers may join the conversation. Actually, we are more or less "hybrids" and our conversations are more or less conversations between speakers of different dialects, when funny talks take place. We cannot dispense with funny talks by "hybrid" speakers as valueless. They are of high value as are those of "pure" informants.

The second doubt cast on the usability of the MFT corpus is that the speaking styles found in this corpus may be just rare and peripheral ones. It is apparent that this doubt is based on an incorrect presupposition. We cannot tell whether a speaking style is "just rare and peripheral" or not before quantitative investigation, and quantitative investigation needs a well-balanced corpus, whose construction is the ultimate object of the MFT corpus. In addition to its logical incorrectness, this doubt also lacks an understanding of technology for synthesizing expressive speech. Technology for synthesizing speech is expected to develop to aid people who have lost their voices due to diseases such as ALS and injury (Iida 2008). In order to meet this expectation it is important for us to pay more attention to expressive speech, since the interlocutors for such people are firstly their family and close friends and therefore their conversations should be abundant in expressions of various attitudes and emotions. Whereas technology for synthesizing non-expressive Japanese read speech reached a considerably high level at the end of the twentieth century,[10] technology for synthesizing expressive speech has not been developed as

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[10]See ʋ-TALK and CHATR: http://fastnet.netsoc.ie/chatr/chatr2/e_tour/nutalk.html.

much. In our view the main reason for this delay is not technological but linguistic. Once linguists succeed in describing all prosodic patterns and their attitudinal/emotional correlates, then it will be possible to annotate every prosodic pattern in a corpus and consequently to synthesize expressive speech in the same way as non-expressive speech. That is to say, the development of synthesized speech technology to aid people who have lost their voices depends much on the linguistic elucidation of various expressive prosodies. Although the current data size of MFT is rather small to be called a corpus, it is growing larger and larger every year. We hope that the readers will freely enjoy, download, and utilize the only audio-visual Japanese speech corpus released on the Internet for teaching, learning, and studying.

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Chapter 10
Kansai Style Conversation and Its Role in Contemporary Japan

Goran Vaage

Introduction

Japanese society has in many ways entered a phase of movement away from conformity. This can be observed in many aspects of life; in business, export articles stemming from manga, fashion, art, and various forms of subculture, are receiving increased attention abroad, and in terms of sociolinguistics, people more often base their identity on character traits, deviating from previously held social norms. Furthermore, there has been a loss of stigma attached to some non-standard Japanese language varieties (Vaage 2010). Japanese people now use these varieties as positive "identity pegs" (Goffman 1963), that is to say a means to confirm their character, or position in society. In today's Japan there is a tendency for people from rural districts who move to the big cities to keep their original dialect, and not switch to some form of Tokyo standard Japanese, as was common during the 70's and 80's in Japan. Speaking rural dialects in an urban setting is sometimes considered "cute" or "cool" (Tanaka 2011).

The study of role language (in Japanese referred to as *yakuwarigo*), advocated by Kinsui (2003, 2007, 2011), has emerged from these sociolinguistic changes. Role language in Japanese works in such a way that when we hear a certain language use such as vocabulary, intonation or grammar, we can imagine a certain person or character (i.e., the role). Thus the method for role language studies is the opposite of classical sociolinguistic research: In a typical sociolinguistic survey, the relevant social variables are set, and the researcher then proceeds to investigate the language use of the people falling within these variables, whereas for role language research, the language use is set, and the object is to investigate what kind of image (attributes

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or stereotypes) the language use projects. The original framework for role language research was created for virtual Japanese, that is to say the sometimes peculiar language used in manga, anime or other forms of popular fiction, but I would like to argue that this framework can also be applied to actual spoken or written Japanese as well, in the sense that Japanese speakers actively and intentionally use role language to serve various social purposes, such as ice-breaking, emphasizing intimacy, standing out from others, or simply for fun.

The current paper will investigate the role, or rather, the position of Kansai style conversation in light of recent social changes mentioned in the first paragraph, while taking into account recent developments in sociolinguistic research. The term "Kansai style conversation" needs further explanation, but for the time being it will refer to the language, including communicative and pragmatic elements, commonly used in the Kansai area of Japan. There is great dialectal diversity within Kansai, and the boundaries are sometimes unclear, but in this paper Osaka will be considered the center and source of the dialectal prototype, and informants born and raised in the prefectures Osaka, Hyogo, Kyoto, Nara, Wakayama and Shiga will be placed in the group referred to as "Kansai natives," and everyone else as "non-Kansai natives." Although this paper can only scratch the surface of sociolinguistic changes occurring in Japan today, focusing on the Kansai area as the second largest metropolitan area in Japan must be the most relevant starting point for any inquiry into non-standard Japanese, because of the area's general influence on Japanese society.

Kansai Dialect

The Kansai dialect has been for a very long time, and still is, earning a certain prestige all over Japan. The reason for this is most likely historical. Before the Edo-period the capital and government of Japan was situated in Kansai, and Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe have continued to be important centers for culture and trade. Furthermore, Osaka is also known as the entertainment capital of Japan, and Kansai is still fostering the greatest amount of humorists or entertainers, commonly referred to as *owarai geinin* in Japanese. This is partly due to the influence exerted by the entertainment conglomerate Yoshimoto Kogyo situated in Osaka, and partly due to the peculiar character of people born and raised in the Kansai area (i.e., their personality and communication skills). In fact, Kinsui – a keynote speaker at the NAJAKS conference – lists "fond of humor, likes to make people laugh, talkative" as the most prominent characteristic of the Osaka or Kansai native (2003, p. 82). The results of the survey in this research also confirm this situation; both Kansai natives and non-Kansai natives described Kansai natives as being funny and social, and non-Kansai natives as being not as funny, and sometimes socially cold.

Although not sufficiently studied, to most Japanese it is clear that a lot of Kansai natives have a kind of social skill that many non-Kansai natives do not possess. This paper will explore what the sociolinguistic manifestation of the

so-called inherent humorous or social quality of the Osaka and Kansai native actually is. Indeed, the Kansai dialect, or more precisely Kansai style conversation is the preferred norm for Japanese comedy routines nationwide. Various styles and formats for humor exist in Japan, such as *rakugo*, comical storytelling, and *manzai*, a comical dialog between two people taking on the role of *boke*, the silly man, and *tsukkomi*, the straight man, respectively, but whatever the format, the language and pragmatic structure tend to follow the same patterns. It can be noted that even entertainers that are not Kansai natives still use Kansai dialect and Kansai style conversation when performing or appearing in popular media (including television, radio, film and internet). In other words, Kansai style conversation is not something that can be easily separated from Japanese humor itself.

This paper will address the following questions: What exactly are the sociolinguistic and pragmatic properties of Kansai style conversation in contemporary Japan? What is the role of Kansai style conversation inside and outside of the Kansai area? What is Japanese people's assessment of Kansai style conversation, and can any regional differences be found in this respect? And finally, how important is humor for Kansai style conversation, and how important is Kansai style conversation for humor?

The term Kansai dialect is fairly accepted within Japanese linguistics. It refers to the dialect spoken in the larger Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe area of western Japan. As mentioned above, although there exists some variation within Kansai, – i.e., the language variety spoken in Osaka is slightly different from the variety spoken in, for example, Kobe or Himeji – its speakers are considered a sufficiently cohesive group to validate the term Kansai dialect. People in rural areas of Kansai also speak a similar variety, so it cannot be considered a city dialect per se. The author agrees with such an analysis, but will argue that it is necessary to elaborate on which sociolinguistic and pragmatic features should be included in the term dialect.

This paper proposes five groups of properties of the Kansai dialect, or rather language use in Kansai: vocabulary, grammar, honorifics, pitch accent and phonology, and pragmatics. Firstly, Kansai natives have a rich inventory of lexical items that are not considered a part of standard Japanese; *akan*, is used instead of *dame* (no), *batsu* (wrong), is referred to as *peke*, several adjectives have their Kansai counterparts such as *sugoi-gotsui* (great) and *atatakai-nukui* (warm), and in many cases word pairs exist in both standard Japanese, and Kansai dialect, but with different connotations, such as the pair *baka* and *aho*, both meaning idiot, where *aho* is condescending in standard Japanese, and *baka* condescending in Kansai dialect. Secondly, the Kansai dialect exhibits a different grammar from standard Japanese. This is especially noticeable in verb endings (negation *-nai* becomes *-hen*), and sentence final particles (the emphasizing particle *-yo* becomes either *-ya* or *-de* depending on the whether speaker is making a request or conveying information). Thirdly, Kansai natives make use of an extra set of honorifics not present in standard Japanese. As an alternative to the three standard Japanese honorifics types – *sonkeigo*, honorifics towards the subject of the action (i.e., the speaker elevates the subject), *kenjogo*, honorifics towards the object of the action (i.e., the speaker lowers the subject), and *teineigo*, honorifics towards the hearer (i.e., generally using

language considered polite including the so-called *bikago*, such as the honorific prefix *o-*) – Kansai natives have the choice of also using the honorific opposition *-haru* and *-yaru/-yoru*. *-Haru* is used for talking about the actions of someone with a higher status than the speaker, whereas *-yaru* or its alternate *-yoru* is used for talking about the actions of someone with lower status. Interestingly, in recent research Strycharz-Banaś (2012) has revealed that there is an ongoing change in the usage of *-haru*. Whereas *-haru* was previously used mainly by women for third person referents, younger generations use it for second person referents, and the majority of users are also men. It should also be noticed that in Kansai there is no tradition for using *kenjogo* for actions performed by someone in your own in-group. The fourth group of properties of the Kansai dialect, different from standard Japanese, is pitch accent and phonology. For example the [ɯ] in the copula *desu* is dropped in standard Japanese ([des]), but usually pronounced in Kansai ([desɯ]), and final [i] in adjectives is usually omitted in Kansai but pronounced in standard Japanese, thus adjectives such as [kowai], scary, are realized as [kowa]. Furthermore, the type of pitch accent is different: Keihan style accent is used in Kansai, whereas Tokyo style accent is considered the standard, and used by influential institutions such as the national broadcaster NHK. The fifth and final group of properties of the Kansai dialect is what the author prefers to call pragmatics. Kansai natives make use of humor elements such as *boke* and *tsukkomi* in daily interaction, whereas non-Kansai natives typically do not, except for professional comedians and entertainers. In this group of properties it is also necessary to include certain set phrases with special pragmatic functions such as *nande yanen* or *chau wa* which point out that something was odd in the previous statement and serve as important components in *tsukkomi* routines.

The final group of characteristics is usually neither included nor considered in discussions of dialects within Japan, or dialects in general. This is probably due to both its lack of visibility outside of the Kansai area, and limited understanding of the connection between Japanese humor and the Kansai dialect. However, as some studies – including this paper – show; *boke* and *tsukkomi* are nonetheless components of the language and communication of Kansai natives, and should thus be included in any study of dialects that aspires to paint a complete picture. Several researchers have tried to compensate for this void in the dialect paradigm by proposing terms such as "Osaka-like discourse" (*Osakateki danwa*, Koyano 2004), or "Kansai-like conversational style" (*Kansaiteki kaiwa sutairu*, Kibe et al. 2013), thus incorporating pragmatic components such as *boke* and *tsukkomi* in their scope of research. This paper will use the term "Kansai style conversation" to cover the five properties of speech and conversation in Kansai, that is to say both traditional dialect markers, and pragmatic interactional components such as *boke* and *tsukkomi*. It should be pointed out that *boke* and *tsukkomi* are indeed occasionally visible outside of the Kansai area, but normally only in popular media, primarily television, or when interaction with Kansai natives is taking place somewhere outside of Kansai. Again, this is in opposition to within Kansai, where *boke* and *tsukkomi* are visible in everyday conversation and interaction between Kansai natives.

Background

Before proceeding to discuss survey results on the properties of Kansai style conversation and the speakers' assessment of it, it is reasonable to write a few words about the structure of Japanese humor and the function of *boke* and *tsukkomi*. As can be easily noticed in intercultural interaction, amusement is often culturally dependent. There is a tendency for Japanese people not to find Western humor funny, and for Westerners to think that Japanese humor is uninteresting. This is because the structure of Japanese jokes and Western jokes is fundamentally different. Almost needless to say, people within the same culture may have different senses of humor, and within the so-called West we find that, for example, British humor is not always similar to American humor. Still, if we should have any ambition to take on the difficult task it is to compare humor and joke structure between cultures, we need to extract the joke into its most basic form. The joke must also not be reserved for the intellectual elite, but rather, accepted and understood by the general public and most age groups. Most fitting for our purpose here, will probably be the basic North American joke, frequently found in situation comedy and stand-up comedy routines, because of its simplicity and wide viewership. It has been pointed out in previous research that this type of joke in most cases takes the form of a set-up and punch line twofold arrangement (Raskin 1985). Taking into account these assumptions, this paper proposes the following joke structure for American and Japanese humor:

[American joke structure]
Set-up → Punch line
[Japanese joke structure]
(*Furi* →) *Boke* → *Tsukkomi*

In the American joke, the set-up is a narrative or storytelling, whereas the punch line is an element of surprise or something unexpected that ends the joke. This pattern is sometimes referred to as the incongruity-resolution (IR) joke in Western literature (Ruch and Hehl 1983). These jokes contain story elements with incongruity that are solvable as opposed to nonsense jokes without any solution. As for the Japanese joke structure, the *furi* part is optional; in some jokes it is present, and in some it is omitted. Basically, it is a verbal nod that serves as a sign that the next line that follows should be something silly or funny. The *boke* then, is the silly part of the joke, and in many cases the person who utters the *boke* twists reality in some way, or gets some part of a larger picture wrong. The term *boke* is used both for the role and the comic line itself. However, the Japanese joke does not stop there. The *boke* must be followed by *tsukkomi* for the joke to be complete. *Tsukkomi* is thus a reaction to the *boke*, trying to set things straight, or bring the interaction back to reality. It is almost like the person playing the *tsukkomi* part is angry with the *boke* part. This is why a *tsukkomi*-line is often accompanied by a slap on the other person's chest or head. The following comedy act, adapted from Nanbara (2010), might serve as an

illustration of the difference in American and Japanese joke structure. A North American comedy act might proceed like this:

-My girl is the best. She's smart. She's very pretty. And to top things off she has a very special feature.

A protruding Adam's apple.

In this joke, the part up to "…very special feature." serves as the set-up, whereas the remaining part is what is known as the punch line. The humor of this act lies of course in the surprise element of the pretty girl actually being a man, and this is the point where Western people would laugh. Turning this joke into Japanese, it might look something like this:

-*Ore no kamisan saiko da ze. Totemo atama ga yokute, saiko ni bijin de, omake ni toku-choteki da.*

Nazenara, nodobotoke ga deteiru kara sa.

The last part where it is stated that the Adam's apple is protruding, is the *boke*, or the silly part. However, no Japanese would laugh at this point, the reason being that there is no *tsukkomi* component. Hence for the comedy act to be funny, some-body would have to insert a *tsukkomi* line like below, and that would be the point where Japanese would laugh of the joke.

-*Otoko yanka!* (It is a man!)

In Western humor, this part is left unsaid. Notice that in *otoko yanka*, the Kansai dialect copula *ya* is used. The *tsukkomi* would not be considered as natural or funny if the standard Japanese equivalent *otoko ja nai ka* would be used. Notice also that as saying the right *boke* or *tsukkomi* at the right timing is a social skill; occasionally it happens in everyday conversation that no one follows up the *boke* line. This is known as *suberu* (literally to slide) in Japanese. In Japanese humor it is also possible that one person utters both a *boke*- and a *tsukkomi* line in the same turn. This is known as *noritsukkomi*, but is only possibly if someone else gives a verbal nod (*furi*) first, thus in any case the Japanese joke structure requires two or more participants.

In other words, compared to Western humor, Japanese humor relies on dual interaction and the mutual cooperation of two or more parts in its production. Whereas stand-up comedy is a one-man act in the West, this is rare in Japan, where *manzai* is the most common comedy act, produced in most cases of a *boke* and *tsukkomi* duo. This division of roles might be somewhat equivalent to what is known as the silly man and straight man, or foil in older Western humor. Thus longer Japanese humor routines are actually dependent on interaction between the *boke* and the *tsukkomi* in the following manner:

… *boke → tsukkomi → boke → tsukkomi* …

What concerns the discussion in this paper, is the fact that this type of interac-tion is present in conversations between people who are Kansai natives, sometimes

even in formal communication styles. Japanese people are aware of this fact, and it has been touched upon in previous research (Kinsui 1992, 2003, Koyano 2004, Kibe et al. 2013), but none of these papers have given the topic itself a thorough investigation. Kibe et al. mentions that in their survey conducted at universities in Osaka and Tokyo, 49.7% of the Kansai native students answered that they uttered *boke*-lines "a lot" in conversations, compared to 29.7% of the Kanto (greater Tokyo area) native students. As for the question "do you follow up with a *tsukkomi*-line if someone says a *boke*-line?" 64.8% of the Kansai native students answered "a lot," compared to 27.0% of the Kanto native students. The students were also asked if they felt that *ochi* (a comical twist) was necessary in conversation. 51.7% of the Kansai natives answered that they felt "very strongly so," compared to only 8.1% of the Kanto natives. Thus we see that there is a difference in normative attitudes towards what conversation and interaction should be like.

Perceptions of Kansai Conversation

This paper will present some results from ongoing research on Kansai style conversation by the author. In November 2012, 131 volunteers, of various ages, all living in the Kansai area, participated in a questionnaire survey consisting of free-writing questions about their image of Kansai natives and their dialect, and about humor and the usage of components such as *boke* and *tsukkomi*. Later, 46 people were called back for follow-up interviews to elaborate on their answers. For the purpose of this paper, the variables are limited to the Kansai native/non-Kansai native opposition. Of the informants, around half (69 people) were Kansai natives in the sense that they were born in Kansai (counting the prefectures Osaka, Hyogo, Kyoto, Nara, Wakayama and Shiga), and had lived there most part of their life. The other half (62 people) were born outside of the Kansai area, and had also spend their formative years outside of Kansai. Although gathering informants living in various areas of Japan would have had its merits, targeting only people living in Kansai provided a sample of people dealing with Kansai style conversation on a day to day basis, and having a high degree of consciousness and awareness of the differences between standard Japanese and Kansai style conversation.

When asked to identify characteristics of the way people in Kansai speak (using the word *shaberikata* in Japanese to eliminate answers such as lexical items), the informants gave the following answers – given in keywords – in order of frequency; *tsukkomi*, *boke*, *ochi*, funny (*omoshiroi*), high-spirited (*nori*), *noritsukkomi*, loud (*urusai*), talkative, and talking in a fast tempo. *Boke* and *tsukkomi* also appeared as a set. However, surprisingly often *tsukkomi* also appeared alone. Some informants pointed out that *tsukkomi* didn't necessarily need to follow a joke; it could also be used for speech acts such as disagreeing or showing surprise. There were no significant differences between Kansai natives and non-Kansai natives; however some non-Kansai natives used neutral expressions rather than positive ones when describing Kansai natives.

As for Japanese people's intuition and assessment of Kansai style conversation and elements such as *boke* and *tsukkomi*, some differences were found between Kansai native and non-Kansai natives. I will examine the results in turn, starting with Kansai natives: In all Kansai native families and in-groups there existed some kind of *boke-* and *tsukkomi* interaction. The degree seemed to vary, but even those informants who responded that they had a serious tone at home, would still participate in plenty of *boke-* and *tsukkomi* interaction when spending time with friends. The general response was that *boke* and *tsukkomi* were simply something that Kansai natives could not be without. In most families this interaction (and other tokens of Kansai style humor) seemed to be an integral and even indispensable part of everyday conversation and communication.

As mentioned above, *boke* and *tsukkomi* rely heavily on the interplay between two people. With regards to role assignment, most people replied that they tended to play mostly the *boke* part or mostly the *tsukkomi* part. This was sometimes seen in relation to the fact that a lot of informants saw themselves as being a certain type or character (often referred to as *kyara*). In other words, the role must match the *kyara*. For example, if a person considers himself or herself as a *tennenkyara* (innocent, ditzy character), this would only be compatible with playing the *boke* part, and uttering *boke* lines. However, most people confessed to being able to play both parts; so even if *boke* is the default part of a certain individual, this person will most likely utter a *tsukkomi*-line if called for in a particular situation. A slight majority (56.5%, or 39 of 69 people) admitted to preferring the *boke* role, but the sample was too small, and the social variables too complicated to say anything certain about preference based on the current survey.

Furthermore, the survey results showed that Kansai natives felt that in interaction with non-Kansai natives, when taking on the *boke* part in the conversation, much of the time no one would volunteer to follow up with the *tsukkomi* part. This would mean a stop to an interaction that would normally go on if both the parts were Kansai natives. The standard reaction Kansai native felt they got when they uttered *boke*-lines in conversation with non-Kansai natives, tended to be smiles or small laughs rather than *tsukkomi*-lines. In a larger perspective, there was a tendency for Kansai natives to assert that non-Kansai natives were less funny or interesting in a social setting (as indicated by the two main senses of the Japanese adjective *omoshiroi*).

Although the amount of data is insufficient, it can be noticed in passing that there seemed to be surprisingly little correlation between the *boke-* and *tsukkomi* roles and sociolinguistic variables of status and power. In most situations, Kansai natives seemed to have no problem playing the *tsukkomi* part when talking to their seniors or even strangers. This is surprising considering that sometimes impolite and condescending language comes with this role.

As for the group of non-Kansai natives living in Kansai, all answered that they were familiar with the concepts of Kansai style conversation, and knew the structure and rules of *boke-* and *tsukkomi* interaction enough to be able to laugh of it. Despite knowing of Kansai style conversation, in general, non-Kansai natives felt that they were not confident enough to actively produce it. Even when trying to

produce *boke*- or *tsukkomi* lines, sometimes their timing would be off, or the pressure of failing to be funny would eventually make them fall passive, leaving the mood making to the Kansai natives. Hence we can conclude that most non-Kansai natives primarily have a passive knowledge of the properties of Kansai style conversation. The phrase for getting a laugh in Japanese is *warai wo toru* (taking the laugh), suggesting that humor is something you actively have to produce by uttering *boke*- and *tsukkomi* lines. In other words, it seems hard to be inadvertently funny when it comes to *tsukkomi* lines.

When asked to what degree humor plays a role in life, 16.1% of the non-Kansai natives (10 out of 62 people) answered that humor was not important, compared to 0% in the Kansai native group. Still, the majority of non-Kansai natives showed an interest in humor, and wanted to master *boke* and *tsukkomi*. They were happy when they were able to produce a laugh, when their attempt at *boke* was picked up and retaliated with a *tsukkomi*, or when they were complimented by Kansai natives. Being funny is said to be more of a compliment in Kansai than being cool, pretty or handsome. What is more, non-Kansai natives answered that they found it difficult to identify themselves clearly as either a prominent *boke*- or *tsukkomi* role, but most seemed to have a preference for either one, although this was in most cases based on an assessment of their own character rather than previous experience in *boke*- and *tsukkomi* interaction. It is also worth noticing that a few non-Kansai natives did not find Kansai natives funny, and responded that they were not interested in humor and Kansai style conversation. It seems reasonable to conclude then, that active competence in properties of Kansai style conversation such as *boke* and *tsukkomi* is learnable, but difficult to acquire if not born and raised in Kansai.

Concluding Discussion

To sum up, this paper has argued that Japanese humor elements such as *boke* and *tsukkomi* are a part of Kansai style conversation, and of the identity of people from the Kansai area. Pragmatic aspects like these are often overlooked parts of dialect studies, probably because they are heavily interrelated with culture. However, we have seen that humor is something that cannot be separated from language and culture.

As this paper has shown, the humor structure of Japan and the West is fundamentally different, and most importantly, the point of laughter is different. *Tsukkomi* is hardly ever present in Western humor, but is indispensable for Japanese humor. Naturally, some difficulties also arise in translation between Japanese and English. Translators are sometimes at loss as to what to do with *tsukkomi*, and the result is often a pragmatic hole or void left in the translated product. Furthermore, probably due to logistic reasons, comparative research on popular culture, humor, and society is often Tokyo-based. This is a problem, because Japanese humor is Kansai-based. Thus there is still a low mutual understanding of humor and leisure.

Tomosada and Jinnouchi (2004) were early in observing that the Kansai dialect gives people a favorable impression all over Japan, and that elements of Kansai style conversation are frequently used by design in conversations among friends in order to lift spirits. They argue that Kansai style conversation is friendly, fun and carefree, and serves as an important counterpoise to the slightly pessimistic value system of Japanese people in recent times. It seems only natural that a lot of Japanese comedians come from the Kansai area, considering how important *boke* and *tsukkomi* is for everyday interaction. Because of this, the Kansai dialect continues to earn its prestige in Japan, in spite of the fact that the center of culture and commerce has gradually been shifting towards Tokyo.

The social position of certain dialects changes with time; they go in and out of fashion. Although this paper could only focus on a small part of Japan, in one moment of time, it will be exciting to follow the future of Japanese dialects. Language mirrors social structures, and is therefore a suitable object for research on general social change.

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Part IV
Language Education

Chapter 11
On the Teaching of Japanese Epistemic and Evidential Markers: Theoretical Considerations and Practical Applications

Lars Larm

Introduction

In recent years, Japanese linguistics has become an increasingly established field in the Nordic countries. Scholars within this area of expertise hold positions at the Universities of Bergen, Dalarna, Gothenburg, Helsinki, Lund, Stockholm, and Oslo. This chapter is written from the perspective of the Japanese Section at Lund University, whose aim is that students gain a theoretical understanding of the language in addition to acquiring practical proficiency. Linguistic modules are included in the curriculum, and research-inspired grammar lectures are already given at beginners' level. Although the focus here is on one phenomenon discussed in the grammar lectures, this should not be taken as an attempt to downplay other aspects of language learning, such as speaking, listening, and writing exercises. On the contrary, the various parts of the curriculum complement each other, and in the first year the practical language training is highly prioritized. With these introductory remarks, we now turn to the topic of this chapter.

Purpose

The main question of this chapter is: How can the theoretical study of modality in combination with ideas on noticing and awareness raising guide us when

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developing teaching methods for Japanese epistemic and evidential expressions? Here, a remark on the terms "epistemic" and "evidential" is necessary. Palmer (2001: 8) explains, from a cross-linguistic point of view, that speakers use epistemic modality when they "express their judgments about the factual status of the proposition," and evidential modality to "indicate the evidence they have for its factual status" [the term "proposition" can be understood, approximately, as "descriptive content"]. In Japanese, the categories of epistemic and evidential modality are expressed by markers such as:

> Epistemic modals: conjectural *daroo*, speculative *kamoshirenai*, deductive *ni chigainai* assumptive *hazuda*

> Evidentials: inferential *yooda* and *mitaida*, external evidential *rashii*, sensory evidential *soo da*, hearsay *sooda*

In discussing these expressions, I will draw upon research on modality, including my own (Larm 2006, 2009, 2012), as well as from practical teaching experiences.[1]

The structure and the main points of this chapter are as follows. In section "Epistemic and Evidential Modal Expressions," I discuss the involved nature of modal expressions and the two principal challenges facing us when trying to explain their meanings: contextual versatility and descriptive ineffability. I then argue, in section "A Focus on Structure," that the focus of teaching should be on structure rather than on meaning and usage. This approach is put in the perspective of "noticing" and "awareness raising." Next, in section "Modal Concord," I suggest the teaching of modals can be linked to research on adverb-modal collocations (modal concord), and also give examples of multiple-choice exercises used in the grammar classes for first year undergraduate students at Lund University. In the concluding section, I explain how the ideas presented in this chapter reflect my view of language and linguistic description.

Epistemic and Evidential Modal Expressions

There are two challenges facing us when trying to explain the meaning of epistemic and evidential modals. The first is the problem of contextual versatility, of which the most representative example is the epistemic particle *daroo*. Its meaning is highly context dependent, as shown below:[2]

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[1]The general research literature on modality is huge. See, for example, Palmer (2001) and Portner (2009) and the references cited there. Research on Japanese modality is also abundant. Most works have been published in Japanese, but research published in English is increasing. See, for instance, Johnson (2003), Narrog (2009), and Pizziconi and Kizu (2009).

[2]The abbreviations used in this chapter are: ACC = accusative, CONJ = conjectural, COP = copula, DED = deductive, EXEV = external evidence, GER = gerund, INF = inferential, NEG = negative, NML = nominaliser, NOM = nominative, NPAST = nonpast tense, PAST = past tense, SENSEV = sensory evidential, SPEC = speculative, and TOP = topic.

(1)

Eri	wa	tabun	ik-u	daroo.
Eri	TOP	probably	go-NPAST	CONJ
"Probably Eri will go."				

(2)

Eri	wa	kitto	ik-u	daroo.
Eri	TOP	surely	go-NPAST	CONJ
"Surely Eri will go."				

(3)

Eri	wa	ik-u	daroo?
Eri	TOP	go-NPAST	CONJ
"Eri will go, won't she?"			

(4)

Eri	wa	nante	kirei	na	no	daroo!
Eri	TOP	how	beautiful	COP	NML	CONJ
"How beautiful Eri is!"						

The flexibility of *daroo* is discussed by Akatsuka (1990), who advises against the use of translations such as "probably" when explaining its meaning to students. She states (1990: 68):

> […] *daroo* shares its semantic domain, at least partially, with English *will, would*, and *must*. According to our analysis, to teach that *daroo* means "probably" is just as inadequate as it would be to teach that these three English auxiliaries mean "probably."

Although *daroo* is an extreme example, it shows the importance of context.

This is not, of course, a problem restricted to Japanese. English grammaticalized modal markers are also semantically flexible. As von Fintel (2005) puts it: "Modals are chameleon-like in their semantics. They adapt to their surroundings." For example, the English "must" can be epistemic, deontic, or evidential, as shown below:[3]

(5)

You must be hungry.	Epistemic

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[3]Deontic modality is a category on par with epistemic and evidential modality. It has to do with notions such as obligation, prohibition and permission. Examples of Japanese deontic modals are the prohibitive *–te wa ikenai* "must not," the obligative *–nakute wa ikenai* "must," and the permissive *–te mo ii* "may." Deontic markers are prominent in the Japanese modal system, and they are also important from the perspective of teaching the language, but they are not the focus of the present chapter. For an overview of deontic expressions in Japanese, see Narrog (2009: 79–91) and Larm (2006: Chap. 7).

(6)

You must go now.	Deontic

(7)

| The thief must have entered through the window. | Evidential |

Note, however, that Japanese differs from English in that modals are not ambiguous between epistemic and deontic readings, and also in that there is a clear distinction between epistemic and evidential markers.

The second challenge concerns the descriptive ineffability of some modals. It is questionable if it is possible to succinctly and exhaustively explain the meanings of expressions such as *daroo, yooda, rashii, mitaida*, or the differences between them. Such nuances are difficult to describe in words, not only for native speakers but even for scholars working on modality. What further complicates the issue is that languages may differ in what modal meanings they overtly encode. Modal markers, therefore, exhibit a degree of ineffability both from a descriptive and from a translational point of view.

A Focus on Structure

Given the elusive nature of modals, as illustrated in the previous section, I argue that the focus of teaching should be on structural properties rather than on meaning and usage. The awareness of modals can be raised by systematically introducing the set of epistemic and evidential markers and by presenting their morphological and syntactic properties. The increased level of awareness, in turn, facilitates learning outside of the grammar class, as students begin to notice modals in a variety of different usages. Important notions here are "awareness" and "noticing," which play a vital part in discussions on second language acquisition. Schmidt (1995: 20), who formulated the "noticing hypothesis," explains that the hypothesis "states that what learners notice in input is what becomes intake for learning." Furthermore, in an earlier publication, he states that "it also seems plausible that instruction may have a priming effect, increasing the likelihood of noticing features in input through the establishment of expectations" (Schmidt 1990: 143).

In my lectures, the modal system is introduced to first-year students in their second term (after five months of full-time study). At the outset, I inform the students that the main purpose of the lectures and the exercises is to raise their awareness of modals and to make them notice the expressions outside of the classroom situation. I also make clear that although rough definitions of the meanings will be provided we will not get entangled in detailed discussions about the semantics or

pragmatics of the modals; the focus will be on the structural properties of the markers. The modals are first presented in the following way, using the sentence *Taroo ga iku* "Taroo will go":[4]

(8)

Taroo ga iku	**Ø**.	"Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iku	**daroo**.	"Probably Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iku	**kamoshirenai**.	"Taroo may go."
Taroo ga iku	**nichigainai**.	"There is no doubt that Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iku	**hazuda**.	"(I) assume Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iku	**yooda**.	"It seems that Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iku	**mitaida**.	"It seems that Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iku	**rashii**.	"It seems that Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iku	**sooda**.	"I hear Taroo will go."
Taroo ga iki-	**sooda**.	"It looks like Taroo will go."

The structure is thus that modal expressions take scope over the descriptive content, which can be shown in text or graphically using a tree structure (Fig. 1):

(9)

Taroo ga iku	**daroo**
DESCRIPTIVE CONTENT	**MODALITY**

Structural properties, such as the form of the preceding copula as in (10), and the differences between *yooda* and *mitaida* as in (11), are also presented.

Fig. 1 Tree diagram: *Taroo-san ga iku daroo*
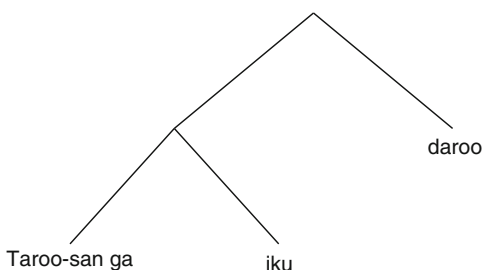
daroo

Taroo-san ga   iku

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(10)

Kare wa yuumei	**Ø**	**daroo**.	"He is probably famous."
Kare wa yuumei	**datta**	**daroo**.	"He was probably famous."
Kare wa gakusei	**Ø**	**daroo**.	"He is probably a student."
Kare wa gakusei	**datta**	**daroo**.	"He was probably a student."
Kare wa yuumei	**na**	**hazuda**.	"(I) assume he is famous."
Kare wa yuumei	**datta**	**hazuda**.	"(I) assume he was famous."
Kare wa gakusei	**no**	**hazuda**.	"(I) assume he is a student."
Kare wa gakusei	**datta**	**hazuda**.	"(I) assume he was a student."

(11)

*Kare wa kuru	**yoo**	**Ø**.	"It seems that he will come."
Kare wa kuru	**mitai**	**Ø**.	"It seems that he will come."
Kare wa yuumei	**na**	**yooda**.	"It seems that he is famous."
Kare wa yuumei	**Ø**	**mitaida**.	"It seems that he is famous."
Kare wa gakusei	**no**	**yoooda**.	"It seems that he is a student."
Kare wa gakusei	**Ø**	**mitaida**.	"It seems that he is a student."

Textual enhancements such as colouring or bolding are used throughout the lectures to make the modals more salient, and in sentences such as those in (10)–(11) different colours are used for the copula and the modal markers.

Another part of the consciousness-raising process is the presentation of harmonic adverb-modal collocations, to which we now turn.

Modal Concord

I suggest the teaching of modals can be linked to research on modal concord.[5] In sentences with modal concord two modal expressions with similar meanings interact to express one single modality. Consider the following English example from Lyons (1977: 807) with the modal auxiliary "may" and the modal adverb "possibly."

(12) He may possibly have forgotten.

Thus, (12) is similar in meaning to sentences with one modal expression such as *He may have forgotten* or *He has possibly forgotten* (Lyons 1977: 807). Let us consider some Japanese examples where the adverbs and the modals interact in a similar way. In (1)–(4) we saw that *daroo* is highly context dependent. This

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[5]For an introduction to modal concord, see Larm (2012) and the references cited there.

versatility is reflected in its collocational range. *Daroo* is compatible with *tabun* "probably," *osoraku* "probably," and *kitto* "surely," as in (13), but not with *hyottoshitara* "possibly" as in (14). The examples are taken from Larm (2012: 162):

(13)

Tabun/osoraku/kitto	Ken	wa	ik-u	**daroo**.
probably/probably/surely	Ken	TOP	go-NPAST	CONJ
"Probably/probably/surely Ken will go."				

(14)

*****Hyottoshitara**	Ken	wa	kuru	**daroo**.
possibly	Ken	TOP	come.NPAST	CONJ
"Possibly Ken will come."				

Kamoshirenai "may" and *nichigainai* "must" are less flexible. They are harmonious with *hyottoshitara* "possibly" and *kitto* "surely" respectively (Larm 2012: 161):

(15)

Hyottoshitara	kare	wa	kuru	**kamoshirena-i**.
possibly	he	TOP	come.NPAST	SPEC-NPAST
"There is a chance that he will come."				

(16)

Kitto	kuru	**nichigaina-i**.
surely	come.NPAST	DED-NPAST
"There is no doubt that (s/he) will come."		

In Larm (2012: 162), it was stated that "by shifting the attention from the grammaticalized modal markers themselves to their possible combinations with modal adverbs [...] we can get a grip of their meaning." The aim in that paper was to contribute to the discussion of modal concord from a descriptive and theoretical point of view, but the insights can be applied to the teaching of modals as well. This approach is in line with, and inspired by, Hoye's (1997) work on modal-adverb combinations in English and his suggestions about the teaching of English modal expressions. Furthermore, the relevance of modal-adverb collocations for Japanese language learning has been noted by Srdanović Erjavec, Bekeš and Nishina (2008).

The point I am making here is that collocational properties are unlikely to confuse students as they are, similarly to the structural aspects presented in the previous section, facts of the language. The modals can be memorized as collocational sets.

Furthermore, collocability can be used to distinguish between epistemic modals such as *daroo*, *kamoshirenai* and *nichigainai*, and evidentials such as *–sooda*, *yooda* and *rashii*. The latter markers can co-occur with *dooyara* "apparently," as shown in (17) and (18) from Larm (2012: 161–162), and (19) from Aoki (1986: 234, original translation, gloss modified):

(17)

Dooyara	hare-**soo**	**da**.
apparently	clear up-SENSEV	COP.NPAST
"It looks as if the weather is going to clear up."		

(18)

Dooyara	ame	ga	yan-da	**yoo**	**da**.
apparently	rain	NOM	stop-PAST	INF	COP.NPAST
"It appears to have stopped raining."					

(19)

Dooyara	kare	wa	hon	o	yon-de	i-ru	**rashi-i**.
apparently	he	TOP	book	ACC	read-GER	be-NPAST	EXEV-NPAST
"He seems to be reading the book."							

   After having presented the structural properties and the collocational possibilities, the next step is to let the students carry out exercises that capture both of these aspects.[6] The examples below are taken from the exercises used at Lund University when teaching 1st year undergraduate students. The correct answers are underlined and in bold.

(20) Dooyara nihon ni iku _____.

A. **rashii**	B. kamoshirenai
C. hazuda	D. tewaikenai

(21) Hyottoshitara, nihon ni iku_____.

A. mitaida	B. bekida
C. hazuda	D. **kamoshirenai**

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[6]Hoye also shows how English modals can be taught using multiple choice questions (see Hoye 1997: 260–261).

(22) Dooyara ame ga furi_____.

| A. mitaida | B. yooda |
| C. rashii | D. -**sooda** |

In (20) and (21) the modal adverb is the clue to the correct answer. As for the collocational possibilities of (22), all four alternatives are correct, but only *–sooda*, being a suffix, can attach to the infinitive form of the verb. That is, the exercises test the students' knowledge of both collocational and structural properties. Most importantly, working with the exercises raises the students' awareness of the existence of modal markers.

Concluding Remarks

The ideas presented here are in line with my view of language description that has partly been inspired by Bloomfield. He stated that "linguistic study must always start from the phonetic form and not from the meaning" (Bloomfield 1935: 162), although he perhaps would not have agreed that his methodological view can be applied to language pedagogy. In Larm (2006, 2009), I argued for a strictly distributionalist approach when describing modals, and stated (2006: 3):

> […] from a methodological point of view, morphology and syntax underpin semantics which in turn is the base of pragmatics. The view taken here, therefore, is that questions of usage and issues concerning semantic nuances and pragmatic interpretation should not be intermingled with the straightforward grammatical description. Modality is an intricate area, and for this reason it is crucial to start by doing all the necessary descriptive spadework in order to avoid going astray. Thus, the approach is a strictly distributionalist one (in the Bloomfieldian sense), albeit in a less extreme form, where the first step is to describe the structural patterns. Only after we have done that will we be able to say something about nuances of meaning and usage.

In that work the main concern was to capture the notion of subjectivity using distributional tests (see Larm 2006, 2009 for a list of tests and their applications to modals). In essence the present chapter is an extension of this methodological approach in emphasising the structural patterns. The main point is, as stated in Larm (2009: 79), that "it is the language itself that guides us to the appropriate semantic description of a particular item."

This approach is not to be seen as a rival to teaching methods that emphasize meaning and usage, but rather as one way of tackling the difficult task of teaching elusive expressions such as modals. I should also stress that my experience is restricted to highly motivated and independent university students. Nonetheless, as for teaching Japanese grammar, I maintain that we should begin with tangible aspects.

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Chapter 12
Analysis of Kanji Reading and Writing Errors of Swedish Learners in Comparison with Level-matched L1 Learners

Fusae Ivarsson

Introduction

Kanji is a logographic script constituting the Japanese writing system together with syllabic *kana* and alphabetic *romaji*. Acquisition of kanji is often an arduous task for second language (L2) learners of Japanese, especially for those having an alphabetic writing system as their first language writing system (L1WS); the copious quantity and configurational complexity of the graphemes (kanji characters) and opaqueness in grapheme-sound (character-reading) correspondence are often enumerated as reasons for arduousness. However, such conditions are no different for native (L1) Japanese speakers/readers. Both L1 and L2 learners have to learn approximately 2000 regularly used characters (the Joyo Kanji[1]) with the same visual complexity and phonological opaqueness to acquire working knowledge of written Japanese. In order to understand the challenge experienced by the L2 learners with alphabetic L1WS, it is crucial to explore their kanji retrieval orientation and difficulties in recognition and production in the developmental process of kanji learning. An effective way to explore such aspects is to examine their error patterns

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[1]Current list of the Joyo Kanji issued in 2010 by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology consists of 2136 characters. However, the term here refers to the list of the Joyo Kanji issued in 1981 by the Japanese Ministry of Education, since the participants of the experiments for the present research had been educated before the 2010 list came into effect and in conformity with the 1981 list. The 1981 list of the Joyo Kanji consists of 1945 characters, and the current and the former lists overlap to a great degree; in fact 90.8% of the characters included in the 2010 list (1940 out of 2136 characters) are identical with those in the 1981 list.

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in reading and writing kanji as compared to those of level-matched L1 learners. The present study therefore analyses the kanji reading and writing errors of Swedish learners of Japanese in comparison with Japanese schoolchildren at the same level and attempts to investigate the characteristics of the early developmental stage of Swedish learners' kanji learning.

Research on second language writing systems (L2WS) has repeatedly shown that L2WS users behave differently from L1WS users, or from L2WS users with other L1WS backgrounds. Such differences are ascribable to the learners' L1WS and the other writing systems they have learned earlier (Cook and Bassetti, 2005). The focus of research, however, has been on reading process, and writing process has not been well investigated (Cook and Bassetti, 2005). There have been a limited number of studies on Japanese kanji as L2WS, a majority of which investigated L2 kanji reading process: such as Matsumoto (2013) and Matsumoto-Sturt (2004), Mori (1998) and Tamaoka (1997) with groups of L2 learners; and Komori (2009) and Tamaoka (1992) comparing L1 and L2 learner groups. Studies on L2 kanji writing process are even fewer, especially the ones involving analysis of handwritten characters. Among those few studies, Kano *et al.* (1989) and Okita (2001) compared groups of L2 learners, and Chikamatsu (2005) and Hatta *et al.* (1998, 2002) compared L1 and L2 learner groups. The previous studies comparing L1 and L2 groups, however, had a number of limitations: the levels of the experimental and control groups were unmatched, which lead to use of different test materials with non-identical sets of target kanji characters; or unidentical data collecting methods were used for the compared groups. For example, Hatta *et al.* (2002) compared kanji writing errors made by Australian learners of Japanese, Japanese 7th graders and Japanese college students, respectively representing novice, intermediate and advanced level learners of kanji, classifying the errors into ten categories and proposing cognitive models to explain the error generation mechanisms. The errors were collected from the Australian students' weekly kanji quizzes, the Japanese 7th graders' submissions for a correspondence course and the Japanese college students' essays, and different patterns of kanji writing errors were observed among these groups of subjects. Under such conditions, however, it is unclear if the observed differences in pattern are based on the level difference, unmatched data source or L1WS influence. Furthermore, there have been no studies comparing both reading and writing errors of L1 and L2 learners under the same conditions.

In view of the current situation of the research field, kanji reading and writing errors of L2 learners with alphabetic L1WS were analysed in comparison with those of level-matched L1 learners, using the same data collecting method and identical test materials. The present study is a part of the said research and compares Swedish novice learners of Japanese (as L2 learners with alphabetic L1WS) and Japanese schoolchildren (as level-matched L1 learners). It aims to explore their retrieval orientation and weaknesses in reading and writing of kanji and examines the error occurrence patterns in reading (stating the pronunciation) and writing (handwriting) of kanji of the both groups, focusing on the most prominent characteristics of the reading and writing error patterns.

Experiment

Participants

Forty-nine Swedish university students and 191 Japanese schoolchildren participated in the experiment. All the Swedish participants (the "Swedish Students") were native Swedish speakers enrolled in the second semester course of the first year of a degree in Japanese at two different universities in Sweden (32 participants from a large western university and 17 from a large southern university). Their ages ranged from 19 to 30, but over 80% of them were aged 19–23. At the time of the experiment they had had approximately 6 months of formal education in the Japanese language, finished a total of approximately 250 class hours in Japanese offered in the respective university course, and learned 240 kanji characters.

All the Japanese participants (the "Japanese Pupils") were native speakers of Japanese enrolled in the second grade of three Japanese primary schools (76 participants from a school in eastern Japan, 41 from a school in central Japan and 74 from a school in southern Japan). Their ages ranged from 7 to 8, but over 90% of them were aged eight. At the time of the experiment they had had nearly 2 years of formal education in the Japanese language, finished a total of almost 550 class hours in the subject of the Japanese language offered in the first and second grades, and learned almost 240 kanji characters (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology-Japan, 1998).

The two participant groups were highly level-matched in terms of reading and writing kanji, as they had virtually learned the same number of largely overlapping kanji characters (see "Materials" below) in a formal education. Such level control makes the testing on an identical set of target kanji appropriate, since both groups can be estimated to have comparable stocks of phonologically identical, orthographically similar and/or semantically related characters in the mental lexicon. In other words, it provides good control over the intrinsic features of the target kanji, as well as the amount of background kanji knowledge (number of homophonous characters, etc.). Since level matching had priority over all other conditions in this experiment, it was inevitable to compromise on the other normally matched experimental conditions such as the participants' age range and the type of their educational institutions.

Materials

Ninety characters (113 readings) were used as target kanji for the experiment. Some of the characters have multiple readings, and hence the number of readings exceeds the number of characters. The 90 target kanji (see Appendix 1) were characters commonly included in (1) the first 240 kanji learned in the Swedish Students' courses (extracted from: Banno *et al.*, 2009, 1999a, 1999b) and (2) the 160 characters in *Gakunenbetsu Kanji Haitōhyō* (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology-Japan, 1989) for Grade 2 of Japanese primary

schools. The target kanji characters/readings were presented in word form embedded in short sentences and phrases, which provided the context to determine the meaning and reading of the words.

Procedures

The written examinations were conducted in class-based groups at each institution on single occasions. The task in the reading test was to fill in parentheses with the reading of the target kanji in the given word. The reading test (see Appendix 2) consisted of 46 short, simple-structured sentences and phrases including the 90 target characters and 113 brackets to be filled in with appropriate readings in *hiragana* within the 15 minutes' time limit. Each sentence/phrase included one to three target characters. The sentences/phrases were written in a proper mixture of kanji and *kana* (i.e., content words in kanji, content loan words of non-Chinese origin in *katakana*, and function words in *hiragana*), and the readings of non-target kanji were provided as *furigana* (written in *hiragana* above kanji), so that the possible difference in the participants' knowledge level of non-target kanji would not affect the results.

The writing test (see Appendix 3) consisted of the same 46 sentences/phrases, although the target characters were replaced with 113 boxes. The task was to fill in the boxes with kanji based on the readings in *hiragana* given above the boxes, thereby completing the given sentences/phrases. The readings of non-target kanji were provided as *furigana*, following the manner of presentation in the reading test. Both the Swedish and Japanese participants were familiar with such task type, which is commonly used in their kanji learning in workbooks and written examinations. Although the two tests had parallel tasks of filling in the same number of blanks embedded in the identical set of sentences/phrases, the writing test had the time limit of 20 minutes. This was planned to account for the fact that writing kanji requires longer time than writing *hiragana* (Tainaka, 1979).

Error Types and Classification

The tests were marked and the reading errors were categorised into four error types, namely, phonological, orthographic, semantic and circumstantial types, as listed in Table 1. The errors not falling into the above four types were grouped as "Others."

The writing errors were categorised into five error types, namely, phonological, orthographic, semantic and circumstantial types that are corresponding to the aforementioned reading error types, and "pseudokanji" type that is specific to writing errors, as listed in Table 2. Similarly to reading errors, writing errors not falling into the above five types were grouped as "Others."

The writing error type classification system is fundamentally based on Hatta *et al.* (1998, 2002), and the reading error type classification is made to correspond to the writing error classification for the purpose of comparison between the two skills. The descriptions of the phonological type, nevertheless, ought to differ to

Table 1 Classification of kanji reading error types

Error types	Descriptions
Phonological	Misapplication of an inappropriate/wrong reading of the kanji due to: (1) **erroneous transcription** of phonemes/morae that are difficult for learners to transcribe or distinguish; (2) confusion with an **alternative reading** of the target character; or (3) an incorrect **component-based analogy** (e.g., overgeneralisation of analogy based on phonological component or mistaking a semantic component for a phonological component).
Orthographic	Misapplication of the reading of orthographically similar kanji.
Semantic	Misapplication of the reading of semantically related kanji.
Circumstantial	Misapplication of the reading of a circumstantially associated kanji, i.e., a kanji character that is substitutable based on contextual congruence, compound constituents or inflectional endings.
(Others)	Errors not falling into any of the above categories.

Table 2 Classification of kanji writing error types

Error types	Descriptions
Phonological	Substitution with a phonologically identical (homophonous) kanji.
Orthographic	Substitution with orthographically similar kanji.
Semantic	Substitution with semantically related kanji.
Circumstantial	Substitution with a circumstantially associated kanji; i.e., a kanji that is substitutable based on contextual congruence, compound constituents or inflectional endings.
Pseudokanji	Substitution with pseudokanji that deviates from any existing character due to modifications to (a) a **component**, (b) a **stroke** or (c) the **whole** of the character, or being a (d) **mirror** image of the character.
(Others)	Errors not falling into any of the above categories.

cover each aspect of the skill. Furthermore, the pseudokanji type, which is purely of writing nature, is not included in the reading error classification.

Table 3 shows examples of errors in each category according to skill:

Overlap errors were counted as multiple error type occurrences in statistics. For example, when the word しんせつな (親切な *shinsetsu-na* "kind") was erroneously written as 新切な, it was counted as two error type occurrences: one as the phonological type and the other as the orthographic type, since the correct character 親 (*shin*) was replaced with the homophonous and orthographically similar character 新 (*shin*).

Results and Discussion

The results will be presented and analysed according to skill. Analysis will focus on the point(s) of interest in each skill, which will be explored further with a

Table 3 Error types and examples according to skill

Error types	Reading			Writing		
	Words	Correct answers	Error examples	Words	Correct answers	Error examples
Phonological	冬	ふゆ	ふじゅ (transcription: ʒ/jᵃ)	あかるい	明るい	赤るい (homophonous)
Orthographic	西口	にしぐち	よんぐち (四口) (similar)	じぶん	自分	自分 (similar)
Semantic	首 "neck"	くび	のど "throat" (synonymousᵇ)	あき	秋 "autumn"	春 "spring" (antonymous)
Circumstantial	心	こころ	へや (〜が広い) (context)	げん気	元気	天気 (compound)
Pseudokanji	N/A (for writing errors only)			Deviations from existing kanji		
(Others)	強い	つよい	あらしい (unclassifiable)	よる	夜	前 (unclassifiable)

ᵃPhonemes /ʒ/(as in じゅ) and /j/ (as in ゆ) are difficult to distinguish for native Swedish speakers.
ᵇThe Swedish word *hals* covers both 首 (*kubi* "neck") and 喉 (*nodo* "throat"), which intensifies the synonymity of the two characters and makes them even more difficult to distinguish from each other.

breakdown. It should be noted that the statistics do not show the frequencies and rates of *errors*, but of *error types*. As stated in "Error Types and Classification" above, an error falling into multiple categories was counted as multiple error type occurrences. Since the purpose of this study is not to sort individual errors but to explore the L1/L2 characteristics of kanji learning, the errors not falling into any category were grouped as "others" and were excluded from the statistics for all results and analyses, for they cannot provide the necessary data to serve the purpose of the present study.

Reading Error Analysis

Overall Reading Error Type Distribution

Table 4 shows rates (in %) and frequencies (in parentheses) of reading error type occurrences. The rates are also presented in the form of a graph in Fig. 1:

A configural frequency analysis was conducted to compare the rate of each error type between the Swedish and Japanese groups, and a significant difference ($df = 3$, $p < 0.0125$) was observed for the phonological type ($x^2 = 40.88$, $p = 6.9345E\text{-}09$) and the circumstantial type ($x^2 = 38.42$, $p = 2.3055E\text{-}08$).

The two groups shared a general distribution pattern of two predominant types (phonological and circumstantial) over the orthographic and semantic types. The notable difference is the order of the top two types. While the phonological type was predominant over the circumstantial type for the Swedish Students, the Japanese Pupils' results were in reverse order. The phonological-circumstantial

Table 4 Rates and frequencies of reading error types

	Phonological	Circumstantial	Orthographic	Semantic	Total
Swedish Students	55.2% (180)	31.0% (101)	6.4% (21)	7.4% (24)	100% (326)
Japanese Pupils	34.4% (198)	56.9% (327)	4.0% (23)	4.7% (27)	100% (575)
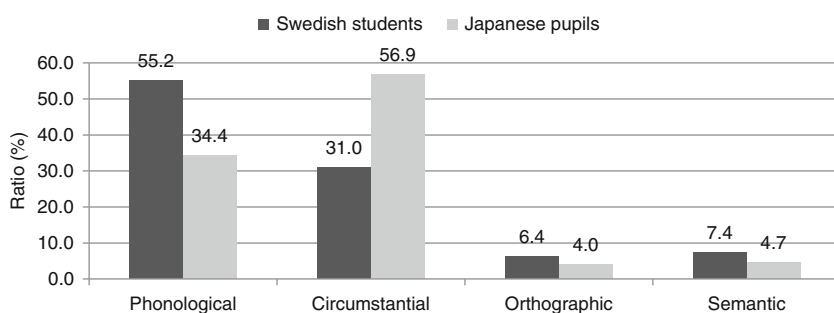
Fig. 1 Error Type Rates in Reading

predominance indicates phonological and circumstantial orientations in retrieval of kanji reading. Since this predominance is common for both groups, the tendency is likely to be specific to the reading skill rather than the characteristics of L1 background. The differences in the order of the top two types (phonological and circumstantial), on the other hand, can be a result of L1 influence.

The circumstantial predominance among the Japanese Pupils' errors may suggest their dependence on their competence in spoken language in the reading task. The research on kanji reading and writing errors among Japanese schoolchildren (Grades 1–6) conducted by Basic Academic Ability Survey Committee of Teaching Skill Sharing Society of Japan (2007) remarked that Grade 2 pupils made fewer reading errors of *kun*-reading (Japanese-based reading) words, with which they were familiar in the spoken language, than those of less familiar *on*-reading (Chinese-based reading) words. This observation suggests that their knowledge of spoken language plays an important role in tackling the task of kanji reading.

It is then fairly likely that the Japanese Pupils in the present study, strategically or otherwise, applied their knowledge of spoken Japanese when they were uncertain of the correct reading and made educated guesses based on the non-target (readily decipherable with the *furigana* reading guide) part of the phrase/sentence in question. The high rate of the circumstantial type among the Japanese Pupils' errors can therefore be interpreted as the result of misapplication of the reading of a character that is substitutable based on the compound constituents, inflectional endings, or context. Nonetheless, making such misapplication requires a sizeable vocabulary for compound-based guesses, decent knowledge of grammar for the inflection-based ones and good reading comprehension for the context-based ones. Among the Swedish Students who had

studied Japanese for only 250 hours and had relatively limited knowledge of the spoken language, dependence on the knowledge of the spoken language was observed but not as strikingly frequent as in the case of the Japanese Pupils.

Phonological Reading Error Breakdown

The phonological type, which was most common among the Swedish Students, were further divided into the following three subtypes in order to analyse the tendencies in detail:

(1) **Transcription**: an erroneous transcription of phonemes/morae with which learners often have difficulties in transcribing/distinguishing. Included in this category are special morae (moraic nasals, geminate consonants and long vowels, transcribed in *hiragana* with ん, っ, and an additional vowel, respectively) and palatalised syllables (e.g., きゃ/きゅ/きょ *kya/kyu/kyo*), which both L1 and L2 novice learners tend to have transcription problems (Basic Academic Ability Survey Committee of Teaching Skill Sharing Society of Japan, 2007; Toda, 2003), as well as the phoneme pairs which many Swedish learners have difficulty in distinguishing, such as /ʒ/ (in word-medial じ/じゃ/じゅ/じょ) vs. /j/ (in や/ゆ/よ), /s/ (in さ/す/せ/そ) vs. /z/ (in ざ/ず/ぜ/ぞ), and /ʃ/ (し/しゃ/しゅ/しょ) vs. /tʃ/ (ち/ちゃ/ちゅ/ちょ);

(2) **Alternative reading**: misapplication of an alternative reading of the character, such as applying the *kun*-reading うし (*ushi* "cattle") of the kanji 牛 when the *on*-reading ぎゅう (*gyū*) should be applied, as in 牛肉 (ぎゅうにく *gyūniku* "beef"); and

(3) **Component-based analogy**: an incorrect analogy based on the components, e.g., erroneously stating the reading of the character 体 (からだ *karada* /たい *tai* "body") as ほん (*hon*), which is one of the readings of the character 本 ("book"), assuming that characters sharing a component would share the pronunciation, based on cases such as the characters 時 (じ *ji* "time") and 寺 (じ *ji* "temple") that share the component 寺 and the *on*-reading *ji*.

Transcription errors may occur due to limited phonological awareness, phonological L1 transfer, and/or unestablished knowledge of the *kana* orthography. Misapplication of alternative reading disregards circumstantial factors such as the context and/or inflection, which determine the reading of the kanji to be applied. Component-based analogy is associated with overgeneralisation of the reading clues based on the phonological component of the character, rather than learning the reading of the character as a whole.

Table 5 shows the rates (in %) and frequencies (in parentheses) of each phonological error subtype. The rates are also graphed in Fig. 2:

Again, the two groups showed a common general distribution pattern: the two predominant types (transcription errors and alternative reading) over the virtually/actually no component-based analogy, only to differ in the order of the top two types.

A configural frequency analysis was conducted to compare the occurrence rate of each subtype between the two groups, and resulted in a significant difference ($df = 2$, $p < 0.0167$) for all three subtypes: transcription errors ($x^2 = 10.51$,

Table 5 Subtype rates and frequencies of phonological errors

	Transcription errors	Alternative reading	Component-based analogy	Total
Swedish Students	58.5% (83)	38.7% (55)	2.8% (4)	100% (142)
Japanese Pupils	41.0% (64)	59.0% (92)	0.0% (0)	100% (156)
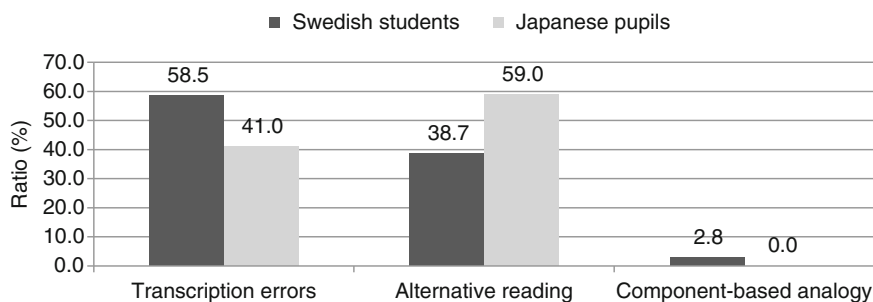
Fig. 2 Subtype Rates of Phonological Reading Errors

$p = 0.0052$), alternative reading ($x^2 = 9.87$, $p = 0.0072$), and component-based analogy ($x^2 = 0$, $p = 0$).

The transcription error rates were rather high for both groups. Although both Swedish and Japanese groups had supposedly mastered the *kana* orthography (i.e., how to read and write the two syllabaries *hiragana* and *katakana*) before they started learning kanji, they still had difficulty in transcribing special morae and palatalised syllables. In addition to those morae/syllables, the Swedish Students had extra problematic phonemes (see the subcategory description in (1) **Transcription** above). The substantially higher rate of transcription errors for the Swedish Students suggests involvement of L1 phonology transfer. In this regard, Matsumoto-Sturt (2004) points out the difficulty experienced by novice learners with the alphabetic L1WS; even after acquiring the grapheme-to-mora principle of the *kana* orthography, their limited L2 experience is not sufficient to develop phonological awareness to process all the phonemes/morae.

The subtype "alternative reading" shows an opposite pattern, with the considerably higher rate for the Japanese Pupils. Frequent occurrence of this error type suggests the learners' inclination to apply the reading of kanji on a character basis rather than on a word basis, i.e., one of the readings of the character is applied regardless of the circumstantial constraint, as described with the example of 牛肉 *gyūniku* being transcribed as *ushiniku* in (2) **Alternative reading** above. This type of error is likely to be caused when learners are unaware or uncaring of such constraint and apply one of the readings of the character they can remember. The reverse should be true with the Swedish Students, who make this type of error less frequently. They are presumably more circumstance-conscious in the sense that their application principle of kanji reading is more word-oriented than

character-based, or alternatively, they simply do not know or cannot remember any reading of the character in question.

One explanation for this contrast is the timing of kanji learning for each group. To the Japanese Pupils, a majority of kanji characters were introduced as means of writing for the words with which they were already colloquially familiar, and therefore each character and how to read it was an additional aspect of their already acquired L1 vocabulary. On the other hand, the Swedish Students, being L2 learners, had learned most new words and the kanji characters to write them with simultaneously. Consequently, the Japanese Pupils tended towards character-based processing of the reading, whereas in the Swedish Students' mental lexicon the reading of kanji is stored on a word-basis rather than a character-basis.

The low/null rate of the component-based analogy may be attributable to the learners' underdeveloped intra-character awareness and the low percentage of phono-semantic composites (PSC, a character created by combining a phonological component and a semantic component) among the characters they had learned. Component-based analogy requires the ability to decompose a character into components and recognise common phonological components between different characters, as well as the knowledge of the phonological component's *on*-reading. Besides, this analogy is valid only with *on*-readings of 38% of the Joyo Kanji characters, for 66.1% of the Joyo Kanji characters are PSCs, and 57.6% of the Joyo PSCs has the same *on*-reading with their phonetic component (Nomura, 1984). In principle, both L1 and L2 learners start learning simple-structured characters and move onto more complicated ones, and at this early stage of learning, neither group had learned many PSCs, and the limited exposure to such characters is likely to leave the learners oblivious of the validity of such analogy.

In fact, among the total of 240 characters each group had learned, only eight pairs (園/遠, 気/汽, 校/交, 五/語, 新/親, 生/星, 地/池, and 店/点) of characters fulfil the conditions for making valid component-based analogy for the Japanese Pupils, and no more than two pairs (五/語 and 新/親) for the Swedish Students. Since making a valid analogy requires the knowledge of the *on*-reading of one of the paired characters, the possibility of making a valid analogy is 3.3% (8 out of the 240 characters) for the Japanese Pupils, and 0.8% (2 out of 240) for the Swedish Students. The fact that the Swedish Students made significantly more frequent component-based analysis errors can be explained by the fact that this strategy of reading unfamiliar kanji is suggested in one of the course books: Banno *et al.* (2009) draws learners' attention to the possibility of PSCs sharing a component also share the *on*-reading and encourages learners to guess the *on*-reading of an unfamiliar character by applying that of a familiar character sharing a component with the character in question. Moreover, attention to that strategy had been drawn repeatedly during the lectures. It is fairly likely that the higher rate of this subtype among the Swedish Students is a result of application of this strategy when the chance of success is quite low. On the other hand, expressive suggestions for component-based analogy are not included in the Grade 1 and 2 course books the Japanese Pupils had used, which is probably the reason why no occurrence of this subtype was observed among the Japanese Pupils' phonological errors.

Writing Error Analysis

Overall Writing Error Type Distribution

Table 6 shows frequencies (in %) and rates (in parentheses) of writing error type occurrences. The rates are also graphed in Fig. 3:

A configural frequency analysis was conducted to compare the rates of each error type between the Swedish and Japanese groups, and a significant difference ($df = 4$, $p < 0.01$) was observed for two types, namely, the orthographic type ($x^2 = 29.40$, $p = 6.4611$E-06) and the pseudokanji type ($x^2 = 19.39$, $p = 0.00066$).

The two groups shared a general occurrence pattern of writing errors: the pseudokanji type represented an overwhelming majority, outdistancing the orthographic and phonological types that were second and third most common, and each of the rest comprised insignificantly small percentage. This tendency indicates the difficulty of handwriting correct forms of kanji at this stage of learning, and further suggests that the learners' configurational awareness of kanji components was still underdeveloped.

The retrieval orientation for pseudokanji type of error is most likely to be orthographic. Although the product of this type of error is a non-existing pseudokanji, it nonetheless holds some orthographic similarity to the target character. Unlike other writing error types that show orthographic knowledge of a character related to the target character in one way or another, pseudokanji errors have no display of correct orthographic knowledge of any character. Therefore, novice

Table 6 Rates and frequencies of writing error types

	Phonological	Circumstantial	Orthographic	Semantic	Pseudokanji	Total
Swedish Students	4.4% (38)	2.7% (24)	8.8% (77)	2.7% (24)	81.3% (710)	100% (873)
Japanese Pupils	7.2% (116)	4.3% (69)	16.2% (260)	3.3% (53)	69.0% (1106)	100% (1604)
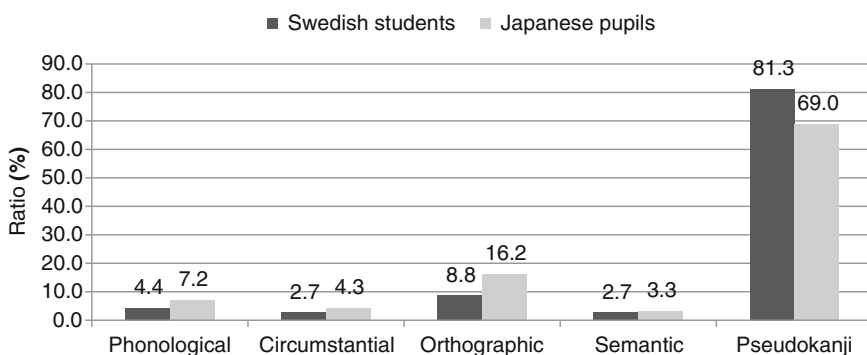
Fig. 3 Error Type Rates in Writing

learners who have not yet developed good configurational awareness frequently make this type of error.

The predominance of the orthographic and phonological types over the rest may imply that this style of writing task is more closely connected to the orthographic and phonological representations of single character within the mental kanji lexicon, rather than to the semantic representation or circumstantial conditions thereof. The predominance of the orthographic type over the phonological type might be attributable to either the limited knowledge of kanji homophones and/or stronger orthographic orientation in kanji retrieval from the mental lexicon at this stage.

The notable difference between the groups is the fact that the Japanese Pupils made pseudokanji type of errors less frequently and the other types more frequently than the Swedish Students. This suggests that the Japanese Pupils are relatively better versed in the basic configurations of kanji than the Swedish Students, for the products of pseudokanji type of errors deviate from any existing kanji, whereas learners who made the other types of errors at least managed to produce existing characters.

Pseudokanji Writing Error Breakdown

In order to explore the difference in configurational awareness between the two groups, the pseudokanji type was divided into the following four subtypes for further analysis:

(1) **Component**: This is a subtype involving component-based alteration of the target character, which results in producing a pseudokanji character. Alteration can be replacement, switching, addition or omission of a component, or incomplete assemblage of components. For example, erroneous omission of the top component 土 of the right radical 寺 of the character 持 ("to have/hold") creates a pseudokanji character which is a combination of 扌+寸. This component error subtype results in a pseudokanji consisting of existing components with an illegitimate combination. It indicates that a maker of this subtype of error has at least developed configurational awareness on a component basis, but not on a whole-character basis;

(2) **Stroke**: This subtype includes errors that are made by addition of an extra stroke or omission of a constituent stroke of the target character, creating a non-existing component and thereby making the character consisting of it deviate from any existing character. This stroke error subtype results in a pseudokanji consisting of non-existing components, which suggests that a maker of this subtype of error has not developed configurational awareness even on a component basis;

(3) **Whole**: Pseudokanji character that deviates from the target character on a whole-character basis rather than a component or stroke basis. This subtype of error deviates more from the target character than the component or the stroke subtypes do, and therefore they can be regarded as a result of less developed configurational awareness than the cases of these two subtypes; and

Table 7 Subtype rates and frequencies of pseudokanji writing errors

	Component	Stroke	Whole	Mirror	Total
Swedish Students	54.5% (387)	22.8% (162)	22.4% (159)	0.3% (2)	100% (710)
Japanese Pupils	71.2% (788)	21.8% (241)	6.8% (75)	0.2% (2)	100% (1106)
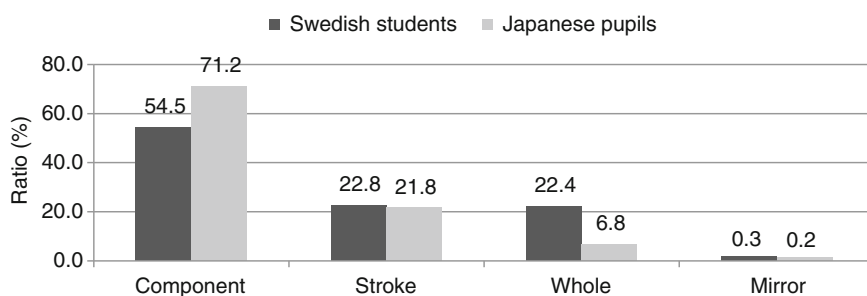
Fig. 4 Subtype Rates of Pseudokanji Writing Errors

(4) **Mirror**: Pseudokanji character that is a mirror image of the target character. This subtype was set up to check if mirror-writing errors that are common in the initial stage of learning *kana* or alphabet (e.g., the *hiragana* pair さ *sa* and ち *chi* or the alphabet pair *b* and *d*, etc.) are equally common in kanji.

Table 7 shows rates (in %) and frequencies (in parentheses) of the above four subtypes. The rates are also graphed in Fig. 4:

A configural frequency analysis was conducted to compare the rate of each error type between the Swedish and Japanese groups, and a significant difference ($df = 3$, $p < 0.0125$) was observed for the component subtype ($x^2 = 27.93$, $p = 3.7613E\text{-}06$) and the whole subtype ($x^2 = 255.23$, $p = 0.00$).

Although the two groups shared the order of subtype frequency (component > stroke > whole > mirror), the Swedish Students showed significantly lower frequency of the component subtype and higher frequency of the whole subtype than the Japanese Pupils. Since the configurational awareness indicated by the component subtype is relatively more developed and that indicated by the whole type is relatively underdeveloped, this result confirms that both groups have developed some configurational awareness, but that of the Swedish Students has less developed than the Japanese Pupils'. This tendency may be attributable to the difference in style of and environment for learning: in addition to the advantage of living in Japan and getting constant exposure to kanji, the Japanese Pupils are often provided with plenty of time, opportunity and guidance for handwriting practice of kanji, which would be an effective contributing factor for developing configurational awareness. On the other hand, opportunities of kanji exposure and handwriting practice for the Swedish Students are rather limited. The mirror subtype is

practically non-existing for both groups presumably because it is more difficult to reproduce an exact mirror image of kanji than *kana* or alphabet due to visual complexity of kanji.

Comparison with Hatta et al. (2002)

Among the three participant groups (Australian students, Japanese 7th graders and Japanese college students) in the writing error analysis in Hatta *et al.* (2002), the error type rates of the Australian students are the only group that can be properly compared with the results in the present study in terms of the participants' knowledge level and error-collecting method: they had learned about a couple of hundred characters (estimate based on the description in Hatta *et al.* (2002)) and their errors were collected from quizzes. Comparison with the other two groups would be inappropriate because their levels are substantially higher than that of the participant groups in the present study (the 7th graders had learned approximately 1000 characters and college students at least 2000 characters) and their errors were collected from the material in non-test format. Among the Australian students' error type rates, the non-kanji (their equivalent of pseudokanji) is the only error type that can make valid comparison, because the other error types were either not included in the present study's classification or overlap error types (e.g., 新/親 confusion that were counted as two error type occurrences in the present study was counted as one orthographic-phonological error occurrence in their study).

The rate of non-kanji errors made by the Australian students was 76.0%, which is higher than the Japanese Pupils' rate (69.0%). It provides supporting evidence for less developed configurational awareness of L2 learners with alphabetic L1WS in comparison with the level-matched L1 learners. The fact that the Australian students' rate is lower than the Swedish Students' (81.3%) can be explained with the difference of the error collecting conditions. The Australian students' errors were collected from ten weekly quizzes on recently learned characters, in which they could concentrate on smaller number of characters at a time and could have been well prepared for, while the Swedish Students' errors were collected from a single test covering 90 characters that could have been introduced months earlier, without a particular opportunity for the participants to study for the test.

Summary and Discussion

Tables 8 and 9 show summaries of the reading and writing error analyses, respectively, in which notable patterns and tendencies are stated in normal typeface and their implications in italics:

Although the reading and writing tests were parallel tasks on the same material, the error type distributions are quite different according to skill. The skill-specific

Table 8 Summary of reading error analysis

	Reading: Swedish Students	Reading: Japanese Pupils
Error type distribution	Phonological/Circumstantial > Orthographic/Semantic • *Phonological and circumstantial orientation in kanji reading retrieval*	
Error type characteristics	Phonological predominance • *Unestablished knowledge of* kana *orthography* • *Underdeveloped phonological awareness*	Circumstantial predominance • *Retrieval orientation towards non-kanji linguistic skills*
Phonological subtype distribution	Transcription errors/Alternative reading > Component-based analogy • *Inadequate preconditions/capacity for component-based analogy*	
Phonological subtype characteristics	Transcription error predominance • *Possible L1 influence* Alternative reading subordination • *Word-based processing of kanji reading* Component-based analogy manifestation • *Burgeoning inclination for component-based analogy*	Alternative reading predominance • *Character-based processing of kanji reading* • *Circumstantial constraint-unconscious*

Table 9 Summary of writing error analysis

	Writing: Swedish Students	Writing: Japanese Pupils
Error type distribution	Pseudokanji > Orthographic > Phonological > Circumstantial/Semantic • *Orthographic orientation in kanji writing retrieval* • *Difficulty in handwriting correct kanji form* • *Underdeveloped configurational awareness*	
Error type characteristics	Relatively higher Pseudokanji rate • *Less developed configurational awareness*	Relatively lower Pseudokanji rate • *More developed configurational awareness*
Pseudokanji subtype distribution	Component > Stroke > Whole > Mirror • *Developing configurational awareness* • *Inadequate preconditions for the Mirror subtype*	
Pseudokanji subtype characteristics	Relatively lower Component rate + higher Whole rate • *Less developed configurational awareness*	Relatively higher Component rate + lower Whole rate • *More developed configurational awareness*

distribution patterns regarding the four commonly included error types (phonological/ circumstantial predominance in reading and orthographic predominance in writing) indicate greater activation on the different aspects of kanji memory. Within the same skill, the two groups show similar general tendencies, with notable divergence in the order of the top two error types in reading and minor difference in numerical value in writing.

Among the different characteristics of the reading error type patterns of the two groups, the predominance of transcription errors for the Swedish Students is highly indicative of phonological L1 transfer. A further breakdown of transcription error on a phoneme/mora basis should clarify the matter. Regarding the circumstantial and alternative reading predominance for the Japanese Pupils, there appears to be a conflict in the likely factors: the former implies retrieval orientation towards circumstantial (spoken language-based) clues, while the latter insensibility to circumstantial constraints. This apparent conflict may be caused by another factor: the learners are so inclined to process kanji reading on a character basis that they become oblivious of the circumstantial constraints. A breakdown of circumstantial type into contextual, compound and inflectional subtypes is necessary to further investigate this issue.

As for the differences observed in the reading error analysis, there is a possibility of negative L1 influence on the underdevelopment of configurational awareness of the Swedish Students. Tollini (1994) claims that novice Western learners of Japanese try to decode kanji with the rules for the alphabet; they tend to employ simple visual criteria and often find characters with asymmetrical forms more difficult to recognise. Difficulty in visual recognition would naturally have an adverse effect on correct reproduction (writing) by hand. Furthermore, Chikamatsu (2005) argues that, being used to the configurationally simple graphemes and relatively transparent grapheme-sound correspondence of the alphabetic WS, L2 learners of Japanese with the alphabetic L1WS tend to feel overconfident about their kanji production ability and fail to pay attention to graphic details of the components of kanji.

Conclusions and Future Directions

The present study compared kanji reading and writing error patterns of novice L2 (Swedish) learners of Japanese and those of level-matched L1 (Japanese) learners under strictly controlled conditions in order to investigate the orientations and weaknesses regarding retrieval, reading and writing of kanji. In summary, it suggests that, when learners have learned 240 characters:

(1) the differences in error type occurrence tendencies between reading and writing are greater than those between L1 and L2 learners (phonological/circumstantial errors were predominant in reading and pseudokanji errors in writing, but both L1 and L2 learners show similar tendencies within the same skill);

(2) the differences in error type occurrence tendencies between L1 and L2 learners are greater in reading than in writing (the phonological type was predominant among L2 reading errors and the circumstantial type in L1 reading errors, whereas writing errors showed the same occurrence distribution pattern of absolute pseudokanji predominance for both groups with minor differences in the numerical values of the rates);

(3) L2 learners have underdeveloped phonological awareness, unestablished *kana* orthographic knowledge and limited configurational awareness of kanji components, whereas those of L1 learners are more developed to some degree; and

(4) Both L2 and L1 learners have underdeveloped intra-character structural awareness.

In Hatta *et al.* (2002) different types of writing errors were observed depending on the level of learners. Although the present study suggests that the general error type occurrence tendencies may be level-driven, it has further discovered certain differences in error type occurrence patterns at the same stage of kanji learning, depending on skill type (reading/writing) and the learners' L1WS. L1WS transfer is a highly reliable explanation for some of the observed tendencies/weaknesses, but involvement of the factors related to the study conditions such as the timing of kanji learning is undeniable. In order to obtain more comprehensive grasp of the retrieval orientation and difficulties in reading and writing in the developmental process of L2 kanji learning, comparison between the higher-level groups of L1 and L2 learners needs to be made in the same manner as the present study. Additionally, further breakdowns of frequently occurred error types (e.g., transcription errors divided into different phoneme subtypes, or circumstantial errors divided into contextual, compound and inflectional subtypes) would identify the characteristics of each group more thoroughly.

Since the tasks of the tests are presented in Japanese, learners of Japanese with any L1/L1WS can participate in the same experiment as in the present research, as long as the instructions are given in a language comprehensible to them. Comparison between L2 learners of Japanese with different L1WS backgrounds would further reveal the extent of L1 influence on the error generating tendencies. In case that learners' L1 is Korean, the language of the other NAJAKS country, analysis of the experimental results would require extra consideration, since the language has a large vocabulary of Chinese origin which holds comparative phonological similarity to the corresponding *on*-reading kanji vocabulary in Japanese, and its WS (hangul) is a unique alphabetic WS in which a script combines phonemic symbols (resembling kanji components) into a square kanji-like configuration representing a syllable.

Appendix 1

Target kanji

90 characters (113 readings)

遠何夏家歌　画会海外楽　間帰牛魚強　教近元言古　午後語広行　高国黒今作

市紙寺自時　室社首秋週　春書少色食　心新親西切　前走多太体　茶昼長鳥朝

店電冬東道　読南肉馬売　買半父風分　聞米母方北　毎万明門夜　友曜来理話

No.	1	2	3	4	5
Kanji	遠	何	夏	家	歌
Reading	とお（い）	なに なん	なつ	いえ	うた
No.	6	7	8	9	10
Kanji	画	会	海	外	楽
Reading	ガ	カイ あ（う）	うみ	ガイ そと	ガク たの（しい）
No.	11	12	13	14	15
Kanji	間	帰	牛	魚	強
Reading	カン あいだ	かえ（る）	ギュウ うし	さかな	キョウ つよ（い）
No.	16	17	18	19	20
Kanji	教	近	元	言	古
Reading	キョウ おし（える）	ちか（い）	ゲン	い（う）	ふる（い）
No.	21	22	23	24	25
Kanji	午	後	語	広	行
Reading	ゴ	ゴ あと うし（ろ）	ゴ	ひろ（い）	い（く）
No.	26	27	28	29	30
Kanji	高	国	黒	今	作
Reading	コウ たか（い）	コク くに	くろ（い）	コン いま	つく（る）
No.	31	32	33	34	35
Kanji	市	紙	寺	自	時
Reading	シ	かみ	てら	ジ	ジ
No.	36	37	38	39	40
Kanji	室	社	首	秋	週
Reading	シツ	シャ	くび	あき	シュウ
No.	41	42	43	44	45
Kanji	春	書	少	色	食
Reading	はる	か（く）	すこ（し）	いろ	た（べる）

No.	46	47	48	49	50
Kanji	心	新	親	西	切
Reading	シン こころ	あたら(しい)	シン おや	にし	セツ き(る)
No.	51	52	53	54	55
Kanji	前	走	多	太	体
Reading	ゼン まえ	はし(る)	おお(い)	ふと(い)	からだ
No.	56	57	58	59	60
Kanji	茶	昼	長	鳥	朝
Reading	チャ	ひる	チョウ なが(い)	とり	あさ
No.	61	62	63	64	65
Kanji	店	電	冬	東	道
Reading	みせ	デン	ふゆ	トウ ひがし	みち
No.	66	67	68	69	70
Kanji	読	南	肉	馬	売
Reading	よ(む)	みなみ	ニク	うま	う(る)
No.	71	72	73	74	75
Kanji	買	半	父	風	分
Reading	か(う)	ハン	ちち	かぜ	ブン わ(かる)
No.	76	77	78	79	80
Kanji	聞	米	母	方	北
Reading	き(く)	こめ	はは	がた	きた
No.	81	82	83	84	85
Kanji	毎	万	明	門	夜
Reading	マイ	マン	あか(るい)	モン	ヤ よる
No.	86	87	88	89	90
Kanji	友	曜	来	理	話
Reading	とも	ヨウ	ライ く(る)	リ	ワ はなし

Appendix 2

Reading Test

Instruction in Japanese

ふといかんじのよみを かんじの上の（ ）の中に かきなさい。

れい：学校 の 先生 を 見た。
（がっ（こう）　（せんせい）　（み））

Instruction in Swedish

Skriv den rätta läsningen av de kanji i fetstil med hiragana i ( ). Försök att fylla i ( ) med din bästa gissning även när du är osäker på den rätta läsningen.

Exempel:
学校 の 先生 を 見た。
（がっ（こう）　（せんせい）　（み））

Tasks (for both Japanese and Swedish participants)

1. 今、 風 が 強い。
（　）（　）（　）

2. 心が広い。
（　）（　）

3. 友だちの家。
（　）（　）

4. 市長に 会う。
（　）（　）

5. 午後のお茶。
（　）（　）

6. 自分で 作る。
（　）（　）

7. 来週の 金曜日。
（　）きん（　）び

8. 秋と 冬の 間。
（　）（　）（　）

9. 牛肉を 買う。
（　）（　）

10. 母の 話を 聞く。
（　）（　）（　）

11. 体が 小さい。
（　）ちい

12. 外で 元気に遊ぶ。
（　）（　）き あそ

13. 何を 食べますか。
（　）（　）

14. 親切な 高校生。
（　）（　）こうせい

15. 楽しい 夏休み。
（　）（　）やす

16. 教室が 多い。
（　）（　）

17. 朝と 昼と 夜。
（　）（　）（　）

18. 駅の 西口に 行く。
えき（　）ぐち（　）

19. 遠い 北の 国。
（　）（　）（　）

20. 東の空が 明るい。
（　）そら（　）

21. 首の 長い 鳥。
（　）（　）（　）

22. 南の 海の 魚。
（　）（　）（　）

23. （　　）（　　）
紙に　書く。

24. （　　）　あん（　　）
親が　安心する。

25. （　　）　えい（　　）
古い　映画。

26. （　　）　（　　）
会社に　近い。

27. （　　）　（　　）
黒い　馬。

28. （　　）　　（　　）
少し　高い。

29. （　　）　　（　　）
後で　言う。

30. （　　）　ゆう（　　）
春の　夕方。

31. （　　）きょう　　　（　　）
東　京の　お寺。

32. （　　）　おん（　　）
歌と　音楽。

33. （　　）　（　　）（　　）
門の　前の　道　。

34. （　　）　ほん　（　　）
新しい本を読む。

35. （　　）（　　）　（　　）
牛が　走って　来る。

36. （　　）　（　　）
父に　電話する。

37. （　　）つき いち（　　）えん　はら
毎月　一万円　払う。

38. （　　）ちゅう　べん（　　）
午前中の勉強。

39. き　（　　）ぼん　（　　）
木を　何本も　切る。

40. に ほん（　　）（　　）
日本語が　分かる。

41. （　　）　つき（　　）
今夜の月の色。

42. （　　）　（　　）
外国から　帰る。

43. に（　　）
二　時間半。

44. （　　）　き（　　）
太い木の後ろ。

45. （　　）（　　）
お米を売る店。

46. りょう（　　）（　　）
料理を　教える。

Appendix 3

Writing Test

Instruction in Japanese

文のいみに あうように、□の中に かんじを かきなさい。

れい：学校の先　生を見た。

Instruction in Swedish

Komplettera meningarna/fraserna genom att fylla i rutorna med det rätta kanji. Försök fylla i rutorna med din bästa gissning även när du är osäker på det rätta kanji.

Exempel: 学校の先　生を見た。

Tasks (for both Japanese and Swedish participants)

1. いま かぜ つよ
　□、□が□い。

2. こころ ひろ
　□が□い。

3. とも いえ
　□だちの□。

4. し ちょう あ
　□ □に□う。

5. ご ご ちゃ
　□ □のお□。

6. じ ぶん つく
　□ □で□る。

7. らい しゅう きん ようび
　□ □の金□日。

8. あき ふゆ あいだ
　□と□の□。

9. ぎゅう にく か
　□ □を□う。

10. はは はなし き
　□の□を□く。

11. からだ ちい
　□が小さい。

12. そと げんき あそ
　□で□気に遊ぶ。

13. なに た
　□を□べますか。

14. しん せつ こう こう せい
　□ □な□校生。

15. たの なつ やす
　□しい□休み。

16. きょう しつ おお
　□ □が□い。

17. あさ ひる よる
　□と□と□。

18. えき にしぐち い
　駅の□口に□く。

19. とお きた くに
　□い□の□。

20. ひがし そら あか
　□の空が□るい。

21. くび なが とり
　□の□い□。

22. みなみ うみ さかな
　□の□の□。

23. かみ か
　□に□く。

24. おや あんしん
　□が安□する。

25. ふる えいが
　□い映□。

26. かい しゃ ちか
　□ □に□い。

27. くろ うま
　□い□。

28. すこ たか
　□し□い。

29. あと い
　□で□う。

30. はる ゆうがた
　□の夕□。

31. とう きょう てら
　□ 京のお□。

32. うた おんがく
　□と音□。

33. （もん・まえ・みち）□の□の□。

34. （あたら・ほん・よ）□しい本を□む。

35. （うし・はし・く）□が□って□る。

36. （ちち・でん・わ）□に□□する。

37. （まいつき・いち・まんえん・はら）□月一□円払う。

38. （ご・ぜんちゅう・べんきょう）□□中の勉□。

39. （き・なん・ぼん・き）木を□本も□る。

40. （に・ほん・ご・わ）日本□が□かる。

41. （こん・や・つき・いろ）□□の月の□。

42. （がい・こく・かえ）□□から□る。

43. （に・じ・かん・はん）二□□□。

44. （ふと・き・うし）□い木の□ろ。

45. （こめ・う・みせ）お□を□る□。

46. （りょう・り・おし）料□を□える。

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Part V
Innovation in the Professions

Chapter 13
The Interdisciplinary Study of Law and Language: Forensic Linguistics in Japan

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Origin of Forensic Linguistics

Forensic Linguistics is a relatively new field, and the term was first coined by linguist Jan Svartvik when he wrote *The Evans Statement* in 1968. The book examined a murder case that took place in November 1949, in which Timothy Evans was arrested for the murder of his wife and infant daughter. His trial began in January 1950. The prosecution was able to obtain his written confession during the initial investigation. Based on his written confession as evidence, Evans received a death sentence and was put to death in March of the same year. Three years after Evans's execution, John Christine was arrested for the murder of four women including his wife. During his trial, Christine confessed that he murdered Evans's wife, which brought significant controversies and debates over Evans's wrongful conviction and eventual execution.

Evans's bereaved family requested to Svartivk for a linguistic analysis of Evan's confession. Svartvik made a corpus analysis of the original written statement of Evans' confession and found two distinctly contrasted grammatical styles: (1) an educated style, possibly coached by an investigating officer, and (2) a casual writing style reflected by the defendant himself. He concluded that the authenticity of Evans' written confession was very questionable, suggesting that the content of the statement contained the sign of significant external influence, rather than his own.

Another pioneering analysis in forensic linguistics comes from the Bentley case involving the attempted burglary and murder of a police officer in 1953, for which nineteen-year-old Derek Bentley was convicted and later executed. Although the actual murder was carried out by sixteen-year-old Chris Craig, he was not given the death penalty because of his age at the time of arrest. It was stated that Bentley's IQ

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was far below the average of his peers and he was also functionary illiterate. Recognizing that this case involved complicity in a burglary attempt, forensic linguist Malcolm Coulthard analyzed Bentley's confession statement and argued that Bentley personally did not make a confession as noted in the statement to the police. Rather, using a corpus analysis of the term "then" in the confession statement, he found that large parts of Bentley's writings reflected, and were composed of, words and language deliberately used by investigating officers assigned to the case.[1]

This is how forensic linguistics, the application of principles and methods of linguistic analysis to the language of legal proceedings and documents, has become an established area in the interdisciplinary area of law and language in English speaking countries.

Forensic Linguistics in Japan

Forensic linguistics in Japan stayed dormant for nearly ten years after the first publication of the forensic linguistic paper "*Hou-gengogaku no Taidou*" (Embryonic Movements of Forensic Linguistics) in 1998.[2] However, with the preparation for the lay judge system beginning in 2005, there has been a growing interest among legal experts in making courtroom language clearer for lay judges. This has opened the way for recognition of forensic linguistic studies in general.

I will discuss a revised version of the first Japanese expert opinion of forensic linguistics, which was submitted to the Tokyo High Court in March of 2011. I presented an analysis of the testimony in a criminal case involving a charge of complicity.[3]

Overview of the First Japanese Case

The following is an overview of the criminal case that was examined. A male F was found dead in a car that was submerged in an irrigation reservoir in Gunma Prefecture, Japan in July 2009. Five acquaintances of the victim (A, B, C, D and E) were arrested on charges of causing bodily harm resulting in death and disposing of a dead body. Three of them (A, B and C), who admitted to carrying out the crime, were given sentences of eight, nine and ten years, respectively. The other two defendants (D and E), however, denied any involvement in the crime. Defendant D had his indictment suspended, but Defendant E was charged as a joint accomplice in the conspiracy. Although Defendant E pleaded not guilty to the crime, she was sentenced to nine years of imprisonment by the district court in

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[1]For more information, see Coulthard (1994).

[2]For more information, see Okawara (1998).

[3]See Okawara & Higuchi (2012) for more detailed information in English. A simplified version in Japanese is available from Okawara (2012).

November 2010. She appealed to the Tokyo High Court, which dismissed the appeal in March 2011. The defendant then appealed to the Japanese Supreme Court but withdrew the appeal in October of 2011.

Before the Trial

The main issue in this case was whether or not Defendant E conspired with the three other defendants (A, B and C who were previously convicted of murder) to assault the victim. At the pre-trial conference, the defense lawyer made a statement that questioned the credibility of the three witnesses' statements against the defendant. This provided the prosecutors with an opportunity to anticipate the defendant's main trial strategy, thus prompting a series of visits to all three witnesses who were serving their prison sentences whereby each was interviewed ten times before the trial's commencement. During the subsequent trial, all three witnesses A, B and C proceeded to give incriminating statements against Defendant E; yet, the content of their statements was different from that of the previous testimonies they gave in their own trials six months earlier.

Witness Preparation for the Prosecution

I focused on one of three witnesses (Witness B) and examined his testimony using linguistic analysis. This witness previously had an intimate relationship with Defendant E. During an interview with the witness, the prosecutor disclosed to him that Defendant E tried to intoxicate him with a stimulant drug in the kitchen with the intent to arouse him to attack Victim F. Prior to his testimony in court, then, it was clear that this witness had probable motive for testifying against the defendant. At the trial, Witness B clearly showed his anger at the defendant when he came into the courtroom to take the witness stand. But before analyzing the content of his testimony and examining the signs and traces of possible witness preparation by the prosecutor, I briefly review the method of forensic linguistics and how this investigative technique can be useful in the analysis of witness testimony.

Forensic Linguistic Analysis of Witness B's Statement

Professional Language Features

Japanese police officers and prosecutors also import similar features of their professional language into the official records of suspects' statements. They include the use of demonstrative pronouns (*sono* (its, the)) and the past progressive form, all of which aid in giving statements greater precision. First, I wish to show how these syntactic features are reflected in a suspect's statement recorded by an

investigating officer. We also cite examples from a handbook commonly used by investigating officers (Kajiki et al. (2006) *Shin Sosa Shorui Zenshu Torishirabe* (*A New Complete Work of Investigating Documents: Interrogation*) to facilitate my discussion and analysis. This is a standard textbook that teaches investigative officers about the techniques of suspect interrogation and the recording of verbal testimonies. I will then show that many traces of professional language used by the investigating officer appeared in Witness B's testimony.[4]

Interrogation Handbook Examples

1. SONO *(THE): Demonstrative Pronoun* Constituents of a sentence are frequently omitted in the Japanese language, and such omissions are much more salient in spoken language, especially when the speaker believes that the hearer knows or can understand the context of a situation, as shown in the following examples.

> Anata wa ashita eiga ni ikimasu ka? ~~Anata wa~~ ashita ~~eiga ni~~ ikimasu ~~ka~~?
>
> (Are you going to the movie tomorrow? ~~Are you~~ going ~~to the movie~~ tomorrow?)

The sentences below are taken from the handbook (Kajiki et al. 2006: 78). The words "my" of "my internet" and "her" are omitted because these demonstrative pronouns are easily recoverable from the context. On the contrary, the article "the" from "URL" or "picture" is not deleted because it clarifies "the URL" and "the picture" in question. This is how the handbook educates investigating officers not to omit the demonstrative pronouns relating to the key notions.

> As I would make Mayu's picture open to (my) internet homepage and send (her) the URL and cancel-key by mail, I was telling Mayu to delete the picture by herself…
>
> 、、、真由の画像をインターネットのホームページに公表し、後でその(sono)-ＵＲＬと解除キーをメールで送るから、自分でその(sono)画像を削除しろと真由に伝えていた(-te ita)ので

2. –TE IMASHITA *(WAS DOING): Past Progressive Form* The past progressive form frequently appears in a suspect's recorded statement. This is because investigative officers or prosecutors are required to describe the crime scene vividly enough so that the judges can use the descriptions to recreate an accurate depiction of the crime and thus make factually correct decisions on the case.

> I was telling lies.
>
> 嘘をついていました(*-te imashita*).

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[4]The discussion of two other features, prepositions (*ni taishite* (towards) and *tame* (for, for the sake of) was not included in this paper due to space limitations.

Witness B's Testimony

This section examines the different features of professional language and its usage that appeared in Witness B's testimony. Witness B was originally convicted in the complicity case involving the same crime and was called to testify as a prosecution witness against Defendant E in her trial.

In Testimony (1) below, the prosecution witness's statement contains many of the same linguistic and syntactic features used by professional investigative officers, including the demonstrative noun "*sono* (its)" and the pronoun "E," that is, the defendant's true name. If the witness had used ordinary spoken language, his testimony would cohere more with Example (2), in which both noun phrases (recoverable from the context) and formal expressions would be eliminated.

(1) E got angry <u>in regard to (the fact that)</u> that son (her son) was beaten, <u>called</u> the other party's parent and (his) son, <u>and called</u> out to <u>E's</u> house to do the same to them.

　Eが、<u>その(sono)</u>息子が殴られたことに<u>対して(ni taishite)</u>腹を立て、同じような目に遭わせようと相手の親と子を<u>呼び(yobi)</u>、<u>Eの(E no)</u>家に<u>呼び出しました</u>-<u>た(yobidashimashita)</u>。

(2) E got angry in regard to (the fact that) that son (her son) was beaten, called the other party's parent and (his) son, and called out to <u>E's</u> house to do the same to them.

　Eが、息子が殴られたことに腹を立て、同じような目に遭わせようと相手の-
親と子を家に呼び出しました。

　　Now look at the past progressive form '*kuwaesasete-imashita*' (was causing or inflicting) in the sentence (3). This usage of the past progressive form by the witness describes the crime scene where Defendant E ordered A to physically assault F. These examples reflect formal linguistic phrases used by Japanese investigative officers.

(3) E who got angry by it <u>was using A to inflict violence on</u> F.

　それに腹を立てたEがAを使ってFに暴行を加えさせ<u>ていました(-*teimashita*)</u>。

Prosecutor's Examples

Many instances of professional language from the interrogation handbook were found in the testimony given by Prosecution Witness B. Similar instances (*sono*, *te-ita*) can also be found in both the prosecutor's opening and closing statements.

Examples (4) and (5) were taken from the prosecutor's opening and closing statements, respectively. The word "*Sono*" is used in both instances in order to make a specific reference to the defendant's daughter and the victim's body.

(4) the defendant's daughter G, <u>her</u> boyfriend H

　被告人の娘のG、<u>その(*sono*)</u>交際相手のH

(5) I have nothing to do with the disposition of the corpus.

その(*sono*)死体を捨てたことに何ら関与していない。

     The past progressive form is also found in both (6) in the prosecutor's opening statement and (7) in the final statement. Both examples refer to a description of on-going events.

(6) A was watching the condition of Mr. F.

Aは、・・・Fさんの様子を見ていました(*te imashita*)。

(7) was talking with ~.

〜と話していました(*te imashita*)。

    It is clear that these two features are usually found in the professional language of the prosecutors and/or investigative officers. Now I would like to demonstrate that they are in fact not a register of the witness himself but that of the prosecutors or investigating officers. I will show this by first tallying the number of occurrences of these features in five pieces of discourse: (1) a witness's letter to the defendant's daughter's boyfriend; (2) the testimony of the prosecution witness in court; (3) eleven samples of the suspect's statement taken from the handbook; (4) the prosecutor's opening statement, and (5) the prosecutor's closing statement.

    None of these features (*sono* and *te-imashita*) were found in the witness's personal letter. On the other hand, these linguistic features are found in the suspect's testimony in court, as well as sample written statements from the handbook. The high frequency of these features in the suspect's testimony and written statement suggests possible witness preparation or prosecution coaching prior to his testimony in court. The witness's use of particular language patterns also parallels the language use of the prosecutor in his testimony (Table 1).

Written Language Features

Written language is more complex than spoken language. Academic writing, which usually focuses on a specific theme contributing to the main line of argument without digressions, includes linguistic characteristics of noun-based phrases, subordinate

Table 1 Frequency comparison of statement and testimony

	sono	*te imashita*
Personal letter (3323 letters)	0	0
Testimony (4730 letters)	4	40
Suspect's written statement (42,917 letters)	76	73
Opening statement (10,839 letters)	8	16
Closing Statement (12,117 letters)	16	3

clauses or embeddings, complement clauses, sequences of prepositional phrases, participles, passive verbs, lexical density, lexical complexity, nominalization, and attributive adjectives.[5] Among these characteristics, we discuss noun-based phrases below.

Location of Modifiers

One example that was found in the examination of written language is a modification of a noun phrase: a relative clause (noun + post modifier). A relative clause is used to provide additional information without the inclusion of another sentence. Nonetheless, unlike English, Japanese does not require the use of relative pronouns.

For example, the relative clause in witness testimony (8) directly modifies the noun phrase. The clause, (*Sore ni hara wo tateta)*, comes before noun phrase (E) and is predominantly used in written language. In order to fully understand the meaning of this sentence, one must find the actor of the sentence (E), which comes after its modifier ("who got angry with it" (sore ni hara wo tateta)). The use of relative clause requires the process of reading back the whole sentence, which is suitable for written language, but not for spoken language. Thus the use of the relative clause in a normal conversation is extremely rare. In examining Witness B's testimony, use of this relative clause in his speech was deemed very unusual and may imply the possibility of witness preparation conducted by a prosecutor during the ten pre-trial interviews in prison. In a normal spoken expression, it is more common and natural to express this with the use of a compound sentence as shown in (9).

(8) E who got angry with it was using A to inflict serious violence on F.
     それに腹を立てた E（sore ni hara wo tateta Ｅ）が A を使って F に暴行を-
     加えさせていました。
(9) E got angry with it, and he was using A to inflict serious violence on F.
     Eはそれに腹を立てて、Aを使ってFに暴行を加えさせていました。

Repetition

Coulthard suggested that it is rare for individuals to remember verbatim in its exact form or words in terms of what they themselves said, as well as what other people stated with respect to some past event. It is also a misconception that what people remember is the gist of what was in fact said and expressed.[6] This means that slightly different accounts are usually given at each retelling.

The witness recounted in court on November 10, 2010 about what had occurred from the Third to the Fourth of July in 2009. The witness, however, retold the

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[5]See Hammond & Martrala-Lockett (2009) for more information.
[6]Coulthard, supra note 4, at pp. 414–15.

same event using exactly same words and phrases, as shown in testimonies (10)–(11). Also, please note that Testimony (1) had two usages of "*yobi*" (call). This indicates that the witness retold the same event using the same word used by the prosecutor who also interviewed the witness in prison on repeated occasions prior to the trial.

(10) It was because I was called out by E.
　　 Eから呼ばれた(yobareta)からです。
(11) I was called out by telephone from E.
　　 Eから電話があって呼ばれました(yobaremashita)。
(12) I was called out by Ms. E.
　　 Eさんに呼ばれました(yobaremashita)。

Characteristics of Witness B's Testimony

Prosecution witness B gave his response to a direct question, using the prosecutors' or investigating officers' register, including the frequent use of *sono, te-imashita*, as well as written language features and repetitive expressions, all of which are not normally found in ordinary people's verbal expression. The witness's personal letter also had shown no indication of these characteristics or linguistic traits. Hence, it is possible that the prosecutor's repeated contacts and detailed interviews with the witness influenced the way he responded to the question about the case.

The Japanese criminal justice system does not have a comparable process of discovery procedure like the one in the United States, and the prosecutors are not required to disclose the list of all of the evidence that they have collected. As a result, the defense lawyers must compile a specific list of documents or evidence needed to prepare for their defense strategies. During the course of a pre-trial conference, the defense lawyer makes a request for the disclosure of specific information, including material or forensic evidence, depositions, statements made during interrogation, or any other documents pertaining to the case. The defense's specific request for materials or evidence often gives prosecutors a fairly good understanding of the defense's likely strategy. The prosecution is then in a privileged position to formulate its own counter-defense plan prior to trial.

In the present complicity case, since the defense raised the question of the credibility of accomplices' statements on Defendant E and requested relevant documents or evidence, the prosecutors then may have decided to conduct comprehensive interviews of the former accomplices in order to prepare them for their upcoming testimony in court. Indeed the prosecution conducted a total of ten interviews with all of the accomplices in a prison facility prior to the trial. If this was in fact the case, then the prosecutors' trial strategy raises serious ethical questions regarding excessive witness preparation and even possible witness coaching.

I would like here to explain that witness coaching is illegal but preparation for examination of a witness is legal in Japan, as stipulated in Article 1913 of Rule of Criminal Procedure. This is because preparation for examination of a witness is

nothing more than a method such as ascertaining the facts from the witness. However, unlike investigators' interrogations of suspects, preparation for examination of a witness is not the target of audio and video recordings. This means that no one can verify the actual situation of preparation for examination of a witness as appropriate. It is therefore possible that preparation for examination of a witness is all but witness coaching behind closed doors, as reported in the article of January 5, 2014 in the Asahi Newspaper.

Conclusion

In this paper I have introduced an expert opinion of forensic linguistics, in which I identified the characteristics of prosecutor's language which would appear in the prosecution witness's answer during direct examination. By using qualitative and quantitative analysis, such as co-occurrence and concordance of words, I performed a linguistic comparison of the language that was used in a witness's answer against that of five relevant documents. This included (1) a prosecutor's opening statement, (2) a prosecutor's final statement, (3) eleven samples of suspect's statements from the handbook for investigating officers, and (4) two personal letters of the witness. The results of this analysis indicate that the witness's responses had the features of the prosecutor's written language. Therefore, I argued that the prosecutor's ten meetings with the witness immediately before trial may possibly have influenced not only the witness's language but also the content of the testimony itself.

The application of linguistic analysis to the language of legal proceedings and documents is now an established area in Anglo-American courtrooms, but not yet in institutions in Japan, Korea and Scandinavian countries. To enhance awareness among legal professionals, it is clearly essential for linguists to publish papers regarding the usefulness of such linguistic analysis. Mizuno is one of the Japanese linguists who actively publishes papers on court interpreting. In the next chapter Mizuno discusses the quality of court interpreting in lay judge trials using a linguistic analysis.

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Chapter 14
Linguistic Study of Court Interpreting in Lay Judge Trials in Japan

Makiko Mizuno

Introduction

With the sudden increase of foreign nationals living in Japan beginning in the 1980s, the issue of communication breakdown has surfaced in various spheres of daily life. "Community interpreting" is a key concept in dealing with this new social phenomenon. Along with health care interpreting, legal interpreting is an area of community interpreting in which the quality of interpreting is crucially important. Without interpreters, due process of law could not be guaranteed to non-Japanese-speaking foreigners involved in criminal proceedings. Also, high-quality interpreting should be a primary concern, because conveying speech accurately is one of the most important elements in legal procedures. Poor interpreting might distort the facts and bring about a miscarriage of justice.

In order to guarantee quality interpreting in court, it is necessary to define accurate interpreting. Accuracy in interpreting, or fidelity to the original speech, does not just mean conveying the correct meaning of the speech in the source language, but also how the speech is rendered in the target language. The register and speech styles interpreters use, and which words they choose when translating certain words in the original speech, are critical factors in realizing equivalence between the original and the interpreted versions of speech. Linguistic studies should be conducted to determine how and to what extent interpreters' renditions influence the impressions and judgments of hearers (in the case of criminal justice, hearers are judges and lay judges). "Forensic linguistics," which had not been very widely known in Japan, is drawing attention these days, and the study of legal interpreting has come to be regarded as one of the important focuses in this field. This article discusses current problems of court interpreting and introduces the findings of the

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recent linguistic studies on court interpreting, mainly in terms of its impacts on the formation of impressions and decision-making in lay judge trials.

Background

Increase of Foreign Workers and "Community Interpreting"

From the end of the seclusion policy of the Edo period until the time soon after World War II, Japan was a country sending immigrants rather than receiving them. There were waves of Japanese emigration to Hawaii, the west coast of the United States, Latin American countries, Manchuria in China, and so forth. However, the "Bubble Economy," an economic boom that occurred during the latter half of the 1980s and the early 1990s, attracted a large number of immigrant workers from all over the world, particularly Asian and South American countries such as China, Korea, Brazil, the Philippines, Peru, etc. Since then the number of such newcomers has continued to increase. According to the Immigration Bureau of Japan, the number of registered foreigners hit a record high of about 2.21 million in 2008, or 1.74% of the total population. The number has gradually declined since 2009 due to the economic recession that followed the Lehman Shock in 2008 and East Japan Great Earthquake in 2011, but in 2013, it started to pick up again and the tendency to increase has been continuing.[1]

Until the time of the bubble economy, most foreign nationals in Japan were so-called *zainichi*—Koreans who had lived there for a long time and often spoke Japanese as their first language. Currently, however, the majority of foreign nationals are newcomers, and many are not able to communicate fluently in Japanese, which makes their presence more conspicuous. In various spheres of daily life, they face communication problems, and new types of interpreting and translation services have emerged, which are collectively called "community interpreting." (For details, see Mizuno.[2])

Criminal Cases Involving Non-Japanese Speakers

Against this background, the number of foreigners involved in criminal cases has also rapidly increased, and the communication problems at every stage of criminal procedures have become an urgent issue. Legal interpreting began to draw attention around the end of the 1980s. Although Japanese codes of criminal procedure do not

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[1]Mizuno, Makiko. "Community Interpreting in Japan: Present State and Challenges." In *Translation and Translation Studies in the Japanese Context* edited by Sato-Rossberg, Nana and Wakabayashi, Judy, 202–221. London: Continuum, 2012.

[2]Mizuno, Makiko. *komyuniti tsuyaku nyumon* [Introduction to Community Interpreting]. (Osaka: Osaka Kyoiku Tosho, 2008).

stipulate court interpreters as a right of defendants, the Japanese government has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which guarantees the rights of minorities, including the right to free interpreting services in criminal proceedings. Also, Article 31 of Japan's Constitution guarantees due process of law in criminal proceedings to everybody. Therefore, the right of the defendant to participate both physically and linguistically in criminal proceedings should be fully guaranteed to foreigners in Japan. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the system of appointing legal interpreters had improved significantly in each judicial branch in Japan. In most cases, non-Japanese-speaking suspects' right to an interpreter of their native language is now guaranteed, although there have been a few cases of relay interpreting when a very minor language was involved.

In court, for example, most foreign language-speaking defendants can have an interpreter of his/her own language, and have all the court proceedings interpreted for him/her. In 2011, of the 65,618 defendants nationwide who were tried at district and summary courts (the lowest courts in the Japanese hierarchy), 2,644 needed a legal interpreter, which is about four percent of the total.[3] These defendants were from 77 nations, and the most needed language was Chinese (33.4%), followed by Filipino (12.2%), Korean (9.4%), Portuguese (8.3%), and Vietnamese (7.9%). As of April 2012, 4,067 interpreters of 62 languages were on the lists of courts nationwide.[4]

Issues of Quality Control in Interpreting

Although the system of appointing legal interpreters is well developed, there has not been much progress in terms of quality control. So far, there is no certification system for legal interpreters in Japan. For instance, screening for court interpreters is done through interviews of candidates by a judge. Candidates are questioned regarding their language ability, overseas experience, interpreting experience, and so forth, but there is no test of actual interpreting skills. Consequently, even those with no training as interpreters are often registered.

Training programs are provided by district courts across the country. However, these programs are far from sufficient. There are only three kinds of programs, all of them short: an introductory program for newly registered interpreters, a seminar for interpreters who have experiences of interpreting to a certain degree, and a follow-up seminar for very experienced interpreters.[5]

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[3]General Secretariat, Supreme Court of Japan. *saiban'in saiban no jisshi joukyou tou ni kansuru shiryou* [Data related to practices of the lay judge system]; Accessed 10 August 2013.
http://www.saibanin.courts.go.jp/topics/pdf/09_12_05-10jissi_jyoukyou/h24_siryo1.pdf

[4]General Secretariat, Supreme Court of Japan. *saiban'in saiban no jisshi joukyou tou ni kansuru shiryou* [Data related to practices of the lay judge system].

[5]General Secretariat, Supreme Court of Japan. *gozonji desuka houtei tsuuyaku* [Do you know court interpreting?] version heisei 25. 2013; Accessed 25 October 2013.
http://www.courts.go.jp/vcms_lf/h25ban-gozonji.pdf

These courses are conducted once a year, last two days, and are only available to interpreters of certain languages, meaning many languages are never covered. Moreover, while the training programs include instruction on legal procedures, legal terms and interpreters' ethics, they do not include linguistic knowledge and advanced interpreting skills.

Under such circumstances, quality interpreting cannot be guaranteed. Abilities vary from person to person, so it is not surprising that some interpreters lack the skills to interpret properly in a courtroom. There is no way to detect and dismiss poorly performing interpreters. The situation is similar in every judicial branch. Accuracy is the most crucial element in legal interpreting, but because of the lack of proper quality control, there have been several cases in which inaccurate interpreting became an issue, and in some cases constituted grounds for an appeal (cf. Nick Baker Case[6]).

Lay Judge Trials and Court Interpreting

Introduction of the Lay Judge System and Its Ramifications

In May 2009, Japan introduced the so-called lay judge system as an important element of judicial reform. In this system, six citizens randomly selected from the voter rolls serve as lay judges and, along with three professional judges, decide whether a defendant is guilty. In the case of a guilty verdict, the lay judges also collaborate with the professional judges in deciding the sentence. The crimes adjudicated in lay judge trials are felonies such as murder, robbery resulting in death or injury, arson, and smuggling of illegal stimulants, which can involve the death penalty or imprisonment without a fixed term.

This new system has posed new challenges for court interpreting. Unlike conventional trials that emphasize documentary evidence, testimony is regarded to be more important in the lay judge trial. Under the principle of direct trial, the evidence orally presented in court is the only evidence that the judgment can be based on, which means that in court, it is not only what is spoken but *how* it is spoken that is of great importance.

Moreover, when compared to professional judges, lay judges seem more emotional, and according to Hotta,[7] they tend to pay more attention to the mental

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[6]*Nick Baker Case* was a stimulant drug case tried in Chiba District Court in 2004 involving a defendant who spoke English with a very strong accent. It was appealed to a higher court on the assertion that his interpreters were not able to interpret accurately. An expert opinion report which the author wrote was submitted to the appeal court.

Mizuno, Makiko. "Nick Baker Case: The Challenges Encountered in Improving the Quality Control of Legal Interpretation in Japan." *Kinjo Gakuin Ronshu. Social Science,* 5 (1), 34–41, 2008.

[7]Hotta, Shugo. *saiban to kotoba no chikara* [Trial and Power of Language]. (Tokyo: Hituzi Shobō. 2009): 122; idem, hou kontekisuto no gengo riron [Linguistic Theories in Legal Context]. (Tokyo: Hituzi Shobō, 2010): 87.

state of a defendant, and base their decisions on factors such as character, psychological tendencies, whether the defendant deserves their sympathy, etc. This implies that lay judges are more likely to be influenced by impressions created by testimony; in other words, by "impressions of speech." A court experiment using mock lay judges[8] detected a tendency in lay judges to unconsciously regard the interpreter's speech as the speech of the defendant or the witness. Therefore, interpreters face difficulties in translating nuances and registers of testimony, because the choice of expression in court has a great influence on the decision making of lay judges and ultimately it serves as a very important factor for ensuring a fair trial.

In September 2009, the first lay judge trial of a non-Japanese-speaking defendant was conducted in Saitama prefecture, and by the end of 2012 there had been 458 cases with interpreting nationwide.[9] As a result, many problems related to court interpreting have surfaced, including interpreting errors and communication breakdowns. The challenges posed by the participation of ordinary citizens seem to be amplified in interpreter-mediated trials.

Issues Surrounding Court Interpreting in Lay Judge Trials

The elevated importance of oral testimony in lay judge trials amplifies the significance of accurate interpreting. As stated above, however, without a certification system there is no way to detect and discharge poorly performing interpreters. In addition, even though lay judge trials are characterized by long sessions, it is not mandatory to assign two or more interpreters to a trial. In many cases, only one interpreter is assigned, and that person interprets throughout the trial, which sometimes lasts for five to six hours per day. Even with breaks during a session, the fatigue of the interpreter becomes significant. The fatigue of the interpreter is one of the most significant factors contributing to poor quality interpreting. Studies related to this theme, such as Mizuno and Nakamura,[10] Moser-Mercer et al.,[11]

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[8]Nakamura, Sachiko and Mizuno, Makiko. "The Linguistic Analysis for the Second Mock Trial." *Interpreting and Translation Studies* 9, (2009), 33–54.

[9]General Secretariat, Supreme Court of Japan, *saibanin saiban no jisshi joukyou tou ni kansuru shiryou* [Data related to practices of the lay judge system]. 2010–2013; Accessed 29 October 2013.

http://www.saibanin.courts.go.jp/topics/pdf/09_12_05-10jissi_jyoukyou/h24_siryo1.pdf
http://www.saibanin.courts.go.jp/topics/pdf/09_12_05-10jissi_jyoukyou/h23_siryo1.pdf
http://www.saibanin.courts.go.jp/topics/pdf/09_12_05-10jissi_jyoukyou/h22_siryo1.pdf
http://www.saibanin.courts.go.jp/topics/pdf/09_12_05-10jissi_jyoukyou/h21_siryo1.pdf

[10]Mizuno, Makiko and Nakamura, Sachiko. "Fatigue and Stress of Court Interpreters in Lay Judge Trials." *Kinjo Gakuin Daigaku Ronshū, Studies in Social Science,* 7 (1), (2010), 71–80.

[11]Moser-Mercer, Barbara, A. Kunzli, and M. Korac. "Prolonged Turns in Interpreting: Effects on Quality, Physiological and Psychological Stress (Pilot Study)." *Interpreting,* 3 (1), (1998), 47–64.

and Watanabe et al.,[12] found that interpreter performance deteriorates after about an hour. These factors have led to problematic interpreter-mediated court cases.[13]

Research on Legal Interpreting

Several cases of poor performances by court interpreters have been revealed so far, but whether the quality of interpreting actually affects legal proceedings, and to what extent inaccurate interpreting affects decision-making of the court, has not yet been fully examined. Linguistic research could provide evidence-based answers to such questions. Research has been conducted on legal interpreting in Japan since the 1980s, but it was only well after 2000 that linguistic studies began to be undertaken.

Past Research

Research on legal interpreting as one of the important areas of community interpreting has been actively conducted since the 1980s, mainly in the Western nations. Against the background of the sudden increase in interpreter-mediated criminal cases, the earliest studies of legal interpreting in Japan began in the late 1980s by an initiative of practicing lawyers and legal scholars, who focused their studies mainly on access to fair trial in the context of the human rights of foreign

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[12]Watanabe, Osamu, M. Mizuno, and S. Nakamura. *Jissen houtei tsūyaku* [Practices of Court Interpreting]. (Tokyo: Gendai Jinbun-sha, 2010).

[13]*Bernice case* tried in Osaka District Court in 2009, was the first English-Japanese interpreter-mediated lay judge court case in Japan. The case involved charges of stimulant drug smuggling. The defendant appealed the case to a higher court, claiming that her right to a fair trial had been violated because of the poor court interpreting. The defense lawyer commissioned four linguists, including the author, to write expert opinions based on audio recordings of the first trial and he submitted the opinions to the higher court. For details, see Nakamura, Sachiko. "Issues of Interpreting in the Bernice Case." *Language and Law,* 1 (2013), 27–37. The appellate judge stated that the quality of the interpretation was acceptable because the experts had highlighted only minor elements whose impacts on the lay judges could not have been significant and dismissed the appeal. The case was further appealed to the Supreme Court of Japan, but the Supreme Court supported the opinion of the appellate court and the appeal was dismissed. This case is the only lay judge case to date in which a detailed analysis on the interpreters' renditions was conducted by linguists.

    Hawker Case tried in Chiba District Court in 2011 and *Furlong Case* tried in Tokyo District Court in 2012 are both homicide cases and family members of the victims who were non-Japanese speakers participated in the trial. A significant amount of mistranslations by the court interpreters were revealed and reported by media *(The Japan Times,* July 21, 2011; *The Japan Times,* March 23, 2013; *The Irish Examiner,* March. 23, 2013). Neither of the cases, however, was appealed to a higher court.

workers. Some studies focused on overseas laws related to legal interpreting,[14] while others compared international laws and domestic laws.[15] Their work led to broad recognition that foreigners in Japan face problems of non-communication or miscommunication that threatens their right to a fair trial. Practicing interpreters and scholars interested in interpreting later collaborated with lawyers in the study of legal interpreting, and began conducting interdisciplinary studies, which led to a greater focus on interpreting itself. Mizuno,[16] Tsuda,[17] and Watanabe and Nagao[18] are representative of such studies. The main purposes of this phase of research were to analyze the contemporary status of legal interpreting and raise awareness of the critical nature of interpreting among interpreters and lawyers.

Beginning in 2000, the Ministry of Justice of Japan dispatched groups of researchers, mainly from academia, to countries with legal interpreting systems considered to be well developed.[19] They gathered information about the laws governing legal interpretation, the systems of certifying and assigning legal interpreters, etc. The data were then compiled into a report on each country, and these reports were submitted to the Ministry.[20] Around this period there was a significant number of published studies on overseas legal interpreting.[21]

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[14]Ebashi, Takashi. "*saiban wo ukeru kenri to tsuyakunin wo tsukeru kenri* (Right to trial and right to interpreter)." *Review of Law and Political Science,* 87 (4), (1990), 21–75; Okabe, Yasumasa. "*amerika gasshūkoku no hōtei tsūyakunin ni kansuru mondai.* [Issues about court interpreters in the United States]." *Osaka University Law Review,* 40 (1991), 723–776.

[15]Osaka Bar Association. *Symposium: Foreigners and Criminal Cases*. (Osaka: Osaka Bar Association, 1991).

[16]Mizuno, Makiko "shiho tsuyaku shikaku nintei seido no kanousei ni tsuite [Possibility of introducing a certification system for legal interpreters]." *Jurist,* 1078 (1995), 100–105; Idem. "Newcomers in Japan and Their Language Barriers: On the Issues of Language Problems in the Criminal Procedures." *Memoirs of the Institute of Humanities, Human and Social Science, Ritsumeikan University,* 64 (1996), 35–84.

[17]Tsuda, Mamoru "Human Rights Problems of Foreigners in Japan's Criminal Justice System." *Migration World Magazine*, 25 (1997), 1–2, 22–25.

[18]Watanabe, Osamu and Nagao, Hiromi, eds. *Gaikokujin to keiji tetsuzuki* [Foreigners and Criminal Proceedings]. (Tokyo: Seibundō Press, 1998).

[19]Countries covered were the United States (2000), Germany, France, and Sweden (2001), Australia (2002), the United Kingdom and Spain (2003), Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong (2004) and Switzerland and the Netherlands (2005).

[20]Mizuno, Makiko. "Community Interpreting in Japan: Present State and Challenges." In *Translation and Translation Studies in the Japanese Context* edited by Sato-Rossberg, Nana and Wakabayashi, Judy, 202–221. (London: Continuum, 2012); 214.

[21]Mizuno, Makiko. "Future Prospects of the European Legal Interpreting System." *Interpretation Studies,* 4 (2004), 139–156; Nishimatsu, Suzumi. "The Court Interpreters in Japan and in the United States of America." *Interpretation Studies,* 7 (2007), 189–204; Tsuda, Mamoru. "A Study of the Public Certification System for Interpreters and Translators in Sweden." *Interpretation Studies,* 7 (2007), 167–188.

Past Linguistic Studies

Linguistic studies of court interpreting have been actively conducted in recent years. Among the main research themes are: What is happening linguistically in interpreter-mediated courts? Is the fairness of trials assured? In order to guarantee a fair trial to non-Japanese-speaking defendants, accurate interpreting is crucial, and the accuracy of interpreting can be judged only by linguistic analysis. Also, linguistic analysis can determine how the renditions of interpreters influence the formation of impressions, and ultimately decision-making by judges.

Extensive research on this context has been conducted overseas.[22] The most noteworthy study is Berk-Seligson's *The Bilingual Courtroom,*[23] in which the author conducted ethnographic analyses of Spanish-English interpreting in criminal courts in the United States and psycholinguistic experiments using mock jurors. She found that the language interpreters use can affect judicial proceedings, and the speech styles of and pragmatic alterations by interpreters do influence the judgment of mock jurors. Hale's *The Discourse of Court Interpreting*[24] elucidated how court interpreters make pragmatic alterations to the original speech based on the data extracted from local court hearings. Lee's "Translatability of speech style in court interpreting"[25] argued providing evidence from the data of Korean-English court interpreting that it was extremely difficult for court interpreters to accurately render stylistic features.

In Japan, there has been a variety of approaches to this area of study. For example, Mizuno[26] dealt with the issue of equivalence of legal intent and effect between the original and the translation of sentence sheet; Nakamura[27] and Nakamura and Mizuno[28] discussed the issue of the lexical choices of court interpreters from a

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[22]Courthard, Malcolm and Johnson, Alison, *An Introduction to FORENSIC LINGUISTICS: Language in Evidence* (London: Routledge, 2007) discusses the language issue of non-native speakers in courts and Gibbons, John. *Forensic Linguistics: An Introduction to Language in the Justice System* also talks about the issue of the second language speakers in courtroom interaction and the issue of legal interpreting and translation as well. The most noteworthy research centering on linguistic issues of court interpreting are Berk-Seligson, Susan. *Bilingual Courtroom.* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990) and Hale, Sandra. "The Interpreters' Treatment of Discourse Markers in Courtroom Questions." *Forensic Linguistics*, 6 (1) (1997), 57–88; Idem. *The Discourse of Court Interpreting*. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004).

[23]Berk-Seligson. *Bilingual Courtroom.*

[24]Hale. *The Discourse of Court Interpreting.*

[25]Lee, Jieun. "Translatability of Speech Style in Court Interpreting." *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law,* 18 (1), (2011), 1–33.

[26]Mizuno, Makiko. "Possibilities and Limitations for Legally Equivalent Interpreting of Written Judgments." *Speech Communication Education,* 19 (2006), 113–131.

[27]Nakamura, Sachiko. "Legal Discourse Analysis—A Corpus Linguistic Approach." *Interpretation Studies* 6 (2006), 197–206.

[28]Nakamura, Sachiko and Mizuno, Makiko. "The Linguistic Analysis for the Second Mock Trial." *Interpreting and Translation Studies,* 9 (2009), 33–54; Idem. "A Study of the Lexical Choice and Its Impact on Decision-Making in the Interpreter-Mediated Court Sessions." *Forum,* 11 (1), (2013), 135–157.

corpus linguistic approach; Yoshida[29] examined the *footing* (participation status) of court interpreters drawing on the communication model of linguistic anthropology; Nakamura and Mizuno[30] discussed the impacts of the speech styles of court interpreters on lay judges based on statistical analysis; Mizuno and Nakamura[31] analyzed the levels of fatigue of court interpreters based on spoken data from a mock trial, and Mizuno[32] focused on issues of pragmatic alterations by interpreters, focusing on fillers, back-tracking and rephrasing.

Court Experiments on the Influence of Interpreters

This section discusses findings of two of the most recent studies focused on the impact of court interpreting on impression and judgment of lay judges.[33] These studies are based on court experiments conducted in 2011.

The most desirable method of linguistic studies of court interpreting should be analyzing audio recordings from real trials, but in Japan it is extremely difficult for researchers to obtain such recordings. Only when lawyers need linguistic analysis by experts they can get access to recordings. Therefore, as a second best option, court experiments were conducted to obtain such data. Points of analysis were embedded in scenarios created for the experiments. To assure the authenticity of the scenes used in court experiments, scenarios were based on samples of real court conversations provided by practicing lawyers.

Experimental Methods

Scenarios were created based on real cases. The scenes depicted the defending lawyer's questioning of a foreign language-speaking defendant (English) in court.

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[29]Yoshida, Rika. "Court Interpreters' Footing: Discourse Analysis on the Mock Trial Data." *Interpretation Studies,* 8 (2008), 113–131.

[30]Nakamura, Sachiko and Mizuno, Makiko. "Court Experiment: Impact of Interpreting on Impressions of Mock Lay Judges." *A Statistical Study of Language Use in Trials under the Lay Judge System.* The Institute of Statistical Mathematics Cooperative Report 237 (2010), 53–66.

[31]Mizuno, Makiko and Nakamura, Sachiko. "Fatigue and Stress of Court Interpreters in Lay Judge Trials." *Kinjo Gakuin Daigaku Ronshū, Studies in Social Science,* 7 (1), (2010), 71–80.

[32]Mizuno, Makiko. "Interpreter-Induced Alterations to Court Speeches and their Impacts on Impressions of Lay Judges: Fillers, Backtracking and Rephrasing." *Kinjo Gakuin Daigaku Ronshū, Studies in Social Science,* 8 (1), (2011), 139–151.

[33]Mizuno, Makiko, S. Nakamura and K. Kawahara. "Observations on How the Lexical Choices of Court Interpreters Influence the Impression Formation of Lay Judges." *Kinjo Gakuin Daigaku Ronshū, Studies in Social Science*, 9 (2), (2013), 1–11; Nakamura, Sachiko. "A Statistical Analysis of the Courtroom Experiment." *Bulletin of the Department of Literature,* 42, Aichi Gakuin University. (2013a), 89–98.

Based on the scenarios, two movies with different interpretations were created. In each version, different Japanese words and expressions were chosen for the same foreign language expressions used by the same mock defendant speaking in the same tone of voice. They were played to two different groups of men and women of varying ages and backgrounds who had been provided by a personnel placement agency as mock lay judges. Version A was played to 41 mock lay judges and Version B to 39. After viewing the movie, the mock lay judges were asked to reply to a seven-point Likert-scale questionnaire concerning their impressions and judgments. They evaluated the defendant's guilt for Court Experiment 1 and his remorse for Court Experiment 2.

Court Experiment 1

Research question: Does the interpreter's choice of vocabulary, incriminating words or neutral words, influence lay judges' impressions and decisions regarding of the gravity of the defendant's guilt?

Scene: A defending lawyer's questioning of a foreign-language-speaking defendant charged with robbery resulting in injury.

Movies: Two movies were created with different interpreting, one using words and expressions with incriminating connotations and the other using neutral expressions.

Examples:

The original: I thought to take the bag.

Version A: *Baggu wo torou to omoi mashita* [I thought to take the bag.]

Version B: *Baggu wo ubaou to omoi mashita* [I thought to rob the bag.]

The original: (I thought) I could take the bag.

Version A: *Toreru no deha nai ka* [I could take the bag.]

Version B: *Hittakureru no deha nai ka* [I could snatch the bag.]

The original: I was walking behind her.

Version A: *kanojo no ushiro wo aruite imashita* [I was walking behind her.]

Version B: *kanojo no ato wo tsukete imashita.* [I was shadowing her.]

The original: I went to pick it up.

Version A: *hiroi ni iki mashita* [I went to pick it up.]

Version B: *ubaitori ni iki mashita* [I went to rob the bag.]

Hypothesis: Mock lay judges who view Version B will form an impression that the defendant is more guilty than mock lay judges who view Version A, because the translation sounds more incriminating in Version B.

Findings:
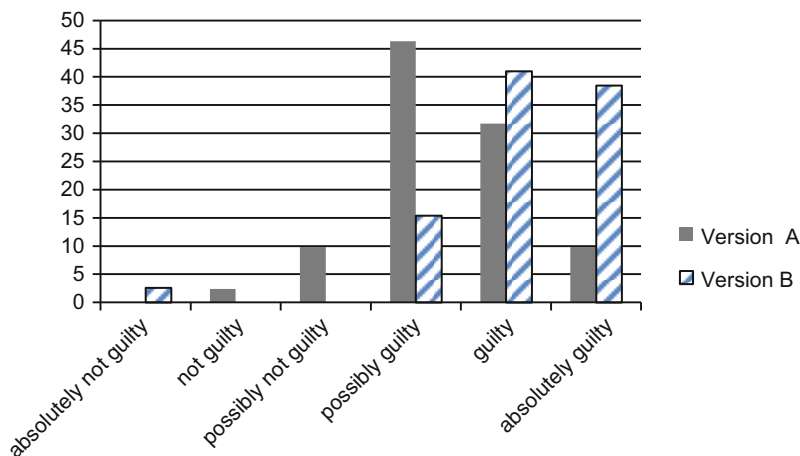
Fig. 1 Frequency distribution of mock lay judge verdicts (%)

Most of the mock lay judges who saw Version B of the movie felt that the defendant was guilty or absolutely guilty, while the largest number of the mock lay judges who saw Version A felt that the defendant was possibly guilty. The number of mock lay judges who felt that the defendant was not guilty or possibly not guilty was much bigger for Version A than Version B (see Fig. 1).

Table 1 Judgment of the defendant's being guilty or not guilty as evaluated by the mock lay judges: Results of the Chi-Square Test (The data is from Nakamura, 2013a)

	Value	Degree(s) of Freedom	Exact Sig (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.402[a]	6	**.002**
Likelihood Ratio	23.851	6	.001
Line-by-Line Association	2.599	1	.107
No. of Valid Cases	80		

[a]The expected frequency is less than 5 for 8 cell (57%). The minimum expected frequency is .49.

There was a statistically significant difference with a significance level of 1% between Versions A and B in terms of the judgment of the defendant's being guilty or not guilty ($X^2 = 20.420$, $df = 6$, $p < .05$) (see Table 1).

Conclusion 1: If the interpreter uses words and expressions which have criminal connotations, lay judges are likely to feel that the defendant is guilty. The hypothesis is supported.

Court Experiment 2

Research question: Are the impressions of lay judges influenced by whether the interpreter gives a culturally adjusted translation of the defendant's words of remorse?

Scene: A defending lawyer's questioning of a foreign-language-speaking defendant charged with robbery resulting in death.

Movies: Two movies were created with different interpreting; Version A was made to sound more natural in Japanese with a culturally adjusted translation of the defendant's words of remorse.

The original: I feel very sorry about it.

Version A: *Hontou ni moushiwake naku omotte imasu.* [I'm very remorseful for it.]

Version B: *Totemo zannen desu.* [I regret it very much. / It's really a pity.]

Hypothesis: Mock lay judges for Version A will believe that the defendant feels more remorse, because the translation matches the way Japanese speakers usually express an apology, while the translation in Version B is not a typical Japanese apology.

Findings:
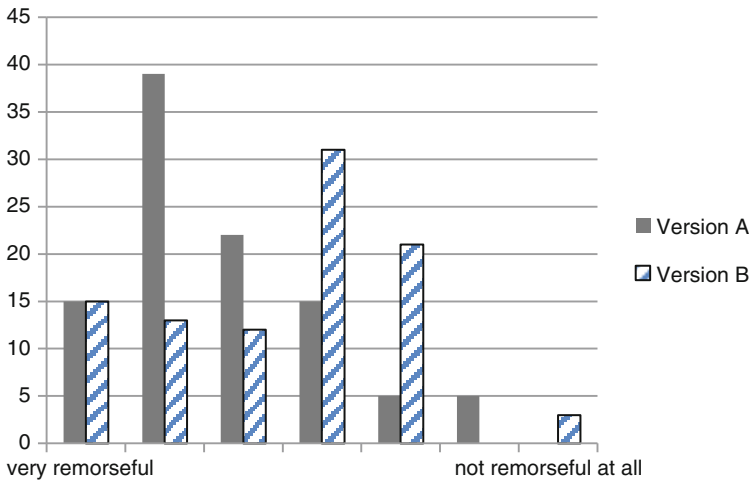
Fig. 2 Frequency distribution of degree of remorse of the defendant in impression of mock lay judges (%)

For Version A, a stronger tendency is observed among mock lay judges to find the defendant feeling remorse (see Fig. 2).

Table 2 Degree of remorse as evaluated by the mock lay judges: Results of the Chi-Square Test (The data is from Mizuno et al. 2013)

	Value	Degree(s) of Freedom	Exact Sig (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.594[a]	6	.024
Likelihood Ratio	16.796	6	.010
Line-by-Line Association	3.397	1	.065
No. of Valid Cases	80		

There was a statistically significant difference between Versions A and B in terms of the evaluated degree of the defendant's remorse ($X^2 = 14.594$, $df = 6$, $p < .05$) (see Table 2).

Conclusion 2: If the interpreter culturally adjusts the defendant's words of remorse, lay judges are more likely to feel that the defendant is really feeling remorseful. The hypothesis is supported.

Discussion

Based on the results of the court experiments 1 and 2, which were intended to identify the influences of lexical choices made by interpreters on the impression formation and decision making of lay judges, the following can be asserted:

(1) The lexical choices of interpreters seem to influence lay judges' impressions and decision-making. There seem to be many people, including the judiciary, who believe that interpreters have little influence on the decision-making of the court, unless the interpreters make clear mistranslations. However, it has been made evident that interpreters' inadvertent choice of inappropriate vocabulary does influence court proceedings, and this cannot be overlooked as mere "free translation."

(2) If an interpreter uses incriminating words and expressions instead of neutral ones, lay judges tend to judge the defendant more guilty. As stated earlier, if lay judges unconsciously regard the interpreter's speech as the speech of the defendant or the witness, the interpreter's choice of words might serve as a determining factor in the decision-making of the court.

(3) Lay judges' evaluations of the degree of remorse of the defendant are also influenced by the interpreter's choice of expressions. There are various ways to express remorse depending on language. The conventional phrases most commonly used by a certain cultural group can be the most acceptable and effective expressions of remorse for them, but the impact of an apology could be lost because those phrases sound unnatural and cause an out-of-place feeling in others. Expressing remorse seems to be a very important factor in a Japanese trial, and therefore how the interpreter renders the defendant's apology might serve as a critical factor in the decision making of the lay judge court. Generally speaking, however, whether court interpreters should play the role of a cultural mediator is still open to argument.

Conclusion

The system of appointing interpreters at every level of legal proceedings is relatively well developed in Japan, but the issue of quality control of interpreting has as yet scarcely been dealt with. So far several court cases with problematic interpreting have been reported, but how poor quality interpreting actually affects the

judicial proceedings has only recently started to be examined. With the recent emergence of the field of "forensic linguistics" in Japan, linguistic analysis of court interpreting as a data-driven scientific study has come to be actively conducted. Such studies can elucidate realities in terms of impacts of interpreting in legal proceedings. Due process of law and equal access to a fair trial can be guaranteed only through adequate communication. In order to achieve adequate communication in interpreter-mediated proceedings, the mechanisms and impacts of interpreting should be fully understood by all the participants in the proceedings.

Fortunately, the importance of language and communication in legal settings seems to be slowly but steadily gaining the recognition of legal practitioners. Okawara[34] discusses the issue of language use in lay judge trials focusing on difficulties lay judges face in understanding legal terminology and suggests that to achieve a fruitful deliberation in a lay judge trial legal experts need to work with language experts. Collaboration between legal experts and linguists is also a key to achieving effective communication in interpreter-mediated trials. In August, 2013, the Japan Federation of Bar Associations submitted an opinion paper to the Supreme Court, the Supreme Public Prosecutor's Office, and the Ministry of Justice calling for remedies to the problems surrounding legal interpreting.[35] The report stresses the need for certifying and training interpreters to guarantee quality interpretation. It incorporates the findings of the above mentioned linguistic studies, such as Mizuno and Nakamura 2010[36] and Nakamura and Mizuno 2010,[37] as supporting evidence for its argument and proposal. This event is noteworthy in that legal practitioners listened to what linguists said. Likewise, it is expected that findings from linguistic studies supported by scientific data including the above can be applied to various areas of community interpreting and will significantly contribute to improving the quality of interpreting, as they demonstrate how interpreters affect communication in the courtroom context.

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[34]Okawara, Mami Hiraike. "Lay Understanding of Legal Terminology in the Era of the Japanese Lay Judge System." *Comparative Legalinguistics,* 12 (2012), 19–47.

[35]Japan Federation of Bar Associations. 2013. Opinion paper; Accessed 15 September 2013.
  http://www.nichibenren.or.jp/activity/document/opinion/year/2013/130718_3.html

[36]Mizuno, Makiko., Nakamura, Sachiko. "Fatigue and Stress of Court Interpreters in Lay Judge Trials."

[37]Nakamura, Sachiko., and Mizuno, Makiko. "Court Experiment: Impact of Interpreting on Impressions of Mock Lay Judges."

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Chapter 15
"Green" and "Smart" Cities Diffusion: The Case of Songdo, Korea

Alexandra Lichá

Introduction

Green and smart cities are "the hype," especially in Asia: from Masdar, to Shanghai, to Singapore.[1] In Japan, four cities have been designated to carry out various experiments in achieving an exportable "smart city" model: City of Yokohama, Toyota City, Keihanna Eco-City and City of Kitakyushu.[2] The major South Korean contribution to this trend is the Songdo International Business District (Songdo IBD), a new luxurious "green" and "smart" city near Incheon, Gyeonggi-do, scheduled for completion by 2020 as a flagship of former president Lee Myung-bak's[3] belief that

[1]Newman, Peter and Anne Matan. *Green Urbanism in Asia: The Emerging Green Tigers.* Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2013.

[2]For further information, refer to the official "Japan Smart City Portal," available http://jscp.nepc. or.jp/en/ (Acquired August 11th, 2014).

[3]Note on romanization: for geographical names, I use the revised romanization used in South Korea since 2000, which seemed appropriate when dealing with uniquely contemporary South Korean context. However, for personal names, I opted for the variant that seemed of most common usage, even though they do not always conform to the revised romanization rules, thus I use Lee Myung-bak instead of I Myeong-bak etc. I have kept the names of the quoted researchers of Korean origin in the way they figured on the respective papers, presuming they reflect personal preference.

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the twenty-first century belongs to cities.[4] It is the ultimate crystallization of the South Korean trend of moving towards what Matthew Gandy calls "cyborg cities."[5] Beyond integrating telecoms into the urban fabric in big cities like Seoul (3G/4G coverage, bus application for smart phones, etc.), Songdo IBD aims to take the urban smart grid innovation one step further, including not only utilities but also services networks in order to "achieve social, economic and environmental sustainability."[6] Initiated by the central government, the city is developed on 1500 acres of land reclaimed from the Yellow Sea at the cost of 35 billion USD by a partnership between POSCO (Korea) and Gale International (USA).

I interpret the Songdo IBD project as resulting from Greater Seoul Metropolitan Area's move towards enhancing competitiveness. Thus, the "marriage" of the geographical location and the "green & smart" city concept seems to be no coincidence. The attractiveness of Songdo IBD is embodied mainly in the notions of access and luxury through innovation.[7] First, being part of the Incheon "aerotropolis"[8] supports the image of Songdo IBD as an important hub in North East Asia. In other words, investing in Songdo IBD would allow prospective investors to profit from not only the positive spill-overs of clustering but more importantly the relative proximity to other business and financial centres such as Tokyo or Hong Kong. Second, Songdo IBD, as a master-planned sustainable city, seems to offer more than a policy solution to the economic crisis, climate change and population growth, but also a new lifestyle brand, marketed by CISCO as "intelligent living": a city which is safe, clean (environmentally friendly) and luxurious at the same time and consequently increasing its perception as a desirable urban planning solution. In short, Songdo merges both trends in current urban planning – the focus towards new technologies ("smart city" or "u-city") and environmental sustainability ("green city" or "eco-city") – which led Sofia Shwayri (2013) to coin the term "u-eco-city" to designate Songdo.[9]

My analysis of Songdo IBD as a case of "green" and "smart" city diffusion relies on application of the policy diffusion schools of constructivism[10] and most

[4]Lindsay, Greg. "Cities of the Sky." *The Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 26, 2011. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703408604576164703521850100.html (Acquired on February 27th, 2013).

[5]Gandy, Matthew. "Cyborg Urbanization: Complexity and Monstrosity in the Contemporary City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29 (2005): 26–49.

[6]"Cisco Smart+Connected Residential Solution Video," available online at Cisco's official channel http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wTHf_GB8lP4 (Acquired February 25th, 2013).

[7]Attractiveness of access interpreted according to Rifkin, Jeremy. *The Age of Access*. New York, NY: Tarcher, 2001.

[8]Kasarda, John and Greg Lindsay. *Aerotropolis: The Way We'll Live Next*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.

[9]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20.1 (2013): 39–55.

[10]Dobbin, Frank, Beth Simmons, and Geoffrey Garrett. "The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?" *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (2007): 449–472.

notably the normative isomorphism. Coming originally from organisational theory, DiMaggio and Powell (1983)[11] defined normative isomorphism as one of three mechanisms[12] of institutional isomorphism: organisations tend to converge into similar structure thanks to professionalization. Their members interact in similar professional networks which help to spread the organisational norms they acquired through their similar training.[13] DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify universities as a crucial place where professionals, or experts according to Dobbin et al. (2007),[14] acquire and form their norms. However, new policy norms advocated by the expert communities can be formed in any "epistemic community of policy experts."[15] In our case, sustainable development/green growth strategies are seen as a norm recently established in urban planning, theorised by international organisations such as the OECD or The World Bank, clearly positioning themselves as policy expert groups.[16]

I have attributed the spread of sustainable policies in the Korean context to normative and not to coercive institutional isomorphism because I apprehend the choice to link competitiveness strategy with sustainable initiatives as a voluntary one of the Korean policy-makers. I wanted to differentiate comparative advantage and attractiveness building of Songdo through green features from typically coercive isomorphisms imposed by the international organisations, such as the privatisation of water provision in Jakarta as a condition for The World Bank funding[17] in the 1970s.[18] However, as this voluntary choice to adopt a "u-eco-city" model springs from the "contradictions of capitalism," as Krueger and Agyeman (2005)[19] see the origins of sustainability initiatives, it will enable us to discuss the thin border between normative and coercive isomorphism in the market competition context.

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[11]DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48.2 (Apr., 1983): 147–160.

[12]The complete list is then normative, coercive and mimetic institutional isomorphisms.

[13]DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48.2 (Apr., 1983): 147–160.

[14]Dobbin, Frank, Beth Simmons, and Geoffrey Garrett. "The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?" *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (2007): 449–472.

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]We must not forget that the official OECD motto is "Better policies for a better world."

[17]Werlin, Herbert. "The Slum Upgrading Myth." *Urban Studies* 36.9 (1999): 1523–1534.

[18]For the sake of completion, we must say that the establishment of IFEZ itself was a coercive isomorphism, as the FDI facilitation was a key condition for the IMF bailout of Korea following the Asian economic crisis in 1997. However, eco-friendly urban planning was not.

[19]Krueger, Rob and Julian Agyeman. "Sustainability schizophrenia or "actually existing sustainabilities?" toward a broader understanding of the politics and promise of local sustainability in the US" *Geoforum* 36 (2005): 410–417.

In order to better understand why green and smart policies are gaining momentum, I use the concept of *global city* as laid out by Saskia Sassen (1991),[20] its critique by Jennifer Robinson (2006)[21] and the competitiveness fostering developmental strategies of neoliberalism. This has been identified as especially relevant for the East Asian context, hence Korean context, by Jessop (2002)[22] and Park, Hill and Saito (2011).[23] An important part of my research comes from the analysis of the official developer materials and the rhetoric of the national and international media coverage strengthening the imaging of Songdo as a role model as well as a range of NGOs, bloggers etc. This research would, in further stages, include fieldwork to systematically compare original empirical data with this paper's conclusions.

After the Songdo literature review and the case presentation, I will use the third section of this paper to discuss how the project falls into the rationale for smart and green cities diffusion: the demand for competitiveness and living the utopia. Finally, in the last part, I juxtapose several critiques to the Songdo model, and by extension similar luxurious "u-eco-cities": consumerism lifestyle and hinterland dependence, negative environmental externalities, and multi-level social exclusion. I will use these critiques to demonstrate how the incremental and inflexible adoption of green principles leads to a paradoxical policy outcome. I will argue that this is a result of a double bind in political struggle between an injunction to strife for economic development and an injunction to adopt principles of sustainability in order to gain peer recognition.

Songdo Literature Review

Despite the fact that the project has not yet reached its completion, scholarly attention has been given to Songdo across the past few years. Academic sources in Korean seem to deal with technical aspects of Songdo urban planning: waterfront revitalization, soil drainage, etc. In terms of general presentation of the project, Shwayri's (2013) paper *A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo*[24] overviews the evolution of the project from an international business centre into the "u-eco-city" and its progressive "Koreanization" due to limited interest of foreign investors triggered by the economic crisis of 2008. It represents an excellent fieldwork study documenting the project's evolution and

[20]Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

[21]Robinson, Jennifer. *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development.* London: Routledge, 2006.

[22]Jessop, Bob. "Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State–Theoretical Perspective." *Antipode* 34 (2002): 452–472. doi: 10.1111/1467-8330.00250.

[23]Park, Bae-Gyoon, Hill, Richard Child and Asato Saito. *Locating Neoliberalism in East Asia: Neoliberalizing Spaces in Developmental States*. New Jersey, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

[24]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20.1 (2013): 39–55.

served as an important basis for my analysis. Then, Segel's (2006)[25] case study for the Harvard Business School, and Lee and Oh's (2008)[26] analysis, as a master thesis for MIT's Department of Architecture, were also informative. Finally, Kshetri et al. (2014)[27] present the different stakeholders and their potential conflicts in smart city production, and Chigon Kim (2010)[28] presents how the promotional image of Songdo has been constructed.

Comparisons between Songdo and Digital Media City (in Seoul) are offered in a working paper by Soulard and Perrin (2011)[29] and Halegoua's (2012)[30] doctoral thesis on New Mediated Spaces dedicates a chapter to Korean U-cities. I further expanded my work on Songdo in a working paper *Songdo and Sejong: master-planned cities in South Korea*[31] which focuses on the two projects as developmentalist solutions. Kim Jung In (2014)[32] juxtaposes Songdo to two smart-city projects in China, Yujiapu and Lingang. Coining the term "pastoral modernity" to describe a situation where "the city is set in an imaginary mixture of post- and pre-industrial society,"[33] he presents the commercial-driven aspects of smart cities and their potential schizophrenic, convoluted results. Kuecker's (2013)[34] article, published within the BAKS papers, labels Songdo as a boutique-city, as a model for global apartheid that denies the right to the city to everyone (Lefebvre, 1968). Even though I have used Kuecker's (2013) critiques, my aim is to contribute more to public policy analysis field than to political science as he does. Kuecker (2013) uses terms coming from Marxist-style theory, such as "class apartheid," conveying

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[25]Segel, Arthur. "New Songdo City," Harvard Business School, teaching note, 9-206-019 (2005) 1–20.

[26]Lee, Junho and Jeehyun Oh. *New Songdo City and the Value of Flexibility: A Case Study of Implementation and Analysis of a Mega-Scale Project*. Master thesis submitted to the Department of Architecture of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2008.

[27]Kshetri, Nir, Alcantara, Lailani L. and Yonghoon Park. "Development of a Smart City and its Adoption and Acceptance: The Case of New Songdo." *Digiworld Economic Journal* 96: 4 (2014): 113–128.

[28]Kim, Chigon. "Place promotion and symbolic characterization of New Songdo City, South Korea." *Cities* 27 (2010): 13–19.

[29]Soulard, Odile and Laurent Perrin. *Science Cities: Campus scientifiques et clusters dans les métropoles du XXIe siècle / Etude de cas Séoul : Digital Media City et Songdo New City*. Paris: IAU îdF, 2011.

[30]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment*. Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012.

[31]Lichá, Alexandra. *Songdo and Sejong: master-planned cities in South Korea*. 2015. Available https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01216229 (Acquired February 9th, 2016).

[32]Kim, Jung In. "Making cities global: the new city development of Songdo, Yujiapu and Lingang." *Planning Perspectives* 29 (3) (2014): 329–356, doi:10.1080/02665433.2013.824370

[33]*Ibid.*, 349.

[34]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35.

the notions of a global society in crisis and class struggle. I am recontextualizing his observations into market-related explanations of public policy diffusion.

Songdo IBD: A Description

Songdo IBD is a master-planned city on 1500 acres of land reclaimed from the Yellow sea. According to the Harvard Business School case study,[35] it has been envisioned by the Korean central government and commissioned in 2001 to a US investor and developer, Gale International. Gale partnered with POSCO, a large industrial conglomerate (*chaebol*) that stepped in after Daewoo collapsed during the Asian financial crisis.[36] The "ubicomp"[37] technologies are designed and implemented by CISCO, a US smart-grid specialised company which in its own words enables the creation of "smart and connected communities."[38] Songdo, sometimes referred to as "New Songdo," as a part of the Incheon Free Economic Zone[39] (IFEZ),[40] is primarily a business district. Development through FEZs is a rather traditional approach for development of both international business districts and the u-cities.[41]

The first phase of the project to develop an international business city was envisioned by President Roh Tae-woo during his first visit to Incheon in 1988, in order to strengthen economic cooperation with China, hence the location choice. After delays in implementation, the land reclamation was initiated after 1994 as a sub-project of "Korean Silicon Valley." The sustainability aspect was added years later, in the 2000s, after POSCO and Gale took over the project in 2001.[42] Although each land reclamation stage since 1994 met with opposition, the process continued until 2001, when the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries curtailed land reclamation across the entire country and Songdo did not expand any

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[35]Segel, Arthur. "New Songdo City." *Harvard Business School*, teaching note, 9-206-019 (2005) 1–20.

[36]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55. Social theories explaining *chaebols* are also discussed in the Conclusion chapter.

[37]Short for "ubiquitous computing": a term used to refer to a situation where computers would be integrated into the fabric of daily life.

[38]CISCO official website, "Smart+Connected Communities," available http://www.cisco.com/web/strategy/smart_connected_communities.html (Last accessed on May 3rd 2013).

[39]The other two parts of the IFEZ are the Incheon Airport area and the Cheongna International City.

[40]Newman, Peter and Anne Matan. *Green Urbanism in Asia: The Emerging Green Tigers.* Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2013.

[41]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55.

[42]Segel, Arthur. "New Songdo City." *Harvard Business School*, teaching note, 9-206-019 (2005) 1–20.

further. Protesting fishermen were given shares in the city so they would not obstruct the proceedings of the project.[43]

Interestingly, it was planned by the developers as a city for foreigners[44] and their convenience has been repeatedly acknowledged.[45] Songdo was envisioned as a non-Korean city for non-Koreans, with large avenues, a Central Park and English street names, where its foreign resident community could benefit from subsidised schooling, healthcare and so on, alongside their eventual Korean counterparts (thought to be mostly employees of the international companies), with English used as the *lingua franca*.[46] However, due to lack of interest of foreign firms and developers, the area is currently developed by domestic companies with large housing complexes that look similar to the rest of the country and where mostly Koreans live.[47]

In terms of technology, Songdo IBD aims to become a ubiquitous city *par excellence*, including in its smart grid not only utilities but also service networks. This would include, among others, household remote control management through internet devices as well as remote healthcare, tutoring and service delivery requests.[48] This is what Shwayri (2013) calls u-healthcare, u-services etc. Moreover, the ubiquitous nature of Songdo would not mean only built-in computers all over the city but also their networked nature as "all residential, business and government systems will share data"[49] created by the ubicomp usage.

Combining the "u-features" with the green aspect of Songdo such as vast green spaces, walkability and sustainable transport (i.e. water taxis on the seawater canals in the city), LED street lighting, automatic collection of trash and water recyclation lead Shwayri (2013)[50] to forge the term "u-eco-city." According to the

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[43]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55.

[44]*Ibid.*; Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35.

[45]Sang, Youn-joo. "Songdo Touted as Green, Foreigner-Friendly City." *Korea Herald* http://nwww.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20121017000931. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

[46]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35; Do, Je-hae. "Incheon to House 200,000 Foreigners by 2020." *The Korea Times* http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2012/09/281_46896.html. Last accessed 3rd May 2013.

[47]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013), 39–55.

[48]"Cisco Smart+Connected Resi.dential Solution Video," available online at Cisco's official channel http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wTHf_GB8lP4 (Acquired February 25th, 2013).

[49]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment.* Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012, 38.

[50]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55.

official "Cisco Smart+Connected Residential Solution Video,"[51] this urbanism solution will help to "achieve social, economic and environmental sustainability" and overall increase the quality of life in terms of convenience, security, luxury and perceived social status.[52]

Isomorphisms in Diffusion of Green and Smart Cities

Trends in policy-making spread, and they do so especially if there has already been a "best-practice" case, a ready-made model to be emulated. Policy designs are exchanged either directly in between municipalities[53] or upon the influence of international organisations that hold strong advisory (i.e. UN, OECD) or even economically coercive power (i.e. IMF, World Bank) to ensure the implementation of the best practices they have identified. The rationale for adopting a u-eco-city policy is multi-faceted; however, the reasons could be divided into two groups: desire to live in the utopia and succeeding in global competition.

The first argument has been put forward by Halegoua (2012)[54] as the reason for Korean development of u-cities. Newman and Matan (2013)[55] extend upon it to explain the popularity of various forms of eco-cities. Both of these urban forms promise living in a better future at present. Indeed, Songdo is supposed to be such a small utopia: clean, green, safe and luxurious place thanks to the ubicomp technologies,[56] which is why Kim Jung In (2014) calls the city "partly global and partly pastoral."[57] Kuecker (2013) even goes so far as to call Songdo a boutique-city,[58] a kind of perfect paradise that enables its rich citizens to escape what he calls the "perfect storm"[59] of the catastrophic collapse of the twenty-first century.

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[51]"Cisco Smart+Connected Residential Solution Video," available online at Cisco's official channel http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wTHf_GB8lP4 (Acquired February 25th, 2013).

[52]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment.* Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012.

[53]Through expertise cooperation platforms such as the EU-operated URBACT.

[54]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment.* Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012.

[55]Newman, Peter and Anne Matan. *Green Urbanism in Asia: The Emerging Green Tigers.* Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2013.

[56]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment.* Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012.

[57]Kim, Jung In. "Making cities global: the new city development of Songdo, Yujiapu and Lingang." *Planning Perspectives* 29 (3) (2014): 329–356, doi:10.1080/02665433.2013.824370, 336.

[58]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy" *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies*, 15 (2013): 20–35.

[59]Term used first in his article "The Perfect Storm: Catastrophic Collapse in the 21st Century." *The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic and Social Sustainability* 3 (5) (2007): 1–10. Kuecker holds a pessimistic view of the 21st century as a period of an encompassing crisis which he calls the "perfect storm."

Second, cities around the globe are to be seen as being in competition: through them, countries compete for international status[60]. The cities that command innovation, financial and information flows are, according to Sassen (1991), the ones to dictate on the global scene, and among the three world's global cities, which Sassen identifies as London, New York and Tokyo.[61] On the scholarly level, Richard Child Hill and Kuniko Fujita raised a challenge to denominating Tokyo as a global city due to its strong embeddedness in the state hierarchy, calling it a "nested city."[62] However, we must note that the label of "global city" or "world-class city" has become important in the discourse for both (foreign) investor attraction (comparative advantage creation) and gaining support of the voting public. Stylisation as a "global city" is a commonly used tool for self-propagation among many more cities than the ones identified by Sassen, Seoul included.[63]

Songdo thus can be seen as part of the Korean struggle for competitiveness and a leadership role in East Asia. It was conceived as a business district by Roh Tae-woo[64] in the era following Korea's massive industrialization, marking a passage to competing in international markets, ten years after China decided to do the same, and more importantly, shortly after the severe economic downturn in Japan caused by the real estate bubble burst. Turning towards FDI was supposed to remedy the effects of the Asian economic crisis in 1997: a modern u-eco-city project seems a logical solution, bringing the idea of modernity, of a luxurious space. Incheon's Mayor at the time, Ahn Sang-soo, believed that Songdo would be "compact/smart/green grid city as a newborn centre of Asian Market and top 10 most desired-to-visit city."[65]

The important underlying concept behind the IFEZ is *aerotropolis*. Used mostly by John Kasarda and Greg Lindsay, this term merges "airport" and "metropolis" and thus conveys the importance of access[66] and connectivity. Following Lindsay (2011)[67], Incheon Metropolitan Area and its surroundings are to be

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[60]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment.* Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012.

[61]Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

[62]Jacobs, A. J. "Japan's Evolving Nested Municipal Hierarchy: The Race for Local Power in the 2000s." *Urban Studies Research* 2011, Article ID 692764, 14 pages.

[63]Križnik, Blaž. "Selling Global Seoul: Competitive Urban Policy and Symbolic Reconstruction of Cities." *Revija za sociologiju* 41 (2011), 3, 291–313.

[64]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–35.

[65]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55. Do, Je-hae. "Incheon to House 200,000 Foreigners by 2020." *The Korea Times* http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2012/09/281_46896.html. Last accessed 3rd May 2013.

[66]The importance and desirability of access has been laid out by Jeremy Rifkin (2001) who worked on the idea of access as more preferable than actual ownership.

[67]Lindsay, Greg. "Cities of the Sky." *The Wall Street Journal* Feb. 26, 2011. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703408604576164703521850100.html (Acquired on February 27th, 2013).

qualified as the main Korean *aerotropolis*: the connection to Incheon Airport as well as the proximity of Seoul has been promoted as main assets of Songdo IBD.[68] In other words, the business district is not only close to the capital,[69] but by proxy also close to other international business hubs such as Tokyo and Hong Kong.[70] It is interesting to notice that such rhetoric is used by the *aerotropolises* in general, and is by no means specific to Incheon.[71]

While discussing the location of Songdo, we must, however, also bear in mind the South Korean land zoning policy. There is the so-called "greenbelt," or Development Restriction Region (or Restricted Development Zone),[72] following the 1970 Urban Planning Act of Korea, at 15km radius around the City of Seoul.[73] Songdo then also has to be understood as a way to limit the direct expansion of Seoul into its surrounding mountains and agricultural land,[74] along with the sprawl of "satellite cities" around Seoul along the "greenbelt's" borders.[75] In understanding the competitive aspects of Songdo, we could even inspire ourselves from Robinson's (2006)[76] critique of global cities. She says that there is

> deep division within urban studies between those cities that have been seen as sites for the production of urban theory and those that have been seen as sites for developmentalist intervention. These latter cities have provided the grounds for demarcating difference in a system of hierarchical relations amongst cities. Perhaps most importantly, together these conceptual fields continue to ascribe innovation and dynamism - modernity - to cities in rich countries, while imposing a regulating catch-up fiction of modernisation on the poorest.[77]

Songdo is beyond any doubt an attempt to produce a new urban model, a site that might serve for production of urban theory; Newman and Matan (2013)[78]

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[68]Songdo official website: "Master Plan," available http://www.songdo.com/songdo-international-business-district/the-city/master-plan.aspx (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[69]At least the economic capital, while the evolution of the Sejong City as a political capital is yet to be seen.

[70]Songdo official website: "Global Business Hub," available http://www.songdo.com/songdo-international-business-district/why-songdo/global-business-hub.aspx (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[71]The convenient location within the North East Asian region has been also advocated as a huge asset in order to push forward with the development of the Kansai International Airport in order to increase Osaka's competitiveness and attractiveness.

[72]Gallent, Nick and Kwang Sik Kim. "Land Zoning and Local Discretion in the Korean Planning System." *Land Use Policy* 18 (2001): 233–243.

[73]Yokohari, Makoto *et al.* "Beyond Greenbelts and Zoning: A New Planning Concept for the Environment of Asian Mega-Cities." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 47 (2000): 159–171.

[74]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35.

[75]Yokohari, Makoto *et al.* "Beyond Greenbelts and Zoning: A new Planning Concept for the Environment of Asian Mega-Cities." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 47 (2000): 159–171.

[76]Robinson, Jennifer. *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development.* London: Routledge, 2006.

[77]*Ibid,* 2.

[78]Newman, Peter and Anne Matan. *Green Urbanism in Asia: The Emerging Green Tigers.* Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2013.

assert that Songdo embodies Korea's ability to play a leadership role in green city development. It has also been marketed by the Gale Corporation as a new role model for export.[79] Moreover, the "image building" of Songdo was also a success, as its model has been already copied by the Philippine government who styled its new Clark Green City on the Songdo model.[80] The production of a successful urban model is then not only demonstrating Korea's predominance in ubicomp and green technologies, but also its ability to, by adhering to global standards (see next section), to assume a superior position in the international city hierarchy. Another, albeit similar, interpretation has been given by Kim Jung In (2014) of Songdo as part of a new, international, yet "glocalized" space: "the rising network of global cities in North-East Asia."[81]

Global competition entails adhesion to international policy trends and standards and "Green Growth" is the current one in urban planning; Kim Jung In (2014) does not even shy from saying that "Green City development has become the new buzzword."[82] It follows the evolution towards environmental awareness in policy-making. Its milestones are the Rio Conference or the signature of the Kyoto Protocol. Green Growth, as a version of sustainable development, is especially promoted by the OECD. This is done through its reports and working papers such as the *Cities and Green Growth: A Conceptual Framework*[83] or *Financing Green Urban Infrastructure.*[84] They set one standardized point of view on how to evaluate a city's urban planning performance and thus form a favourable platform for policy diffusion for two reasons. First, these reports constitute a sort of ready-made manual, recommendation check-list and we could argue even a blueprint for green growth solutions. Second, they articulate a clear trend, a standard to adhere to, and a manual for "ritualistic copying of policies (…) to mimic the success of leading states."[85] However, the diffusion of the Green Growth concept is not limited to OECD members: the World Bank has also issued a report called *Inclusive Green Growth* (2012), providing analytical and implementation frameworks for

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[79]Lindsay, Greg. "Cisco's Bet on New Songdo: Creating Cities from Scratch." *FastCompany* http://www.fastcompany.com/1514547/ciscos-big-bet-new-songdo-creating-cities-scratch. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

[80]Ordinario, Cai. "Clark Green City masterplan out by Q1 2013." *Rappler* http://www.rappler.com/business/15325-bcda-green-city-masterplan-out-by-q1-2013. Last accessed 3rd May 2013.

[81]Kim, Jung In. "Making Cities Global: The New City Development of Songdo, Yujiapu and Lingang." *Planning Perspectives* 29 (3) (2014): 329–356, doi:10.1080/02665433.2013.824370, 336.

[82]*Ibid.,* 350.

[83]Hammer, S., *et al.* "Cities and Green Growth: A Conceptual Framework," *OECD Regional Development Working Papers* 2011/08, 2011 OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5kg0tflmzx34-en

[84]Merk, O., Saussier, S., Staropoli, C., Slack, E., Kim, J.-H., "Financing Green Urban Infrastructure." *OECD Regional Development Working Papers 2012/10*, 2012. OECD Publishing; http://dc.doi.org/10.1787/5k92p0c6j6r0-en

[85]Dobbin, Frank, Beth Simmons, and Geoffrey Garrett. "The Global Diffusion of Public Policies: Social Construction, Coercion, Competition, or Learning?" *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (2007): 449–472.

inclusive Green Growth policies. Backed by institutions such as the World Bank or the OECD, the Green Growth concept is strong enough to create a world-wide policy diffusion and imitation stream consistent with the "normative isomorphism" conceptualization of DiMaggio and Powell (1983).[86]

In adhesion to goals set by the Rio conference, South Korea has a larger policy agenda dealing with green initiatives as a means of increasing its attractiveness, starting with the "Green Vision Law" of 1996[87] and continuing with a series of projects, including President Lee Myung-bak's "Green New Deal" of 2009.[88] In the Seoul Metro Area, the most iconic project would be the Cheonggyecheon stream restoration of 2005 under Lee Myung-bak (then Mayor of Seoul), which aimed to create a new "trademark" area within the Seoul city centre that would attract more tourists.[89] The green agenda of the Seoul Metropolitan government further continued with the next Mayor Oh Se-hoon,[90] who followed with measures such as the *Building Retrofit Project*[91] aiming at increasing energy efficiency of both non-residential and residential buildings, the *Sunlight City Seoul*[92] scheme for solar panel installation, or the Nanjido landfill conversion into an eco-themed park.[93] In Songdo, Incheon's former mayor Ahn Sang-soo advocated for the green, environmentally sustainable image to make it a desirable location.[94] The green city concept is also represented in the new master planned Sejong Self-Administering City. With Songdo IBD, they are both flagship projects, one for the new administrative capital, and one for an international business district. Linking these flagship "mega-projects" with green growth and green technologies

[86]DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48 (2) (Apr., 1983):147–160.

[87]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55.

[88]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35.

[89]Križnik, Blaž. "Selling Global Seoul: Competitive Urban Policy and Symbolic Reconstruction of Cities." *Revija za sociologiju* 41 (2011): 3, 291–313.

[90]Sheldrick, Anna. "Seoul: On Course to be One of the World's Greenest Cities?" *The Ecologist* http://www.theecologist.org/green_green_living/out_and_about/687483/seoul_on_course_to_be_one_of_the_worlds_greenest_cities.html. Last accessed 2nd May 2013.

[91]Seoul City website: "Seoul City to Support the Improvement of Building Energy Efficiency with 22.5 Billion Won" Available http://english.seoul.go.kr/gtk/news/energy_view.php?idx=19424 (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[92]Energy Korea. "Seoul City Will Install Solar Photovoltaic Power Generation Facilities at 1,000 Schools with Capacity of 100MW." Available http://energy.korea.com/archives/29692 (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[93]Seoul World Cup Park. "The Revival of Nanjido." Available http://worldcuppark.seoul.go.kr/worldcup_eng/revival/4_01_revival.html (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[94]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55.

sends a strong policy message, creating models to emulate. Unifying reasons for adopting the smart city approach may also be understood within the context of a wider Korean policy stream, as part of Korea's struggle to become a world leader in electronics and innovation since the 1980s.[95] In short, the Songdo u-eco-city is an instrument of the current trend of the developmentalist policy, adapted to the normative imperative of international policy trends supporting sustainable development.

Paradoxes of Songdo IBD: From Norm to Coercion

The u-city model may be prone to failure due to lack of self-sufficiency, meaning a heavy financial burden for the rest of the city, or even country.[96] To make such a statement regarding Songdo IBD is not yet possible, as its completion is only scheduled for 2020. Thus far, the developer seems to be capable of delivering the project. However, Kuecker (2013)[97] points out that a sustainable and resilient city is self-sufficient thanks to creation of negative feedback loops in production,[98] and he adds that this capacity is at present "severely compromised." Hence, there is a need for a "hinterland" to keep the u-city going. Moreover, despite the scheme for waste and water recycling and energy-efficiency buildings[99] with individual heating mechanisms based on renewables such as solar power and waste heat,[100] Songdo does not seem to have a scheme to generate power to sustain its massive data creation and storage. Songdo thus invites maintenance of a heavy consumer lifestyle,[101] notably in terms of energy for data storage without an anticipated counterbalancing energy-generating measure. Another challenge for Songdo is the creation of negative environmental externalities not taken into account in its "green" label. Reports by Ko et al. (2011)[102] and Save International[103] account

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[95]Seoul had the goal to become an u-city by 2015.

[96]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55.

[97]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35.

[98]Resilience interpreted according to Newman, Beatly and Boyer (Kuecker, 2013).

[99]Newman, Peter and Anne Matan. *Green Urbanism in Asia: The Emerging Green Tigers.* Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2013.

[100]Sang, Youn-joo. "Songdo touted as green, foreigner-friendly city." *Korea Herald* http://nwww.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20121017000931. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

[101]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment.* Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012.

[102]Ko, Yekang and al. "A Conflict of Greens: Green Development Versus Habitat Preservation – The Case of Incheon, South Korea." *Environment* http://www.environmentmagazine.org/Archives/Back%20Issues/2011/May-June%202011/conflict-of-greens-full.html. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

[103]Save International. "Song Do (Songdo) Tidal Flats." *Save International* http://saveinternational.org/saveinaction/song-do-tidal-flats/. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

serious ecosystem perturbation due to land reclamation in the tidal flat wetlands along the Han river estuary. This issue gave source to most of the protests that led the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to push for the Songdo project's downsizing.[104]

In order to understand this paradox, we must note two contributing factors. First, the "green features" have been added to the project incrementally, long after the land reclamation was initiated. These incremental changes came as an aid to increase the ambitious project's attractiveness, to market it as at the forefront of modern urbanism strategies, in other words linking it to the current norm of sustainable development. Second, the project's main "green features" are not marketed as testifying to Songdo's overall environmental friendliness. Songdo IBD is supposed to follow the concept of New Urbanism,[105] which in itself does not promote environmentally friendly implementation, only green transportation.[106] Songdo then contains some urban features that have been labelled as "green": large green spaces (the largest being the luxurious Jack Nicklaus Golf Club Korea golf course, with 228 acres in contrast to the 100-acre Central Park),[107] the principle of walkability, and alternative, carbon-free infrastructure (including water taxis), as well as LED lighting, truck-free garbage collection, and water recyclation or LEED building certification.[108] To sum up, Songdo IBD clearly answers to a "check-list" for a green city which the Gale Corporation promotes as a blueprint for a new type of urban development.[109] I would add that given the global sustainable development policy stream, it has a potential to become a competitiveness blueprint in Ostrom's (2005)[110] sense as well: an easy, encompassing solution for many problems at a time, popular among policy-makers yet likely to fail due to its ignorance of local realities.

This story of dismissed local realities can be also put into the larger picture of the Seoul "greenbelt." Gallent and Kim (2001)[111] point out a strong rigidity

[104]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo." *Journal of Urban Technology* 20 (1) (2013): 39–55.

[105]Songdo Official Website, "Sustainable City," available http://www.songdo.com/songdo-international-business-district/why-songdo/sustainable-city.aspx (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[106]New Urbanism official website, "Principles of Urbanism," available http://www.newurbanism.org/newurbanism/principles.html (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[107]Songdo official website, "Master Plan," available http://www.songdo.com/songdo-international-business-district/the-city/master-plan.aspx (Last accessed on May 2nd 2013).

[108]Sang, Youn-joo. "Songdo touted as green, foreigner-friendly city." *Korea Herald* http://nwww.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20121017000931. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

[109]Lindsay, Greg. "Cisco's Bet on New Songdo: Creating Cities from Scratch." *FastCompany* http://www.fastcompany.com/1514547/ciscos-big-bet-new-songdo-creating-cities-scratch. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

[110]Ostrom, Elinor. "Robust Resource Governance in Polycentric Institutions." Ostrom, Elinor. *Understanding Institutional Diversity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005, pp. 255–288.

[111]Gallent, Nick and Kwang Sik Kim. "Land zoning and local discretion in the Korean planning system." *Land Use Policy* 18 (2001): 233–243.

leading to Songdo-like paradoxes in the Restricted Development Zone's (RDZ) application effects: within the RDZ, protection of land with little environmental value versus intense development (high-rise buildings etc.) on land with "a significant preservation value,"[112] yet just outside the RDZ. As such, the "greenbelt" manifests a paradoxical outcome of rigid, blueprint application of an urban planning solution, similar to the Songdo case. Indeed, we might even consider Songdo as part of the "greenbelt's" negative impact with other particular challenges.

Of course, Songdo was also envisioned as a solution to avoid Seoul's further expansion into the mountains,[113] and land reclamation has become the norm for solving spatial challenges in East Asia. However, when promoting green cities, and especially one such as Songdo as a role model, an important challenge for policy evaluation arises; Namely, analyses should take into account not only environmental impacts, as described above, but also social exclusion. Songdo can be identified as model for exclusion along two axes: citizens/decision-makers and rich/poor. The former divide has been put forward by Krueger and Agyeman (2005)[114] as a challenge to smart growth and by Halegoua (2012),[115] as a general critique of master-planned cities. In their case, the citizens are present in neither the agenda setting nor implementation process and hence the city is designed in a strictly top-down perspective. Halegoua (2012)[116] finds this phenomenon striking in the conception of Songdo's ubicomp: designed as an amenity to increase consumer-style convenience, but it "does not help to exchange social product of the place."[117] Kim Jung In (2014)[118] points out that Songdo is a commercial project, therefore citizen welfare is a secondary concern.

The rich/poor divide has been ubiquitous to the Songdo city planning from the start as well. It was designed to be an international business district where foreign employees and Koreans working for the international companies would reside. However, they were not supposed to enjoy the same rights of access to healthcare and education, as this was supposed to be free or subsidised for the foreigners only in order to ensure convenient living standards.[119] Hence, the project is very

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[112]*Ibid.*

[113]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013), 20–35.

[114]Krueger, Rob and Julian Agyeman. "Sustainability schizophrenia or "actually existing sustainabilities?" toward a broader understanding of the politics and promise of local sustainability in the US." *Geoforum* 36 (2005): 410–417.

[115]Halegoua, Germaine R. *New Mediated Spaces and the Urban Environment.* Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Communication Arts department at University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2012.

[116]*Ibid.*

[117]*Ibid*, 59.

[118]Kim, Jung In. "Making cities global: the new city development of Songdo, Yujiapu and Lingang" *Planning Perspectives* 29 (3) (2014): 329–356, doi:10.1080/02665433.2013.824370

[119]Sang, Youn-joo. "Songdo touted as green, foreigner-friendly city." *Korea Herald* http://nwww.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20121017000931. Last accessed 28th April 2013.

costly to Koreans, as the facilities are labelled "world-class"[120] and only a few "chosen" rich can afford to pay to live there.[121] Therefore, those producing the goods and services consumed in Songdo would likely to live outside, in other districts of Incheon as "even shopping at the huge Taubaum Shopping Centre will be out of the range of many ordinary Koreans."[122] We must note that in reality, Songdo's model seems to converge with other Korean cities[123] due to lower international interest than expected.[124] Yet, as my aim is to discuss the intended model, I still find the argument of social stratification relevant. The closeness of Songdo is also symbolically embodied in the closed intranet of its smart grid. Given his critique on the lack of capacity to create perfect negative close loops, in other words its failure to achieve perfect self-sufficiency, Kuecker (2013)[125] puts forward his idea of global apartheid determined by class: the "opulent boutique cities" like Songdo for the rich on one hand and "the perfect storm," the global collapse, for the others. In other words, he sees Songdo as denying the Lefebvre's "right to the city" due to its focus on economic growth (hence competitiveness).

However, we have to note that as they are currently designed, the "boutique cities" require the social apartheid; the contrary is the ideal of the green resilient city[126] and the inclusive green growth.[127] We could say that cities like Songdo are promoted as embodying these ideals, but do not necessarily achieve them. In this respect, Songdo clearly illustrates how "sustainability initiatives emerge from the contradictions of capitalism."[128] It is an attempt to reconcile a project of competitiveness with current norms of urban planning in order to maintain its comparative

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[120]*Ibid.*

[121]Kshetri, Nir, Alcantara, Lailani L. and Yonghoon Park. "Development of a Smart City and its Adoption and Acceptance: the Case of New Songdo." *Digiworld Economic Journal* 96 (4) (2014): 113–128.

[122]McNeill, David. "New Songdo City: Atlantis of the Far East." *The Independent* http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/new-songdo-city-atlantis-of-the-far-east-1712252.html.   Last accessed 3rd May 2013.

[123]Gelézeau, Valérie. "Emergence of a Shadow: Songdo, a Globalized Mega-Project in the Shade of Seoul." *Shadow Capital Cities in the Korean World* panel, 2014 AAS Conference, Philadelphia.

[124]Shwayri, Sofia T. "A Model Korean Ubiquitous Eco-City? The Politics of Making Songdo" *Journal of Urban Technology*, 20.1 (2013): 39–55.

[125]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35.

[126]Kuecker, Glen D. "South Korea's New Songdo City: From Neo-liberal Globalisation to the Twenty-first Century Green Economy." *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 15 (2013): 20–35.

[127]The World Bank. *Inclusive Green Growth: The Pathway to Sustainable Development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2012.

[128]Krueger, Rob and Julian Agyeman. "Sustainability Schizophrenia Or "Actually Existing Sustainabilities?" Toward a Broader Understanding of the Politics and Promise of Local Sustainability in the US." *Geoforum* 36 (2005): 410–417.

advantage: the ascension in the neoliberal competitiveness hierarchy currently seems to require ritualistic transposition of elements from sustainable development principles. As such, the normative trend of sustainable development is transposed into market competition and indeed becomes coercive: the non-adoption of the current trend would entail a self-induced market sanction of diminished competitiveness. Adoption of sustainability policies also equals peer recognition, a non-negligible factor for South Korea as a member state of the OECD. The double bind of peer recognition (adhesion to a standard) and maintenance of competitiveness entailed incremental adoption of sustainability and eco-friendly principles to a project originally conceived without them, leading to a schizophrenic, paradoxical outcome where the policy results seem to directly contradict their underlying principles.

Concluding Remarks

I have discussed Songdo IBD as a case of normative isomorphism in public policy diffusion: sustainable development as an instrument of competitiveness enhancement. I examined it in the context of Korean policy-making streams and competitiveness rationale, using the concept of aerotropolis and Robinson's (2006) critique of global cities. Finally, I assembled the critiques of a Songdo-type "u-eco-city": dependence on hinterland for goods, services and energy production matched with high consumerism lifestyle, multi-level social exclusion and negative environmental externalities caused by its construction. I have shown that these outcomes create a situation of paradox vis-à-vis the underlying idea of green growth, and used this setting to show how reconciling international norms in policy making with competitiveness leads to a paradoxical, schizophrenic outcome created by this double bind. This line of analysis has enabled me to demonstrate how coupling of a norm with market competition creates a coercive power for the spread of a new trend, in this case green growth, sustainability and ubicomp embodied in Songdo IBD.

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Part VI
The Arts in Innovative Societies

Chapter 16
Bad Father and Good Mother: The Changing Image of Masculinity in Post-Bubble-Economy Japan

Shuk-ting Kinnia Yau

Introduction

Japan has faced continuous social and economic problems since the bursting of the bubble economy in the early 1990s. Following the end of the economic miracle of the Showa era, Japan underwent a prolonged downturn known as the "lost decades," from which it has struggled for years to emerge and regain economic momentum. At the same time, the country has faced a lack of strong leadership ever since Junichiro Koizumi stepped down as prime minister in 2006. The incapability and brevity of rule of its prime ministers symbolize the lack of strong and reliable role models for Japanese youth to look up to.[1] After 3.11, discontent with Japan's leadership further escalated as the government and TEPCO (Tokyo Electric Power Company) failed to respond effectively to that multi-faceted tragedy. What began as a natural disaster thus developed into a manmade crisis that could have been avoided. Together with the declining image of leadership, terms such as *dame oyaji* (disabled old man) and *sodai gomi* (oversized garbage) came into circulation to describe fathers who lost their jobs during the restructuring of corporate Japan in the economic recession. The prolonged depression furthermore reduced social mobility, and youth could no longer enjoy the same guarantees of job and career security that baby boomers growing up in the golden age of

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[1] In post-Koizumi Japan, prime ministers Shinzo Abe, Yasuo Fukuda, Taro Aso, Yukio Hatoyama, Naoto Kan and Yoshihiko Noda have each stayed in power for only approximately one year. In December 2012, Shinzo Abe assumed office once again as prime minister and has broken the pattern by staying in power ever since.

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Japan had enjoyed.[2] Under these conditions, social problems among the younger generation became more common, and expressions like *otaku* (youth with an obsessive interest in *anime*, comics, and games), *hikikomori* (youth in a chronic state of isolation from society), *parasaito* (parasites), *furiitaa* ("freeters," i.e., permanent part-timers), *niito* ("NEETs," i.e., young people "not [engaged in] education, employment, or training") and *sooshokukei danshi* (herbivore men) were coined as terms to categorize (primarily) males who are unable to live independently or connect to the real world. Compared to the period from the 1960s through the 1980s, when Japan was in its economic golden age, a drastic change can be seen in the perception of the male image.

Masculinity discourses in Japan have long been a popular topic of research, with many studies targeting the image of the "salary man," the myth of the Japanese working adult that provided the driving force behind the miracle of Japan's postwar reconstruction. Yet research that focuses on the image of masculinity reflected in Japanese media has been relatively limited. Taking past research on the phenomenon of the salary man as background, this paper aims to explore examples of the changing image of masculinity in Japanese cinema in response to the political, economic and social turbulence experienced by Japan since the beginning of the Heisei period.

Hegemonic Discourse of Masculinity: *Daikokubashira* and Its Background

Many studies have linked the Japanese ideal of masculinity to the salary man in the postwar economy. The image of the salary man, occasionally referred to in the media as a "corporate warrior" (*kigyoo senshi*), represented the mainstream image of the male that supported Japan in its golden age. The Japanese salary man has been depicted as "a middle-aged, grey-suited, briefcase-carrying, white-collar male officer who leaves his home in the suburbs early each morning, commutes in an overcrowded train to some faceless downtown office block, and ends the day by lurching drunkenly back to the suburbs on the last train after a drinking session with colleagues or clients." (Dasgupta, 2003, 118) Such an image reflected a common view of the salary man in the eyes of the public and served as an icon of postwar Japanese culture.

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[2]During the golden age of Japan, the prosperity enjoyed by the public was once described as *ichioku soochuuryuu* (all hundred millions belong to middle class) while most Japanese worked for large corporations with a decent and stable income. However, the bursting of the bubble economy led to the long period of *shuushoku hyoogaki* (ice age of employment), which affected the confidence of salary men and fresh university graduates. Under these circumstances, the gap between rich and poor has steadily increased, resulting in a serious problem of *kakusa* (social inequality). The term *kakusa* was selected as "Word of the Year" in 2006.

Dasgupta analyzes the emergence of the salary man narrative from a macro-historical perspective, tracing its early stages back to the Meiji era when Japan was striving to become a modern nation that could compete with Western powers. (2013, 25) As part of the state modernization project, the empire required of its male citizens that they be compliant and productive soldiers and of its female citizens that they be "good wives, wise mothers" (*ryoosai kenbo*). The ideology of heterosexual marriage with the male as the working force—the breadwinner—was disseminated throughout the entire social system, while past values were discouraged in an attempt to pursue "civilized morality." (2003, 120) This ideological framework, together with the urbanization process that Meiji Japan underwent, gave birth to a preliminary image of the salary man, the "new" Japanese male that embodied industrialized Japan.

The image of the salary man was further popularized in the postwar period, with the rapid industrialization of the 1950s leading to the expansion of white-collar labor. The term *kigyoo senshi* was commonly used to describe the white-collar workers who contributed to the economic miracle of Japan in the 1950s and 1960s. For example, Dasgupta quotes Vogel's figure of the population of white-collar workers in 1959 as 7.3 million, a significant increase from 3.5 million in 1940 (2013, 30). This major increase in the percentage of white-collar workers was a result of the urbanization and economic growth of Japan between the 1950s and 1970s, when rising urban land prices brought about a distancing of the home from the workplace, leading to a widespread dichotomy between public and private in the cities of Japan. By the 1970s, the factors that paved the way for the "salary man discourse" were largely in place, such as the trend toward small nuclear families (based on the salary man/housewife combination) and lifetime employment and seniority system offered by large corporations. It was also in this prime time and golden age of Japan that scholars such as Vogel further promoted the image of the salary man as belonging to an elite middle class.[3]

Given this historical background, Japanese middle-class males came to be stereotyped by the image of the salary man, and the manhood that they represented has been described using the term "*daikokubashira*," the great central pillar that supports a house (Gill 2003, 144–145). According to Gill, "The pillar that supports the household has honor, represented in its/his dominant central position, but also bears a heavy load—supporting the roof/family. The pillar is always there: male succession, ideally by the eldest son, is supposed to make the role of *daikokubashira* permanent even if the individual playing the role changes with the years." (2003, 144–145) This explains why the male adult is valued as the breadwinner, the pillar of the family according to the standard norm by which

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[3]In his *Japan's New Middle-Class: The salary man and his family in a Tokyo suburb* (1963) and *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (1979), Vogel provided a detailed framework of description of the emerging "salary man" class under the rapid industrialization of Japan during the 1950s and 1980s.

a "Japanese" man is measured. Together with his role as a loyal, productive worker—a *kigyo senshi*—in a large corporation, this image was held up as the key to Japan's success during the postwar reconstruction period.

Over the past decade, however, the masculinity of the salary man supporting Japan's economic miracle has come to be seen as a "hegemonic masculinity." (Dasgupta 2003; Gill 2003; Roberson 2003) As Tomoko Hidaka describes it, the term refers to "the most desired form of man in relation to social, cultural and institutional aspects" (2010, 2). After the burst of the bubble economy in the early 1990s, more people began to question the once widely honored model of the salary man. Although it had been recognized as an icon of affluence of Japan, over the course of the prolonged economic recession, it came to be recast as a "gendered construct," (Dasgupta, 2003). Within the hegemonic discourse, the role of Japanese males was subsumed under a "state-sponsored patriarchal industrial-capitalist system" (Roberson and Suzuki, 2003, 7) where the role of others (women and employees of smaller corporations) was undervalued. In post-bubble economy Japan, the role of the Japanese man became the topic of major reexamination in academia and media. This paper aims to discuss such trends as reflected in Japanese cinema.

Generational Loss of Faith in Traditional Masculinity

Along with changes in the discourse surrounding masculinity, the image of adult males in Japanese cinema since the bursting of the bubble economy has also exhibited major changes. They have, in particular, come to be portrayed as the source of the woes experienced by today's younger generation. Mutual distrust between Generation Y and the authorities, including government, fathers, bosses and teachers, is a theme shared in common by many current Japanese movies. The so-called Generation Y are those born between the late 1970s and early 2000s, who have only a vague memory, if any, of Japan's economic golden age. This theme is undoubtedly informed by the theory of *amae* (dependence) and the fatherless society proposed by Takeo Doi, in which individuals tend to direct the blame for their misfortunes to those who are supposed to protect them.[4] According to Doi, a fatherless society is characterized by a lack of strong father figures or of a true sense of authority (1981, 152). He believes that Japan has become a fatherless society since the introduction of Western civilization during the Meiji period. Furthermore, the influence of the emperor system and parental authority diminished drastically after Japan's defeat in the Second World War. The image of fathers once experienced a facelift in the media due to the economic miracle from the 1960s to the 1980s, but was again damaged by the economic downturn of the early 1990s. In Doi's framework of analysis, the lack of societal role models creates a normless

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[4]Doi, Takeo. *The Anatomy of Dependence*. Tokyo: Kodansha, [1971] 1981, 152.

(*anomie*) state in which prior social norms are no longer valid. The sense of right and wrong among citizens, especially among the younger generation, therefore becomes loose and undefined. Problems seen among teenagers nowadays, such as *ijime* (bullying) and *enjokoosai* (compensated dating) are phenomena that may be seen as possible consequences of the normless state in Japan.

Most of award-winning filmmaker Sion Sono's movies after the 2000s, including *Suicide Club* (2001), *Noriko's Dinner Table* (2005), *Strange Circus* (2005), *Love Exposure* (2008), *Cold Fish* (2010) and *Guilty of Romance* (2011), depict a connection between inhumane/incompetent fathers and the collapse of social/ family values.[5] Fathers are demonized in blockbuster horrors such as *Ring* (1998, Hideo Nakata)[6] and *Ju-on: The Grudge* (2002, Takashi Shimizu). Both of these feature abusive or weak fathers who bring harm rather than love, care or protection to their offspring. Although there have been Japanese movies showing sympathy for "weak" fathers, emphasizing their effort and limitations, such as *Railroad Man* (1999, Yasuo Furuhata), *Memories of Tomorrow* (2006, Yukihiko Tsutsumi), *Departures* (2008, Yojiro Takita), *Tokyo Sonata* (2008, Kiyoshi Kurosawa),[7] *Miracle Apples* (2013, Yoshihiro Nakamura) and *Like Father, Like Son* (2013, Hirokazu Koreeda), the general image of fathers (or adult males) is still a very dark one in contrast to the hey days of Japan.

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[5]The movies of Sion Sono, a film director of Generation X whose career began in the 1980s have generated a virtual cult following in Japan. His works take as one of their major themes the dysfunctional nature of the modern Japanese family and are characterized by an excessively high level of violence, as exemplified by his *Suicide Club*, a story of 54 schoolgirls who for no obvious reason commit mass suicide by throwing themselves in front of an oncoming train. His subsequent films have focused on evil adult male figures, highlighting the extreme level of social alienation and wide generation gap between youth and adults in modern Japan.

[6]Adapted from Koji Suzuki's novel by the same name, *Ring* is said to be the highest grossing Japanese horror film in history (Balmain, 2008, 2). So popular is the film that it was later remade by director Gore Verbinski into a Hollywood version in 2002. *Ring* tells the story of the investigation by a journalist named Reiko into the mysterious death of several teenagers including her niece. Central to the story is a video that, as urban legend has it, whoever watches will die seven days after viewing it. To find out the truth, Reiko watches the video and is now running out of time to solve the mystery. Together with her ex-husband Ryuji, they discover that the video comes from a vengeful spirit, Sadako, a girl thrown into a well by her father. After Ryuji's death, Reiko realizes that the viewer must copy and pass the video to another person in order to break the curse. The years following the appearance of *Ring* saw the emergence of an abundance of J-horror movies, including *Tomie* (1999, Ataru Oikawa), *Dark Water* (2002, Hideo Nakata), *Ju-on: The Grudge*, *One Missed Call* (2003, Takashi Miike) and *Reincarnation* (2005, Takashi Shimizu).

[7]*Tokyo Sonata* portrays a family whose father loses his elite job to cheaper foreign labor but, unable to disclose the truth to his family, spends his days wandering aimlessly around Tokyo until he finally takes up work cleaning toilets. The film reflects vividly the lack of communication in modern Japanese families and numerous secrets that lie under a seemingly placid surface of quotidian family life.

Instead of acting as role models, teachers in *Battle Royale* (2000, Kinji Fukasaku)[8] and *Lesson of the Evil* (2012, Takashi Miike)[9] are murderers of their own students. These movies in school settings portray a society in chaos without any sense of *jooshiki* (common sense) or ability to distinguish right from wrong. *Helter Skelter* (2012, Mika Ninagawa), an adaptation of Kyoko Okazaki's popular *manga* series, is another classic example depicting a twisted society through the empty and dissipated life of Ririko, a superstar who constantly undergoes cosmetic surgery to maintain her beauty and fame. In the film, Ririko is portrayed as a perfect woman/commodity with a 100% artificial face and body. However, just as with society itself, a perfect appearance is not able to cover emptiness of soul.

Conflicts between the two generations is also seen in *Neighbor No. 13* (2005, Yasuo Inoue), *The Black Swindler* (2008, Yasuharu Ishii), *Ikigami: The Ultimate Limit* (2008, Tomoyuki Takimoto),[10] *Crab Canning Ship* (2009, SABU), *Gantz* (2011, Shinsuke Sato) and *Platinum Data* (2013, Keishi Otomo), all of which depict the resistance of the post-1980s generation to exploitation by the authorities. Heroes are played by actors belonging to that generation, including Shun Oguri, Tomohisa Yamashita, Ryuhei Matsuda, Shota Matsuda, Kenichi Matsuyama and Kazunari Ninomiya. The image of Generation Y idols is very different from those in the past. For example, the baby-face, childlike figure of Tatsuya Fujiwara,[11] who often plays the role of a dangerous youth, are in stark contrast to conventional masculine outlaw heroes such as the macho Ken

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[8]Having been drafted into the army during the Second World War, director Kinji Fukasaku became dissatisfied with the adult generation after realizing that he was not actually fighting for world peace. *Battle Royale* is one of his works depicting the huge gap between the older and younger generation. More importantly, it holds adults responsible for juvenile delinquency. Based on a novel by Koshun Takami, *Battle Royale* tells the story of a group of junior high school students taken to an island to engage in a fierce game of killing one another. In this film, young people are lost and confused because they have no role model to follow. The main character Shuya Nanahara lost his father, who hung himself, while the teacher Kitano (Takeshi Kitano) is a man bullied by his students and rejected by his daughter. Conflicts between the older and younger generation are depicted against an extremely violent and disturbing background that can be overwhelming for most audiences. In the sequel, *Battle Royale II: Requiem* (2003, Kenta Fukasaku and Kinji Fukasaku), such confrontation becomes more explicit as the surviving students fight directly against the military.

[9]*Lesson of the Evil* tells the story of a well-respected teacher who suffers from antisocial personality disorder. A psychopath, he handles monster parents and rebellious students by murdering them.

[10]Based on Motoro Mase's *manga* series (2005–2012), the story of *Ikigami: The Ultimate Limit* takes place in a country very similar to Japan. In order to increase the level of prosperity and productivity, the nation implants a capsule in all new born children. A small percentage of them will be killed before they turn 25, and they are to be informed of their imminent death 24 hours in advance.

[11]Born in Saitama prefecture, Tatsuya Fujiwara (1982–) is a Japanese actor who started his career in theatre. His stage performance in *Shintoku-maru* (1995, Yukio Ninagawa) won him a reputation as a talented young actor. On screen, he is best known for his roles as Shuya Nanahara in *Battle Royale*, Light Yagami in *Death Note* and Kaiji *in Kaiji: The Ultimate Gambler*.

Takakura appearing in earlier *yakuza eiga* (gangster film).[12] Fujiwara's image as an angel-face devil is very much a reflection of youngsters who commit bloody crimes in real life nowadays.[13] In *Battle Royale*, *Death Note* (2006, Shusuke Kaneko),[14] *Chameleon* (2008, Junji Sakamoto) and *Kaiji: The Ultimate Gambler* (2009, Toya Sato),[15] he plays heroes who have no faith in authority and choose to challenge the law in order to actualize their own ideal of justice. In short, traditional heroes with masculine appearance, character, and manners have become rare in recent Japanese movies. Instead we see young heroes who are not necessarily mature enough, but possess the will, to rebel against authority and rules put in place by previous generations. Even good-hearted heroes such as Kohei Kuryu (Takuya Kimura) in the *Hero* series and Manabu Yukawa (Masaharu Fukuyama)

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[12]In 1945, GHQ, the headquarters of American occupation forces in Japan, banned the production of swordfight and *yakuza* films depicting vengeance and revenge, a ban that was eventually lifted in August 1951 (Burakku, 1999, 16). *Yakuza* films such as the *Nippon Chivalry* series (1964–71), starring the icon of *Nippon danshi* (Japanese tough guy) Ken Takakura, present groups of gangsters who join forces to restore *jingi* (benevolence and justice). Since the early 1950s, economic development had become the most pressing issue in Japan, resulting in a neglect of traditional moral virtues such as righteousness and chivalry as earning money became a top priority. Cinema productions such as these represented a call to return to such traditional virtues. An exception to this is seen in Kinji Fukasaku's *Battles without Honor or Humanity* series (1973–9), which portrays the cruel reality of gangsters ignoring the ideals of *giri* (duty) and *ninjoo* (humanity), and relying instead on duplicity as a tool for survival. Although the series can be viewed as departure from traditional Japanese gangster films, heroes appearing in them such as Bunta Sugawara maintain the macho character of the past, unlike the physically weak, baby-face main characters appearing in recent mainstream crime films.

[13]In *Shield of Straw* (2013, Takashi Miike), Fujiwara plays an anti-social but to outward appearances harmless criminal Kunihide Kiyomaru who rapes and kills young girls. After he murders the granddaughter of a billionaire, different groups of people attempt to capture and kill him in pursuit of a billion-yen bounty on his head. A team of police officers is therefore asked to protect and bring Kiyomaru to court. Although he is sentenced to death in the end, Kiyomaru shows no regret, confessing only that he feels sorry because he would have raped and killed more girls if he had known that he would die so soon.

[14]*Death Note*, a film series adapted from the popular *manga* series, centers on a talented university student from Law School, Light Yagami (Tatsuya Fujiwara), who discovers a notebook called "Death Note" dropped by the God of Death. The notebook gives Light the power to kill anyone of his choice. Dissatisfied with the inadequacy of the legal system, Light starts killing criminals who he thinks deserve to die. A young and intelligent FBI detective L (Kenichi Matsuyama) is later hired by the Japanese police force to conduct an investigation to track down Light. Both Light and L are childish and self-centered youngsters who challenge authority with both distrust and disrespect.

[15]*Kaiji: The Ultimate Gambler* and its sequel *Kaiji II* are based on Nobuyuki Fukumoto's *manga* series (1996–1999). The story centers on Kaiji Ito (Tatsuya Fujiwara) who leads a life without hope. Approaching his 30s but still struggling to make ends meet, Kaiji's life reflects the situation faced by many young Japanese men today. One day, Kaiji boards a ship named *Espoir* (French for "hope"), which gives him a chance to change his life. On board are two groups of people, one living at the bottom of society (literally because they work underground to build an empire for the "King"), and another that exploits them. People in the former group, where Kaiji belongs, are described as *kuzu* (trash) and considered worthless. In a sense, this resembles contemporary Japan where inequality has become a growing social problem.

in the *Galileo* series are depicted as highly eccentric and lacking in common social skills.[16] These serve as a good index of the change in the discourse surrounding the salary man that once dominated Japan in the prime of the Showa era: the once mythical model of men as pillar of the family, breadwinner and provider, was no longer favored or realistic as a common norm during the *fukeiki* (economic recession) of the lost decades.

Nostalgia for Past Glory: Changing Images of Fathers and Mothers

In response to a perception of social and economic deterioration in Japan, movies conveying a strong sense of romanticized nostalgia for post-war Japan have taken a prominent place in contemporary Japanese cinema. One of the best examples of this is Takashi Yamazaki's series *Always: Sunset on Third Street* (2005), *Always: Sunset on Third Street 2* (2007), and *Always: Sunset on Third Street' 64* (2012). Set in 1958, when the country as a whole was enjoying the early stages of the economic miracle, the story takes place in a poor but warm community where everybody thinks and acts positively. The 2005 film swept 12 prizes at the 2006 Japanese Academy Awards, including Best Picture, Best Director, Best Actor and Best Screenplay. Despite being set in the post-1990s and post-3/11, *The Great Passage* (2013, Yuya Ishii), *Wood Job!* (2014, Shinobu Yaguchi), *Midnight Diner* (2015, Joji Matsuoka), and *Umimachi Diary* (2015, Hirokazu Koreeda) deliver messages very similar to *Always: Sunset on Third Street*, portraying pure-hearted Japanese *shomin* (common people) whose lives exemplify the beauty of Japanese virtues such as *jin* (benevolence), *rei* (respect), *makoto* (sincerity), *meiyo* (honor) and *jisei* (self-control). *Memories of Matsuko* (2006, Tetsuya Nakashima), *Tokyo Tower: Mom, and Me, and Sometimes Dad* (2007, Joji Matsuoka) and *Twentieth Century Boys* (2008, Yukihiko Tsutsumi) are also movies with a similar theme, projecting an innocent, energetic and hopeful Showa in contrast to the sinful, cold and frustrating Heisei. For instance, *Twentieth Century Boys* is a trilogy presenting a dark Twenty-first century in contrast to the times of Showa filled with hopes and possibilities. As a child, protagonist Kenji was creative and carefree. He grew up in the 1960s when Japan was taking off with events like the World Expo. In the present, however, Kenji (Toshiaki Karasawa) and his childhood friends have forgotten

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[16]*Hero* is a TV series launched in 2001 starring Takuya Kimura as a young public prosecutor who refuses to conform to conventional social norms but dares to challenge the corrupt system in Japan. *Galileo* is a TV series based on Keigo Higashino's novel *Detective Galileo* launched in 2007 starring Masaharu Fukuyama as a university professor who shows interest in nothing but physics and helps the police to investigate mysterious cases with his unique sense of deduction. Both sequels gained such high popularity in Japan and other parts in East Asia that they spawned feature film versions, namely *Hero: The Movie* (2007, Masayuki Suzuki), *Hero* (2015, Masayuki Suzuki), *The Devotion of Suspect X* (2008, Hiroshi Nishitani) and *Midsummer's Equation* (2013, Hiroshi Nishitani).

about their dreams and work aimlessly for their living. Worse still, the present is threatened by a cult religious group led by a *karisuma* (charismatic figure) named Tomodachi (Friend).[17]

In this age of declining masculinity, the sole salvation of man has apparently become the 100% devoted woman. This explains why a thirst for maternal love and care is frequently found in Japanese movies nowadays. For example, *Handsome Suit* (2008, Tsutomu Hanabusa) tells a love story similar to beauty and the beast, in which the heroine is willing to become a fat and ugly woman in order to show her love to the hero, proving that appearance is not important. *Train Man* (2005, Masanori Murakami)[18] and *Happily Ever After* (2007, Yukihiko Tsutsumi), both starring Miki Nakatani, are love stories between incompetent men and devoted women. *Be with You* (2004, Nobuhiro Doi), starring Yuko Takeuchi[19] as a good wife and wise mother, also depicts a healing woman who reassures her crying husband by showing her absolute love and support. The movie tells the story of Takumi (Shido Nakamura), a single father who has to take care of his son after his wife Mio (Yuko Takeuchi) dies. A year after Mio dies, she reappears and the three of them become a family again. When the rainy season ends, however, Mio must return to another world. In the film, Mio is pure, gentle and understanding from the beginning to the end. On the contrary, her husband Takumi is a pessimistic introvert who does not have any confidence. This is because his talent as a runner was deprived earlier in life by an acute illness. This can be seen as a metaphor of the abrupt end to Japan's glorious past: both Takumi and Japan find it impossible to stand on their feet again. Takumi's son, who represents the younger

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[17]The emergence of new religious groups is a topic of great concern in Japan nowadays. In addition to Aum Shinrikyo, Shinnyo-en (Borderless Garden of Truth), Oyamanezu no Mikoto Shinji Kyokai, GLA (God Light Association) and Ho no Hana Sanpogyo are examples of rising religious groups in Japan (Shimazono, 2001). Founded by Shoko Asahara in 1984, Aum Shinrikyo is best known for its Sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway system on March 20, 1995. The incident resulted in thirteen deaths and approximately 1,000 injuries. Asahara was sentenced to death in 2004, but his execution has yet to be carried out.

[18]Based on a romantic story that had been circulating on the Internet, *Train Man* is a movie depicting how the socially awkward *otaku* Densha (Takayuki Yamada) melts the heart of the beautiful and elegant Hermès (Miki Nakatani). In the film, Densha has no friends and spends most of his time wandering alone in Akihabara in search of *anime* goods and talking to strangers about his life online. With the support of his Internet buddies, he takes steps to pursue Hermès, but ends up unable to show his true love and feelings for her. Facing the apologetic Densha, Hermès wipes away his tears and reassures him that he is good enough to win her heart.

[19]Yuko Takeuchi also played similar roles in *Yomigaeri* (2003, Akihiko Shiota), *Night of the Shooting Stars* (2003, Shin Togashi), *Heaven's Bookstore* (2004, Tetsuo Shinohara), *Spring Snow* (2005, Isao Yukisada), *Closed Note* (2007, Isao Yukisada), *Flowers* (2010, Norihiro Koizumi) and *Wife and My 1778 Stories* (2011, Mamoru Hoshi). Takeuchi is regarded as one of the icons of *iyashi kei* (healing kind). The *iyashi kei* phenomenon originated in Naoko Iijima's 1995 canned coffee commercial which was said to be a "spiritual retreat" to the audience. The term *iyashi kei*, however, first appeared in 1999 when musician Ryuichi Sakamoto's EP *Ura BTTB* was described as "*iyashi ongaku*" (healing music). Since then, whoever (e.g., actresses Yuka and Haruka Igawa) or whatever (such as toys) is soft and carries "healing" power is labeled *iyashi kei*.

generation of Japan, is disappointed with his father. Before she leaves for good, however, Mio reminds her son that, "There was a time when Daddy was an incredibly fast runner, he looked very cool." Her words can be interpreted as a message for young people to remind them of the country's past glory. They should therefore take pride in their country even in difficult times.

It is also noticeable that "crying" is no longer limited to women in contemporary Japanese movies. Not only heroes of younger generations such as those in *Be with you*, *Crying out Love in the Center of the World* (2004, Isao Yukisada)[20] and *Train Man*, but even representative actors of previous generations, such as Ken Takakura or Ken Watanabe,[21] break into tears in *Railroad Man* and *Memories of Tomorrow,* respectively. To domestic and overseas audiences, both Takakura and Watanabe are so-called *Nippon danshi*. In *Railroad Man* and *Memories of Tomorrow*, however, they play fathers who suffer from social exclusion or cognitive decline, and end up exposing their weeping to their wives and daughters.

Conclusion

The image of the hero in Japanese cinema has deteriorated since the bursting of the bubble economy in response to a perceived sense of masculine crisis in contemporary Japan. Women who are forgiving and caring have thus become sought after as a cure to restore dignity and confidence to men. In response to a weakened sense of masculinity, women are portrayed as unprecedentedly loyal, devoted, and understanding. In the Showa period, the father was held up as a symbol of masculinity, one that was likely to be characterized in terms of qualities associated with the salary man, including that of reliably caring for his dependents. However, just as in the Heisei period movies discussed in this article, such models have become rare nowadays. Instead, fathers are commonly portrayed as weak, incompetent, or even evil. This reflects a significant change in the perception of masculinity in Japan, echoing a rethinking of masculinity as a "hegemonic discourse" that, since the beginning of the 1990s, no longer maintains its status as a myth accounting for the Japanese economic miracle. This decline may also account in part for the popularity of Korean male stars such as Bae Yong-joon, Lee Byung-hun and Kwon Sang-woo

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[20]Adapted from a fiction novel of the same title, *Crying out Love in the Center of the World* tells a bittersweet love story starting in the 1980s between Sakutaro (Mirai Moriyama) and Aki (Masami Nagasawa). Although Sakutaro considers Aki the love of his life, she dies from leukemia at a young age. When visiting his hometown on the island of Shikoku, the now grownup Sakutaro (Takao Osawa) becomes mesmerized by memories of Aki and collapses with tears. The thought of Aki almost costs him his fiancée Ritsuko (Ko Shibasaki), but after listening to the last words of Aki recorded on a tape, Sakutaro finally gains the courage to leave his past behind and start a new life.

[21]Ken Watanabe is one of Hollywood's best-known Japanese actors nowadays. Some of his Hollywood movies include *The Last Samurai* (2003, Edward Zwick), *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005, Rob Marshall), *Letters from Iwo Jima* (2006, Clint Eastwood) and *Inception* (2010, Christopher Nolan).

since the beginning of the new millennium in Japan.[22] Just as proposed in Doi's notion of a fatherless society, in an era when the traditional model of heroes and fatherhood is lost, foreign models have become an alternative allowing Japanese females to seek fulfillment of their hopes and confidence in men.

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[22]The popular reception of the television drama *Winter Sonata* gave rise to a "Korean Wave" in Japan. This led to the stardom of a number of Korean actors, of which Bae Yong-joon is the most popular. In April 2004, when Bae visited Japan for the first time, 5,000 Japanese fans awaited him at Tokyo's Haneda Airport. When he visited Japan again in November the same year, 3,500 fans gathered at Tokyo's Narita Airport. Because of the stir caused when it was made public that he planned to visit Japan in 2005, Bae kept his arrival date secret. Apart from Bae, stars such as Lee Byung-hun and Kwon Sang-woo also gained high popularity in Japan. Their masculine images form a contrast to the declining masculinity of Japanese males nowadays. In the Japanese movie *Hero* for example, Lee Byung-hun makes a guest appearance as a cool detective helping Takuya Kimura fight against Korean gangsters.

Chapter 17
Embodying History and Pedagogy: A Personal Journey into the Dokyoku Style of Japanese Shakuhachi

Jonathan McCollum

"Otodashi ichinen Kubifuri sannen koro hachinen"
首出し一年首振り三年コロ八年
"It takes a year to make a sound, three to shake the head, and eight to koro."

I play the *shakuhachi*[1] 尺八, a five-holed Japanese Zen Buddhist flute (Fig. 1), traditionally made from the bamboo species *madake* (Latin. *phyllostachys bambusoides*), that is perpetuated by some as a tool for personal enlightenment as a form of Buddhist meditation (an instrument for ritual purposes *hōki* 法器) and by others as an instrument for musical expression (*gakki*). The Buddhist perspective pays homage to the time of the *komusō*, medieval itinerant monks who sought enlightenment by "blowing Zen" (*suizen* 吹禅) prior to the Meiji era in Japan, while the musicological viewpoint often presents shakuhachi as an iconic symbol of "Japanese-ness." However, many Japanese consider it a relic of Japan's past, far removed from modern Japan. Christopher Yohmei Blasdel (2005) speaks to a somewhat unique position of many Western shakuhachi players, including myself, of being in the position of teaching Japanese traditional culture to both Japanese and non-Japanese alike: "At a certain point the distinction between 'us' and them disappears, and all that matters is the music: the wheel comes around and we discover we are in the world together, regardless of nationality" (x).

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[1]The standard length is one *shaku* 尺 eight (*hachi* 八) *sun* 寸 (1/10 of a shaku) (approximately 54 cm) and is formally called *ishaku hassun* 一尺八寸. It contains a sharp blowing-edge called an *utaguchi* 歌口 at the blowing end, five finger holes—four on the front, one on the back.

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Fig. 1 An early twentieth century shakuhachi made by Notomi Judo 初世納富寿童 owned and performed on by the author. This particular example has three hanko (back of shakuhachi, inset), indicating its high quality. Photograph: Jonathan McCollum, 2014

The primary purpose of this chapter is to discuss how important pedagogical and historical elements are embodied through performance. However, as this chapter is meant for more general readers, I have included some introductory explanation of the shakuhachi, including its music, history, construction, and relationships to Zen Buddhism and traditional Japanese aesthetics.

Although the physical form of the shakuhachi appears relatively simple (Fig. 1), its natural minimalistic character belies the vast array of possible sounds and complex techniques available for a professional shakuhachi performer. In addition, the process of crafting the instrument is quite multifaceted; it can take master craftsmen years to perfect a single instrument. The predecessor of the shakuhachi came from China to Japan as part of the *tōgaku* 唐樂 (music from the Tang Dynasty) ensemble of *gagaku* 雅楽 (court music of the Japanese Imperial Court) in the seventh century. Other variations of the shakuhachi appeared throughout the centuries including the *hitoyogiri* 一節切 (a shakuhachi-like instrument that only contained a single bamboo node), *tempuku* 天吹 (narrow shakuhachi from the Kagoshima prefecture), and the *fuke shakuhachi* (the model of today's shakuhachi) (Tsukitani 2008, 145–146). The oldest extant examples of shakuhachi today are found at Shōsōin, a repository treasure house built in 756 in Nara, Japan, which contains eight shakuhachi used in the ceremony performed for the consecration of the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji temple 東大寺 (Figs. 2 and 3). Today, the shakuhachi comes in two types, *jinashi* 地なし (natural bore, without *ji* "paste") and *jinuri* (or *jiari*) 地塗り (with *ji* "paste"):

> The jinashi shakuhachi is constructed out of a single, unsplit piece of bamboo, using the 'subtraction method,' which means that tuning is done by filing down nodes or rough

Fig. 2 Tōdaiji temple 東大寺, Eastern Great Temple in Nara, Japan. Photograph: Jonathan McCollum, 2013

places and that no ji – a filler made from a mixture of ground stone, urushi and water – is added to the bore . . . The *jinuri* shakuhachi is also known as jiari shakuhachi, the name reflecting the application of ji (filler) to the bore of the bamboo shaft. This instrument was developed from its jinashi counterpart just before and during the Meiji (1868–1912) and Taishō (1912–1926) periods, when shakuhachi makers experimented with modifications to the instrument in order to meet new requirements such as playing in ensembles and on stage (Day 2011, 63).

Many professionals prefer jiari shakuhachi because of their consistency of pitch, although there are a number of players who prefer the sound of jinashi shakuhachi. Shakuhachi solo repertoire is generally divided into three main categories: (1) *honkyoku* 本曲, Zen pieces; (2) *gaikyoku* 外曲, borrowed, "outside" pieces; and (3) *shinkyoku* 新曲, modern pieces.

The shakuhachi world comprises various schools, called *ryu* 流, the most common in Japan being *Tozan* 登山, a relatively modern school founded by Nakao Tozan (1876–1956), *Meian-ryu* 明暗 (or *Myōan*), an umbrella term that includes many groups who follow in a style of playing thought to have been performed by komusō, and *Kinko* 琴古, founded by Kurosawa Kinko I (1710–1771), who codified thirty-six honkyoku as standard repertory for Kinko players.[2] Shakuhachi players who wish to study and work toward their honorific performance name (*natori*) and teaching licenses must be formally associated with a licensed teacher of a particular school, which dictates the repertoire they learn, their performative

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[2]Fuyo Hisamatsu (1781–1871) indicated that "39 pieces lie within 36 pieces. 36 pieces lie within 18 pieces. 18 pieces lie within 3 pieces. 3 pieces lie within one piece. One piece lies within no piece. [No piece lies within a breath.] A breath lies within nothingness" (1985).

Fig. 3 Great Buddha Daibutsu 大仏. Photograph: Jonathan McCollum, 2013

aesthetics, and performance techniques. This, in turn, shapes the player's identity in relation to his/her teacher's lineage (Smith 2008, 45; see also Uramoto 1985). In general, but by no means exclusively, the Tozan-ryu emphasizes Western notions of rhythm and structure (especially for ensemble music, such as *sankyoku*[3] 三曲) (Ōnuku 2001, 1184), the Meian-ryu focuses more heavily on Zen Buddhist spiritual aspects, and the Kinko-ryu focuses on a combination of both honkyoku (classical Zen pieces Kinko established in the eighteenth century) as well as modern music.

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[3]For more on *sankyoku*, see also Simura and Tokumaru (2001).

The term honkyoku can be complicated in its usage, as the genre actually comprises a variety of different repertoire and styles, depending on the school or style of playing with whom one is associated. As a recipient of the transmission of both *koden* and *koten* honkyoku through the lineages of both Katsuya Yokoyama and Yoshinobu Taniguchi through my teacher, *Dai Shihan* (Grand Master), Michael Chikuzen Gould, my performance at the conference for Nordic Association of Japanese and Korean Studies, held in Bergen, Norway in 2013, which was the impetus for this chapter, focused on the honkyoku style begun by Watazumi Doso Roshi (1910–1992) known as *Dokyoku* 道曲. While Kinko-ryu honkyoku is classified as koten 古典 (classical), there is a difference between "koten honkyoku" and "Kinko-ryu (koten) honkyoku." Koten may refer to a variety of lineages and styles established in and after the Meiji era (1868–1912) such as Meian, Kinko, and Dokyoku (Tsukitani 2000, 14). *Koden* 古伝, refers to pieces that predate Kinko-ryu (koten) honkyoku. To explain a bit further, Ko 古 (read as "furui" in Japanese *kunyomi*) means "old" and den 伝 (read as "tsutaeru" in Japanese *kunyomi*) means "to transmit." This discussion underscores the difficulty in grasping "a singular" history of shakuhachi given the fact that much knowledge has been passed down by way of the oral tradition and through the religious philosophy of Zen Buddhism, a form of Buddhism whose very foundation relies on transmission and enlightenment *outside* of written scripture. As discussed in McCollum and Hebert (2014), musical memory often alters through time, especially if one considers important theoretical concerns such as "cognitive dissonance theory" and cultural memory (94–98). Questions of authenticity of honkyoku, whether perceived as a koten or koden, become points of tension between shakuhachi players, whose teachers profess to hold and pass down important intangible heritage. One person's version of a specific honkyoku may very well differ greatly from someone else's interpretation. Still, the Japanese Zen aesthetic of "impermanence" (*mujōkan* 無常観) seems relevant here, as the Japanese "seem particularly sensitive to the transiency of all things" (Steineck 2007, 34). Therefore, reflecting on the changing historical development of the shakuhachi, particularly its role as a tool for enlightenment in Zen Buddhism, is key to an understanding of the present culture of shakuhachi.

Komusō 虚無僧 and the *Fukeshū* 普化宗

For many, the potent symbol of shakuhachi is not necessarily the instrument itself, but rather the image of komusō (Fig. 4), priests of the *Fukeshū* 普化宗 of *Rinzai-shū* 臨済宗,[4] a sect of Zen 禅 Buddhism whose members wandered and begged for alms during the Edo period, from 1600 to 1868 (Tsukitani 1977;

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[4]For more on Renzai Zen, see Jørn Borup, *Japanese Rinzai Zen Buddhism: Myōshinji, a Living Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), *Discovery eBooks*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 17, 2014).

Fig. 4 A Kamuro Uses a Mirror to Penetrate a Komusō's Disguise. Harunobu Suzuki, 1766 (Meiwa 3). Woodblock print (nishiki-e); ink and color on paper; vertical chūban; 28.3 × 21.3 cm; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts; William Sturgis Bigelow Collection. Used with permission. Kamuro were young female students of Yūjo (courtesans who resided in houses called Seirō involved in Mizu-shōbai, "water-trade" in Yoshiwara, Edo during the Tokugawa Era (Saeki 1987)

Sanford 1977). Perhaps the most recognizable feature of komusō is the *tengai* (天蓋), a woven straw hat which covered the monk's head, symbolizing the loss of self or ego and also providing a protective "state of anonymity" (Sanford 1977, 414). Zen (*Ch'an*, in Chinese) Buddhism is a sect of Mahayana Buddhism that developed early on in China in the sixth century and flourished in China from the eighth through twelfth centuries (Zong 2005, 584–587). While Ch'an was known

in Japan as early as the ninth century, it did not become a prominent cultural influence until around 1200, when Eisai (1141–1215) brought the Rinzai branch of Zen Buddhism to Japan (Robinson 1997, 340). Zen practice de-emphasizes the written annals contained in Buddhist sutras and doctrine in favor of direct and personal Buddhist insight. Understandings of Zen vary widely. For an engaging discussion on issues of insight and discernment in Mahayana Buddhism, specifically paying special attention to the questions of the relationship between Mahayana and Hinayana or Sectarian Buddhism, I suggest readers consult Jonathan A. Silk (2002).

The first document to decree official status to the *Fukeshū* is the so-called "forged" manuscript most often cited as *Keichō no Okitegaki* 慶長之掟書, enacted in 1614 by the first Tokugawa Shōgun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616). There are also multiple revisions that were later created. The problems associated with the document is detailed thoroughly in Sanford (1977), where Sanford cites in footnote thirty-four (on page 418) what he calls *Keichō no Okitegaki*'s "formal" title, "*Gonyūkoku no Watasaseraresōrō Osadamegaki*" as "御入国之被渡候掟書." If one looks at one of the original documents, the kanji is written as "御入国之砌被仰渡候御掟書" ごにゅうこくのせつおおせわたされそうろうおんおきてがき (go-nyūkoku no setsu ōse watasaresōrō on-okitegaki), meaning "Decree About Bestowing Entrance to the Different Provinces." (see Appendix).[5] The *Keichō no Okitegaki* 慶長之掟書 served as the legal basis for the establishment of the Fuke sect, admitting only *rōnin* 浪人 (samurai without masters) and granting komusō sole right to use the shakuhachi as a *hōki* 法器, a sacred tool for the purpose of spiritual training – *hō* 法 meaning dharma – and for *takuhatsu* 托鉢, the Zen Buddhist act of begging for alms. It must be noted that, according to Torsten Olafsston (2017), the characters 普化宗 (Fuke-shū) do not appear in any published versions of the *Keichō no Okitegaki*. This document provided komusō with considerable support from the government by placing "the komuso beyond the authority of all local jurisdictions" and making "them responsible only to the shogunate" (Sanford 1977, 418). This freedom allowed members of the Fuke sect to travel with relative ease throughout Japan, even at a time when the government strictly controlled internal travel. However, this support was not given without certain obligations:

> Tokugawa bureaucrats had their own agenda. In exchange for legitimacy [of the Fuke sect], the *komusō* acted as spies for the Tokugawa government (the monks, remaining anonymous under their deep hats, could easily wander the entertainment sections and eavesdrop on intimate conversations, later reporting to the authorities any suspicious activities). Also, the *komusō* tended to attract rogues and *ronin* masterless samurai. Some of these disenfranchised warriors, who were forbidden to carry swords, were probably genuinely interested in seeking spiritual salvation through the shakuhachi, but others were probably more interested in the possible uses of a heavy, blunt piece of bamboo as a weapon (Blasdel 2005, 39).

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[5]An early exhaustive study was conducted on the Charter of 1614 in Mikami Sanji, "Fukeshu ni tsuite," *Shigaku Zasshi* 13/4 (1902): 61–76, and 13/5 (1902): 64–82.

Still, the most well-known and often cited manuscript associated with the komusō is the three volume *Kyotaku Denki Kokujikai* 虚鐸伝記國字解 [Japanese Translation and Annotation of the History of the *Kyotaku*],[6] a formal, if not recreated, statement of the sect's history and religious purposes (Fig. 5).[7] While the Charter of 1614 sought to explain the komusō movement and justify it as being sanctioned by government authorities, the *Kyotaku Denki Kokujikai* was meant to legitimize the komusō as having pre-Tokugawa roots, therefore supporting the legality of the komusō faction reflected in the Charter of 1614. Blasdel (2005), who references the Japanese scholar Nakatsuka Chikuzen, states that the *Kyotaku Denki* is "pure fantasy" (Blasdel 2005, 40). Kurihara (1918), Nakazuka (1936–1939, reprinted in 1979), and Nishiyama (1959, reprinted in 1982) support this assertion. Indeed, Sanford (1977) writes that the *Kyotaku Denki* was created "whole cloth" and "is, in fact, a prime source of the traditional self-understanding of the Fuke sect and the modern misunderstanding of its history" (416). One can assume that the Tokugawa government was not gullible in acquiescing to the komusō's special privileges; because "the arrangement would benefit all parties concerned" (Sanford 1977, 420). Sanford (1977) goes on to say, "[s]incere mendicant komusō were allowed certain legal privileges and recognized status; the major komusō temples[8] gained official recognition and legal command of the fraternity; and the shogunate was enabled to direct the energies of a potentially disruptive group" (such as Myōan-ji 明暗 at Tōfuku-ji 東福寺 in Kyoto; see Fig. 6[9]) (420). In addition, the fact that komusō were sometimes employed as spies by the Tokugawa government made their situation even more precarious.

Because of their rather dubious connection to the Tokugawa Shogunate, during the Meiji Restoration, the komusō, and thus the Fukeshū, were outlawed. The shakuhachi was thus removed from the religious sphere (at least in public) and placed in secular contexts such as *sankyoku* (ensemble music) and *minyo* (folk song). In essence, the Meiji government "actively redefined the shakuhachi as a 'musical instrument' (*gakki*) instead of a 'spiritual tool' (*houki*)"

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[6]For more on this, see Morihide Yamamoto, *Kyotaku Denki Kokuji Kai* (Kyoto: Kōto Shōrin, 1795/R Tokyo: Nihon ongaku sha, 1981.

[7]For a translation of the *Kyotaku Denki*, see Tsuge 1977, 49–53.

[8]Nakatsuka Chikuzen (1979) writes that seventy-seven Fuke temples dotted Japan during the Edo period—the most important being the Myōanji in Kyoto and Ichigetsuji and Reihōji in the Kanto region of present day Tokyo (95–102; see also Olafsson 2003).

[9]Ennin founded the monastery at Tōfuku-ji 東福寺, a Buddhist temple complex in Higashiyama-ku, Kyoto, in the seventeenth century where komusō set up a sub-temple called Myōan-ji 明暗寺, sometimes referred to as "The Temple of Light and Dark."
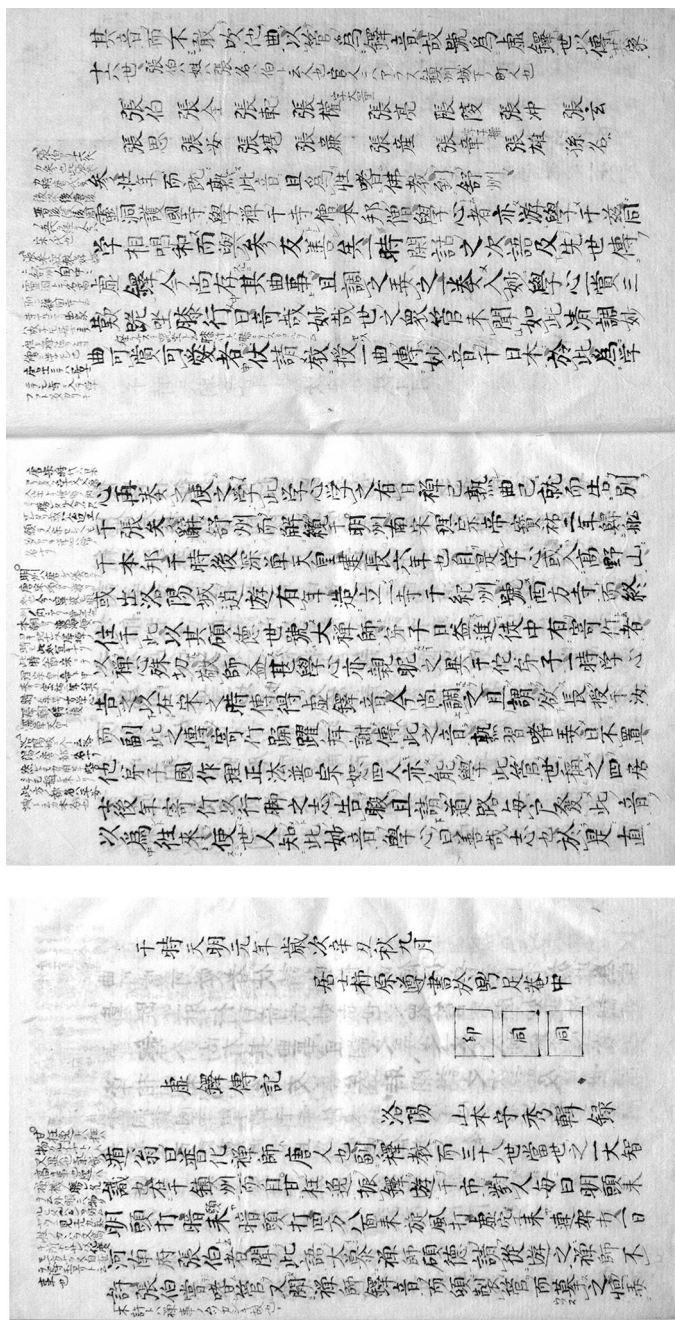
Fig. 6 Myōan-ji 明暗寺 at Tōfuku-ji 東福寺 in Kyoto. Photograph by Jonathan McCollum, 2013

(Wallmark 2012, 3).[10] Despite this, the *Myoan Kyokai* continued in the spirit of the komusō by using shakuhachi as a pathway to enlightenment. In addition, the Kinko-ryu and other schools that developed afterwards continued to pass down honkyoku through the oral tradition from master to student.

How has "[g]lobalization and a hybridization of music genres" retailored the culture of the shakuhachi, especially as "[e]lements of competition, efforts toward uniqueness, and the quest for a new musical identity that sets one player apart from another" have altered the shakuhachi landscape (Smith 2008, 52)? In a world where analogue has become the exception, analysis of *how* we listen to sound is increasingly an important scholarly area for concern (see for example, see Matsunobu 2013b). Indeed, a quick search of Youtube provides one with ample data to suggest both positive and troubling developments in shakuhachi. On one side, there are many people trying to learn the shakuhachi, most often on their own with little direction other than Youtube videos. However, without

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[10]Wallmark (2012) considers the shakuhachi in relation to Julia Kristeva's theory of abjection. He summarizes her theory of abjection as "a virulent species of exclusion and division, a strategy for demarcating the bounded self in relationship to the exterior, dangerous other" (1). Furthermore, he quotes Kristeva on the philosophy of Buddhism—"division does not order chaos; it simply disturbs wholeness and denies the natural transience of all things. In eschewing good-bad judgements, Buddhism moves the practitioner away from cravings and away from disgust" (as quoted in Wallmark 2012; see Kristeva 1982, 166). It must be noted that many ethnomusicologists and certainly, many shakuhachi players take issue with applying Western theoretical paradigms to non-Western music.

a properly experienced teacher, many of these players will find difficulty improving in a way that allows them to progress to the point to perform honkyoku. I admit my biases here, as my own path to shakuhachi was far more traditional in that my own learning relied upon the oral tradition passed from licensed teacher to student. It is impossible in such a small space to detail the extraordinarily complex history of the shakuhachi. For those interested in learning more about its past, I suggest Malm 1959 (1999), Sanford 1977, Blasdel 2005, and Tsukitani 2008.

Learning Dokyoku: A Personal Reflection

As an ethnomusicologist and performer, grappling with the balance of maintaining my performance abilities while also researching and publishing has at times been difficult, but the struggle has been rewarding. My creative output remains an integral aspect of my scholarship and I find continuing to perform to be a rewarding pathway for conveying musical knowledge. Paul Draper and Kim Cunio speak to the importance of "artistic research" in Scott D. Harrison's edited volume, *Research and Research Education in Music Performance and Pedagogy* (2014). Reflecting on their experience "as publishing academics and as supervisors of student research projects" (114), Draper and Cunio ask questions that resonate with my own thinking as a scholar-musician (114):

(1) How may musical thinking and artistic outcomes be considered research?
(2) In what ways might musical artefacts best balance and serve to exemplify this?
(3) To what degree can the research be understood to be embodied in the artwork?

Similarly, my own experience as both a scholar and an artist have combined with my interests in Japanese culture and traditional aesthetics with the shakuhachi. As a practicing Zen Buddhist, there was something natural in my connection to this instrument. If one couples my personal philosophies about sound with the meanings imparted and imposed upon them in different cultural contexts in Dokyoku, the narrative of my musical experiences seems reflexive. I began music as a child in the USA, and was taught that success came to those that practice daily and with vigor (and rigor!). As a burgeoning professional trombonist, I pressed myself, somewhat literally, practicing in the garage late into the night until my lips burned and bled and my eyes crossed. This was my daily ritual. I was driven by success and the accolades that came with it. With increasing progress as a performer, I found that my ego required more. Like an addictive drug, recognition from those acknowledged "emperors" of musical knowledge became the incentive for continuing. How far could I go; how much criticism could I take from private teachers; how many auditions could I win; how many could I stand to lose? I continued in the name of accomplishment and honor. As the years passed, successes continued,

mightily sprinkled with defeats – all of which taught me the necessary skills to survive as a musician.

I went to college for music performance in the Western, classical style, but something called me to world music. At times, I felt suffocated as a musician, trapped within the confines of musicality defined by the Western world. Ashenafi Kebede (1938–1998), a professor of ethnomusicology at The Florida State University, taught my first world music course and my outlook on music was forever altered. I found that through world music, I was able to change my perspectives on performance and find joy in creating again. I was freed from the self-imposed constraints that I had meticulously honed. While there, I performed in a variety of world and historical music ensembles including Balinese Gamelan, the Chinese Ensemble, and the Early Music Ensemble. During this time, I met Dale Olsen, an ethnomusicologist and shakuhachi player who introduced me to the shakuhachi and the Kinko-ryu. It was after this that I first went to Japan for research and study in 1996. This would be the first of many trips to come, the most recent being 2016.

After attaining my Ph.D. in ethnomusicology, I continued to focus on shakuhachi as a means for personal reflection as well as a pathway for professional performance and conduit for ethnomusicological pedagogy. Unsatisfied with my musical progress, I began studying shakuhachi weekly with Michael Chikuzen Gould, a Dai Shihan (grand master) in the Dokyoku style of shakuhachi. Chikuzen lived in Japan from 1980 to 1997 and is one of the few Westerners to have attained a Dai Shihan (Grand Master) in shakuhachi. After progressing to the professional level, Chikuzen awarded me the name (natori), "Kenzen 研禅" and a shihan (master) license. The character for "ken" 研 comes from the Japanese kanji "togu," meaning to polish, sharpen, or study academically. This kanji, when combined with "zen" 禅, means to sharpen one's knowledge of Japanese shakuhachi and traditional aesthetics in relation to Zen Buddhism**.** Following in the footsteps of his teachers, Katsuya Yokoyama, teacher of the Dokyoku style and one of Yokoyama's students, Yoshinobu Taniguchi, Chikuzen takes a conscious view of Zen in his pedagogical philosophy, which fits well within Dokyoku. Chikuzen is up front with explanations (and expectations), making the sometimes-foggy path to knowledge a tad clearer.

Scholars of traditional Japanese performance art forms make frequent mention of aesthetic terms such as *naru* なる (to become), *wabi-sabi* 詫び寂び (suggestion, irregularity, impermanence, and simply), and *jo-ha-kyû* 序破急 (a Japanese tripartite structural/form concept meaning introduction, climax, and rushing to the end) (see Rowell 1985; Malm 1986, 2000 [1959]; Hahn 2007). Although it is more unusual to see calligraphy terminology applied to music analysis (see DeCoker and Norinaga 1988), Chikuzen's adaptation of *shin* 真 (true, strict, formal style), *gyō* 行 (becoming, semi-strict, less formal), and *sō* 艸 (individual style, informal, free) as pedagogical elements to illustrate the sound he is looking for in *honkyoku* reflects his own learning. Yoshinobu

Taniguchi, who is also a noted artist and calligrapher, borrowed these aesthetics and appropriated them to his teaching of shakuhachi. According to Chikuzen:

> Taniguchi said that *shin* is the act of outright copying the sensei's character by putting your piece of paper directly over the top of the teacher's and imitating the strokes – a sort of block print style. This would be following the transmission by imitation. *Gyō* would be moving through various transformations (permutations) of the character when it's morphing, but one would still recognize the version the student worked off of and "see it" in the new version. *Sō* is something extremely different from the original so that you certainly would not recognize the beginning block print version. We all know that often the "stage version" of a song that the teacher played on stage seemed to differ from the "lesson version." This stage production version would probably fall into the *gyō* type as the teacher wouldn't normally do something radical on stage, but would do something different. This would account for some differences. If someone played the *sō* version on stage, they wouldn't be playing for the audience at all but rather, just for themselves. This is usually done at home where there's no harm done (Michael Chikuzen Gould, discussion in April 2011).

According to Komparu (1983), each of these styles suggests that intervals serve as an empty "ground" or basis against which the forms of the art function (71). Chikuzen works to not only explain Zen concepts philosophically, outside of the sound itself, but rather relates Zen into technical concepts needed to perform honkyoku accurately. A frequent pedagogical tool that Chikuzen utilizes is analogy, where he reflects on a philosophical aesthetic concept and makes a parallel with a musical or technical issue. For example, when speaking of the Japanese aesthetic concept of *ma* 間 (silence or an interval of rest), Chikuzen explains:

> The character for "ma" 間 is composed of two elements – that of a gate and that of the sun. The meaning here is a sense of time and entry into phenomenal existence. It refers to a door, gate, swinging between form and non-form aspects such as sound and silence. This can be met with certain propositions of elements of form and non-form in the arts – or in experience in general. It is at once the thing and the mind itself – space, time, form, and non-form perceived in panoramic awareness (Michael Chikuzen Gould, discussion in April 2011).

Chikuzen is speaking here about the kanji *ma* 間 in terms of its component ideographs. The enclosing character means gate or door (*mon* 門) and the inner character meaning either sun (*hi* 日).[11] The kanji taken as a whole suggests a bright light through a gate (or door). Chikuzen emphasizes the point in terms of pragmatic performance practice, "ma" is also the moment taken at the conclusion of a piece – a time for final prayer and dedication in oneness with the

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[11]Chikuzen never mentioned that tsuki 月 as an option, but other sources including Nitschke (1996) indicate this possibility.

universe" (Michael Chikuzen Gould, discussion in April 2011). There is some similarity here between Chikuzen's description and Ginter Nitschke's description of *ma*, "the simultaneous awareness of the intellectual concepts form plus non-form, object plus space, coupled with subjective experience, … it is the thing that takes place in the imagination of the human who experiences these elements. Therefore one could define *ma* as 'experiential' place, being nearer to [the] mysterious atmosphere caused by the external distribution of symbols" (Nitschke 1966, 152). *Ma* can be considered both objectively and subjectively; as a teacher, Chikuzen's description is necessarily and broadly conceptual in its framework. *Ma* is performed subjectively within an objective and historical reality. Although we, as performers, consider *ma* objectively in its relation to time, space, rhythm, we must also consider the deeper, more subjective religio-performative aspect of *silence* in Zen Buddhism.

Another example of the shear specificity and clarity of Chikuzen's teaching style can be illustrated with his "flowing exercises." For example, when describing the various types of *meri* (lowering or flattening) pitches, he prescribes the following in relation to chin position and breath:

(1) *Kari* note level – chin up at horizon, full-blown expansive notes.
(2) *Meri* note level – chin down a bit and about 60% volume.
(3) *Dai-Meri* note level – Chin down more and volume about 20%.

> The initial image you should cultivate is that the flow of breath/energy is happening all the time when playing, when we inhale, and when we exhale. A Buddhist perspective is that our breath is our soul and housed in the Hara (gut). We get our breath from the universe on the inhalation and give it back on the exhalation. It's important to focus on this inhalation from the space in the universe, the space that surrounds you, the unseen non-physical world that seems to be defined by the physical world and (seemingly) helps to define it. On the exhalation, our breath goes around the blowing edge, enveloping it about and below and all around it. Then through the empty space inside the shakuhachi and out the open holes and the bottom, returning to the space and breath of the rest of the universe. It's important to focus on the breath and the space when doing these exercise and subsequently, when playing songs. There is "flow" happening when playing every note with shakuhachi. Even when we are completely still, when our body is not moving, the note is always flowing into itself, from moment to moment. It's important not only understand this image but to understand it from experiencing it. (Michael Chikuzen Gould, discussion in September 2011)

For Chikuzen, kinesics, images of the body, and descriptions of the exertion of various breath techniques all play vivid roles in his explanations (see above), but all of these relate specifically to performance practice in relation to fingerings, breath, and embouchure. Chikuzen is a former college athlete and understandably approaches shakuhachi from a very physical place.

As noted by Jay Keister, in most schools of shakuhachi "the value of the continuity of tradition is of central importance, resulting in music in which precise reproduction of form is valued over personal innovation and teaching assumes an equal, if not greater, value than public performance (2004, 101)." This is true, especially among schools of shakuhachi like Tozan. However,

Keister's descriptions of Chikuzen's pedagogy needs further explanation. For example, Keister says,

> In Gould's teaching of honkyoku, precise reproduction of a particular musical style becomes irrelevant because no two person's honkyoku can ever be the same. When responding to a student's questions about how to properly use atari (the striking of a finger-hole to accent a note being played or about to be played) during one lesson he told the student, "there are no rules. You decide where atari goes. You end up making the rules yourself." As with other teachers of Zen shakuhachi, the focus is more on the body and mind of the person than on the flute itself (119).

According to Chikuzen (March 14, 2014), Keister only took a few lessons with him and seems to misunderstand what Chikuzen was trying to relate to him. The particular piece of honkyoku that Keister worked on with Chikuzen was *Kyorei* 虚鈴, which along with *Koku* 虚空 and *Mukaiji* 霧海篪, is considered by many to be among the oldest honkyoku. These three pieces are referred to as *koden honkyoku*. Indeed, the *Kyotaku denki*, despite its suspect nature (as previously described), confirms this:

> Kyorei ("false bell"), a musical piece, was originally named *Kyotaku* ("false bell"), because it imitated the sound of a *taku* (to in Chinese , a hand-bell with a clapper). Consequently, the instrument was called a "false bell," and so was the piece. Since the *taku* and the *rei* (*ling* in Chinese) are similar, in later ages people mistook the latter for the former and coined the name *kyorei* ("false bell") (Tsuge 1977, 49).

And later…

> The Kichiku asked the master to name the two pieces. The master said, "That must be a gift from the Buddha: What you heard first shall be called Mukaiji ("Flute in the Foggy Sea") and what you heard next shall be named Kokuji ("Flute in the Empty Sky") (Tsuge 1977, 51).

Honkyoku is heavily influenced by two particular aesthetic themes: (1) nature (e.g., *Tsuru no Sugamori*, *Daha*, *San'ya*, etc.) and (2) Buddhist chant (e.g., *Kyorei*, *Hi Fu Mu Haichgaeshi*, *Ekoh*). There are, in fact, many rules that govern shakuhachi playing, especially in Dokyoku style. As one progresses, there are pieces where Chikuzen asks students to play in order to develop their own interpretation, such as *Sō Mukaiji* 艸霧海篪 (notice the use of sō 艸, which means individual style, informal). Still, Chikuzen demands exactness with pitch, style, and character that reflects his own learning experiences with his teachers. It is only after the student digests the repertoire that he should alter what he was taught. Even then, there is a small window of acceptable deviation, although Chikuzen equates this not so much as difference, but rather in the context the aforementioned terms shin, gyō, and sō. My own understanding is that shin, gyō, and sō represent a progressive and personal relationship with honkyoku. Shin represents the basic structure of the piece; once the basic version is learned, one proceeds to gyō to become better acquainted with particular aesthetics and more difficult embellishment. Once the piece becomes a part of oneself, completely memorized, and after playing through it many times, the player may reach the level of sō – a personal expression that combines the notes

on the page with one's personal internal energy and intention in the context of a particular moment in performance. It is in the spirit that I discuss the meanings of the pieces I performed at the NAJAKS conference – in terms of programmatic meanings, aesthetics of performance style (technical and musical), and their relation to Zen Buddhism.

NAJAKS Meeting Shakuhachi Recital

The discussion above serves as (1) a brief introduction to various shakuhachi styles and some historical background and (2) Dokyoku aesthetics in the context of the pedagogical concerns of my primary teacher, Michael Chikuzen Gould. Point one is meant to illustrate some of the philosophical elements (and demands) that have impacted the multiple performance styles of current practice of shakuhachi. Point two seeks to provide a framework for my performance style. For my own part, learning traditional music through the oral tradition has challenged my perceptions about musicality broadly and has allowed me to grow as musician in ways that I could have never conceived. I continue with a description of the specific honkyoku (Fig. 7) that I performed at NAJAKS with explanation of some of the important technical elements required for their performance.

It goes without saying that to perform honkyoku in front of an audience, one must be confident and have a strong grasp of not only the basic notes, but also derivations of those notes, including *meri* メ リ (flattening of notes), breath

Fig. 7 Excerpt from *Tsuru no Sugomori* 鶴の巣籠, Katsuya Yokoyama notation

techniques, and finger techniques (trills, tremolos, etc.). Before describing the individual honkyoku that I performed at NAJAKS, I will define a few of these techniques. This is not meant to be an exhaustive description, but rather a foundation for understanding the complexity of techniques required for professional performance practice. For a very comprehensive explanation of many ornaments and structures in shakuhachi, see Linder (2010) "Chap. 1: Ornaments and Structure" (31–44; see also Lee 1982; Weisgarber 1968; Matsunobu 2009; and *The International Shakuhachi Society* website):

atari 当た り: Opening and closing a hole quickly.

kan 甲: The second octave of the shakuhachi.

karakara カ ラ カ ラ: A fast trill with the lowest finger.

komibuki 込み吹き: Unique to the Nezaha school, this is a pulsating breath at the end of phrases.

korokoro コ ロ コ ロ: A finger technique involving covering and uncovering the bottom two holes in alteration. This is not a trill.

mawashiyuri 回し揺り: Vibrato made by moving the head in a circular motion.

meri メ リ: Every hole has meri notes and typically one must lower the head to create these sounds. One accomplishes this by partially closing and transversely uncovering the holes as needed. For example, tsu meri (perhaps the most common meri-note) is typically created by closing the bottom hole 70–80%. The depth of the finger placement in the whole markedly affects the pitch. Another frequent technique used is re-meri (or as some shakuhachi players call it "re chu meri"). Re-meri can be accomplished by simply shading the side of hole number 2 and moving the chin down slightly. Chi-meri is made by closing hole 3 by 50% and lower the head to adjust the pitch. Ri-meri is made by closing hole 5 by 70% and playing quietly. Dai-meri is made by lowering any meri note further.

muraiki ムラ息: A turbulent breath in otsu with kan added in for effect.

nayashi ナヤシ: Beginning a note from meri position and raising the chin to kari position.

otsu 乙: The first octave of the shakuhachi.

suriage すり あげ: Sliding upwards at the end of a note, typically at the end of a phrase.

takejōgeyuri 竹上下揺り: Vibrato executed by shaking the shakuhachi up and down.

tateyuri 立て揺り: Vibrato made by moving the head from side to side.

tsukiyuri 突き揺り: Vibrato made by pushing the bamboo up and down toward the lips.

utsu 打つ: A finger articulation meaning "to hit."

yokoyuri 横揺り: Vibrato made by moving the head in a diagonal manner.

There are many versions of *San'ya* 三谷. For example, "Mountain Valley" or "Three Valleys" may allude to a place of enlightened beings, or to the "three jewels" of Buddhism: the Buddha, the teachings, and the community

(Riley Lee 2013). According to Katsuya Yokoyama, "three valleys," which comes from Chukyu district, may symbolize the three climaxes one performs (Yokoyama 1985, liner notes). In fact, I know two rather well. But, the version I performed for at NAJAKS was, in fact, the Dokyoku version passed down from Watazumi, which was passed down to Yokoyama. In the Dokyoku style, there are various "levels" of sound production necessary to perform honkyoku. A basic sound that one masters as a beginner is solid, confident, and not breathy. The next level is "leaky"-iki, a form of breathiness (but not turbulent) between the basic sound and muraiki (Michael Chikuzen Gould, discussion in April 2011).

Daha 打波 is one example of koten honkyoku. The Japanese kanji 打 is read as "utsu" and may be translated as "to strike, beat, or a blow." The kanji 波 is read "nami" and may be translated a "wave, or surf." Therefore, the title *Daha* 打波 may be interpreted as waves continuously striking a shoreline, which, from a Buddhist perspective may take the philosophical meaning of being persistent. There are moments that require the performer to be gentle and reflective, while at other times he must show force in the face of adversity – "the breaking of waves signifies the will to break all desires of terrestrial life in order to attain the state of Sunyata. This force of will is manifested by the rapidity of the movement and by the forceful attack together with the sound of the breathing" (Yokoyama 1977, liner notes). Themes of self-discipline and overcoming nature are illustrated through techniques such as *muraiki*. According to Yoshinobu Taniguchi,

> [T]he aim or objective in playing this song is to rid oneself of greed, desire and ambition (bad intention). The word "uchi" of "uchi yaburu" comes from the word "ustu." This means to break through the habit of thinking only in a dualistic manner confined to subject and object. "I (subject) live in this world (object)" is a habitual way of thinking that is born when one is very young and the brain's "gears of duality" begin turning. These opposites of up/down, left/right and in/out are the cubic building blocks of the material world that this mind perceives. It is a quantitative world, thus, the mind creates desires. I want to be big, bigger, biggest and sound loud, louder loudest, etc. One must break through this conditioned way of thinking and existing with the logical mind to experience oneself and the cosmos in a wholesome spiritual manner. The technique of *komibuki* is used here helps one to stay focused and in the moment. It is the persistence of will power that is needed to get beyond unnecessary boundaries (Taniguchi 2001, liner notes).

Tamuke 手向, thought to originate from the Fusai-ji in Ise, means to make an offering to Buddha. This piece is often performed as an offering to the dead. I performed this piece to illustrate the Japanaese aesthetic of impermanence, that death is not necessarily an ending but rather a part of the narrative of life. Taniguchi describes this piece as literally meaning "'hands folded together in prayer'" and as a eulogy or requiem for the departed souls of loved ones, a melody that brings indescribable sorrow and stillness deep into the heart" (Taniguchi 2001, liner notes).

Koku 虚空 translates as "empty sky," and, as described before with *Kyorei and Mukaiji*, is considered to be one of the three oldest Japanese honkyoku music for solo shakuhachi. Japan history is filled with legendary stories. *Koku* was created by Kaiso Kichiku, who founded the sub-temple Myōan-ji 明暗寺 at Tōfuku-ji 東福寺, a large Buddhist temple complex in Higashiyama-ku, Kyoto (see Figs. 2 and 3). According to Tokuyama Takashi, Kichiku "climbed Asama-yama and spent the night in the Kokuzo meditation hall atop the mountain. In a mystical dream he heard this melody" (Tokuyama 1987, liner notes).

I ended the recital with a performance of *Tsuru no Sugomori* 鶴の巣籠, one of the most virtuosic honkyoku (see Fig. 7). The form of this piece reflects the life cycle of cranes as a metaphor for life in general. All entities and beings are regarded as being on different life cycles that intersect with each other. For example, rocks are on a longer cycle than humans. According to Katsuya Yokoyama, *Tsuru no Sugomori* "depicts the life of the cranes, from their arrival through the North of Japan (laying of eggs, brooding, joyful hatching, feeding, flight training, etc.), through to their departure with the newborn birds. These migrating birds symbolize the love of parents for their offspring, the cycle of life, and longevity. All the instrumental resources of the shakuhachi (tremolos [the onomatopoeic *koro-koro* alternating fingers 1 and 2], glissandi, flutter tonguing, irregular vibratos) are used to their full potential in this captivating piece" (Yokoyama 1997, liner notes).

Conclusion

The shakuhachi's history in Japan reaches back more than a millennium. Despite suspicious documents concerning the komusō, the ensuing political turmoil during the Meiji restoration, and alterations of the instrument itself to fit into Western senses of pitch in the late nineteenth century, honkyoku continues to be passed down through the oral tradition from teacher to student. In the face of changing cultures, globalization, and the digital age, it may seem as though traditional cultures have little to teach us. However, in my opinion, the shakuhachi still holds an important place in modern society. Shakuhachi practice and other traditional arts "are neither carried out for the sake of producing art nor aimed at executing external expressions; rather, they serve as a medium through which to engage in self-cultivation" (Matsunobu 2013a, 149). As performers and teachers, we pursue shakuhachi with gratitude and patience. Ultimately, we hope to pass down a living history to interested audience members and eager students who, in a complex, over stimulated world, yearn for the simple values that a Zen approach to learning may offer.

Appendix

Text of "charter of 1614" Enacted in 1614 by the First Tokugawa Shōgun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) [Original Text 原文 and Modern Text 現代文]

慶長之掟書

[*Keichō no Okitegaki*] (most often cited as the Charter of 1614)

『慶長之掟書』（けいちょうのじょうしょ）は、1614 年（慶長 19 年）に徳川家康によって普化宗に与えられた掟書とされる文献である。『慶長掟書』、『慶長の掟書』ともいわれる。

御入国之砌被仰渡候御掟書

[*Gonyūkoku no Watasaseraresōrō Osadamegaki*] (as cited in Sanford 1977)

一、虚無僧之儀者勇者浪人一時之隠家不入守護之宗門依而天下家臣諸士之席可定置之条可得其意事。

一、虚無僧諸国取立之儀者諸士之外一向坊主百姓町人下賎之者不可取立事。 一、虚無僧諸国行脚之節疑敷者見掛侯時者早速召捕其所江留置国領は其役人江相渡、地領代官所者其村役人江相渡可申事。

一、虚無僧之儀者勇士為兼帯自然敵杯相尋侯旅行依而諸国之者対虚無僧粗相慮外之品又者托鉢に障六ヶ敷義出来侯節ハ其子細相改本寺迄可申達於本寺不相済義者早速江戸奉行所江可告来事。

一、虚無僧止宿者諾寺院或者駅宿村々役所に可旅宿事。

一、虚無僧法冠猥に不可者卜万端可心得事。

一、尋者申付侯節ハ宗門諸流可抽丹誠事。

一、虚無僧敵対申度者於有之者遂吟味兼而断本寺従本寺可訴出事。

一、虚無僧常々木太刀懐剣等心掛所持可致事。

一、諸士提血刀寺内へ駈込依頼者其間起本可抱置若以弁舌申掠者於有之老早速可。

一、従来宗法出置其段無油断為相守宗法相背者於有之急度宗法可行事。

　右の条々相堅守武門之正道不失武者修業之宗門ト可心得者也為其日本国中往来自山

差免置処決定如件。

慶長十九年申寅正月

<div style="text-align: right;">本多上野介</div>

<div style="text-align: right;">板倉伊賀守</div>

<div style="text-align: right;">本多佐渡守</div>

現代文

　一、虚無僧（普化宗）に関しては、勇士[3]である浪人の一時の隠れ家であり、守

護（警察）も入ることのできない宗門（禅宗）である。よって武家の身分である事を理

解すべきである。

　一、虚無僧を諸国より取り立てる場合は、武士のほか一向坊主、百姓、町人、下賤

の者を虚無僧にしてはならない。

　一、虚無僧は、諸国を歩き疑わしき怪しいものを見つけたときは、すぐさま捕らえ

置き、当地の役人へ引き渡さなければならない。

　一、虚無僧は、勇士でもあり仇討ちなどを求める旅をしていることもあり、諸国の

ものは粗略な無礼な態度をしてはいけない。解決困難なことが起こったならば、子細を

取り調べ本寺に報告しなければならない。本寺にて解決しない場合は、奉行所に訴えな

ければならない。

　一、虚無僧は、旅をする場合は諸国の寺院や駅宿の施設に宿泊すること。

　一、虚無僧は、法冠（天蓋）をみだりにとってはならない事を全て心得ておかなけ

ればならない。

　一、犯罪容疑者の捕縛を命ぜられたときは、宗門諸流（普化宗十六派）は、誠意を尽くし人一倍励まなければならない。

　一、虚無僧は、仇討ちしたいものがあれば、良く調べ、本寺に許可を得なければならない。

　一、武士が血刀を携え虚無僧寺に駆け込むならば、事情を聞き保護をしなければならない。もし、弁舌をもって言い掠めるものがあればすぐさま訴えでなければならな。

　一、本寺は、普化宗の規則（宗法）を出して、規則を注意怠ることなく守り、規則を守らないものがあれば、必ず規則に従わせなければならない。

　一、虚無僧は、木太刀、懐剣などを心にとめ所持しなければならない。

　右の一つ一つの条項を堅く守り、武家としての正しい行いを見失わず、武者修行の宗派と心得なければならない。そのため、日本国中の往来を許可する。このように決定した。

1614年（慶長19年）正月

本多上野介（正純）

板倉伊賀守（勝重）

本多佐渡守（正信）

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Chapter 18
Animals and Aesthetics in Japanese Art and Society

Mika Merviö

Introduction

Sensitivity to the beauty of animals and the nuances of natural environment is one of the characteristics of Japanese traditional fine arts. The sense of beauty in animals is something universally perceived as something that makes us natural beings, and that may be traced very far in human (and animal) history and even the history of natural evolution. In Japan, social and cultural conditions have influenced attitudes toward animals in society and across the arts. Since these conditions differed from many European traditions it is no wonder that animals have been depicted differently. I will analyze the historical processes of human/animal relationships in Japan by paying attention to social, political and religious ideas and how they have influenced the presentation (*mimesis*) of animals in Japanese arts. The different species of animals have attained different symbolic meanings in different periods of Japanese art. Chinese art and religious traditions used to have a major importance, but native Japanese interpretations clearly reinterpreted animals very differently from China. Of course, in Japan such animals as elephants, tigers or gibbons were regarded as truly exotic and their depiction in Japanese art was far more based on imagination than in areas where there was more actual knowledge about these animals. However, in the case of artistic depiction of Japanese animals, it is easy to find examples of both keen observation of animals and rather superficial or canonized interpretations that follow the established artistic practice rather than the ideas and observations of individual artists. Modernism in Japanese arts brought in Western ideas and practices with the result that also traditional arts redefined their practices. The traditional Japanese aesthetic notions of *wabi* and *sabi*, and the

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Fig. 1 Japanese contemporary art: monkey (by the author)

Japanese code of aesthetics in general have survived in different forms in both so-called Japanese art and [Japanese] Western art. However, modern societies have in many ways been increasingly alienated from nature worldwide. The rapid urbanization and the fact that the centres of Japanese art tend to be very large cities means that many Japanese artists are rather alienated both from the animal world and a large part of the Japanese tradition of art with animal themes. People who do not come into contact with animals in their daily life or only in the capacity of pets have a very different relationship to nature than earlier generations. On the other hand, Japanese art has globalized and its post-modern nature means that all the animals of the world are now part of Japanese arts and artistic imagination. I will use examples to build a narrative of interpretation of animals in Japanese art from early history all the way up to contemporary art and contemporary Japanese society with the depiction of animals in cute and "Superflat" art, considering this in the context of human/animal and environmental relationships. (Fig. 1).

Modern Japanese society has its own environmental consciousness and set of ethical standards. For Nordic people, the weakness of traditional environmental protection and environmental movements is striking in Japan. How is it possible that a culture with such a deep tradition of recognizing the beauty and individuality of animals so often shows ignorance of environmentalism and animal rights? This paper is very much interdisciplinary in orientation, as it deals both with environmental and aesthetic thinking and traditions in Japan, and draws both from my research on Japanese environmental themes and my observations on Japanese arts.

Animals and Japanese Art Do Not Fall Easily into Categories

Humans are animals. Furthermore, visual expression is far older than any other means of cultural expression, such as literature or music, and, in fact, is practiced by many other species, such as apes, elephants and some species of birds. There are also studies indicating that the visual perception of domestic dogs is very similar to humans when the dogs are shown digital images on monitors. The dogs voluntarily focus their gaze on facial areas of dog and human images very much the same way as humans – and prefer dog images (Somppi et al. 2010, Kujala et al. 2013).

The universality and special nature of visual art as a language is far more fundamental than Western philosophers such as Dewey ever imagined when trying to cultivate an understanding of different traditions of visual culture, and, in particular, Japanese visual culture, which so often has refused to fit into stylistic categories created primarily on the basis of Western tradition. Sensitivity to nature and to the other animals is something that goes very deep to the essence of being human and being in this world. Therefore, sensitivity to animals and nature should be regarded as "normal" and anything deviating from that surely requires an explanation.

Humans everywhere tend in art to both humanize animals and animalize humans. Animal representation in art often directly involves choosing and defining characters that would make "stories" about the animals. Of course, this is not totally different from the depiction of humans. However, animals in (human) art very often cross the species line and start talking and standing on two legs. In children's stories they are given human names and in most languages naming already contributes greatly to the way that they are perceived. *Nomen est omen* and it is people who fool themselves by believing their own stories. The origin of the Latin phrase is in Titus Maccius Plautus's comedy *Perse* (the Persian), which involves a plan to purchase the female slave Lucris, whose name rings with profit *"lucrum"* (Plautus, third century BC where the exact phrase is in form: *nomen atque omen* http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/plautus/persa.shtml).

The lesson here to be learned (*morālis)* is that, as in the case of most comedies, people tend to be fooled by their own arrogance. However, the animals in different cultures have regularly been assigned "characters," which often follow the dichotomy between the villainous and virtuous as is so typical for the children's tales and the fables (Cf. Kemp 2007: 1–2). In the modern world, the dichotomy between useful and harmful animals corresponds with that simple typology. The point is that giving names and adding cultural references tends to distort direct and open-minded observation of nature, and in the absense of personal experiences of animals and nature people are often left only with their cultural baggage.

In Japanese language the term *gaijû* (害獣) for harmful animal carries connotations of "evil" and "harmful" (in economic terms) as well as brutality of beasts.

However, even insects and fish are classified with the same logic. For harmful insects (*gaichû,* 害虫) and harmful fish (*gaigyo,* 害魚) the only thing that often is needed is that they are unknown or non-native (alien species: *gairaishû*). There are also quite a few modern Japanese who are ready to label the vast majority of insects as "harmful" without giving them a chance to show their charm.

However, both Japanese art and children's tales actually often present a rather wide diversity of animals in predominantly positive light. While many modern Japanese still may view sparrows as little more than rice stealing harmful and noisy birds, the tale of Tongue-cut Sparrow *(shitakiri suzume)* paints the sparrows as virtuous and the old man as gentle, while the old woman is greedy, getting what she deserves (a large basket full of deadly snakes and monsters). Sparrows flourished in traditional Japanese society (while they are now in a steep decline) and people got to know them well and, therefore, many artists could observe the beauty of something as ordinary as sparrows next to them. For instance, Ikeno Gyokuran (1728–1784), the wife of Nanga school master Ikeno Taiga, drew an ink painting on paper depicting a sparrow on a bamboo branch (now in Michigan Museum of Art). The sparrow's head is sunk into its breast feathers, and the painting features all the spontaneity and elegance of Japanese ink painting at its best. The sparrow looks fragile with its breast defined by a series of dots, or tiny, delicate brushstrokes. While the bamboo leaves are painted with energy, and the tiny bamboo sprigs with hooklike elegant strokes, the sparrow itself reflects softness and tranquility: it will soon fall to sleep (for a photo and description, see Stern 1976: 106).

What makes this kind of sparrow paintings interesting is that they reveal the aesthetics of everyday contact with humble species that is very well known to every Japanese person both in cities and in rural areas. Not everyone has the sensitivity of Ikeno Gyokuran to permeate the mind of that sparrow, but sparrows have been and continue to be frequently depicted in Japanese art. However, some masters have been able to show ordinary sparrows in a dramatic light. Itô Jakuchû transformed the ordinary flock of sparrows to something very dramatic in his colourful painting on silk depicting a geometrically arranged flock of sparrows descending to feed where other sparrows are already busy feeding, without paying any attention to flock formations. Furthermore, there is one albino sparrow in the otherwise strict flock formation and it really stands out. The composition offers a contrast between two kind of sparrows: the collective ones and the most individualistic ones (for a photo, see Sôtokuji Jôtenkaku hakubutsukan (ed.) 2007: 45 and description; 177). The point with sparrows in Japanese art is that they have little obvious symbolic meaning in this kind of paintings and, instead, it is up to the artist to observe the sparrows and find meaning in the individual sparrows. I do not mean that traditional Japanese artists and their audiences were blind to symbolic meanings and potential of allegories in visual arts. Rather, my point is that the Japanese artists early on excelled in avoiding empty clichés and finding aesthetic qualities in more ordinary spheres of life (and especially animal life) that were not prime targets of art elsewhere.

Animal-Friendly Japan and Japanese Art

The origins of animal-friendly Japanese culture are often attributed to the influence of both Shintô and Buddhism. Shintô deifies the natural environment and frequently shows appreciation for the spontaneity of nature. However, Shintô has also adopted more than its share of ritualistic behaviours that do not always harmoniously coexist with spontaneous respect for nature. Shintô has been able to maintain some of the purity of its directness by virtue of reluctance to write down its dogma, message or gospel in any form resembling the great book religions of the world. Shintô consists of many different traditions and for many Japanese there is no clear authority to provide canonised versions of its Way. The Imperial Shintô (as reconstructed in the late nineteenth century) may even be characterized as an attempt to hijack the tradition for dubious political ends. Still, for many, Shintô continues its life as a rather harmless and distinctly non-intellectual intersubjective practice and spiritual tradition that connects Japanese and does indeed have something to do with the purity and beauty of nature as it appears spontaneously.

Buddhism in Japan has interacted with Shintôism, and the resulting syncretism has tamed much of Buddhist dogmatism that otherwise might have developed. The Buddhist influence on teaching respect for life in all its forms has had a major impact on Japanese culture. Buddhist art itself was preoccupied with humans here and in eternity. However, Buddhist art also introduced a veritable zoo of symbolised animals to Japan. For instance, phoenixes became a permanent feature in Japanese art. Furthermore, many large temples and massive projects such as Tôdaiji in Nara provided large scale art projects that could easily accommodate animal and floral art in the form of decorated supplementary elements. The Chinese T'ang art certainly had a major refining impact on the emerging Japanese styles. However, the main message in Buddhist art was and is very clear, and not much related to the animal world as such.

From Buddhist Art to Secular Aesthetics, *Manga*, and *Anime*

Things started to change with Heian Period (794–1185) when sensitivity to nature became highly fashionable and at times even bordered snobbery. Japan developed its own secular high culture and aesthetic code that continues to be influential. Calligraphy and poetry were closely related to visual art traditions. The animal themes were particularly visible in Heian Period textiles, pottery and lacquers. However, the most famous example of animal art from this period undoubtedly is the *Chôjû giga* (Frolicking animals) handscrolls depicting animals acting like humans. The scrolls are attributed to the priest-painter Toba Sôjô (1053–1140) who used toads, hares and monkeys to represent fellow priests, and his humour clearly sets this art apart from most religious art anywhere (Cf. Stern 1976: 10, 20–21). The animals in this case can also be seen merely as funny animals in

lively poses, or one can pay more attention to the narrative in which they are represented. Modern Japanese people often assume a connection with these artworks and the rise of *manga* in Japan. However, the distance to the rise of *manga* is considerable. Admittedly, Japanese art in different periods has a fair share of images with humor playing an important role. In the modern world that kind of approach easily wins hearts everywhere. It seems that Japanese institutions have tolerated a less "serious" approach to serious matters more readily than in many other cultures, and that this tradition is very old. However, it would be inaccurate to argue that Japanese art always contains humor and avoids dogma. No, there is a lot Japanese art that is deadly serious no matter how you approach it.

The freedom from overly dogmatic artistic traditions is particularly visible with Japanese animal art. The Chinese animal art focused in particular on phoenixes (or the Chinese firebird, *hôô,* 鳳凰), dragons, tigers and elegant horses. Japanese art borrowed all these themes and developed them further. The Chinese list of favoured animals is full of religious and political symbolism and when the Chinese added new animals, such as monkeys and Mandarin ducks these also were animals with clear references to the human world. Japanese art, including some of the early masterpieces, to the contrary, demonstrate remarkable biodiversity. For instance, there are very nice early Japanese works of humble bulls (or bullocks), which certainly were not high on the list of Chinese art themes. The bull art continued to flourish in Japan and especially in Edo period the bulls were increasingly accompanied by equally humble peasants (for the significance and appreciation of bulls in Japanese society, Kawano 2009: 96–126 and for sympathetic bull art during the Edo period, Imahashi 2004: 222–224).

It is interesting to note, that in European art depicting bulls one can find some parallels. Across mainstream European art history, bulls have been interpreted through Greek references to such allegories as Zeus, and monstrous man-headed bulls or Minotaurs, while the Christian tradition would have placed the bulls either in the context of pagan (non-Jewish) worship, or on the sidelines of the Nativity scene. However, the Reformation with its rapidly developing middle class art market freed bulls from much of that baggage. Paulus Potter (1625–1654) during his short life demonstrated that real bulls can be the leading actors in art, and one seeks any symbolism in Potter's bulls that would most likely direct thoughts toward the down-to-earth dynamism and prosperity of the Protestant Dutch Republic, and these happy bull paintings could easily be seen as early representatives of Romanticism.

Horses traditionally were animals symbolizing high status and military might, with such spectacular uses as combining *kyûdô* and horse riding in *yabusame*, the martial tradition of mounted archery (Nakagomi 2009: 16–45). This is clearly not for the masses, nor are the paintings of these scenes. The older tradition of Chinese horse paintings ideally convey the feeling of poetical scenes of spirit-like horses flowing over ethereal fields, as symbols of elegance and status. However, Japanese society developed a far more widespread tradition of more naturalistic horse painting in the form of *ema,* the paintings on wooden panels that were carved in low profile and presented to Shintô shrines. Originally the idea was that

the person who commissioned these art pieces offered a horse as a present to the shrine. However, the connection with real horses gradually loosened and it was not always necessary to involve real horses anymore. After all, horses in Japan were quite rare, expensive and not always readily available. Instead, the Shintô shrines usually have at least some *ema*, often in various states of decay due to having been exposed to the elements for extended periods of time. These panels often contain the names of donors and, as such, are far less refined than traditional Chinese horse paintings. Horses also became associated in Japan with connotations of religious or god-like nature and some foreign – especially Indian – images may also have reinforced those ideas (Nakamura 2008: 166–171). However, I would primarily interpret the *ema* as rather sympathetic presentations of very real and mortal horses.

It was the Muromachi period (1337–1573) that really gave a special character to Japanese art tradition. Of course, that interpretation is partly a result of more art surviving from that period. However, the Muromachi period gave form to the Yamato-e, Kanô school, Tosa school, and Muromachi Suiboku schools. Finally, the Rimpa school fused and refined many of the elements of the other schools. Importantly, one finds a continuation of all these schools through the Edo period and beyond. In all these artistic schools animals were taken seriously and depicted in great numbers and in the best specimens more as individuals rather than representatives of their species or merely as religious or seasonal symbols.

Some painters specialised in animals and developed their own style of depicting their favourite species. For instance, Soga Nichokuan in the seventeenth century focused just on hawks and eagles and attained a lasting fame in depicting them, invariably as *kakemono* ink paintings on paper. Such birds of prey are always alert, powerful, and poised for action in the very next moment. To get the eyes and plumage right requires keen observation and understanding of the special qualities of these birds. Bird of prey paintings were very popular both in Japan and China, and reflected the high status of falconry and martial virtues that birds of prey embodied. By way of contrast, modern peaceful Japan seems to belong more to cute rabbits.

Rabbits have a long association in China with the moon and Moon Goddess Chang'e, whom the rabbit (and hare) serves by providing an elixir of immortality (presumably every morning at 5:00 AM, as this time is reserved for rabbits in Chinese astrology/cosmology). This story made its way to Japan with a minor revision in that the elixir was changed to more earthly *mochi* rice cakes. In Chinese art and culture, rabbits and the moon are a common combination, and use of Yutu (Jade Rabbit) to name a Chinese moon rover (spacecraft) in December 2013 took the legend to new celestial heights. However, in Japanese art, rabbits of every shape and color have for centuries been depicted, with and without the moon, and Japanese art has made much out of the special cuteness and innocence of rabbits, as well as their soft, round form. In Japan, there certainly is an association between the moon and rabbits, but rabbits don't necessarily require the moon to find friends. The great popularity of Peter Rabbit and Miffy (originally Nijntje from *konijntje* – little rabbit – in Dutch) testifies of Japanese openness to new kinds of rabbits. *Tamausagi* ("ball rabbit") is the term used in Japanese art for a
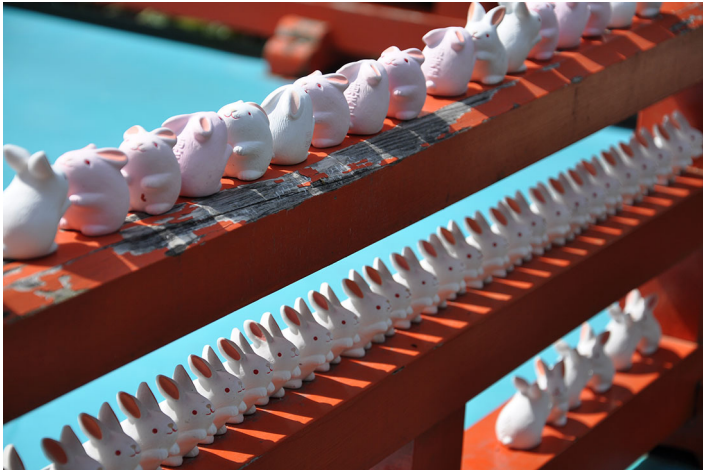
Fig. 2 Rabbits at Okazaki Shrine, Kyôto

white rabbit depicted as looking much like a full moon itself, while its rarer counterpart is the *Kin iro no karasu* ("golden crow") symbolizing the golden sun and day (all terms with their Chinese history, again) (Cf. Imahashi 2004: 37–103). However, in Japan rabbits have also been employed by Shintô shrines to take care of the important duties related to all aspects of matrimony and childbirth. The Chinese zodiac also guarantees a periodic festive year to rabbits, and all rabbit-hearted, every 12th year both in China and Japan (while in Vietnam, the rabbit has been replaced by the cat). (Fig. 2).

A completely different story is that of the Kyôto based eighteenth century painter Itô Jakuchû, who studied nature very carefully but ended up painting pictures with dramatic and artistic compositions. Furthermore, Jakuchû experimented with many different materials and colours, and even with Western methods. He was also a deeply religious practicing Buddhist with close friends in monasteries. Among his most famous works are his colorful paintings of roosters and chickens, but in recent decades there has also been an immense interest in Jakuchû's other paintings, which are increasingly shown in big exhibitions. Jakuchû was not always the darling of the Japanese art audience, particularly the art establishment, which was the reason that the Price collection containing all its great gems was made possible. In the early 1960s, Oklahoman Joe Price, with no background in Asian art, started to collect the then neglected and undervalued Jakuchû, without even knowing that Jakuchû was Japanese when he bought his first painting (Corkill 2013). Among the masterpieces of the Price/Shin'enkan collection in Los Angeles is, for instance, Birds and Animals in the Flower Garden (鳥獣花木図屏風, *Chōjūkaboku-zu byōbu*), which in terms of approach and originality has much more in common with the world of Hieronymus Bosch than with the rest of Japanese art of his time. The Shin'enkan collection also includes such marvels as the pair of Mandarin ducks in a winter scene with the female bird

diving, its face seen through the water and (retired) Jakuchû's eagle that with bubbly Art Nouveau type of water that was painted when he was 84 years old (Stern 1976: 105).

However, the most famous animal painters of Edo period continued to be the established masters of such schools as the Kanô school, with close connections to the ruling class. One of the best places to study Kanô school paintings is the Nijô Castle, built by the founders of Tokugawa bakufu, where the sliding doors and walls of many rooms are decorated by famous Kanô school painters focusing on animal art. However, the Rimpa school also had powerful supporters due to its personal links with Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa family. The Rimpa school is most famous for taking the subject matter of existing bird-and-flower paintings and reinventing it in very wide range of formats, from screens, scrolls and fans to prints, lacquerware, textiles and ceramics. The Rimpa school opened way in the early eighteenth century to new art forms, with its increasingly abstract forms and innovative use of colours, as well as spectacular use of gold and pearls. Rimpa artists rose from the Kyôto craftsmen community and were well-placed to integrate the best practical knowledge of working with different materials and elevate that into new art forms.

Bakufu, the central military government, had "pacified" the country and was greatly concerned with anything it suspected of containing potentially subversive ideas. It is understandable that Japanese visual art during the Edo period avoided directly addressing social and political issues. For artists there was a clear incentive to turn to the eternal beauty of nature. By doing so, for instance, the achievements of the Rimpa school set a new standard for depicting natural beauty. In addition to established schools that often reduced animals to the role of (extremely) beautiful and politically safe decorative elements, the Edo period also had artists that turned to far more realistic depiction of nature and animals. Maruyama Ôkyo (1733–1795) is among its most notable. Ôkyo also studied Western painting, and his use of perspective and realism certainly owes something to these studies. Ôkyo clearly was not painting for the learned elite or the top leaders, but to the gradually growing new wealthy class of merchants and other city people. Apparently this was a conscious choice, as he refused in 1790 a request to paint a screen for the Imperial Household and to receive the offered court status. Ôkyo had a large number of students who became leading artists of their own right (such as Rosetsu, Genki, Tetsuzan and Kirei) (Stern 1976: 99).

The influence of Ôkyo in Japanese animal art remained strong and he set the tone for a new kind of realism in Japan for generations. It is worth noting that unlike European Realism, Japanese Realism had no obvious political agenda or works with clear social critique. However, the two Realisms at least share the similarity that both in Japan and Europe the art market grew in size while the social backrounds and tastes of its art connoisseurs diversified. Realism appealed to the tastes of people who certainly did not represent the art establishment or any kind of establishment of the time. Ôkyo for good reason was and is regarded as the quintessential Japanese realist who could paint ghosts so realistically that they came alive. However, his paintings do not look like Western naturalistic paintings already for the reason that

there are usually few details in the background. While there is far more realism in his paintings than in previous Japanese works, they still are very much within Japanese tradition in terms of composition. While Ôkyo had many supporters, and his paintings were circulated in different forms for a long time, he is seldom regarded as a giant of Japanese painting and, for instance, his student Nagasawa Rosetsu has tended to receive a far more positive treatment by the art establishment. Meanwhile, the more naturalistic depiction of animals was soon followed by increased scientific observation of animals and interest in having more trustworthy illustrations of them. Sometimes these illustrations maintain artistic values and depict animals in interesting and dramatic poses (for examples, see Hosokawa 2012 on illustrations of rare and imported birds during the Edo period).

The growing market for *ukiyo-e* also created a new market especially for realistic depictions of nature that could reach a much larger audience than ever before. Some of the animal themed *ukiyo-e* also maintained very high artistic standards. It should be pointed out that in Japanese art there has for a very long time been great versatility among some of the most interesting and accomplished artists: artists not only explored new materials but it was commonplace to delve into all kinds of artistic pursuits, often with interesting combinations and results. One possible comparison could be the so-called *uomo universale* that was the Renaissance ideal. Of course, the philosophical and historical tradition is different, but in terms of open mind and a wish to combine different ideas, Japan has some clear strengths that are particularly visible in the realm of animal art (Fig. 3).

During the Edo Period many artists started to produce so-called *toba-e* (鳥羽絵), comical and satirizing coloured prints produced by woodblocks the same way as *ukiyoe*. The common people kept buying these cheap and funny works and many more ambitious *ukiyoe* artists produced these works as a sidejob. As political control was a major issue in arts, it was understandable that many artists used animals in their works to make their social or political message with the acceptance of authorities.

In other words, the artists often had an open mind about producing very different kinds of art for different audiences, and animals provided them with a means to add some humour and to circumvent some of the unwanted interest from the part of authorities. *Manga* as a term was used sometimes in the meaning of a sketch, but Imaizumi Ippyô used it in the Newspaper Jiji Shinpô in 1890 to translate Italian *caricatura* with the result that *toba-e* gradually was renamed to *manga* (Shimizu 2013: 9–10). During the twentieth century the *manga* artists were quick to adopt ideas from Europe, such as Art Deco. A significant new development was creation of a mass market for childrens' *manga*. Meanwhile, many older art forms were in decline and *manga* artists were mostly professionals, who now could make their living with *manga*.

In modern Japan (after the Meiji Revolution to the present), the government has generally shown little interest in supporting arts, high or low, or nurturing the arts as a means of refining and celebrating cultural heritage. Nationalism was particularly brutal and uncultured, and the pre-war attempts to promote patriotic art produced works that often can best be characterized as "embarrassing." In the

Fig. 3 Kishi Chikudô (1826–1897) paper Japanese serow Capricornis crispus (author's collection)

post-war era, different artists have found their own market niches and with the expansion of the Japanese economy and education, the Japanese art world has greatly democratized and increased in size. Japan now has a vibrant and most interesting, albeit underappreciated, contemporary art scene.

Probably the best known form of Japanese contemporary arts outside Japan nowadays is the world of *manga* and *anime*, which give a glimpse of Japanese life and thinking to many people who otherwise would most likely be little interested in anything Japanese. These Japanese genres also have demonstrated new ways of story-telling and novel uses of graphics. While Japanese manga and anime are clear cases of Japanese culture winning hearts everywhere, the picture is not so

rosy when examined from a closer distance. Nowadays Japan has many *mangaka* (*manga* artists), who struggle to get their work published and to survive in a market where the rules are made by the publishers. The result is that it rarely pays to produce quality, and to survive one often needs to produce vast amounts of often substandard work to meet commercial market demands. Many artists also know very well the dark attics of their audience and through their art create a "more balanced" picture of the Japanese traditions and culture. Japanese artists who show the ugly conditions of modern society, with the occasional hint of beauty within ugliness, are often using the medium of commercial art, *anime* or *manga*. This approach resonates with a large audience, while art collectors in Japan are a far rarer species. The big names of Japanese contemporary art often have no qualms about mixing their art with images that outside Japan would be branded as glorifying pedophilia, violence, racism or religious and cultural insensitivity. The rest of the world simply often has a different set of rules concerning hypocrisy than Japan, and some Japanese art may be a bit too much for art lovers most elsewhere, while in Japan it is often interpreted against the reality of popular culture.

Changing Status of Animals in Japan

The changes in treatment of animals in Japanese art reflect also dramatic changes in attitudes toward nature and life in general. In the Edo period (1603–1868) the behaviour of people was closely controlled by the rigid feudal social system. For reasons of domestic security, rather than respect for life, most people were not allowed to own weapons. In addition, the Buddhist and Shintôist ideas and beliefs about the sanctity of life had a great impact on the thinking of people as well as on laws and regulations. However, most importantly, intersubjective social practices did not allow casual killing of most living things. In his diaries written in 1690–1692 Engelbert Kaempfer wrote that "Wild, and by nature timid, fowl have become so tame within the confines of this densely populated country that many kinds ought to be regarded as domestic species" (Kaempfer 1999: 73–74). Kaempfer also describes in detail how people keep chickens and ducks but for "superstitious reasons" seldom to kill or eat them. Kaempfer also remarked about the abundance of such birds as the storks and goshawks, both of which went to rapid decline when Japan modernized (ibid: 75). In any case, there is compelling evidence that birds were doing reasonably well in Japan during the Edo period. Sources such as Kaempfer also testify that Europeans at that time had a difficult time in understanding the Japanese relationship with nature and, in particular, with birds.

The situation changed dramatically after the Meiji Restoration (1868) when advanced firearms suddenly flooded into Japan. Moreover, the authorities for some time did not seem to want to bring hunting under stricter control. The Birds and Beasts Hunting Regulation of 1887 established licensed hunting regulations but at the same time made it clear that wildlife was available for the hunt. With

subsequent additions and revisions the national hunting laws provided very little protection for wildlife and it seems that the legislators and the public usually understood that hunting was about recreation, pest control and meat procurement (Cf. Brazil 1991: 18–19). The lost Shangri-la of innocence and respect in the human-animal relationship is unlikely to return to Japan. In fact, environmentalism in Japan is rather weak and confined more to such issues as energy policy or garbage recycling rather than the aesthetic and spiritual values of nature.

Modern Japan has become infamous worldwide for its slaughter of whales and dolphins. Wild animals have been subject to stringent and merciless control largely on the basis of their perceived or real harmfulness for agriculture (and LDP voters) or as possible agents of disease rather than benefitting from study and protection. The Japanese Ministry of Environment is not a bastion of deep ecology, and in its anthropocentrism is no match to even more nature-hostile political forces and interests. Japan never experienced a phase of national romanticism where Japanese nature and animals became protected and loved symbols of nationalism. *Yachô no kai* (Wild Bird Society) had some early supporters among the Imperial family and political elite, but it never became a politically relevant force that its counterparts were in many European countries (for more about the history of the avian fauna-human relationship in Japan, Merviö 2001 and about mediating the zoonotic risk in Japan, Merviö 2014). However, the old art may still give us a glimpse of the bygone world.

In short, Japan provides very extreme contrasts in attitudes toward animals and life in general. While Japanese art, from its earliest forms up to the contemporary period clearly embodies a long tradition of deep respect and sensitivity to animals, contempory Japanese society and the modernization process also give plenty of disturbing examples of total disregard for the importance of animals. This may illustrate how things have never been so black and white, for Japanese society has seemingly always had diversity and room for different thoughts. The very notion of culture *(bunka)* and civilization *(bunmei)* as encompassing the whole population is largely borrowed from the West, especially Germany (die Kultur) (Cf. Morris-Suzuki 1998: 60–78). Nowadays the *bunka* word is used frequently in Japan and very much in the German "nationalistic" sense of Japanese culture being shared by all Japanese. Maybe that is not the best way to analyse Japanese culture, as it certainly would not make much sense in the pre-Meiji context and is at best misleading in the post-war context.

Japanese Animal Art and Continuity to Contempory Art

It is impossible to say how the ancient Japanese people really thought about the animals that are depicted in Haniwa or in tomb paintings. However, there is a great narrative of Japanese animal art from the Haniwa to present day animals, such as Hello Kitty, Doraemon and *Dôbutsu no Mori* games on one hand, and more serious artists on the other hand. *Nihonga* traditional Japanese painting has struggled to

adapt to changing realities of market and tastes of people, but in modern Japan few people cover the walls of their homes with any kinds of paintings. The museums certainly make an effort to show the people how traditional high-end market excelled in depicting the animals with sensitivity, understanding gaze and elegance.

The introduction of Western art in the late nineteenth century was soon followed by Japanese artists starting to produce new kind of animal art, often coming close to some of the Japanese earlier traditions. It is no wonder that among the most famous classics of early Western painting *(yôga)* in Meiji Japan there are the different versions of drying salmons by Takahashi Yûichi. The Japanese Mona Lisa has a smile of a salmon.

Meanwhile, within the *Nihonga* (Japanese painting) traditions, many painters adopted ideas from the Western traditions and many painters rediscovered the animal theme and painted animals in a fresh manner. Some painters more or less focused on the animal theme, and in early Shôwa and Taishô Nihonga there are quite a few accomplished animal painters. Hashimoto Kansetsu (1883–1945) is a good example (Hashimoto Kansetsu painted almost systematically animals one species after another although his other interest was China and Chinese people; see e.g., Hashimoto Kansatsu ten 1994). Hashimoto painted in a very naturalistic way, but the themes and compositions often bear similarities with famous Japanese and Chinese works. For instance, his gibbon takes its place in the long traditions starting from Chinese Zen priest-artist Mu Ch'i, who emigrated from China to Kyôto in the thirteenth century and who had a lasting importance in Japanese painting. His gibbon paintings created a whole genre of Bokkei-zaru (based on the Japanese reading of his name). Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney makes the point that gibbons represented real nature in Japanese painting while the more familiar macaques were assigned the role of anthropomorphic caricatures (Ohnuki-Tierney 1987: 26–27). There certainly is a lot of variety in both gibbon and macaque paintings, and different painters obviously had very different attitudes toward our simian relatives. Hashimoto lived already in a very modern world and certainly was well-aware of Darwinism and most likely also knew something about the research on Japanese macaques. The modern painters have always many competing sources when they reinterpret classical themes, even if they choose to show respect to some particular tradition.

Contemporary Japanese art has not abandoned animal themes or the Japanese tradition, although the favorite historical artists keep changing. For instance, Jakuchû is very much in demand nowadays. However, much of the contemporary animal art in Japan is based primarily on the traditions of popular culture. The Superflat era art few years ago had such *kawaii* & cool artists as Nara Yoshitomo regularly depicting something as cute as his dogs, and artists like Nawa Kôhei bridging the modern techno-wonders with good old Japanese animal aesthetics in his Pix Cell deer (for photos, see Favell 2011: 28 and 137). Most recently, the tastes of contemporary Japanese art establishment seem to have turned further away from animal spirits and clearly recognizable animal forms. For instance, in the Ôhara Art Museums Contemporary Japanese art exhibition in 2013 there were very few animals to be seen.

"Superflat" was coined by artist Murakami Takashi who used it to name the Contemporary Japanese Art Exhibition curated by him and which toured many American cities in 2001 and which helped much to make Murakami also a prophet in his own land in Japan. Term refers to flattened forms in Japanese traditional and modern art, including graphic art, animation, pop culture and fine arts. It also refers to the shallow emptiness of Japanese consumer culture and therefore attaches continuity, coherence and social relevance to art forms that are often seen to be lacking in these regards. Murakami was successful in launching the term and therefore making him and his Kaikai Kiki circle prime representatives of definable Japanese art phenomenon. Outside and inside Japan "Superflat" is most often associated with exaggerated cuteness on one hand and on the other hand grotesque fantasies typical to *otaku* art (art borne out of the mix of social withdrawal and Japanese popular culture). In short, the finer points of paying homage to Japanese traditional art forms and social critique tend to be lost on much of the audience (for an analysis of recent developments in Japanese contemporary arts, see e.g., Elliott 2010).

However, the trend of depicting animals for the sake of their *kawaii* nature is something far more profound than just a marketing trick or a passing fad. Animals are very much part of the Japanese popular culture and should be treated with sufficient respect. Certainly, the element of humanising animals is often strong, but the use of animals in art is never too far from observing the similarities between humans and other animals. The use of animals also could also help to hide some of the ugly features of the human world: the animals are pure as Shintô snow, but at the same time they are very real and very much alive and with their distinct personalities. The animal mind will also remain a mystery to (many) humans. Even when the animals appear to behave and look very much the same way as humans it is impossible to ascertain what really goes on in their minds (not so easy with humans either). In the Animal Kingdom there is also a lot of diversity and possibilities for choosing different kinds of symbols and characters. Then, there is the aspect of commercial exploitation of animals for marketing purposes. The final aspect works very well and especially in Japan. In advertising, animals can be cheaper and easier to work with than humans. Sometimes there can be embarrassing questions about the use of children and women, the other alternatives. Therefore, both the cultural and economic reasons favour the multiplication of animal characters and their prevalence in Japanese art and society. The fine art simply reflects all the realities listed above.

In Japan, social and cultural conditions have influenced attitudes toward animals in society and arts. Since these conditions have been different from many European traditions, it is no wonder that animals have been depicted differently. I have analyzed the historical processes of human/animal relationships by considering social, political and religious ideas, and how they have influenced the presentation (*mimesis*) of animals in Japanese arts. The different species of animals have attained different symbolic meanings in different periods of Japanese art. Chinese art and religious traditions used to have a major importance, but native Japanese adaptations clearly reinterpreted animals very differently from China. Of course, in Japan such animals as the elephants, tigers or gibbons were regarded as truly exotic and the

depiction of them in Japanese art was far more based on imagination than in areas where there was more actual knowledge about these animals. However, in the case of depiction of Japanese animals it is easy to find examples of both keen observation of animals and rather superficial or canonized interpretations that follow the established artistic practice rather than individual artist's ideas and observations.

Modernism in Japanese arts introduced Western ideas and practices with the result that also traditional arts redefined their practices. The traditional aesthetics of *wabi* and *sabi* and the Japanese code of aesthetics in general have survived in different forms in both so-called Japanese art and [Japanese] Western art. However, the modern societies have in many ways been alienated from nature. The rapid urbanization and the fact that the centres of Japanese art tend to be very large cities means that many Japanese artists are rather alienated both from the animal world and a large part of the Japanese tradition of art with animal themes. People who do not come into contact with animals in their daily life or only in the capacity of pets have very different relationship from earlier generations. On the other hand, Japanese art has globalized and the its postmodern nature means that all the animals of the world are now part of Japanese arts and artistic imagination. Crocodiles and dinosaurs as well as Coelacanths inhabit the minds of contemporary Japanese children and it is no wonder that Japanese art depicts them. While direct observation of animals is often difficult in large Japanese cities, there are new ways for observing the Animal Kingdom and finding our inner Animal. Observing the old Japanese art makes one realize that much has been lost in terms of experiencing nature in Japan. Luckily the arts have recorded something of that lost world, and have become part of world heritage.

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Chapter 19
In Defense of Rules or Creative Innovation?: On the Essence of the Topic Spring Rain in Japanese Haiku

Herbert Jonsson

Introduction

Seasonal topics are important to most modern and premodern Japanese haiku (I will use the word "haiku" throughout this article, as this is a fairly common practice today, although in the premodern era, the word "hokku" was used to name these poems). These are words or short expressions that are related to one of the four seasons in various ways. Much criticism written about haiku (and about the broad genre of *haikai* of which the haiku poetry is a part) is concerned with these seasonal topics. One of the aspects that are frequently discussed is the *hon'i*, which might be translated as "essence." It may be described as a set of specific qualities that are connected to a certain topic, and which should be expressed in a poem. Knowledge of these essences is often regarded as essential, not only for writing good haiku poetry, but also for appreciating haiku from a reader's perspective.

In this article I will investigate how the essence of the seasonal topic "spring rain" (*harusame* and *haru no ame*) has been described in theoretical texts and compare these results with the actual usage of this topic in a number of poems. While some writers tend to understand the essence as a more or less fixed framework that tells us how we are expected to write and understand a certain topic, others express more flexible views about its nature. In my discussion, I will especially focus on this opposition, and suggest that the flexible approach explains more of the contexts in which these topics are found in the poems.

The opinions and arguments I refer to and use below are chosen because of their usefulness in the discussion, as they express different and often opposed perspectives on the subject. They are not chosen because they are frequently quoted, are representative, or are written by important scholars in the field, although this

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often may be the case. The aim is not to be polemic and criticize the ideology of certain authors, but to problematize specific arguments. An evasive concept like the *hon'i* can only be understood from its various interpretations, regardless of if some of them may turn out to be more useful than others.

The focus of this article is fairly narrow and covers but a limited aspect of haiku poetics. In spite of the importance of the *hon'i*, it has been the subject of only a small number of studies. In the works of many renowned scholars in the field other approaches have been more common. To mention a few representative examples of what has been written in English, there are studies influenced by a strong Zen-Buddhist perspective by Reginald H. Blyth and Robert Aitken, historical studies by Howard Hibbett and Donald Keene, introductory works by Harold G. Henderson and Kenneth Yasuda, comparative studies by Yoshinobu Hakutani and Jeffrey Johnson, as well as several studies by Masako Hiraga using the approach of cognitive poetics. These have all brought important contributions to the field, but as they have shown little interest in the *hon'i* concept, this study will not refer to their work. It is rather the scholarship of Haruo Shirane and Peipei Qiu, or in Japanese, Ogata Tsutomu and Yamamoto Kenkichi, that will be of interest here.

Defining the *Hon'i*

Haruo Shirane is one of several contemporary scholars who have stressed the importance of the *hon'i*. In his *Traces of Dreams*, a study of the poetics of Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694), the most influential master in the Japanese *haikai* tradition, he devotes a whole chapter to the *hon'i*. His argument begins with a description of how this concept was established in the classical tradition. As an example of how the *hon'i* was regarded within the theory of *renga*, an ancient genre of poetry from which *haikai* had developed, he quotes a few lines from a treatise by one of the last masters of *renga*, Satomura Jōha (1527–1602). Shirane's translation is as follows:

> Renga has what is called *hon'i*, or poetic essence. For example, even though a strong wind or a thundershower may occur in spring, the wind and the rain must be quiet. That is the poetic essence of spring (Shirane 1998, 188).

In his comments, Shirane explains that Jōha was a poet who "looked, not to nature, but to classical precedent, to understand the poetic essences that lay at the heart of renga composition" (Ibid.). It is possible to see an opposition between "nature" and "classical precedent" here, but it is not unlikely that Jōha actually meant something slightly different. What Jōha tells us might rather be that we should write spring poems on certain themes that are quiet. He does not say that we must turn away from nature; only that we should choose a very limited part of nature as our source of inspiration, a part that was defined by the, by that time, age-old conventions of *renga* poetry.

In *haikai*, which originally was a subversive movement within the *renga* tradition, we seldom find this stern and limited view of the essences, although theorists

who express conservative thoughts may be found. Looking at actual poems, there are many examples of a spring season that is not as gentle as prescribed by the classical tradition. Compare, for instance, Jōha's statement above with the following poem by Yosa Buson (1716–1784), in which a spring scene is described in such a way that it totally negates Jōha's poetic essence. (If not specified otherwise, all translations from the Japanese of quotations and poems are by the author.)

> The day when we departed from Yoshino, the wind blew violently and the rain poured down; all over the mountains the blossoms were scattering, and nothing was left of spring

Kumo o nonde	Drinking clouds
hana o haku nari	and vomiting blossoms
Yoshinoyama	mountains of Yoshino

Buson here describes a world full of chaotic movement. The clouds are moving so quickly that it looks as if they are swallowed by the mountains and the petals of the cherry blossoms are washed away in cascades all over the place. According to Buson's preface this poem is based on an actual experience when traveling to the mountains of Yoshino in southern Nara prefecture, but it is not a realistic or objective depiction of the scene. Instead he uses a technique of drastic personification which effectively captures the fury of the rainstorm.

Seeing this clear discrepancy between Jōha and Buson, one might imagine that the *hon'i* concept lost its importance within the later *haikai* tradition, but this is not the case. The *hon'i* is discussed by *haikai* theorists, but it is often difficult to determine in which sense they use this word. When a contemporary scholar like Peipei Qiu defines it as the seasonal words' "codified poetic essences," this gives just a part of the picture (Qiu 2005, 56). Even Shirane, who mostly prefers a conservative approach to the *hon'i*, shows great ambivalence when he discusses it in a *haikai* context. An illustrative example is from his opinion piece "Beyond the Haiku Moment" in which his aim is to prove the importance of a cultivated tradition for poetry to gain value:

> In Japan, the seasonal word triggers a series of cultural associations which have been developed, refined and carefully transmitted for over a thousand years and which are preserved, transformed and passed on from generation to generation through seasonal handbooks, which remain in wide use today (Shirane 2000).

There is an unresolved contradiction in this statement. On the one hand the "cultural associations" (yet another way to define the *hon'i*) are described as "carefully transmitted" and "preserved," but on the other hand they are also "developed," "refined" and "transformed." We definitely have a fair amount of change and development within the *haikai* tradition, but once we acknowledge this, it will be impossible to talk about concepts within this tradition, like the *hon'i*, as something preserved and static.

To avoid such theoretical simplifications, it will be necessary to study how seasonal words and topics actually have been used and discussed. This is the reason

why my investigation about the spring rain topic will refer to different voices and discuss a fairly large number of poems. Any generalizations made should be based on actual usage.

Essence of Spring Rain

To begin with, I will consider how the seasonal topic spring rain has been discussed in critical and theoretical writing. One of the earliest investigations in the *hon'i* of seasonal topics, in a *haikai* context, is the *Yama no i* ("The Mountain Well"), a treatise by Kitamura Kigin (1624–1705). Below is a full quotation from this work of the explanation of the topic spring rain, *harusame*. As typical of early *haikai*, many puns and drastic similes are used.

> Spring rain (*harusame*)
>
> The spring rain that makes the trees come into bud (*konome harusame*) [there is a pun on *konomeharu* (to bud) and *harusame*].
>
> The spring rain that washes clothes (*kinu harusame*) [here again a pun is at work: *kinu haru* (to stretch clothes with starch after washing) and *harusame*].
>
> It comes falling a bit lonely, without a sound. One even mistakes it for someone coming on tiptoe. It is also described as if there is no roof that is not thatched. When it continues to fall for a long time, the blossom (*hana*) of the cherries hangs just like the trunk (*hana*) of an elephant. One also likens it to how it looks when the buds (*me*) of the willow stands on end like an umbrella (*ja no me*).

Furikuru wa	Does it fall
sashiashi nare ya	coming on tiptoe?
haru no ame	the spring rain
…	

Harusame ya	Spring rain	
yomo no kasumi no	the squeezed out juice	
shiborishiru	of the haze all around	Karai

On a day ravaged by rain and hail

Harusame ni	These lumps mixed into	
ire tsubu majiru	the spring rain	
arare kana	stones of hail	Kyūho (Kitamura 1926, 419)

The reading of the last poem will become a bit more interesting if one notes that "spring rain" also is the name of a kind of noodles, and that "hail" may also

be a kind of rice cracker. Karai and Kyūho are poets who were active in the same age as Kigin.

It is clear from this description that Kigin finds diverse possibilities in this topic. That it is described as *coming on tiptoe* suggests its lightness, but also that it may have a more passing character. Sometimes it may fall for a long time, which is also implied by the thatched roofs, and it may be lonely. The second poem has something in common with Buson's poem discussed above and the last poem even challenges the presumed lightness of the rain, as it becomes fairly violent when combined with the hail. Even this short passage shows that the *hon'i* was certainly not limited to a narrow ancient ideal. Kigin's discussion of the *hon'i* is in fact an investigation into how these topics had been used by past and contemporary poets. It is an investigation in usage and possibilities rather than a definition of limits in the manner of Jōha.

In the generation after Kigin, we find a statement about the essence of the spring rain in the *Sanzōshi* by Hattori Dohō (1657–1730), one of Bashō's late disciples. This work is a collection of Dohō's own theories about *haikai* poetry combined with his recollections of Bashō's teaching. It is thus not a study of seasonal words; the matter is just touched upon among other theories. Dohō's statement about the spring rain is as follows:

> One makes the spring rain (*harusame*) continue to fall forever, without the smallest break. One calls it like this in March. /…/ In January and the beginning of February one calls it rain of spring (*haru no ame*) (Hattori 1973, 613).

The lightness of the spring rain, which was central for Kigin, is not mentioned at all by Dohō. Instead, he stresses the lengthiness of the rain, a quality that Kigin mentioned in a more roundabout way. Dohō also makes a distinction between two ways to talk about the rain in spring. The word *harusame* refers to the later part of the season (these months are according to the old calendar and should be understood as about one month later than today) and the phrase *haru no ame* is used in the earlier cold part of the season. One may note that Dohō writes in a somewhat prescriptive way, which is closer to that of Jōha than the more neutral Kigin.

One of Dohō's contemporaries, Uejima Onitsura (1661–1738), offers a very different description of this topic. He was one of the most important poets in this age outside the group of Bashō's disciples, and he wrote a number of works on *haikai* theory. In his *Hitorigoto*, he defines the essence of the spring rain in a single short sentence: "Spring rain has a heavy kind of loneliness" (Crowley 1995, 30). I have here borrowed Sheryl Crowley's translation. The words used by Onitsura are *monokomorite sabishi*, which also might imply withdrawal and gloom. Kigin wrote about the lonely feeling of the rain too, but he showed a more light-hearted approach. This is clearly a much darker view of the spring rain than what we have encountered earlier.

More than a century later, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the first really large collection of seasonal words was compiled. It is the *Saijiki* by Kyokutei Bakin (1767–1848) which was published after his death in 1850. In this work, the entry for spring rain contains the words *harusame*, *haru no ame* and *gōu*. No special distinction

is made between these words, although the last word, gōu, actually refers to a sudden heavy downpour. As a comment about the essence of this rain, a reference is made to Onitsura's phrase quoted above (Kyokutei 2000, 43).

Moving on to the twentieth century, we find the next important collection of seasonal topics, the *Shin-saijiki* (1951) by Takahama Kyoshi (1874–1959), the grand old man of modern haiku. His explanation of the spring rain is a bit more detailed:

> ln the word *harusame* one feels delicacy and lustrousness, but one should not stick to these qualities. The feeling of a spring rain that lets the buds of plants grow and makes flowers bloom, has a flavor of moistness all around. If it never stops falling, one calls it *shunrin*. *Haru no ame* (Takahama 1951, 124–125).

It seems that Kyoshi did not make a special distinction between *harusame* and *haru no ame* as he adds the latter expression as an alternative at the end. For a never-ending rain, he suggests another word. His view of the spring rain lacks the heaviness and gloom of Onitsura.

So far we have only studied examples by writers who were also prominent poets, but the following discussion comes from an essay about the importance of the seasonal topics by Ogata Tsutomu (1920–2009), one of the most eminent Japanese scholars in the field. This text is found in his *Za no bungaku* a collection of critical essays (Ogata 1997, 63–64). Ogata stresses the importance of knowing the difference between spring rain as a natural phenomenon and its meaning as a literary topic of *haikai* poetry. Quoting a meteorologist, who defines spring rain as any rain falling in the spring season, whether it is cold or warm, quiet or violent, he says that this may be well for meteorological science, but it is far away from the *harusame* treated as a literary or poetic word. To illustrate its literary expression, he quotes the statement by Jōha that we discussed earlier, and adds the line from Dohō about the distinction between *haru no ame* and *harusame*, which, Ogata says, shows how minutely one felt the distinctions within poetry.

Another influential scholar and critic, Yamamoto Kenkichi (1907–1988), published a collection of the "500 essential season words" in 1986, *Kihon kigo 500 sen*. In this collection he makes a very detailed account of each such word or topic and also adds a number of examples of poems in which they are used, a procedure reminiscent of Kigin's approach. I quote the main part of his entry on spring rain below:

> This is a rain that accompanies local depressions and occurs when the seasonal wind changes its direction. It seldom turns into a downpour, but is a steady falling rain of small raindrops that continues to fall softly for an extended period of time. It occurs frequently in March and April and since it brings the special lustrous feeling of spring, one says that it makes the trees bud, the grass germinate and the flowers bloom. As it often falls continuously one also calls it *shunrin* ("long rain of spring").
>
> In Dohō's *Kurozōshi* a distinction is made between spring rain (*harusame*) and the rain of spring (*haru no ame*). He says that "one makes the spring rain continue to fall forever, without the smallest break. One calls it like this in March. /…/ In January and the beginning of February one calls it rain of spring."
>
> Thus "rain of spring" is comprehensive and passes over all the three months of spring, while the "spring rain" has a specific character and has its season mainly in late spring. (Yamamoto 1989, 34)

Yamamoto's explanation draws from both meteorology and *haikai* criticism. Dohō's theory is mentioned again, but slightly reinterpreted, in that *haru no ame* is explained as falling any time in the spring season. The spring rain's association to growing and budding, as well as its lustrous quality is similar to Kyoshi's description.

The discussion of essences of seasonal words is still important in contemporary haiku. In a recent introduction to haiku written by Hasegawa Kai, we find a description of the *hon'i* as a kind of rule that must be followed by poets. He too refers to Dohō, but only to the aspect of Dohō's definition that says that the spring rain should be a rain that continues without an end. Hasegawa writes that the essence of a seasonal word may sometimes set up a standard that works against reality. If the spring rain does not fall in a way that is proper, he says a bit jokingly, it is not the *hon'i* that is wrong, but the rain that does not know how to adjust itself to its own essence (Hasegawa 2009, 119).

A Counter-Argument

Dohō's theory of the different names for the spring rain in different months has definitely had a strong influence on twentieth-century critical writing about *haikai* and haiku, and in a recent study, Yamashita Kazumi, has tried to show that one actually may see the distinction between an early cold rain of spring (*haru no ame*) and a later warm spring rain (*harusame*) in some of Buson's poems (2009, 188–191). This would offer some evidence that Dohō's theory really was important already in the premodern age, but Yamashita's argument is unfortunately mainly based on his own interpretations of the poems and is thus dangerously close to become self-confirming. One example may illustrate the difficulties of his argument.

Harusame ni	While getting soaked
nuretsutsu yane no	in the spring rain
temari kana	the cotton ball on the roof

This poem by Buson is quoted at the beginning of Yamashita's account. The word *harusame* is used, but Yamashita gives no further explanation why it must be understood as a warm late spring scene. In fact, the *temari* ("cotton ball") is a toy usually associated with the New Year, and would thus imply that this is a scene from the very beginning of spring, at least if we are to take the seasonal associations seriously. This poem may as well function in a later warm setting, but if we do not care about one seasonal association, why should we care about the other?

Among the poems Yamamoto chose to illustrate the usage of spring rain, there is a haiku by Bashō that should be discussed in this context:

Bushōsa ya	Such laziness!
kakiokosareshi	shaken awake
haru no ame	in this rain of spring

This poem was written in 1891 and is found in an early version in a letter dated the twenty-second day of the second month (Hagiwara 1976, 155). Bashō uses the word *haru no ame* for the spring rain, which according to the theory of Dohō would refer to the rain of the first and the early second month. Since the date is at the end of the second month, Bashō is here actually opposing the theory of his disciple. The date will be in the end of March of the modern calendar, a time when the weather in Japan is already quite warm. The impression one gets from Bashō's letter is that this was a recent poem. It was written when he was staying for a few months in his home town and it is usually supposed to be autobiographical, expressing the relief of having returned to the place where one was born (Yamamoto 2012, 523). The expression of the poem certainly suggests a continuing rainfall, as the protagonist of the poem wants to stay in bed and has to be shaken awake. This desire to stay in bed implies the lethargy and fatigue of late spring and this poem's focus is clearly on the "laziness," which is marked by the slightly emphatic cutting word *ya*. The mood is almost the same as in the following poem, which also is among Yamamoto's examples.

Harusame ya	Spring rain –
nukedeta mama no	just as when I slipped out from it
yagi no ana	the hollow in the bed clothing

This poem is by Jūsō, one of Bashō's disciples. As in Bashō's poem, this is a picture full of lethargy. Someone has barely been able to get up in the morning, but is too weary to put away the bed clothing. Suddenly he notices that the quilt is still in the form as when he crept out from it, leaving a hollow opening. Writing about this poem, Horikiri Minoru states that the laziness of this person corresponds to the languid and dreary essence of the spring rain (which here is written as *harusame*), thus identifying this particular aspect as the *hon'i* (1989, 142).

Although both poems express a very similar mood, Jūsō uses the word *harusame* for the rain, but Bashō uses *haru no ame*. The similarity of expression would suggest a similar kind of rain and a similar time of the year, and this again opposes Dohō's theory, unless, of course, we adhere to Yamamoto's modification of the theory, as he suggested that the *haru no ame* may be used for all of spring. But one may question the importance of this entire argument. If the poem, as a whole, points toward late or early spring, that would be enough, irrespective of which word is used, and if the poem is ambiguous, it does not really matter. It will be more relevant to note here that Bashō probably chose *haru no ame* for the sake of rhythm. If *harusame* was used in his poem, the result would be a very clumsy prosody. With too much focus on the semantic and semiotic aspects of poetry, it is easy to lose sight of the very obvious, that the rhythmical and musical qualities of a poem may be of much greater importance.

To bring the critique of Dohō's theory yet one step further, another of Yamamoto's examples may be quoted. It is one of several haiku which show that

the spring rain must not necessarily be given a never-ending quality. This haiku is by Shirao, a poet active in the late eighteenth century.

Umi harete	The sea clears up
harusame keburu	and the spring rain vapors
hayashi kana	from a grove of trees

This poem captures the moment after the rain has stopped and the drenched trees and plants, warmed by the sun, start to emit vapor. The essence of the rain developed here corresponds well with Kyoshi's description, but has very little connection to the views of Dohō or Onitsura. Considering examples like these, it becomes evident that one cannot simply refer to limited statements found in this or that treatise on poetry to get even a functional description of the ways possible to compose poems on a certain topic.

Yosa Buson's Spring Rain

To get a fuller picture of the richness of associations connected with the spring rain, and to sum up this discussion, I will make a short investigation of Buson's poems on this topic. The reason for choosing Buson's works, besides him being one of the most important poets in the Japanese *haikai* tradition, is that he wrote an unusually large number of poems about the spring rain. This shows that he had a keen interest in the subject and one may presume that his search for its essence went fairly deep. The results will, of course, be representative only of his work, but by investigating all his poems, a selective and one-sided picture may be avoided.

Buson wrote 36 poems in total on the spring rain topic. Analyzing the context in which the topic is placed, I have sorted all these poems under different categories. Some of them were so rich in expression that they were placed into several categories. To decide on which categories to use, I started with those found in the texts discussed above. It is the categories: lengthiness, gloom, lightness, lustrousness, tiredness and growing. To these I have added a few more categories that were reoccurring in some of the poems. These are just tentative, but will show some of the diversity in the material. I have listed the categories below (Table 1). The number of poems in each category is accompanied by one example.

One may question these categories and prefer to sort the poems in other ways, but even this tentative grouping shows that there are a number of qualities expressed in poems about the spring rain that have not been discussed consciously in theoretical writing about haiku. The traditional essences "lengthiness" and "gloom" are common, which may be expected, but it is also notable that no category covers even half of the poems. That the spring rain would be related to "love" has not been mentioned at all in scholarly writing, but there are still quite a few poems on that theme. "Moistness" and "overflowing" may be seen as obvious aspects of rain, and may be regarded as a development of the classical *hon'i*, but

Table 1 Buson's Themes

Category	Number of poems	Example	
Lengthiness	14	Spring rain today too, just about to get dark	*Harusame ya kurenan to shite kyō mo ari*
Gloom	9	Spring rain all alone not taking his servant	*Harusame ya decchi mo tsurezu tada hitori*
Lightness	14	Spring rain talking as they walk straw cloak and umbrella	*Harusame ya monogatari yuku mino to kasa*
Lustrousness	9	Spring rain enough to moisten small shells on a small beach	*Harusame ya koiso no kogai nururu hodo*
Growing	3	Completely soaking a bag of grain the rain of spring	*Monodane no fukuro nurashitsu haru no ame*
Tiredness	4	By the lying person there is a sleeping person the rain of spring	*Neta hito ni nemuru hito ari haru no ame*
Love	9	Spring rain how painful to be unable to write	*Harusame ya mono kakanu mi no aware naru*
Freshness	8	Happy for the dripping of spring rain from my nobleman's cap	*Harusame no shizuku ureshiki eboshi kana*
Moistness	14	The boat's straw roof is neatly in order in the rain of spring	*Tomabune o kaitsukuroinu haru no ame*
Overflowing	8	Spring rain a rosary falling into the overflowing puddle	*Harusame ya zuzu otoshitaru niwatazumi*
Mystery	4	Spring rain someone lives there smoke leaking through the wall	*Harusame ya hito sumite keburi kabe o moru*
Travel	4	Spring rain an inn in Nara lending loose clogs	*Harusame ya yurui geta kasu Nara no yado*
Sound	4	At the palace guardhouse a voice calling for light the rain of spring	*Takiguchi ni hi o yobu koe ya haru no ame*
Old tale	3	Spring rain the butterfly's dream wakes up to the vegetable rice	*Harusame ya nameshi ni samasu chō no yume*
Moonlight	2	Spring rain the hesitating moon halfway over the sea	*Harusame ya izayou tsuki no umi nakaba*

being a development, these categories will inevitably turn into qualities that differ from the temporal aspect of the rain and explore its material and palpable qualities.

Conclusion

The approach, not uncommon today, to discuss the *hon'i* concept mainly as some sort of rule or convention, something artificially constructed by the tradition, may be understood as a consequence of the mainly semiotic theories of language and literature that have been in fashion in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. However, as we have seen even in this short investigation, the discussion about the essence of an actual topic, spring rain, was not that narrow. We found that very different and diverse opinions were expressed in the theoretical writing on this subject. Among these, the very limited theory that was maintained by Dohō was favored by some modern critics, but when confronted with actual poems, it turned out to be insufficient. Even a tentative investigation of a number of poems showed that there were many more potential aspects to explore in this topic than what was available when it was turned into theory. One may object that this investigation, being tentative, does not give results that are representative; the focus on Buson's works makes the results valid only for these and not for haiku in general. Such an objection, however, misses the point. A general theory for haiku poetry should also be valid even for Buson's oeuvre and if we can conclude that a reading of his poems demand a more flexible approach than the narrow version of the *hon'i* theory allows us, the same will most likely be valid for other poets. Even this limited investigation shows that such flexibility is necessary when analyzing haiku.

   The results of the present investigation show that it may be more fruitful to discuss the *hon'i* theory from a creative point of view, as an investigation into the aspects of a theme or a topic to find ways to make it vivid and give it a forceful and tangible expression. The search for essences is not necessarily a process of defining limits and setting up rules, deciding what is right or wrong according to tradition. Rather, it may be a creative search for how to "catch" a certain phenomenon. The *haikai* movement was, and is, at its core, a creative movement that has always tried to move forward towards the exploration of yet a different perspective on the world (for a further discussion, see Jonsson 2006, 126–153). Therefore an investigation in how a certain topic has been used by poets will make more sense as a scholarly pursuit than research that is simply based on deliberately stated theories. This does not mean, however, that the cultural context of the poems may be ignored and the interpretation of them may just be based on our own personal experiences. Undoubtedly the experiences of us as readers are essential for our understanding, even of texts written in a different age and society, but any reader will need knowledge of the cultural context to fully appreciate such poetry, be it Japanese haiku or, for example, the somewhat similar Korean sijo poems. For a Western European like me, this may be obvious, but in the case of premodern haiku or the much older classical sijo, even a native Japanese or Korean will need to learn about the genre and its conventions, about the society that surrounded the

poems. This investigation, although brief and tentative, has demonstrated that such contextual matters may be complex, with a great amount of individual variation, and that we always need to be careful not to generalize or oversimplify in order to prevent distortion of our material.

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Chapter 20
Cultural Translation and Musical Innovation: A Theoretical Model with Examples from Japan

David G. Hebert

Prelude

In 2003, an original artistic project entitled "Correspondence" was conceived and performed in Tokyo that, in retrospect, seems to offer some stimulating insights into issues of cultural translation.[1] Correspondence was a modest original opera, for which I collaborated with Belgian avant-garde artist Dr. Eric van Hove[2] as co-producer and co-director. For this experimental project, van Hove wrote the words to be spoken and sung, and designed images to be displayed (projections of calligraphy), while I created music to accompany the performance with both vocalists and a chamber orchestra. Our work was supplemented by both semi-improvisatory sounds from renowned electronic dance musician Kenji Williams[3] and masterful movement from butoh dancer Kinya "Zulu" Tsuruyama.[4] Correspondence was quite a low-budget project since most performers were still students, including the Japanese orchestra members, singers, and other

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[1] Although this essay is technically unpublished until now, an earlier version was distributed in digital format within symposium proceedings: Hebert, David G., "Cultural translation and music: A theoretical model and examples from Japan." In Thunman, N. & Guo, N. (Eds.), *Cultural Translations: Research on Japanese Literature in Northern Europe* (Gothenburg, Sweden: University of Gothenburg and Kyoto, Japan: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken), 2011), pp.17–37. Much of this opening discussion concerns material available on the *Correspondence* opera project website: http://www.transcri.be/correspondence.html

[2] Eric van Hove official website, http://transcri.be

[3] Kenji Williams website, http://www.kenjiwilliams.com/

[4] Zulu page, Codice Bianco website, http://www.codice-bianco.it/it/progetto_12_2007/zulu.html

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participants, and what is relevant to this essay is not so much the novelty (or nostalgia) of our work, nor its artistic contribution, which admittedly may have been regarded as rather insignificant in the judgment of some audience members. Rather, I would like to begin with a brief consideration of what was expressed through this artistic performance regarding attempts to bridge cultural differences, particularly via "translation" in the discourses of music and language.

The principal unifying theme of Correspondence was reflected in multiple layers within its title. This work was about the angular meeting of lines and planes, including the attempt to understand how ideas in one domain (e.g., Japanese society, language and art) may be expressed in another (e.g., European societies, languages and music), while it was also literally based on a series of letters, or correspondence between van Hove in Japan and his acquaintances abroad to whom he was writing about his initial observations of life in contemporary Japan. We offered a special sneak preview of selections from the opera at a school for disabled children in Western Tokyo, whose administration assured us we were the first group of foreigners ever to visit. That was a deeply touching experience, since we sensed that the performance in some way meant as much to these Japanese children, with their broad range of mental and physical struggles, as it could ever mean to an audience of healthy and educated adults.[5] They too seemed to struggle to understand and be understood, and perhaps also feared causing offense that could lead to rejection in what seemed to us to be a society deeply invested in perfection. Of course, van Hove and I were still only beginning to understand Japanese society at the time, and had much to learn.

It may inevitably seem over-ambitious – or even megalomaniacal – to embark on an original artistic project of this kind, yet van Hove and I felt at the time that it was courageous and somehow necessary. If *we* did not strive to create some great new performance art to express our impressions of contemporary Japan, we mused, who would? Since the time of *Correspondence*, I have focused more on academic scholarship, often at the expense of neglecting my artistic side,[6] while van Hove has completed an MA degree in *shodo* (Japanese calligraphy) from Tokyo Gakugei University and a PhD in contemporary art from Tokyo University of Fine Arts, and given exhibitions and performances in numerous countries around the world. Dr. van Hove is perhaps most well-known as a poet and avant-garde calligrapher nowadays, with projects that involve drawing improvised poetry in unusual modes and locations worldwide, such as in public squares, underwater, across sands in the desert, in the arctic snow, and in Africa in collaboration with various wild animals, and his best known work is probably the

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[5]For recent research on music therapy interventions, see Brynjulf Stige, Gary Ansdell, Cochavit Elefant, and Mercédès Pavlicevic, *Where Music Helps: Community Music Therapy in Action and Reflection* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), and Brynjulf Stige, *Culture-Centered Music Therapy* (New Braunfels, TX: Barcelona Publishers, 2002).

[6]Sociomusicology blog (David G. Hebert), http://sociomusicology.blogspot.com; Since becoming a tenured professor, however, I have returned to professional music-making, including jazz and opera productions.

provocative Metragram series that entails images of calligraphy being drawn on the periumbilical region (abdomens) of ethnically diverse women in around 50 locations all across the world.[7]

Dr. van Hove's poetry, which I turned into song, expressed many intriguing images associated with the challenge of attempting to reach an understanding of an entirely different foreign culture and its language. In "Correspondence", van Hove wrote "The seams of modern Japan are visible, and its creators have only celestial reflection of the human condition's infinite tragedy, daily and unnoticed as the beauty of a pool of water." I recall that as I strove to develop music for this intriguing line of poetry, I was struck with how difficult it is to express cross-cultural understandings meaningfully without essentializing differences. At the same time, van Hove's writings were to some extent about the reflective experience of self-discovery in a foreign context. In another line of Correspondence he wrote, "You know as I do, this discomfort that submerges you when suddenly you hear yourself: being so far from truth at the very time when you were walking on a serene path with it as the destination." I was also deeply impressed by some passages from Correspondence in which van Hove acknowledged the musicality of a language one is still struggling to comprehend. "Little by little," van Hove observed that "Japanese makes its significant inroads toward me, from a still hollow significant is birthed the full signifier that I could only suspect until now." Indeed, we may have much to learn about the nature of language and process of translation by reflecting on parallel phenomena in music.

This essay will explore various ways that intercultural analyses of musical meanings may offer theoretical insights applicable to the broader field of cultural translation. Music, like language, qualifies as a field in which "ideological horizons of homogeneity have been conceptualized,"[8] and postcolonialist scholars such as Homi Bhabha and Paul Gilroy have acknowledged its critical role as an emblem of identity within the very sites of hybridity that particularly interest scholars of cultural translation.[9] Nevertheless, it appears that previous studies have not explicitly acknowledged the role that music may play in the field of cultural translation, and there is need for theoretical models to address its relationship to other forms of discourse in this regard.

While much has already been theorized regarding how foreign musical genres may be transplanted, adopted and fused with indigenous traditions, the notion of cultural translation may most accurately fit the specific objective of intentionally representing significant aspects of one musical tradition through the techniques of another distinct tradition. Artistic choices to (or not to) explicitly aim for this mode of cultural translation are routinely made by contemporary musicians active

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[7]Metragram Series website, http://cargocollective.com/metragram

[8]See Boris Buden and Stefan Nowotny, "Cultural translation: An introduction to the problem," *Translation Studies, 2*(2), 196–208 (2009); p. 206.

[9]Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), and Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993).

in hybrid genres, and analysis of specific examples from such ensembles as the Yoshida Brothers, Helsinki Koto Ensemble, Tokyo Brass Style, and Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble will illustrate how cultural translation can be either conscious or unconscious, and deliberately highlighted or shunted in such music projects. A theoretical model will be proposed as one way of conceptualizing various approaches to cultural translation in music.

Rationale and Limitations: Musical Translation

Cultural translation can be rather difficult to define. By virtue of its being both (1) an emerging interdisciplinary field, and (2) a corpus of paradigms disseminated in area studies and cultural studies, it seems a vast array of activity might qualify as cultural translation, for whenever we strive to effectively communicate complex concepts from one system of thought to another, we arguably engage in cultural translation. Still, for the purposes of this essay I will regard cultural translation to constitute only a very slight broadening of the notion of "translation" as traditionally used in reference to languages. For several generations, musicologists have written about similarities between music and language, and reflected on ways that analytical approaches from the field of linguistics may be effectively applied to music. Linguists and literary critics, however, have generally taken less of an interest in musicological paradigms. Unsurprisingly, a similar trend may be seen in the emerging field of cultural translation, for which it already appears that linguistic and literary discussion may be dominant relative to paradigms associated with research on other forms of cultural discourse (such as music, theatre, dance, visual art, fashion, etc.).

What of consequence to intercultural understanding might inevitably be missed by theorization that arises almost exclusively from examination of a single form of discourse as a basis for cultural analysis? Translators routinely grapple with complex meanings embedded in nonlinguistic forms of communication that defy conventional modes of translation, and consequently a holistic and trans-disciplinary theoretical orientation is seemingly desirable to many proponents of cultural translation. Sherry Simon has acknowledged "the concerns of those who fear that an uncontrolled enlargement of the idea of translation will be a threat to the new discipline of translation studies."[10] In recognition that this concern may have some legitimacy, the rationale for this essay arises from a recognition that even a field striving to maintain its focus on language may still have something valuable to learn from the other form of symbolically-rich human discourse regarded to most closely resemble language: music. Moreover, my approach will make deliberate use of a generously conservative definition for what "translation" might entail in musical contexts. Despite such reservations and qualifications, one must acknowledge that according to the positions advanced in many of its seminal

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[10]Sherry Simon, "Response," *Translation Studies, 2*(2), 208–213 (2009), p. 210.

documents,[11] it would appear that analysis of intercultural musical practices – and the ways in which they are explained – merits a place in the field cultural translation. Specifically, systems of music transmission and pedagogy seem to represent especially fertile areas for research on educational issues in cultural translation.[12]

In order to bring a manageable focus to this discussion, it is important to be impeccably clear about what will *not* be addressed here, and why. I will avoid discussion of mere song lyrics and their meanings, in order to maintain a focus on the sentient features of musical sound that may be independent of any linguistic significance, the reason being that such a focus will enable us to face the distinctive features of musical discourse in contrast to linguistic discourse. I will also eschew discussion of the kinds of challenges and dilemmas most often faced by ethnomusicologists, scholars who seek to construct comprehensive verbal descriptions of musical systems that are translated across cultural boundaries. Much has already been written on that topic, which I greatly appreciate, yet this theme would appear to be less relevant to the essential purpose of this discussion. Rather, the question here is how musicians adopt ideas and practices from one musical system into another musical system, a process that to some extent typically requires a bridging of cultural differences: in other words, projects that entail an attempt to translate one *music* (or at least prominent aspects of a preexisting genre or tradition) into another genre of *music*. I will also consider educational implications of this kind of cultural translation, which typically yields some prototypical form of musical hybridity as its innovative outcome.

For those unfamiliar with music research there may be some reluctance to recognize the meaningfulness of musical practices, or at least the validity of their interpretation. Just how significant should music-making, the mere production of pleasurable sounds, be appropriately regarded within the context of other seemingly translatable human activities? The global ubiquity and expansive history of musical activity serve as some testament to its ultimate utility, for social scientists consider music-making to be a universal practice associated with all known human societies, and with a lengthy history that may even rival that of language.[13] In November of 2010, I taught briefly for the Higher Institute of Music in Damascus, Syria, a nation that is home to some of the earliest evidence of music

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[11]See Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 1980/2002); Edwin Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1993/2001); Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); and Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995).

[12]Margaret Mehl, "Cultural translation in two directions: The Suzuki Method in Japan and Germany," *Research and Issues in Music Education, 7* (2009), http://www.stthomas.edu/rimeonline/vol7/mehl.htm.

[13]See Nils. L. Wallin, Bjorn Merker, and Steven Brown (eds.), *The Origins of Music* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), and Steven Mithen, *The Singing Neanderthals: The Origins of Music, Language, Mind and Body* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005). Also see Jonathan McCollum and David G. Hebert (eds.), *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014).

in the world.[14] At the National Museum of Syria I viewed Ur-Nansha, one of the world's oldest known carvings of a musician. Ur-Nansha is the name inscribed on a 26-cm tall gypsum statue that depicts an androgynous court musician, the chief singer of Iblul Il, who was King of the city-state of Mari, located in what is now Eastern Syria. The Ur-Nansha figure was found in a Massif Ridge archaeological dig, nearby the Ninna Zaza temple (2600-2400 BC). According to recent research findings, a 3200 year old song, also from Syria, offers the earliest known written clues regarding ancient musical practices. In the lyrics of this song, dated to 1200 BC and found inscribed in cuneiform symbols on a clay tablet, an Assyrian woman approaches the moon goddess, Nikkal, to seek a cure for infertility.[15] However, there is even earlier evidence of musical activity than these examples, including primitive Stone Age cave paintings and, most recently, the discovery of bone flutes from over 35,000 years ago in the region that is now southwestern Germany.[16] Music clearly serves an essential human need, as seen from its use in all known societies to construct meaning and regulate social behavior, as well as evidence of its practice that extends to prehistoric times, and it may very well have evolved in tandem with language.

Theoretical Model of Music Translation

The theoretical model I will propose in this essay has two parts: (a) Four Culturalist Conceptions, and (b) Five Domains of Cultural Translation via Music. The first part illustrates how cross-cultural relationships may be conceived in relation to education and other institutionalized forms of socially structured interaction, which also has implications for literature and related arts. Rather than serving an analytical function for interpretation of particular examples of cross-cultural artistry, the Four Culturalist Conceptions is intended to serve an illustrative purpose in normative discussion of prospective approaches to cultural policy. The second part Five Domains of Cultural Translation via Music delineates diverse aspects of music production and consumption that may parallel phenomena encountered in other art forms, and as will be demonstrated, is proposed for direct use as an analytical tool.

If multicultural education, as James Banks explains in *Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*, is "a concept, an educational reform movement, and a process" that "incorporates the idea that all students – regardless of their ethnic, racial, cultural, or linguistic characteristics – should have an equal

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[14]At the time I had no idea that Syria would soon plunge into a horrific civil war that continues to this day, with enormous loss of innocent life and destruction of globally significant historical artifacts. I thank Dr. Chaden Yafi for her invitation and maestro Nahel Al Halabi for his kind hospitality.

[15]This is according to Dr. Theo J. H. Krispijn, Professor of Assyriology at Leiden University, the Netherlands. See Charles Leroux, "Blast from the past: The tale of the oldest song ever," *Chicago Tribune* (2007, April 2).

[16]Nicholas J. Conard, Maria Malina, and Susanne C. Münzel, "New flutes document the earliest musical tradition in southwestern Germany," *Nature, 460* (August 2009), pp. 737–740.

opportunity to learn in school,"[17] then there would seem to be precious little philosophical – especially ethical – foundation for opposition to multiculturalist approaches to education in the twenty-first century. Still, the notion of multiculturalism continues to be debated – particularly in contemporary Europe – and the field of cultural translation seems increasingly concerned with this issue. When considered from an historical perspective, it becomes clear that this way of thinking about education has only become popular in recent generations. Moreover, nowadays, as I have written elsewhere, "the dizzying array of complex inequalities and diverse identities encountered across the globe today may even justify adopting the perspective that any education which is *not* to some extent multicultural in orientation essentially fails to offer students sufficient opportunities to become meaningfully attuned to the reality of the human condition outside their immediate experience."[18] Music today, despite the commodification and disjuncture from origins caused by its dissemination via mass media, remains strongly connected to cultural roots, even among hybrid genres, a phenomenon that has complex and multifaceted educational implications.[19] The following coloured figure illustrates Four Culturalist Conceptions, as will be explained further below (Fig. 1):

The Four Culturalist Conceptions illustrated here consist of: (1) Biculturalism, (2) Multiculturalism, (3) Interculturalism, and (4) Transculturalism. Each conception entails a slightly different approach to institutionalization of the cross-cultural meeting of two or more distinct traditions, as encountered in various public sector contexts, such as education and arts policy. The first example, "Biculturalism," indicates the meeting of two major cultural strands, each of which is expected to respond to the other in an attitude of cooperation and even compromise. This approach to cross-cultural contact has for many years been regarded as official government policy in such nations as New Zealand, where there is a single clearly identifiable indigenous population and a single colonizing power, in this case the Maori and British (or *Pakeha*) residents. However, as I have discussed elsewhere,[20] nowadays the demographic makeup of even a nation like New Zealand is actually far more complex than mere biculturalism would appear to suggest, since there are many Asians and Pacific Islander residents from an array of backgrounds, some of whom (such as in the case of the Niueans) are found in greater numbers in

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[17] James A. Banks, ed., *Routledge International Handbook of Multicultural Education* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 1.

[18] David G. Hebert and Sidsel Karlsen, "Editorial introduction: Multiculturalism and music education," *Finnish Journal of Music Education, 13*(1), 6–11 (2010), p. 7.

[19] David G. Hebert, Jazz and Rock Music, W. M. Anderson and P. S. Campbell (eds.), *Multicultural Perspectives in Music Education*, vol.1 (Lanham: Rowman-Littlefield, 2010); David G. Hebert, "Ethnicity and music education: Sociological dimensions," in R. Wright (ed.), *Sociology and Music Education* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 93–114; David G. Hebert, "Rethinking the historiography of hybrid genres in music education," in L. Vakeva and V. Kurkela (eds.), *De-Canonizing Music History* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009), pp. 163–184.

[20] David G. Hebert, "Music transmission in an Auckland Tongan community youth band," *International Journal of Community Music, 1*(2), (2008), pp. 169–188.

Fig. 1 Model-four culturalist conceptions

Modle 1. Four Culturalist Conceptions

1. Biculturalism   2. Multiculturalism
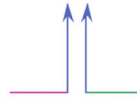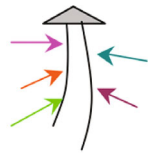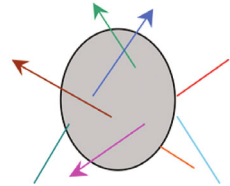
3. Interculturalism   4. Transculturalism

New Zealand than "back home." The second example, Multiculturalism, is often represented through the use of such common metaphors as a "melting pot" or "salad bowl." In this conceptualization, society as a whole is believed to benefit from the contributions of diverse cultural groups who collaborate to raise the collective achievement, forming an even stronger new culture through a synergy that to varying degrees may either result in some loss of the distinctive original cultures (as in the melting pot metaphor) or overall maintenance of heritage (as in the salad bowl metaphor). Some scholars and public figures use these kinds of conceptualizations in debates regarding contemporary society in the United States, Australia, Brazil, Malaysia, and Khazakhstan, for example. Interculturalism is a concept gaining currency of late in western Europe, where many reject the idea of ever permitting the citizenry to become so ethnically and racially diverse as North America, yet acknowledge that the increasingly obvious presence of large immigrant populations from such places as Africa and the Middle East requires some modifications to public policy. Interculturalism seems to entail an orderly and respectful recognition of difference that leads to some alteration of trajectory on the part of both parties, but perhaps without major transformation of the traditional majority culture. Transculturalism, on the other hand, seems to consist of a free and uninhibited nexus of multiple influences with some risk of "graying" (or lessening of original distinctiveness), yet leading to eventual transformation, while generally retaining some of the original characteristics, illustrated here via slight modifications to color but not trajectory. These Four Culturalist Conceptions may prove useful in any conversations regarding the ultimate purpose of cultural translation within academia. Scholars of cultural translation are presumably motivated by the desire to attain improvements in cross-cultural understanding, yet there is likely to be an array of diverse visions regarding what ultimately may be the outcome of a significant lessening of the epistemological barriers and non-empathetic tensions between cultural groups that give rise to such profound allegories as the Tower of Babel

and have even led to countless unnecessary and abominable wars throughout history. The promotion of cross-cultural understanding has arisen as a topic on the landscape of *music* education in Japan across recent years, and is likely to be a subject of continued debate across a broad range of fields far into the future.[21]

One important domain in which cultural translation is likely to be especially prominent is that of fusion (or hybrid) music genres and specific examples of musicians and ensembles that seek to blend influences from culturally distinct sources. Until recently, research on hybrid music traditions has "generally implied that they lacked authenticity or were degenerate and oversentimental, having been influenced only by the 'lowest' forms of Western music."[22] However, across the past decade, hybridity has arisen as a particularly important area of music research. Ethnomusicologist Tina Ramnarine has recently observed that by "moving beyond simple understandings of hybridity as musical cultures in contact that result in 'new' musical expressions we move towards politically articulated readings of social relations and creative processes."[23] Thus, hybridity requires an especially broad view in order to grasp all relevant factors, which is why the second part of this model is relatively wide in its scope, encompassing five domains.

The second part of the model is entitled Five Domains of Cultural Translation via Music, which are identified as follows (see below): (A) Technological Adaptations, (B) Idiomatic Conventions, (C) Aesthetic Notions, (D) Creative Practices, and (E) Receptive Contexts (Fig. 2).

What is meant by conceptualization according to these five domains in the cultural translation of music (or, alternatively, the *musical* translation of music)? Consider the following descriptions:

A. *Technological Adaptations*. This refers to an array of tools and associated techniques, including instruments, notation systems, sound media (synthesizer programming of non-sampled sounds or even samples, etc.) used by musicians.
B. *Idiomatic Conventions*. This refers to actual approaches to the use of musical sounds, including tonal, rhythmic, textural, timbral, and formal systems.
C. *Aesthetic Notions*. This includes holistic approaches and expressive devices that embody characteristics regarded to sound appropriate and "good." This does not necessarily require new techniques (although it often does); Rather, it can merely consist of new ways of listening to and evaluating sounds that influence the intentions of musicians.

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[21]Mitsuko Isoda, *Ongaku Kyoikuto Tabunkashugi* [Music Education and Multiculturalism] (Otsu: Sangaku, 2010). Also, for examples of how the power of music has been used in conflict resolution, see Olivier Urbain (ed.), *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics* (London: I.B. Tauris, for Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, 2008).

[22]Margaret J. Kartomi, "The processes and results of musical culture contact: A discussion of terminology and concepts," *Ethnomusicology, 25*(2), 227–249 (1981); p. 227.

[23]Tina K. Ramnarine, "Musical performance in the diaspora: Introduction," *Ethnomusicology Forum, 16*(1), 1–17 (2007), p.7; For discussion of how cultural hybridity is a characteristic feature of a broader set of conditions and social mechanisms known as "glocalization", see David G. Hebert & Mikolaj Rykowski (Eds.), Music Glocalization: Heritage and Innovation in a Digital Age (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2018).

Model 2. Five Domains of Cultural Translation via Music
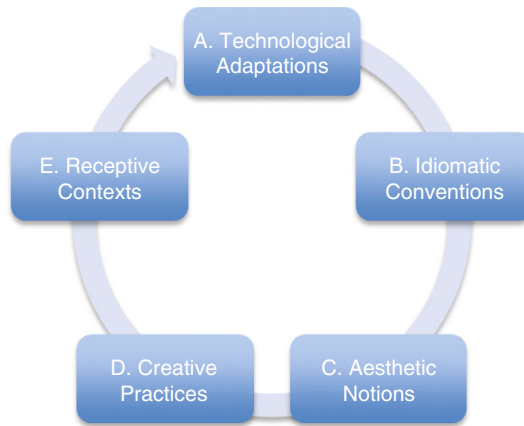
Fig. 2 Model-five domains of cultural translation via music

D. *Creative Practices*. This means particular approaches to improvisation, composition, etc., the extent to which material is revised, how it is prepared and developed, mixed and mastered, and so on.
E. *Receptive Contexts*. This includes not only rituals or venues, but also modes of mediation and any combinations with other media, such as drama, dance, or visual image.

Clearly, the above categories, despite maintaining integrity in some respects, are most often deeply intertwined in the context of any genre. Nevertheless, I sense it is possible to identify examples of musics that have been mostly "translated" in terms of primary emphasis on a single one or particular combination of these categories, typically resulting in some form of artistic hybrid or fusion. Ultimately, the usefulness of such a conceptualization will only be recognizable if put into practice, so I will soon proceed to some concrete illustrations that make use of a template entitled Pentagonal Analysis of Cultural Translation (PACT) that was developed to enable this Five Domains of Cultural Translation in Music model to be implemented as an analytical tool. I must stress that this model is intended to be merely interpretative, to guide subjective analysis and stimulate more robust and precise discussion in conversations and debates among both scholars and artists.

Applications to Japan

The remainder of this essay will offer consideration of how the aforementioned model may be applied to specific examples of musicians who are either Japanese or doing work inspired in some way by Japanese cultural traditions, and conclude

with some discussion of implications for other domains of cultural translation. It is important to acknowledge that this is by no means the first discussion of how westernized music in Japan may be theorized, for there have been very significant prior contributions to this theme.[24] However, in terms of how the specific practice of "musical translation" may be defined, as explained earlier, there are arguably some unique aspects to the present discussion. Still, I will begin by briefly describing two of the most interesting previous models that aim to conceptualize various ways that Japanese musicians have approached the mixing of indigenous and western influences, as well as the related role of cultural identity, in their musical activities, both of which are topics of relevance to the theme of musical translation.

Transference, Syncretism, and Synthesis

Music theorist Yayoi Uno-Everett has offered an insightful model in the book *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* for interpreting East Asian composers' strategies for constructing hybrid music compositions.[25] This model makes use of the three categories of: (1) Transference, (2) Syncretism, and (3) Synthesis. According to her conceptualization, within works in the first category (*transference*), Asian composers: (a) "Draw on aesthetic principles or formal systems without iconic references to Asian sounds," (b) "Evoke Asian sensibilities without explicit musical borrowing," (c) "Quote culture through literary or extra-musical means," and (d) "Quote preexistent musical materials through the form of a collage." In the second category (*syncretism*), Asian composers: (a) "Transplant East Asian attributes of timbre, articulation, or scale system onto Western instruments" and (b) "Combine musical instruments and/or tuning systems of East Asian and Western musical ensembles." In the final category (*synthesis*), which is presumably least commonly encountered, composers fully "transform" elements from at least two traditions into "a distinctive synthesis." Yayoi Uno Everett's model seems particularly effective for analysis of the work of composers in the field of art music, for which it was originally designed, and it may also offer some valid applications to other forms of music.

Fence, Flavor, and Phantasm

Another interesting metaphorical model is proposed by Gordon Mathews, who suggests that attitudes toward "Japaneseness" in music be considered in terms of

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[24]See Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau, eds., *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), and Gordon Mathews, "Fence, flavor, and phantasm: Japanese musicians and the meanings of 'Japaneseness'" *Japanese Studies, 24*(3) (2004), 335-350. Also, see Bonnie C. Wade, *Music in Japan* (Oxford University Press, 2004), and Shuhei Hosokawa, "'Salsa no Tiene Frontera': Orquestra de la Luz and the globalization of popular music" 1999, *Cultural Studies, 13*(3), pp. 509-534.

[25]See Yayoi Uno Everett in Everett and Lau, 2004, p. 16.

their resemblance to the notions of fence, flavor, and phantasm. By "fence," Mathews means an attitude that promotes "walling off Japanese from change and foreignness," which he contrasts with both seeing Japaneseness as "a flavor to be enjoyed by anyone in the world," and as a "phantasm," by which he means "Japaneseness obliterated, to be created anew if enough people can be convinced of the validity of such a recreation." The *Fence/Flavor/Phantasm* model offers an attractive approach that may be helpful in framing discussions regarding cultural identity in an array of musics.

Despite the apparent utility of these two models, I sense that some Japanese musicians nowadays may actually maintain a relatively cosmopolitan and culturally "omnivorous" identity[26] for which the very notion of "Japaneseness" and awareness of the Asian origins of musical material have little relevance. Shuhei Hosokawa has identified a phenomenon he describes as "the temporary bracketing of 'identity' that constitutes the Japanese self"[27] among Japanese musicians, who he recognizes as often capable of maintaining transitory and multi-faceted, or even multiple, musical identities. Both of the aforementioned models may serve as useful tools for grappling with how musical sound or cultural identity may be conceived in specific contexts. However, these models may also be sufficiently malleable so as to be considered in combination with other models, such as in the Aesthetic Notions domain (zone C) of the Pentagonal Analysis of Cultural Translation (PACT) approach developed and applied in this essay for the precise purpose of understanding musical "translation."

Japan in Music Translation

I will now proceed to discussion of four examples of contemporary musicians who make various uses of influences from Japanese traditional culture within their work. For the purpose of this essay, I have selected two bands comprised of Japanese musicians who perform in a kind of fusion genre – the Yoshida Brothers and Tokyo Brass Style – and two bands comprised of non-Japanese musicians who perform in hybrid styles inspired by Japanese culture: the Helsinki Koto Ensemble, and the Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble. The Yoshida Brothers, who clearly combine Japanese traditional music with various global popular music styles, appear to be the only of these four bands to have already been thoroughly researched. Tokyo Brass Style seemed an attractive choice because it entails a hybrid of western brass band and contemporary Japanese youth culture. I am already well-acquainted with members of the ensemble from Finland, and

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[26]For sociological discussion of cultural "omnivorousness" see Koen van Eijck and John Lievens, "Cultural omnivorousness as a combination of highbrow, pop, and folk elements: The relation between taste patterns and attitudes concerning social integration," *Poetics, 36* (2008), 217-242.

[27]Hosokawa, 1999, p.526.

performed as a member of the ensemble from Russia, so familiarity and accessibility also naturally influenced the selection of these examples.

Yoshida Brothers

The Yoshida Brothers are a renowned popular music act from Hokkaido consisting of brothers Ryoichiro Yoshida (b. 1977) and Kenichi Yoshida (b. 1979), who play the tsugaru-shamisen. Interestingly, the brothers first gained enormous fame throughout Japan and the US largely due to an appearance performing their song "Kodo (Inside the Sun Remix)" in a 2007 television commercial for the Nintendo Wii videogame system. The Yoshida Brothers official website explains their meteoric rise to fame as follows:

> Each picked up the shamisen at the tender age of five, and began studying Tsugaru shamisen under Takashi Sasaki I in 1990. After sweeping prizes at national Tsugaru shamisen conventions, the brothers made their major debut in 1999. The debut album sold over 100,000 copies, which is an extraordinary figure for a traditional folk music release. They won the "Traditional Japanese Music Album Of The Year" category of the 15th annual Japan Gold Disc Award, as well as the "30th Anniversary Of Normalization Of Japan-China Diplomatic Relations Commemorative Special Prize" of the 17th Annual Japan Gold Disc Award.[28]

The historic roots of such tsugaru shamisen music have been thoroughly researched, which has not proceeded without controversy since much of the original sources appear to be unreliable.[29] The Yoshida Brothers received extensive training in the tsugaru shamisen tradition, but later decided to take their music in a new direction. Although some performances of the Yoshida Brothers may legitimately qualify as "traditional Japanese music," much of their music is clearly influenced by rock and other popular music styles, notably including their hit "Rising," which even contains heavy metal elements. On their MySpace website,[30] the Yoshida Brothers are described as "Japan's young masters of the ancient tsugaru-shamisen" and we are told that their new album *Prism* "reflects their long-standing commitment to traditional Japanese folk music, refracted through modern musical sensibilities, incorporating elements of pop, rock, and world music sounds." The website also boldly declares that the Yoshida Brothers have "taken the tsugaru-shamisen further than any other modern musician, practically reinventing its sound, leading to a musical style both firmly rooted in the traditions of the past and boldly looking forward to the future." The Yoshida Brothers MySpace website offers many quotations that laud the uniqueness of their artistic achievement. One quotation credits *The Globalist* for describing the

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[28]Yoshida Brothers, official website, http://www.domo.com/yoshidabrothers/

[29]Gerald Groemer, *The Spirit of Tsugaru: Blind Musicians, Tsugaru-Jamisen, and the Folk Music of Northern Japan* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1999).

[30]MySpace: Yoshida Brothers, http://www.myspace.com/yoshidabrothers1

Yoshida Brothers as "an example of how music, though it can bend, does not break with tradition. The history and tradition that echoes through their sound proves that even the most global music is rooted in local soil." Another quotation attributed to Jon Parales of the *New York Times* asserts "Their set, like a shredding heavy-metal solo was all about speed and twang." *The Boston Globe* reportedly claims that "The brothers embrace tradition, playing standards from the shamisen repertoire. But they also expand on it. In their own compositions, they riff on themes from the old songs, incorporating other instruments and elements from jazz, classical, flamenco, rock, the blues even techno. The music is high energy, and it is highly improvisational." Such statements from an array of sources are strategically used by Yoshida Brothers and their management as a form of online self-representation, suggesting that their work remains connected to Japanese traditional music despite some overtly commercial qualities. In other words, the Yoshida Brothers have attempted to "translate" the essence of their traditional music into the familiar idiom of popular music preferred by young people today both in Japan and abroad. Their music, thereby, "remains in an ambiguous position" between tradi-tional, folk and popular genres.[31] The proposed model could be applied to the high-profile case of the Yoshida Brothers as demonstrated below (Table 1):

Table 1 PACT-Yoshida brothers

Pentagonal Analysis of Cultural Translation (PACT)		
	Musical Example: Yoshida Brothers *Cultural Origins:* Japanese Folk Music / Global Popular Music (techno, heavy metal, etc.)	
Specific Domain:	**Salience of Hybridity:** [**S**trong / **M**ed / **W**eak]	**Explanation/Evidence:**
(A) Technological Adaptations	Strong	Japanese shamisen with heavy-metal style guitar effects and techno dance backing tracks.
(B) Idiomatic Conventions	Medium	Familiar popular music style accompaniment
(C) Aesthetic Notions	Weak	"Phantasm" or "flavor"? Syncretism of modern pop styles with historical musical practices.
(D) Creative Practices	Weak	Little evidence of new approaches.
(E) Receptive Contexts	Strong	TV advertising for videogames: new marketing approach.

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[31]See Michael S. Peluse, "Not your grandfather's music: Tsugaru shamisen blurs the lines between folk, traditional and pop," *Asian Music, 32*(2), 57-80 (2005), p. 76. Peluse's article is a robust previous study that focuses on the Yoshida Brothers; however, there appear to be no pre-vious studies of Helsinki Koto Ensemble, Tokyo Brass Style, and Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble.

Minna Padilla and the Helsinki Koto Ensemble

Another very interesting musician who merits some discussion is Ms. Minna Padilla Ilmonen, a Finnish koto player and leader of the Helsinki Koto Ensemble, who agreed to an interview for the purposes of this research (on 10 February 2011). One year earlier, in February of 2010, a crew from TV Tokyo had traveled to Helsinki to interview Minna for its show "Japan All Stars." The crew filmed her performing and teaching koto to children, and rehearsing with the Helsinki Koto Ensemble. They also interviewed Minna about her compositions, studies, and concerts in Japan, as well as innovative techniques for koto playing. As Minna recalls, "The film crew said they were impressed by my music when they heard The Helsinki Koto Ensemble playing, and that it was great to see koto used with this kind of music group." Nowadays, Minna maintains a busy performance schedule as leader of the Helsinki Koto Ensemble, with concerts in Japan and at various festivals and embassy-affiliated events in Europe.[32] Typically billed as "Minna Padilla and the Helsinki Koto Ensemble," these Finnish musicians perform original semi-improvisatory folk music compositions that are largely inspired by Japanese music and culture yet also have roots in contemporary Finnish folk music.[33]

I asked Minna, "What generally are the intentions behind the style of fusion (or hybrid) music you have developed, and does it have a distinctive atmosphere or meaning that is different from other kinds of music?," and she gave the following reply (Figs. 3–5):

> My music is influenced both by Finnish folk music and by the Japanese koto tradition. I'm always interested in finding new sound combinations between instruments and new techniques in playing. I started to combine the sound of kantele and koto in year 1998 in Finland and this is how my composing to koto started … My first music piece for koto and kantele was "Kanjiki" (1998). I think there is something magical in the sound of koto, something that touches people through all ages with beauty, power and intimate sound. Nature is a very important source for me, for inspiration. My composition "Koto" (2003) started with the idea of fire sparks in the log fire. "Ensilumi" (The First Snow) is inspired by the beauty of the first snow in the branches of the trees in my hometown. One other important thing in my composition process is using the traditional Japanese poetry, which also lends its own unmistakable atmosphere to the songs.

Originally trained as a Finnish folk musician at the Sibelius Academy, Minna studied koto briefly at both the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and the Hokkaido University of Education, where her prior musical training and technique enabled her to learn remarkably quickly. However, the style of music that she

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[32]Minna and the Helsinki Koto Ensemble performed at the NAJAKS conference in Bergen. See MySpace: Minna Padilla, Helsinki Koto Ensemble, http://www.myspace.com/minnapadillathehelsinkikotoensemble

[33]Tina K. Ramnarine, *Ilmatar's Inspirations: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Changing Soundscapes of Finnish Folk Music* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

Fig. 3 Album: Ilta Vuorella

Fig. 4 Minna Padilla

Fig. 5 Helsinki Koto
ensemble

would eventually develop is quite different from traditional Japanese koto playing.
Minna described Japanese responses to her own koto ensemble music as follows:

> My music group, Minna Padilla & The Helsinki Koto Ensemble, went to tour to Japan for
> the first time in 2006. I was anxious to know how the Japanese people would react to me
> playing the koto and also to my group and koto combined with Finnish national instru-
> ment kantele, wooden flutes, percussions, accordion, electric bass guitar and voice. The
> reaction from Japanese people was very positive towards my music and our playing. They
> even said that my music felt like walking into a Finnish forest, gives you feeling like fall-
> ing in love. My wonderful koto teacher Yukiko Takagaki requested us to visit her home
> and we played also there as a vocal and koto duo. She was interested in my compositions
> and thought that this is a new style to play the koto.

Minna explained that the lyrics of many of her songs are derived from
Japanese poetry from the ninth through nineteenth centuries, particularly as trans-
lated into Finnish by Kai Nieminen and G. J. Ramstedt. Specifically, Minna has
composed musical settings to the words of "Jakuren, Ono no Komachi, Basho,
Sampu, Kito, Issa, Shiki, Seibi and Saighyo Hoshi." According to Minna, "Some
Japanese haiku and tanka poems have special beauty and interesting thoughts in
them that make me ask more and find the answers in musical language." To
Minna, musical sounds provide an opportunity to express the ineffable essence of
a poem's original atmosphere, and she offered the following as a specific
example:

> Like in the poem of Jakuren (my composition Night on the Mountain) I found it was very
> interesting to think about melancholy's connection to colours or non colours. This made
> me feel that this poem is more like sentimentality, beauty of giving up than crushing

Table 2 PACT-Helsinki Koto ensemble

Pentagonal Analysis of Cultural Translation (PACT)		
	Musical Example: Minna Padilla and Helsinki Koto Ensemble *Cultural Origins:* Japanese Traditional Music / Contemporary Finnish Folk Music	
Specific Domain:	**Salience of Hybridity:** [**S**trong / **M**ed / **W**eak]	**Explanation/Evidence:**
(A) Technological Adaptations	Strong	Indigenous folk instruments from two continents, recent technologies used in recording studio.
(B) Idiomatic Conventions	Medium	Melodic and harmonic influences are traceable to both Japanese and Finnish traditions.
(C) Aesthetic Notions	Strong	"Flavor" and syncretism of contemporary Finnish folk music with Japanese artistic traditions.
(D) Creative Practices	Strong	Fully composed, yet some improvisational elements.
(E) Receptive Contexts	Strong	Embassy-affiliated performances, concerts in Japan and Europe.

sadness. Like trees getting ready for winter's coming. Then I started to compose music to find colours for this.

Although some space for improvisation is deliberately included in Minna's music, it is primarily melodic and fully composed with clear forms. My application of the model to Minna's music is offered below (Table 2):

Tokyo Brass Style

Hiroshi Watanabe, a Professor of Aesthetics at Tokyo University, has argued that mixed or hybrid musics, particularly indigenous brass bands, offer an important way of understanding Japanese cultural identity in the globalized contemporary world. Although Watanabe's analysis specifically refers to the earliest examples of western hybridized music in Japan, I have extended on such assertions in previous projects to demonstrate how the kind of wind bands most commonly encountered in Japan's educational system are also particularly important in terms of contemporary cultural identity.[34] Watanabe has observed that "in each location around

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[34]David G. Hebert, Alchemy of Brass: Spirituality and Wind Music in Japan, Edwin Michael Richards and Kazuko Tanosaki, eds., *Music of Japan Today* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp.236-244; David G. Hebert, "The Tokyo Kosei Wind Orchestra: A case study of intercultural music transmission," *Journal of Research in Music Education, 49*(3) (2001), pp. 212-226.

the world, with the natural mixing of local music fusions, truly diverse brass bands have come into existence. Recently, with the progress of research into these kinds of bands, it becomes clear that the particular cultures of various non-western regions, facing the invasion of Western culture, have skilfully adapted with modernity to bear living witness to an array of distinct cultural identities."[35] Watanabe's perspective is quite interesting to consider in light of one of the most high-profile recent developments in the field of wind music fusions in Japan, Tokyo Brass Style, also known as "Brasta."[36] This is a band comprised entirely of young women who perform original arrangements on brass and percussion instruments. "Anijazz," fusing *anime* and jazz, is one term widely used to explain what Brasta actually plays: a kind of "jazzy" hybrid instrumental arrangement of familiar tunes and songs from Japanese *anime* and videogames that have been popular across recent years among contemporary Japanese youth. Their performance style is utterly exuberant, replete with "kawaii" gestures and enthusiastic youthful energy. In many respects, I would argue, their approach to hybridity echoes patterns of musicianship that may be traced more than a century in the past to the "jinta" and other early westernized wind and percussion ensembles in Japan that adopted local folk melodies.[37] Brasta appears to have arisen quite organically, and its musical approach is to freely adapt the songs most familiar to Japanese youth to the kinds of western instruments commonly taught in Japanese schools. Notable examples of Brasta songs include their popular performance of "Maka Fushigi Adventure" from the Dragon Ball videogame, (derived from *manga* and *anime*), as well as *BrastaGhibli*, a recent album devoted entirely to brass arrangements of music from Hayao Miyazaki's beloved epic *anime* adventure films (Studio Ghibli productions). The following figure illustrates application of the model to Tokyo Brass Style (Table 3):

Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble

The Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble (previously known as Wa-On Ensemble) is another example well worth consideration. In 2003, I performed and recorded a few times on trumpet and voice with this unique free improvisation ensemble at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory while I was living in Moscow and employed as a lecturer for Lomonosov Moscow State University. The Pan-Asian Ensemble is led by expert Russian musicians trained in composition, ethnomusicology, and music therapy, and who are especially inspired by Asian music, particularly Japanese

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[35]Hiroshi Watanabe, "Kangaeru Mimi," *Mainichi Shinbun* (14 September, 2005) [my translation in collaboration with Dr. Hiro Shimoyama, physicist].

[36]Tokyo Brass Style, http://www.brasta.jp/

[37]Shuhei Hosokawa, "Nihonno geinou 100nen: Jinta" *Miyujikkuo Magajin*, (1990, January), pp.103-107.

Table 3 PACT-Tokyo brass style

Pentagonal Analysis of Cultural Translation (PACT)		
	Musical Example: Tokyo Brass Style *Cultural Origins:* Contemporary Japanese Youth Culture (anime/gaming) / European Brass & Latin Dance Band (ska/salsa)	
Specific Domain:	**Salience of Hybridity:** [**S**trong / **M**ed / **W**eak]	**Explanation/Evidence:**
(A) Technological Adaptations	W	Little new here considering the origins: Japanese school band adaptations of global band traditions combined with Japanese youth culture influences (anime, videogame music, etc.).
(B) Idiomatic Conventions	M	Mastery of Latin styles; strong musical skills with unique image.
(C) Aesthetic Notions	M	"Phantasm"? Traditional notions of Japaneseness may be irrelevant here. Outstanding performance technique on complex arrangements of seemingly simplistic tunes.
(D) Creative Practices	S	Very original arrangements, effective improvisation.
(E) Receptive Contexts	M	Performances in nightclubs and workshops in schools.

traditional music. On the JazzLoft website, the Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble is described as follows:

> Pan-Asian Ensemble is led by Georgy Mnatsakanov (shakuhachi) and Dmitry Kalinin (shakuhachi, hichiriki, Chinese gong-chimes and voice). The Ensemble is augmented by Varvara Sidorova, Kakujo Nakagawa and Misako Mimuro (all three on biwas) and Pyotr Nikulin on dijeridu and Dmitry Schyolkin on percussion. The leaders studied with great Japanese teachers. Amazingly, the Russians try to create new music based directly on Japanese musical traditions and its aesthetic principles without distorting European composing techniques. Amazingly, they manage to create something truly original.[38]

In fact, both Mnatsakanov and Kalinin are highly accomplished shakuhachi players, each of whom have devoted many years to serious traditional study of the instrument under Japanese masters. Detailed information regarding their work with the ensemble is available on the primary online resource for international shakuhachi players, "shakuhachi.com." According to that resource, Mnatsakanov studied shakuhachi under Ronnie Nyogetsu Seldin, Koku Nishimura, Ikkei Nobuhisa Hanada, and Kohei Simidzu.[39] According to the ensemble's own website, Mnatsakanov first studied under the guidance of Om Prakash, in Germany, pursued additional studies with Michiaki Okada, Reisho Yonemura, and Kifu Mitsuhashi, and in 1998 first began playing Japanese traditional music with the

[38] http://www.jazzloft.com/p-45603-mujou.aspx

[39] http://www.shakuhachi.com/R-Shaku-Mnatsakanov.html

Wa-On Ensemble at the Tchaikovsky Conservatory.[40] Dmitry Kalinin, the other leader of the Pan-Asian Ensemble, was born in 1975 in Moscow. He has studied shakuhachi (kinko-ryu) and koto (ikuta-ryu) extensively with various teachers in both Kyoto and Moscow. In 2004 he even attained certification as a koto teacher through the Sawai Tadao koto school. He is a graduate of the composition department of the Tchaikovsky Conservatory, where he studied under professors K. K. Batashev and A. B. Bobylev. According to the Pan-Asian Ensemble's website, he was "a soloist and an artistic director of Japanese music ensemble at P.I. Tsaikovsky Moscow State Conservatory "Wa-on". Kalinin and Mnatsakanov began collaborating on experimental music for shakuhachi in 1999, and in 2000 they founded the ensemble "Wa-on-exp," which was later renamed Pan-Asian Ensemble in 2005. Another important member is Dr. Varvara Sidorova, who has performed with the ensemble since its inception. Dr. Sidorova is also a professional psychologist and art therapist whose dissertation compared the "consciousness of Russian and Japanese people." She studied koto under Keiko Iwahori (Tadao Sawai school) and also briefly learned biwa under Kakujo Nakagawa.[41] Another member of the ensemble is Yuri Rubin, who plays taiko, percussion, and various electronic instruments. Yuri has also been active as a drummer in Moscow's avant-garde and acid jazz scenes. Occasionally other musicians join in the ensemble's performances such as didjeridoo player Piotr "Ragu" Nikulin.

Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble performances entail no planning of any kind other than the setting out of instruments to be used. There is no notation, no set song forms, and no discussion regarding musical intentions. Rather, the musicians simply begin making sounds, gradually adding more instruments, and see where their collective spontaneous creation leads them, typically through a mysterious terrain of expressive gestures. The band members are such extraordinarily open, focused and responsive improvisers that one often perceives seemingly ordered sequences in their music. The improvisations typically combine European and Asian traditional instruments, vocal sounds, electronic sounds, and the sounds of homemade instruments and found objects. The model may be applied to the Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble as follows (Table 4):

Summary Overview of the Four Cases

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that cultural translation can be either conscious or unconscious, and deliberately highlighted or shunted in such music projects. Tokyo Brass Style, for example, appears to have arisen quite organically, relatively unconscious of any standard notion of "Japaneseness," yet ironically, it may most closely represent the spirit of contemporary Japanese youth culture for which Japanese traditional music has generally had minimal relevance

[40]Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble, http://shakuhachi.ru/pae/index_e.html

[41]http://shakuhachi.ru/pae/musicians_e.html

Table 4 PACT-Moscow Pan-Asian ensemble

	Pentagonal Analysis of Cultural Translation (PACT)	
	Musical Example: Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble *Cultural Origins:* Japanese Traditional Music / Contemporary European Avant-Garde Free Improvisation	
Specific Domain:	**Salience of Hybridity:** [**S**trong / **M**ed / **W**eak]	**Explanation/Evidence:**
(A) Technological Adaptations	Strong	Very inclusive approach, embracing all kinds of instruments and vocal sounds.
(B) Idiomatic Conventions	Medium	Free improvisation offers little room for idiomatic conventions, yet some tendencies cannot be entirely avoided.
(C) Aesthetic Notions	Strong	This feature seems especially strong. The "Fence" metaphor seems applicable to the original "Wa-On" ensemble, yet Pan-Asian Ensemble offers a distinctive synthesis.
(D) Creative Practices	Strong	Very unusual sound in combination of European and Asian acoustic and electronic instruments as well as self-made instruments and found objects.
(E) Receptive Contexts	Medium	Performances in combination with visual artists, butoh dance, etc.

in recent decades.[42] The Yoshida Brothers, on the other hand, seem to comfortably straddle both traditional folk and popular music fields. The approach to hybridity evident in the Helsinki Koto Ensemble and the Moscow Pan-Asian Ensemble appear to be conceptually similar, although their actual sounds are quite dissimilar, with the Finns offering intelligible beauteous and melodic music, while the Russians produce an atonal, mysterious, challenging, and at times even horrific improvised collage of sounds that would make an ideal backdrop for a terrifying suspense movie.

These observations also present an opportunity to revisit the first part of the proposed model that compares various "culturalisms." While hybridity has traditionally been avoided in institutionalized forms of music instruction, some radical approaches have recently been proposed that embrace experimentation via hybridity.[43] It remains to be seen whether such innovations will come to be perceived as merely a curious

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[42]This phenomenon lends further support to Shuhei Hosokawa's observation that contemporary Japanese musicians do not "limit themselves to an identity in opposition to non-Japanese. In addition, they can also recognize themselves as Other" (1999, p.526). It should also be noted, however, that there are strong indications of a revival of Japanese traditional music since the first decade of the 21st century.

[43]See the Master of Global Music program website (http://glomas.net), and proceedings from the EU-sponsored project *Orally Transmitted Music and Intercultural Education*, http://www.music-orality-roots.eu/content/proceedings-symposium-paris.

and temporary trend or the beginnings of a new movement. I would suspect the latter is a more likely outcome, due to the effects of globalization and the tendency of institutions to eventually respond when new opportunities are convincingly demonstrated.

Postlude

By way of conclusion, allow me to return for a moment to the Correspondence opera project mentioned at the start of this essay, for we may now reconsider the relevance of its vision statement, co-authored by van Hove and myself in 2003:

> This opera seeks to join the silence of writings and the sound of music together, and its theme is illustrated by the following points:
>
> – Does the sound of a foreign language not become musical before its words overcome their misunderstood meaning?
> – Is music not a form of metalanguage that overcomes language itself: If it is not translated, it must be universal.
> – Does translation not find it's echo in the artist's work: to translate its inspiration.
> – Before an audience of diverse languages and cultures, how may an artist use writings without negotiating the divisions that – unlike music – they will generate?
> – Is Chinese and Japanese script not at the same time both drawings and words: he who cannot read them, may still contemplate them.[44]

One rationale for developing the theoretical model of music translation offered in this essay was the belief that it might also apply in some respects to parallel processes and approaches in literature and other discourses associated with the broader field of cultural translation. In certain respects, the approaches used in particular musical projects might, for example, be determined to resemble the kind of sublime poetic license taken by Coleman Barks in his critically acclaimed translations of Rumi's poetry,[45] or perhaps by Walter Kaufman, who attained help from Hazel and Felix – his wife and brother – in producing the most popular English translations of Nietzsche's influential philosophical writings, such as his richly poetic *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.[46] More specifically, in the case of Japan we might take such an approach to consider the broader range of phenomena associated with how Shakespeare has been translated into Japanese culture across generations, or how an array of Japanese literary works, from Shikibu Murasaki through the writings of Kenzaburo Oe and Haruki Murakami today are interpreted for diverse audiences in the form of both text and new media. It is my hope that the ideas offered here will prove to be stimulating to scholars in other areas of cultural translation and perhaps lead to work that enables us to better understand the perennial mysteries of expressive communication and cultural difference.

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[44]Correspondence website, http://www.transcri.be/correspondence.html

[45]*The Essential Rumi*, new expanded edition, tr. Coleman Barks, (New York: HarperOne, 1995).

[46]*The Portable Nietzsche*, tr. Walter Kaufmann, (New York: Penguin, 1982).

Chapter 21
Conclusion: Cultural Translation and Social Change in East Asia

David G. Hebert

Cultural Translation in Dynamic Societies

Although the chapters of this book collectively examine an unusually broad range of topics, one unifying feature is a shared interest in "sociocultural systems," particularly "how they maintain themselves through time and how and why they change, in what impact such systems have on human behaviour and beliefs" (Elwell, 2013, xiv). This is certainly not to suggest that all contributors to this volume are social scientists, for many are more closely aligned with the humanities, yet culture and society remain central themes of interest even when the authors' findings are not explicitly interpreted in relation to social theory. From the perspective of many different academic fields, Japan and the Korean peninsula offer important examples of sociocultural systems that call for deeper exploration, both in the present day and even ancient past. In this book, various scholars have sought to explain complex phenomena across national, sociocultural and linguistic borders, thereby engaging in cultural translation. Some chapters focus on the ever-evolving communication system of language in particular Japanese or Korean contexts, and how words and phrases are actively constructed and used. Such topics might not seem explicitly sociocultural or historical in orientation, but are in fact situated within a broader concern for how societies structure meanings and communicative norms, and how views and practices change across time. This includes even how humorous phrases and poetry – which entail unusually creative uses of language – are constructed and interpreted. Other chapters are focused on specific literary or artistic works and practices, and how these are representative of a particular sociocultural milieu. Still others consider specific policies and practices

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within a sociocultural lens, including urban development, legal procedures, and pedagogies. In many cases, the authors show how social practices change as a consequence of intercultural contact, specifically via what may be understood as "cultural translation" (Iser, 2001; Venuti, 1998), or how both linguistic and non-linguistic discourses are invariably subjected to reinterpretation.

How, why and whether social change occurs can be the basis for passionate debate, which in most spheres of human activity is too rarely supported by judicious critique of evidence. Perceptive scholars learn to be wary of how "cognitive dissonance" is often manifested in the anomalies of cultural memory (Hebert & McCollum, 2014), and how the *paradox* often turns out to be the social construction most likely to yield deep insights upon careful analysis. We surely have much to learn from how East Asia is rapidly transforming via modernization, but this includes not only processes commonly interpreted across recent centuries as Westernization, but also in recognition of the equally likely prospects for *Easternization* in the 21st century.

Despite the increasing effectiveness and convenience of such automatic tools as Google Translate (with its instant "hyper-reality" applications), the process of authentic translation actually entails a substantial investment of specialized skill and creativity, which becomes even more apparent when considering non-linguistic discourses. Translation enables ideas and practices to be understood in relation to local conditions and applied in new transformations (Halverson, 2014). Sakai has observed how the translation process broadly engenders deep consideration of the nuances of interpretation, writing that "Translation facilitates conversation between people in different geographical and social locai who would otherwise never converse with one another; but it also provides them with a space where the appropriateness and validity of translation is constantly discussed and disputed" (Sakai, 2002, p.xii). This insightful observation might also challenge us to carefully reconsider the kinds of cross-cultural explanations offered in various chapters of the present book.

Sociologists Elliott, Katagiri and Sawai describe a common "assumption that the ideas translated are foundational, and the notion that the arts of translation and criticism somehow fall short of genuine creativity" (Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai, 2013, pp.11-12). Indeed, we should be very cautious whenever claims are made that by assimilating ideas and technologies from "the West", East Asian nations have somehow shown themselves to have less of a propensity or capability for originality. This is certainly a prominent issue for the case of the transculturation of European art music tradition in East Asia, where it appears to have been fully mastered and ultimately become more widely practiced – and appreciated – than in much of contemporary Europe (Hebert, 2012a; Hebert, 2008). It is also important to recognize that translation "can be excessive as well, exceeding the logic of conversion and revealing itself as an act of intellectual or cultural innovation" (Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai, 2013, p.12). We arguably have as much to learn from careful examination of how a society transforms ideas and practices from abroad as from how it develops that which is attributed entirely to local origins. The phenomenon of cultural translation – with its characteristic processes and

mechanisms – is of global interest, for which the rapidly transforming nations of Japan and South Korea provide important models.

Social Impact of Scholarship

Surely all scholars hope that their research will be valued, but Kevin Doak warned of forces that may lead East Asianists to "write on topics determined by mere personal taste or market forces rather than from deeper, universal questions about the nature of man" (Doak, 2015, p.10). Specifically, Doak cites the limitations of modernization theory's impetus to produce relativistic scholarship that is "defined by the broader amusement culture" (Doak, 2015, p.10). With applicability also to Korea, we could reflect on Doak's assertion that "What we need today is a theory for Japanese Studies that reasserts Japan's universal significance without falling into national frameworks based on nation or State, and that do not confine Japan's significance to the Asian region" (Doak, 2015, p.10). Indeed, scholars are often motivated by personal curiosities and a pragmatic concern for establishing their own niche as a marketable expert within a particular academic field in which they hope to attain secure employment. The latter often entails some attempts to predict which topics and theories are likely to be of increased value in the future, a concern that can lead scholars to be swayed by fashionable trends that are ultimately unproductive.

Fortunately, although this book includes chapters by scholars from an array of disciplinary orientations, most of the topics discussed have interdisciplinary relevance with enduring value. The evolution of how "nature" came to be understood in Japan (chapter 1) gives many clues regarding the broader processes by which language and society change across time via intercultural contact. Analyses of policies concerning management of intangible cultural heritage (chapter 2) offer important insights into the array of complex issues associated with governance of traditions and local aesthetic practices, which has relevance to various social scientific, humanistic, and professional disciplines. The arts not only mirror life but also give it shape, which is evident from the impact of Ariyoshi's novels on environmental awareness and even the organic food industry in Japan (chapter 3). A deeper understanding of how the expressions of foreigner speakers are represented in literature (chapter 4) also provides insights regarding how foreign influences are perceived as well as practical clues regarding stereotypical language errors to avoid. Techniques related to Emotional Discourse Analysis (chapter 5) may be applied to literature, but also potentially to the public sphere to assess how emotional appeals are used in political rhetoric and propaganda. Various chapters on language structure and educational concerns (parts 2-4) provide a detailed glimpse into the inner workings of language – arguably the most highly developed forms of human communication – as well as how its rules and meanings can be most effectively shared with learners. Chapters in part 5 demonstrate how environmental concerns now shape industry in South Korea and elsewhere, and how the robust study of language may even enhance the pursuit of justice. Chapters in

part 6 demonstrate myriad ways that various traditional and contemporary arts media intersect with society, both representing and shaping its evolution. Indeed, such interdisciplinary connections can be made across the entire book, and it will be up to open-minded readers to determine how best to apply the knowledge attained within their respective fields.

One of the distinct advantages of a broad, interdisciplinary orientation – which arguably characterizes Japanese studies and Korean studies – is that such a view enables scholarship to be more securely connected to research that addresses universal concerns shared across the humanities and social sciences. In that respect, it is notable that education is one of the primary themes addressed in the present book. Due to the traditional structure of universities, researchers concerned with educational issues often are isolated in a College of Education, where there is little contact with scholars in the humanities and social sciences, typically housed in a College of Arts and Sciences. One outcome of such institutional structures is that less knowledge is effectively developed and shared regarding one of the most important subjects with profound implications for the future of humanity: children and schools. As Ryota Ono (2005) writes in the interdisciplinary *Journal of Futures Studies*, "While intentions and actions of those who are currently leading the society are definitely significant, equally important are those of young generations who will create the much longer part of the future" (Ono, 2005, p.61). Shoko Yoneyama sees in East Asia a pressing need for "*critical pedagogy* where, ideally, controversial issues are discussed in a politically-free, social environment, in such a way that calls forth deep moral engagement among the thinkers, to emancipate and empower them, ultimately to bring about a better society" (Yoneyama, 2014, p.244).

In thoroughly commercialized societies, scholars and educators may be dissuaded from open discussion of contentious issues, despite their enduring importance. Nearly 50 years ago, the failures of capitalism were acknowledged by iconic humanitarian activist Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States, who declared in his speech to the SCLC Board on March 30, 1967 that "the evils of capitalism are as real as the evils of militarism and evils of racism" (Borstelmann, 2001, p.209). The ancient Romans may have been correct in claiming that "fortune favors the bold," for today King is the only African American after whom a national holiday is named. We might also recall the Brazilian archbishop Hélder Câmara's famous claim that "When I give food to the poor, they call me a saint. When I ask why they are poor, they call me a communist." Such statements reveal some of the ideological challenges associated with merely asking difficult yet obvious questions regarding the underlying mechanisms of societies that replicate severe inequalities and injustices, often justified via reference to the seductive discourses of "democracy" that subtly imply everyone has had an equal chance and ultimately gets what they deserve. Historical studies of language suggest that human "group think" does not always produce the most efficient, elegant or effective forms of communication, and studies of other aspects of society – in terms of cultural translation – promise to reveal the underlying mechanisms of persistent injustices. If we seek through scholarship to improve human life, such thorny issues arguably deserve some consideration in our discussions, even when examining phenomena in distant nations.

Toward New Perspectives on Translation, Education, and Innovation

As this book draws to a conclusion, readers are encouraged to reflect on its main themes in relation to what may be regarded as some essential unifying principles. Here I will briefly consider *translation* in terms of reciprocal cultural flows (specifically, East Asian social theory), *education* in terms of Confucian heritage and critical thinking, and *innovation* in terms of the notion of intellectual entrepreneurship. Taken as a whole, I intend to demonstrate how *translation engenders education* that *fosters innovation*, and that Japanese and Korean societies offer special insights into various mechanisms associated with these tendencies.

While some postmodernists remain committed to an anti-scientist agenda that insulates them from developments in the social sciences, most researchers of recent generations appear to recognize the interdependencies and wealth of potential synergies across all areas of academic study. It is with this point in mind that one of my objectives in this chapter is to identify and briefly describe notable examples of social theory from East Asia that may have increasing relevance to scholars working across all fields of Japanese and Korean studies, including arts and humanities. I would predict that in the near future, Japanese and Korean studies scholarship across the array of fields represented in this book – literature, linguistics, arts, professional and organizational studies, etc. – may benefit from grappling with some of the theories to be included in this discussion. Additionally, the discussion of education is likely to generate reflection on how scholarship may increasingly inform more effective strategies for positive social transformation.

The Case of Kawaii: A Rationale for East Asian Social Theory

It may be helpful to consider a specific example as a rationale for the usefulness and applicability of East Asian social theory, so I will select a case with implications for linguistics, arts, education, and other fields represented in this book. One prominent contemporary Japanese social construct with profound implications for gender ideology and media culture is the notion of *kawaii*, which roughly translates as "cute." *Kawaii* – usually spoken in an enthusiastic, nasalized, almost shrill tone of voice that appears to express that the speaker almost cannot bear how astonishingly cute something seems – is certainly a pervasive ideology toward which girls and young women are steered by both popular media and their peers. In Japan this social construct takes on a much broader swath of manifestations than the now quasi-universal feminine image of pink accessories, miniskirts, awkwardly painful shoes, time-consuming hair and nail treatments, surgically enhanced eyes, and concealing cosmetics. The label *kawaii* suggests that objects and individuals are imbued with an almost infantile innocence, and even

weakness, that is attractive largely due to its displays of vulnerability. On the other hand, *kawaii* can also entail a noble and virtuous image of nurturing through pure kindness, even to the point of self-sacrifice (*tsukusu*). In Japan, *kawaii* explains how even the police and military are represented by their own animated cartoon mascots in public service announcements, while warnings about the hazards of automatic train doors are accompanied by cartoon images of cute kitties wincing as they grasp hurt tails that were caught in doors. Such *kawaii* images have a special power to evoke empathy, preventing the observer from feeling threatened by the idea of uniformed enforcers of state authority, and instilling a feeling of compassion for the kitty whose tail was caught in the door (while reminding us to ensure our own tails are safely – and, of course, *cutely* – tucked away). Moreover, *kawaii* also extends to objects with characteristics that most would regard as the polar opposite of "cute", for instance slimy frogs, bats, bulldogs and warthogs, or animals that are almost too fat to walk or have wings too small to be functional, and so on. It is this final manifestation of *kawaii* – sometimes called *busu kawaii* (roughly meaning "ugly cute") – that has been most stringently theorized by sociologist Inuhiko Yomota in the book *Kawaiiron* (meaning "theory of kawaii"), in which he argues that if even ugly can be cute, there is no escape from the all-consuming trope of cuteness (Yomota, 2006). *Kawaii* is clearly an ideology that calls for further cultural critique in much the same way that *Janteloven* (with its populist tendencies, rumour-based enforcement of "consensus", discouraging of individual "over-achievement" and celebration of mediocrity, etc.) arguably requires more serious scholarly attention in Scandinavia. Confrontation with the cultural roots of problematic social constructs is often a painful process that offers uniquely important insights into the realities of the human condition, warts and all. When European scholars are faced with *kawaii* phenomena in their research, there are many advantages to knowing about, and grappling directly with, how it is explained by Japanese social theorists, such as Yomota. Interacting with East Asian social theory enables collaborative development of deeper understandings of cultural phenomena, bolstered by a rich combination of external and internal views. European complaints about *kawaii*, absent any discussion of Yomota, may understandably lead to accusations of superficiality or even Japan-bashing, but critiques of Yomota's theory of *kawaii* and its limitations will lead to very different reactions, immediately raising the level of discourse toward more empathetic and aptly nuanced considerations.

Background of East Asian Social Theory

Social scientists specializing in Japan have observed how "creativity in conversion, or innovation in translation, finds various demonstrations in current Japanese social theory" (Elliott, Katagiri, and Sawai, 2013, p.12). Examination of contemporary East Asian social theory contributes toward the broader objective of nurturing more robust scholarship in the fields of Japanese and Korean studies, but also helps to

overturn the "historically specific division of intellectual labor in which 'theory' is associated with that historical construct, 'the West,' and moves from there to the Rest of the world" (Sakai, 2002, p.v). I would argue that the observations offered here apply equally to Korea, as well as China and other East Asian nations, but before exploring specific examples of social theory in relation to the theme of *how translation engenders education that fosters innovation* it seems useful to briefly examine some relevant background.

The Japanese Sociological Association was established as early as 1924, and the first course in sociology was taught at Tokyo University by Tatebe Tongo (1871-1945) in 1903. Following World War II, the social sciences experienced rapid development in a new direction in Japan, which – much like what came to be known as critical theory in Germany – embraced the role of seeking to understand the rise of neo-nationalism and ultimately, catastrophic world war, and determine strategies to prevent their rise in the future. As Barshay has demonstrated, "the task of social science as a whole was for the first time seen as the critique of the past, and of the present to the extent that it perpetuated that past" (Barshay, 2007, p.63). Masao Maruyama was the most influential Japanese sociological theorist during the post-war period, and was especially preoccupied with explaining the development of fascism and envisioning a new post-war society in a democratic and modernized Japan. Like Max Weber, and certainly Theodore Adorno, Maruyama was an interdisciplinary scholar whose influence was felt at least as much in political science as sociology. Yazawa concludes that during this period "sociology in Japan was mainly a cultural translation of Western sociology by using organizational principles in Japan" (Yazawa, 2014, p.148). The case of China is also highly relevant to this discussion, where Wang has suggested that social science translations into Chinese during the 1980s entailed "probably ten times the amount translated in the preceding thirty years" and "occupy an extremely prominent position in the cultural transformations of the entire society" (Wang, 2002, p.269). Indeed, the explanations provided by scholars for social phenomena arguably helped shape the recent rise of China to become a global superpower with a highly centralized bureaucracy to which its neighbors Japan and the Korean states are necessarily reactive.

Contemporary East Asian Social Theorists

It seems useful here to very briefly introduce the main ideas of some notable East Asian social theorists. Yosuke Koto is a sociologist with a strong interest in globalization, particularly the notion of glocalization (Roudometof, 2016), which has gained popularity worldwide and was originally developed in Japan via use of the term *dochakuka* (Koto, 2006; Koto, 2011). Koto suggests that modernity took completely different paths in Japan and elsewhere, and identifies "most of the cultural elements related to postmodern discourses (such as pastiche, reflexivity, relativism, the end of grand narratives, extraterritoriality, etc.) in the modern

culture of the Meiji era (1869-1912)" (Sawai, 2013, p.204). Moreover, Koto argues that in the present day, "The Japanese hybrid-modern and the Western postmodern should be distinguished, although they have some elements in common" (Sawai, 2013, p.204). Kiyomitsu Yui is another Japanese scholar who, like Koto, offers an alternative perspective on the phenomenon of globalization (and westernization). For instance, Kiyomitsu claims that "Given the certain presence of Japanese pop culture in the world, in the context of the pluralization of the center for globalization, this positive tone of hybridity can relate to the trap of cultural nationalism which is another new shape of the essentialism of Japaneseness" (Yui, 2013, p.231). Toshiyuki Masamura is another Japanese social theorist who developed a view of globalization that emphasizes technological development. Masamura developed a prominent theoretical model based on the late capitalistic phenomenon of corporate "outsourcing" as exemplified in the image of birdhouses (which humans design to accommodate birds), in his theory of "nestboxes of global society" (Masamura, 2009, p.146). Kiyomitsu Yui especially credits Masamura for developing "comprehension, depth and innovation on the issue of globalization" through this metaphorical use of nestboxes to illustrate outsourcing via the Internet (Yui, 2013, p.232). It is also always insightful to look toward the arts, and arts-related scholarship, for guidance regarding how new social developments may be understood (Geilhorn and Iwata-Weickgenannt, 2017; Manabe, 2015). Coming from the field of arts, Koji Matsunobu has developed an engaging conceptualization of how music functions to construct understandings of nature within culture: "Today, nature must be seen broadly as culturally and socially construed and defined. Nature is not 'out there' but experienced in the same way culture is constructed and experienced. The relationship between culture and nature shifts and merges. Sometimes the distinction may seem wholly irrelevant" (Matsunobu, 2013, p.75). Even in contemporary Japanese society, such understandings, Matsunobu argues, also contribute in distinctive ways to both conceptualizations of the self and notions of spirituality (Matsunobu, 2011, 2013), and due to "glocalization", similar tendencies are evident among many indigenous cultures worldwide (Hebert & Rykowski, 2018).

Korean scholars have also contributed significantly to development of social theory, including for the purpose of explaining differences between individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Kim, Triandis, Kagitqibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994). Korean researchers have also developed or modified theories to explain brand loyalties (Kim, Han, & Park, 2001), and the complex role of *chaebols*, Korean indigenous institutions that deeply impact not only the financial sphere but also government and society at large (Bae, Kang and Kim, 2002; Choe, Kho, and Stulz, 1999; Choi, Park and Yoo, 2007, and Joh, 2003). Woosang Kim developed a novel "alliance transition theory" that adds to the previous body of power transition theory, which explains the mechanisms by which nations attain power relative to other nations (Kim & Gates, 2015). Much of the tension commonly seen between contemporary East Asian nations and their neighbors may be understood in terms of preservation of national "face". As Lee observes, "The sense of shame in the face-saving culture arises from the loss of face," and a preoccupation with

the status of "face" tends to be recognized as "a common feature in the culture not only of Korea but also of China and Japan under Confucianism" (Lee, 1999, p.187). In contemporary Korea, a devastating loss of face (or *chaemyoun*) is particularly evident among family men who become unemployed (Yang, 2002). Deep influence of the notion of *guanxi*, which originated in China, is also theorized across East Asian cultures (Alston, 1989), and has across recent decades gained considerable attention among scholars worldwide (Liu & Mei, 2015).

Korean sociologist Kyung-Sup Chang has advocated the notion of a "compressed modernity" to explain rapid change in Korea that may to some extent also be applicable to the rest of East Asia (Chang, 2010; c.f. Yui, 2013, pp.234-239). Chang describes compressed modernity as "a civilizational condition in which economic, political, social and/or cultural changes occur in an extremely condensed manner in respect to both time and space, and in which the dynamic coexistence of mutually disparate historical and social elements leads to the construction and reconstruction of a highly complex and fluid social system" (Chang, 2010, p.444). This conceptualization helps to explain the situation in East Asia, where modernization was unusually rapid, and in which one frequently encounters the latest global trends and new technologies alongside rituals and customs associated with ancient traditions.

Rance Lee of Chinese University of Hong Kong has written about the development of sociology in Hong Kong, which became a significant force largely distinct from the rest of China, due to its prominent British influence (Lee, 1987). In Taiwan, Luo Lu developed a unique theory of what he calls the "Chinese Bicultural Self" which seeks to explain the tendency across contemporary Chinese societies to encounter tensions between group consciousness and individual ego that contradict common western models (Lu, 2008). This likely has some relevance for other East Asian societies, and further theorization of this kind may especially be of use as scholars strive to attain validation of translated questionnaire instruments in cross-cultural studies, but it also may have applicability to humanities scholarship.

Globalization and international relations is one area in which Chinese sociologists developed unique theories inspired by rapid social change across recent decades in China. Two scholars who are especially notable in this regard are Yaqing Qin and Xiaoying Qi. Yaqing Qin is Executive Vice President at China Foreign Affairs University, known for advocating "relationality," by which he means a challenging of Euro-scientism in the rationality of globalism, particularly its support for corporate capitalism within an arguably unreliable and corrupt system of global finance. His position resembles that of Nobel prize-winning American economist Joseph Stiglitz, but with a distinctively Chinese flavor influenced by Confucian traditions. Another notable theorist, Xiaoying Qi is a cultural sociologist affiliated with University of Western Sydney, and author of numerous articles as well as the book *Globalized Knowledge Flows and Chinese Social Theory*. Qi describes the "contemporary situation of asymmetrical knowledge flows and the institutions and practices that tend to support the predominance of knowledge forms that originate in the centers of global economic and political power" (Qi, 2014, p.10). Qi also suggests that "the intellectual benefits of

alternative or reverse movements of concepts can also be demonstrated," which would indicate that due to its largely distinct intellectual heritage, East Asia may ultimately have much to offer in terms of revision to globally dominant social science theories that originated in the West (Qi, 2014, p.10). This naturally leads us to a brief reconsideration of the enduring Confucian roots of philosophy, social theory, and education in East Asia.

Confucian Education, Innovation, and Intellectual Entrepreneurship

Most readers are likely well aware that across centuries, Confucius has remained one of the most profoundly influential philosophers, not only in East Asia, but worldwide, particularly for his ideas concerning education. Among the most important principles associated with Confucius is the "Doctrine of Mean", which contrary to European philosophical tradition, asserts the wisdom of seeking truth in the space between contradictory arguments, in a search for harmony rather than dominance of superior over inferior ideas. According to his disciples, Confucius advocated three daily reflections that may be translated approximately as follows: "Each day I examine myself in three ways: In doing things for others, have I been disloyal? In my interactions with friends, have I been untrustworthy? Have I not practiced what I have preached?" (曾子日。吾日三省吾身、爲人謀而不忠乎。與朋友交而不信乎。傳不習乎。).

Confucian ideals were widely disseminated not only in China but also in Japan via the early *kangaku juku* system of education (Mehl, 2003), and similar institutions also thrived in Korea, long before the arrival of European-based models of schooling. Confucian theory has also been advanced by recent generations of Korean scholars from across a broad range of academic fields. Qi has observed how "classical diffusionism holds that the world comprises two sectors; one of these is Europe, where invention, innovation and change naturally occurs, and the other—non-Europe—is stagnant, unchanging, traditional and backward" (Qi, 2014, p.68). However, Confucius is just one prominent counter-example of intellectual innovation that for centuries has challenged such common preconceptions, at least for those willing to acknowledge the profound influences Confucius has had on western thought. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that "Confucius and Mencius had both planted seeds for democracy through the Confucian idea of equality in education and the Mencian advocacy of the right of rebellion against tyrannical government" (Qi, 2014, p.96). Interestingly, this interpretation contradicts how Confucian education has often been critiqued (for its alleged propensity to stifle independent thought), yet some of these perceptions might be reducible to divergent views regarding the inherent tensions between freedom and structure in learning. Shoko Yoneyama has suggested that in relation to "Eastern academic thought, it is likely that the significance of critical thinking

will be increasingly recognised in the globalising academy" and that universities must seek "to empower each learner as an individual so that each will be able to contribute one way or another to create a more just, equitable and sustainable society" (Yoneyama, 2012, p.245). In the field of education, Hong Kong based scholar Wai-Chung Ho has published studies in numerous books and journal articles in which she especially focuses on how social and political change affect higher education and youth music activity in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macau, Shanghai, Beijing, and other locations (Ho, 2016a; Ho, 2016b). In 2011, Ho published a monograph entitled *School Music Education and Social Change in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan*, which extends deeply into the impact of political structures and social movements. According to Ho, "Political socialization is an integral function of any education system, but it can serve to enhance, rather than suppress, freedom" (Ho, 2011, p.206). It is this question of freedom that largely determines how, and to what extent, new generations are empowered to develop and implement new innovations. Indeed, education is the field in which, through translation, the citizenry is (or is not) exposed to ideas from an array of sources, which can lead to empowerment for development of new innovations as well as social transformation.

Xiaoying Qi credits "intellectual entrepreneurs" for influencing nineteenth and twentieth century Chinese thought in ways that were similar to, and also ultimately impacted, the rest of East Asia. Specifically, she notes that via such activity, "both the foreign and local concepts were transformed and a new set of concepts was formed through a synthesis of both foreign and local ones that was often quite distinct from the original concepts" (Qi, 2014, p.225). Indeed, the crux of my argument is that by applying concepts from East Asian social theory in our "cultural translation" work, we may not only develop more robust scholarly understandings, but also directly engage in those forms of "intellectual entrepreneurship" that ultimately lead to desirable social transformations. Xiaoying Qi observed the need for "identification and illumination of these mechanisms through which the diffusion of concepts from one culture to another occurs," noting that "identification of the role of intellectual entrepreneurs and the treatment of the processes they initiate has wide future application in understanding social and cultural change through intercultural concept transfer" (Qi, 2014, p.226). These are ideas worth exploring, not only in theory but also practice, and across the broad range of disciplines and fields represented in Japanese and Korean studies, and further critical assessment of East Asian social theory offers great promise toward this objective.

Concluding Remarks

In this book we have sought to demonstrate from an interdisciplinary perspective some of the myriad ways that Japanese and Korean societies may be understood in terms of processes associated with translation, education, and innovation. Its chapters have also explored a range of other related themes, including social

change, nature and sustainability, form and meaning, aesthetics, humor, and technologies. Further research is necessary to corroborate, challenge, and extend upon the findings and interpretations shared by its contributing authors. This was the first scholarly book on an international press to be based on papers presented at the Nordic Association for Japanese and Korean Studies (NAJAKS), which finally occurred in the organization's 25th year. While international conferences of this kind enable experienced researchers to share their latest findings with professional colleagues, they also serve as a forum for capacity building and professional development of great value to budding researchers. Already one of the conference participants has completed a doctoral dissertation in which she credits the 25th anniversary NAJAKS conference in Bergen as an important source of inspiration (Ivarsson, 2016). Proceeds from this book will be donated to NAJAKS in order to develop a small award at its conferences for the best arts-related student paper, since this may help simulate more interest in participation among postgraduate students from marginalized fields. The future of Japanese and Korean studies, in both the Nordic countries and elsewhere, depends on our collective determination to effectively nurture the next generation of scholars toward outstanding achievement.

This book has offered some opportunities for fruitful comparison between Japan and the Koreas, as well as across the Nordic nations. Much can be learned from cross-national comparison of education and other social institutions (Hebert, 2012b; Hebert & Kertz-Welzel, 2016), but we should also keep in mind that such cross-national perspectives also have their inherent limitations. One provocative view worth consideration is that "Nation-framing limits academic research, and does not allow for a free exchange of argued propositions applied to the variables and units of research appropriate to the argument" (Sleeboom, 2004, p.141). Nevertheless, one can legitimately argue that there are not only formal systems, but also practices, "schools", and traditions associated with particular nations, and Sleeboom's point appears to be not so much that national differences are irrelevant but rather that we should take care to challenge all social constructs to ensure robust critiques that test their limitations.

With that point in mind, it must be noted that while Japan and the Koreas are clearly important nations with unique legacies, it is difficult to fully apprehend their respective positions without also acknowledging an enormous and profoundly influential neighbor. Now more than ever, China seems poised to be a leading superpower on the world stage, and it remains to be seen how Japan and the Korean peninsula will respond to its increasing affluence and influence. It follows that this book will conclude with some reflections on a proverb attributed to East Asia's most well-known philosopher, who was also a renowned music teacher (Fig. 1): "Everything has its beauty but not everyone sees it." Indeed, today beauty still matters, even in a world of techno-utopian bureaucrats driven by profit margins. Moreover, beauty never goes out of style, even when style itself is commodified into marketing strategies and wielded by oppressive ideologies. Whether closely examining languages, the arts, education or other social innovations, beauty is there to be discovered by those with the patience to translate
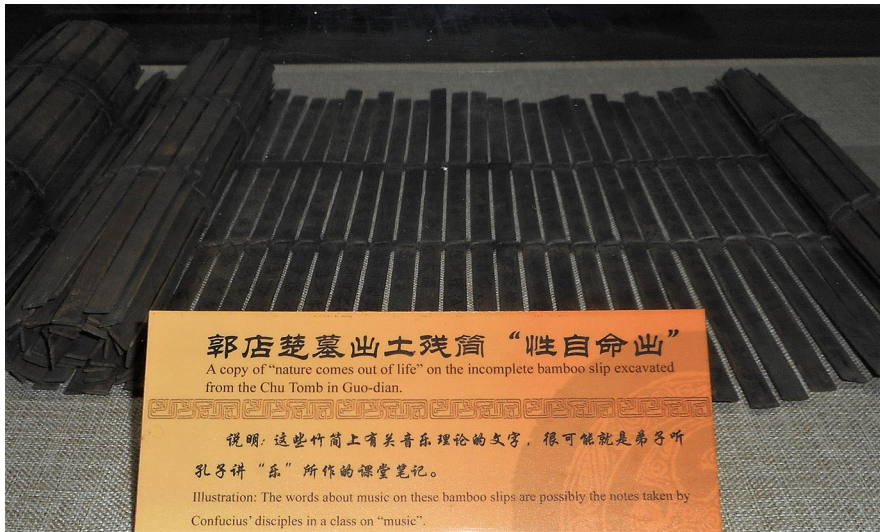
Fig. 1 Notes from Guqin Students of Confucius (As Displayed at Confucius Temple, Beijing, China)

beyond cultural boundaries, unveiling the visions of its creators. We sincerely hope this book has helped to reveal and explain some of the beauty to be found in *translation, education and innovation*, as situated in the dynamic context of Japanese and Korean societies.

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