



# NEW VOICES IN JAPANESE STUDIES

Vol.7

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# New Voices in Japanese Studies Volume 7

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**An interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal showcasing the work of emerging scholars from Australia and New Zealand with research interests in Japan.**

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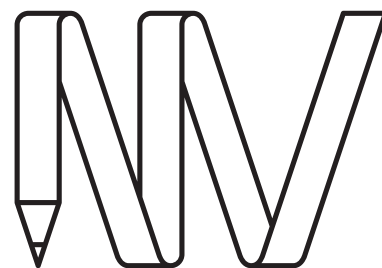
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*New Voices in Japanese Studies*,  
Vol. 7, 2015

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you to Volume 7 of *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, The Japan Foundation, Sydney's journal for emerging local scholars.

This volume brings with it a number of changes, as regular readers will no doubt recognise. First, the name of the journal has changed slightly: to the former title of '*New Voices*', we have added the phrase 'in Japanese Studies'. Second, with the new name comes a new logo and a new look. Third, from this volume the journal will be published online only. And finally, the scope of the journal has been broadened to include work from PhD candidates (recent volumes have been open only to Masters and Honours graduates). I have been delighted to see this journal evolve, and look forward to its continued growth and evolution in future.

On behalf of The Japan Foundation, Sydney, I would like to thank the following people for the time and expertise they have contributed to this volume of *New Voices in Japanese Studies*: Guest Editor Dr Shelley Brunt (RMIT University), for her outstanding energy, enthusiasm and dedication to this project; the many members of the Editorial Advisory Board for their invaluable feedback to our authors; Designers Jon Zhu and Kevin Vo for the exciting new look and new website respectively; Series Editor Elicia O'Reilly for producing this volume, and for her continued efforts toward revitalising the journal as a whole; and Japanese Studies Department Manager Ayusa Koshi for her ongoing support of the project.

And my final and greatest thanks go to our five authors (and their academic supervisors), without whom this volume would not exist. Thank you for choosing *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, and I wish you all the very best for your future academic careers.

Nao Endo  
Director  
The Japan Foundation, Sydney  
June 2015

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FROM THE EDITORS

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# Shaping a Journal for Emerging Researchers in Japanese Studies: Insights from an Editorial Perspective

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**SHELLEY BRUNT**

RMIT University

**ELICIA O'REILLY**

The Japan Foundation, Sydney

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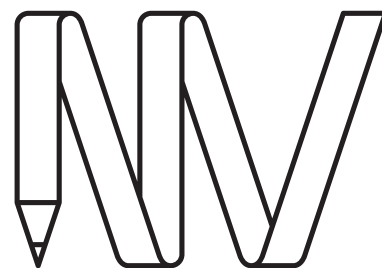
## ABSTRACT

This article investigates the value of publishing for emerging researchers, using the specialist postgraduate journal *New Voices in Japanese Studies* as a case study within the Australian and New Zealand context. In doing so, it offers insight into the aims and editorial processes of *New Voices in Japanese Studies* and examines the benefits of publishing during research-degree candidature, drawing on feedback from recent contributing authors to provide an emerging scholar's perspective. The article also touches upon the history of the journal, documenting how it has changed over time, and introduces the papers published in the most recent edition, Volume 7.

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## KEYWORDS

early career publishing; editorial policy; higher degree research; Japan; Japanese studies; journal; postgraduate; publishing; university



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*New Voices in Japanese Studies*,  
Vol. 7, 2015, pp. iv-xix

The phrase ‘publish or perish’ has, for a long time, echoed down the halls of universities around the world. In the Australian and New Zealand context, academic staff are well aware of the need to produce quality-assured and peer-reviewed publications as part of the routine requirements of the job. This pressure extends beyond the avoidance of ‘the perish’ when one has already secured academic employment—it also exists during the postgraduate phase of study and on the job-search circuit once students are classified as ‘emerging researchers’ and have their higher-degree qualification in hand. After all, evidence of a publication record prior to employment demonstrates an active engagement with both an academic discipline and the publishing world. It is also peer-endorsed evidence of writing ability. Furthermore, according to Kamler (2008), “if students publish in their formative years, they are more likely to do so as established academics or informed professionals in their chosen fields of practice” (292). Following this line of thought, and on the occasion of the landmark seventh volume of this journal, our article asks, ‘What is the value of a postgraduate journal to emerging researchers?’. We look, in particular, at *New Voices in Japanese Studies* as one of the few specialist postgraduate journals in the Australasian region and as one which has a specific focus on Japanese Studies. Our perspectives come from our respective experiences: Elicia O’Reilly is the Series Editor of *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, and Shelley Brunt is both the guest editor for Volume 7 of *New Voices in Japanese Studies* and the ongoing editor for *Perfect Beat: The Asia-Pacific Journal of Research into Contemporary Music and Popular Culture* (Equinox). Our article is divided into three parts. It begins with an historical overview of the journal and recent changes which may serve to benefit emerging researchers. It then shifts to a discussion about the value of postgraduate publishing, which is supported by an analysis of qualitative data from a small sample of emerging authors. Lastly, it presents an overview of the authors and their articles written for Volume 7.

### FROM NEW VOICES TO NEW VOICES IN JAPANESE STUDIES

Nearly ten years ago, this journal began as an initiative of its publisher, The Japan Foundation, Sydney, developed in consultation with Japanese Studies academics at Australian universities to fulfil a need in the local publishing landscape. The journal started out under the name of *New Voices*, a simple title which reflected the original vision of the publication:

[to] support the work of early career researchers and postgraduate students in Japanese Studies and related fields...[,] act as a forum for young researchers to exchange ideas, [and] provid[e] a platform for them to introduce their research interests. (Ueno 2006, iii)

Since the inaugural volume was released in 2006, this journal has published 54 articles by as many authors. A number of these authors (such as Elise Foxworth, Christine de Matos, Cristina Rocha and Chikako Nihei) have gone on to establish academic careers. Others have also produced monographs



of their postgraduate theses to significant acclaim—a recent example being Masafumi Monden and his 2014 book, *Japanese Fashion Cultures: Dress and Gender in Contemporary Japan*, published by Bloomsbury Academic. As the importance of early-career publication continues to grow for academics, the journal's vision is as relevant today as when the first issue was published.

With the aim of keeping in step with the academic and media environments that researchers operate in today, Volume 7 introduces a number of changes to the journal. The original title—*New Voices*—succinctly communicated the goal of showcasing the 'voices' of emerging researchers. However, it lacked one important element: Japan. Read in a reference list or in online search results, there was no way of discerning from the journal title alone that the key unifying point for the authors was a shared research interest in Japan. With this in mind, the decision was made to update the journal's title. From Volume 7 onward, the journal will be published as *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, making clear both its connection to Japan and its commitment to emerging researchers. The new title will more appropriately represent the journal in reference lists and databases, and promises to make its content more discoverable via online searches.

In addition to the new title, we list here thirteen key characteristics that will distinguish *New Voices in Japanese Studies* going forward.

#### *1. Guest Editors and Editorial Advisory Board*

Since its inception, the journal has invited local academics from Japanese Studies or related fields to act as Guest Editor for each volume. Guest editors have traditionally been responsible for providing academic input on submissions and in decision-making, copyediting and proofreading phases; advising authors; and contextualising each volume within contemporary Japanese Studies in an opening introduction. In the spirit of nurturing new talent, the journal selects early- to mid-career academics as guest editors. Guest editors bring expert knowledge of their field and the local academic environment, as well as substantial experience in publishing. Importantly, they also still freshly recall their own first forays into the publishing world, ensuring empathy for the emerging scholars who are submitting their work for publication, often for the first time. The journal could not exist without the hard work, dedication and generosity of the guest editors.

The Editorial Advisory Board likewise differs for each volume. The board consists of at least two expert reviewers for each submission, who are selected based on the relevance of their expertise. In keeping with its remit of supporting Japanese Studies in Australia and New Zealand, the journal aims to appoint reviewers from Australia and New Zealand where possible. So far, the journal has been fortunate to welcome one alumnus back as Guest Editor, and other alumni back as Editorial Advisory Board members. It is hoped that, over the coming volumes, the journal will see more contributors return in an editorial capacity to support following generations of up-and-coming scholars.

## 2. Peer Reviewed

All journal submissions are double-blind peer-reviewed to meet the Australian Department of Education and Training (DET)'s Higher Education Research Data Collection requirements for refereed journal status (DET 2015). In addition, all submissions are reviewed in detail by the academic Guest Editor for each volume and are subject to copyediting and proofing prior to publication. Increased resources have been devoted to the copyediting and proofing phases over the two most recent volumes.

## 3. Interdisciplinary

Even though "Japanese Studies" now sits firmly within the title, it is important to note that the journal remains interdisciplinary. *New Voices in Japanese Studies* publishes papers from fields as diverse as sociology, international relations, comparative literature, linguistics, history, photography, fashion and pedagogy, to name a few (see Tables 1 and 2). One of the most exciting aspects of this journal has always been the breadth of its scope, reflecting the multifaceted nature of the local academic community's interest in Japan. *New Voices in Japanese Studies* is keen to nurture this breadth by continuing to publish work from a wide range of fields.

## 4. Unthemed

This breadth of content, combined with a narrow window of eligibility for contributors and relatively low frequency of publication, is the reason why the journal's volumes—with the exception of the inaugural volume—are unthemed. While theming can be helpful for readers, it limits opportunities for submission. Keeping the journal thematically open ensures a more effective and accessible platform for emerging scholars, and therefore best aligns with the journal's mission.

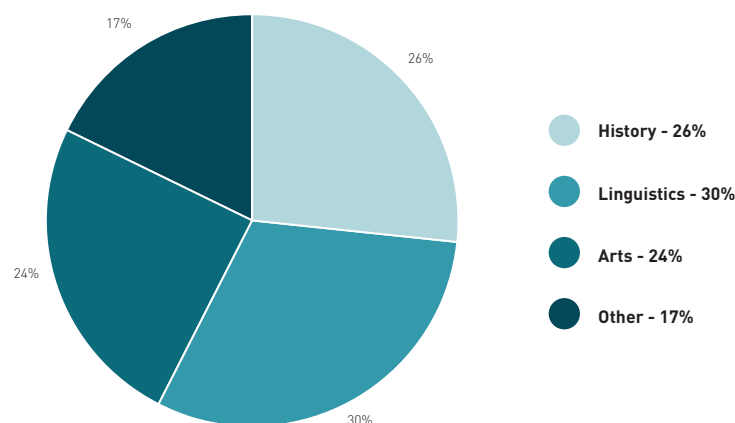
## 5. Online Only

The previous six volumes of this journal were published both in print and online, and a look back at the layouts shows that the focus at the time was on the print version of the publication. This resulted in an online presence that adhered more closely to conventions for print. Volume 7 heralds a shift to online-only publication, and to layouts designed specifically for online use. This change reflects the increasingly online nature of academic work and, importantly, library collections: a number of academic libraries had begun to decline hard copies of the journal, which greatly influenced the decision to discontinue print editions.

A significant advantage of the shift away from print is that it allows the time and resources formerly devoted to producing and distributing print copies to be directed to areas that are more likely to increase the value of the journal for contributors and researchers. These include building a website that offers improved access to content; creating a distinctive new visual identity; and indexing on third-party databases.



**Table 1:** Article Content by Field, Volumes 1 - 7



(Source: The Japan Foundation, Sydney, 2015).

**Table 2:** Article Content by Field, Volumes 1 - 7 (breakdown)

Field	Sub-field	Total
History	Japanese culture	3
	Politics	2
	Social	3
	Wartime/postwar	4
	Cross-cultural	2
		14
Linguistics	Educational Linguistics	9
	Sociolinguistics	5
	Translation Studies	2
	Other	2
		16
Arts	Literature	4
	Theatre	1
	Visual Arts	1
	Photography	1
	Fashion/Pop Culture	3
	Film Studies	2
	Musicology	1
		13
Other	International Relations	1
	Media Studies	1
	Indigenous Studies	1
	Sociology	3
	Anthropology	1
	Education	1
	Law	1
		9
Total Articles		54

Note: Interdisciplinary work is listed under the most salient field.

Categories are indicative only. (Source: The Japan Foundation, Sydney, 2015).

## 6. Open Access

It is worth noting here that the journal has always been, and continues to be, free to access. *New Voices in Japanese Studies* is fully funded by The Japan Foundation, Sydney, and is sustained by the commitment of established scholars in the Australia-New Zealand academic community who generously offer their time and expertise as referees and guest editors. In doing so, they add support to the journal's wider aim of nurturing the next generation of local researchers with a professional interest in Japan.

Thanks to this valuable support, there is no cost to authors for publishing their research in the journal. This differentiates *New Voices in Japanese Studies* from the increasing number of online academic publications that are moving from a ‘user pays’ subscription-based access system to an ‘author pays’ open access system (see Lawrence 2005). In other words, *New Voices in Japanese Studies* offers a rare two-way open-access system. Going forward, in the spirit of furthering open access and ensuring the best possible exposure for contributors’ work, *New Voices in Japanese Studies* plans to adopt a Creative Commons licensing model from Volume 8.

### 7. New Logo

Arguably the most obvious change to the journal is the new logo and look of the publication. *New Voices in Japanese Studies* needed a logo that incorporated the new name. At the same time, many other aspects of the journal were also set to change, so it seemed fitting to visually communicate this by transforming the journal’s public face as well. The inspiration for the new logo is a ‘pen-meets-hanging-scroll’ concept. This fuses the archetypal pen-and-paper image of university study with a subtle Japanese influence, seen in the way that the pencil folds, obi-like, into the signature “NV” graphic (see Figures 1–3). The overlay of the logo onto *komon*-style patterns adds a more direct visual association with Japan. The content of the work published within *New Voices in Japanese Studies* deepens and sometimes challenges what we know (or think we know) about Japan. Opting for subtlety with graphics was a deliberate effort to reflect this aspect of the content at a visual level.



**Figures 1–3 (L–R):** Examples of the pen-and-paper and Japanese scroll imagery which form the basis of the journal’s new logo.

Fig. 1 courtesy Jonathan Kim/Flickr (CC BY-NC 2.0); Fig. 2 courtesy Chris 73/Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 3.0).

### 8. New Layouts

The new article layouts boldly incorporate the new logo to improve the visibility of the journal and help to raise its profile. Other new features include article cover pages, wide margins for note-taking, and bibliographic information on each page, designed to improve both readability and usability.

### 9. Japanese Script

Another visible change is the incorporation of Japanese script into the papers. In Volumes 1 to 5, the use of Japanese script was limited to examples cited in linguistics and other language-related papers. This changed in Volume 6, with Japanese-language titles appearing in Japanese script as well as in romanised

form in references lists, and original Japanese transcriptions of primary source material published alongside English translations (see Catherine Hallett's "Music in Kamigata *Rakugo* Performance", for example).

The primary purpose of this change was to help Japanese-literate readers to more easily locate source material of interest, or appreciate nuances in source material that are difficult to convey in translation. A second purpose was to ensure the symbolic visibility of Japanese perspectives and Japanese voices within English-language work on Japan.

Based on reader feedback, Japanese script for author names has also been incorporated into reference lists in Volume 7, as well as Japanese script for notable subjects such as people, places and organisations. Again, these changes have been made with the aim of aiding follow-up consultation of Japanese source material by readers. It is hoped that this will not only facilitate but encourage consultation of source materials beyond those available in English by contributors and readers alike.

#### 10. Glossaries

A research paper exploring a language and culture apart from that in which it is written will often incorporate vocabulary from the target language/culture, in addition to specialist vocabulary from the researcher's discipline. With this in mind, the journal has begun working with authors to ensure that extensive glossaries are provided at the end of such papers. The addition of glossaries improves accessibility for readers across disciplines with varying depths of knowledge about Japan and the Japanese language. There is also potential for these glossaries to take on a life of their own and be used as general reference resources to support further reading, beyond the papers that they were originally designed to accompany. Examples can be found in Catherine Hallett's "Music in Kamigata *Rakugo* Performance" (Volume 6) and Jenny Hall's "Re-Fashioning Kimono: How to Make Contemporary Clothes for Modern Japan" (Volume 7).

#### 11. Broader Eligibility (I): PhD candidates and recent graduates

In recent years, calls for papers have been open to Honours and Masters graduates only. However, consultation with both established and emerging researchers has indicated a need for more publishing opportunities at PhD level. For this reason, Volume 7 was opened to PhD candidates for the first time since Volume 1 (see Table 3), essentially bringing the journal back to its roots. Volume 7 includes two papers at this level: Ross Tunney's "Imaging the Rural: Modernity and Agrarianism in Hiroshi Hamaya's *Snow Land* Photographs", and Jenny Hall's "Re-Fashioning Kimono: How to Make Contemporary Clothes for Modern Japan". From Volume 8, the scope will be broadened further to include recent PhD graduates. Work by outstanding Honours and Masters students continues to be welcomed, and prospective contributors are encouraged to benchmark their work by referring to recently published papers by authors with similar levels of experience. Volume 7 includes two examples of work by Masters students: Toshiyuki Nakamura's "Motivations for Learning Japanese and Additional Languages: A Study of L2 Motivation

across Multiple Languages”, and Mina Qiao’s “Sexuality and Space: Tokyo and Karuizawa in Mariko Koike’s *Koi*”. The most recent example of an Honours-level paper, also in Volume 7, is Miles Neale’s “A Comparison of English and Japanese Proverbs Using Natural Semantic Metalanguage”.

**Table 3:** Changes in Eligibility Criteria, Volumes 1-8.

Volume	Academic Levels	Regional Eligibility
1	PhD candidate <sup>1</sup>	Studying in Australia
2	Honours graduate	Studied in Australia
3	Honours or Masters graduate	Studied in Australia
4	Honours or Masters graduate	Studied in Australia or New Zealand
5	Honours or Masters graduate	Studied in Australia or New Zealand
6	Honours or Masters graduate	Studied in, or citizen of, Australia or New Zealand
7	Honours or Masters graduate, PhD candidate	Studied in, or citizen of, Australia or New Zealand; Attended the 2014 JSGW <sup>2</sup>
8	Honours or Masters graduate, PhD candidate, recent PhD graduate <sup>3</sup>	Studied in, or citizen/permanent resident of, Australia or New Zealand; Attended the 2014 or 2015 JSGW; Attended the 2015 JSAA Graduate Workshop <sup>4</sup>

This table shows the eligibility criteria for contributors in terms of academic level and region for each volume of the journal to date (Source: The Japan Foundation, Sydney, 2015).

## 12. Broader Eligibility (II): Building ties across the Asia-Pacific region

The scope of contributor eligibility has also broadened in terms of region, with the aim of increasing the profile of the journal and supporting networking between local researchers and their peers in the Asia-Pacific region. It is also a response to the mobility of contemporary scholars. When the journal began in 2006, the call for papers was only open to researchers actively studying in Australia. Volume 7, by contrast, was open to researchers who studied in Australia and New Zealand or were citizens of those countries. It was also open to postgraduates from the wider Asia-Pacific region who had actively sought to build networks in Australia by participating in The Japan Foundation, Sydney-funded Japanese Studies Graduate Workshop (JSGW) at The Australian National University (see footnote 2). Eligibility will be broadened further for Volume 8, which will also be open to permanent residents of Australia and New Zealand, and international participants of the Japanese Studies Association of Australia (JSAA)’s 2015 Graduate Workshop, also supported by The Japan Foundation, Sydney. The primary focus on Australia and New Zealand is in line with the operational remit of The Japan Foundation, Sydney.

<sup>1</sup> All except one contributor to Volume 1 are identified as doctoral candidates (Notes 2006). The entry here is based on this information. The candidature of the remaining contributor is not recorded in this volume, and hence the actual scope of eligibility is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> The Japanese Studies Graduate Workshop (JSGW) is an immersive program designed to develop postgraduate students’ presentation skills in a mentored environment and also facilitate networking. The program is open to postgraduate research students in the Asia-Pacific region. It is planned and convened by The Australian National University and funded by The Japan Foundation, Sydney.

<sup>3</sup> This entry reflects the expected academic levels of contributors to the upcoming volume, based on the eligibility criteria in the Volume 8 Call for Papers.

<sup>4</sup> This Graduate Workshop ran as part of the 2015 Japanese Studies Association of Australia (JSAA) biennial conference, funded by The Japan Foundation, Sydney. The workshop was open to postgraduate research students from the Asia-Pacific region.

### 13. *Improved Quality: Supporting outstanding researchers*

At the same time as the scope has broadened, the standard required for publication has also risen in recent volumes. From the beginning, journal policy has held that all submissions are double-blind peer-reviewed by experts in related fields. Publication has always been contingent upon the authors' ability and willingness to respond to expert feedback, as well as the originality of their work and its contribution to knowledge. However, in early editions, the focus was arguably on providing a platform for as many new voices as possible. From Volumes 2 to 5, for example, the most outstanding work was collated into a print volume and also released online, while a second selection of articles was published online only. Volume 6 marks a transitional phase in terms of editorial approach, with a more rigorous editing process resulting in all papers being released both in print and online. From Volume 7, the editorial direction will prioritise the most outstanding new voices, and strive to ensure greater consistency of quality across individual volumes, and across the journal as a whole. This shift aims to bolster the credibility of the journal, and ensure that publication in *New Voices in Japanese Studies* becomes an even greater asset for authors—particularly those who seek to embark upon an academic career.

The points listed here are only the beginning. With the continued assistance of the local academic community in writing, reading, reviewing for and citing from this journal, *New Voices in Japanese Studies* looks forward to evolving even further, to better support the future of Japanese Studies in Australia, New Zealand and beyond.

## **WHY PUBLISH IN *NEW VOICES IN JAPANESE STUDIES*? THE VALUE OF A SPECIALIST POSTGRADUATE JOURNAL**

In order to better understand the motivations for postgraduate authors to publish in *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, we conducted a brief survey of this volume's contributors. We asked five questions:

- 1) Is your *New Voices in Japanese Studies* article your first academic publication?;
- 2) Was your *New Voices in Japanese Studies* article based on your thesis?;
- 3) Why did you decide to submit your work to *New Voices in Japanese Studies*?;
- 4) What has been the most valuable part of publishing with *New Voices in Japanese Studies*?; and,
- 5) What has been the most challenging part of publishing with *New Voices in Japanese Studies*?

The authors completed the survey at the end of the copyediting process, long after their articles were accepted, and were aware that their comments would be presented here as part of this discussion. We have chosen to de-identify their responses. As such, comments are attributed to 'Author 1', 'Author 2', 'Author 3', 'Author 4' and 'Author 5', with numbering based on the order in which we received their responses. The summarised results from even this small sample of postgraduate authors offer insights into how the publishing

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process can help new scholars develop skills that are valuable for their research degrees, as well as their future careers.

Three of the five authors noted that this was their first academic publication. As such, submitting and rewriting, receiving critiques from reviewers, and adhering to strict deadlines was a completely new experience. These authors were completing (or had completed) early-stage research degrees (Honours and Masters), and had less experience with the process of publishing than the two PhD candidate authors, both of whom had published before. It appears that they underestimated the time required to edit their first journal article, and that this prompted some self-doubt about their ability to write:

*The most challenging part of publishing with New Voices [in Japanese Studies] was making the vast array of changes to my work suggested by my reviewer[s]. If I had structured my submission more logically, however, I would not have had this problem, so it is entirely my fault.*

(Author 1)

*The editing process took a longer time than I expected.*

(Author 3)

*For me, I think [the most challenging part] is the editing process. Because the article is based on my ... thesis ... I found there were so many things that I wanted/needed to change.*

(Author 2)

The PhD authors also felt the pressure of completing the required corrections in order to meet publication deadlines. However, it may be assumed that prior experience with publishing had given them a broader perspective of the publishing process in general, which had in turn created expectations about specific aspects of this journal. Adhering to New Voices in Japanese Studies' in-house style guide, for example, was sometimes difficult, and the final deadlines also created pressure.

*I found that the NV Style Guide was not always clear. In particular, citations of unpublished interviews and of websites. NV says to refer to the Chicago Manual of Style but they give two ways to cite the former, and both of these differed from what I was advised to do by the reviewers in my first round of feedback.*

(Author 4)

*The deadlines for the last round of editing were a bit too tight (although I appreciated the forewarning of this), especially considering the amount of editorial comments and suggestions that had to be addressed.*

(Author 5)

In addition to providing insight into the experience of the authors, feedback such as this is incredibly valuable for the journal at an editorial level, as a basis for refining editorial resources and production timelines.

*New Voices in Japanese Studies* may be considered part of the category of outlets called “‘safe spaces’ for publication” (Kamler 2008, 288). ‘Safety’ comes



in many guises, but for junior and emerging ‘voices’ that are ‘new’ to the publishing world, it can be comforting to know that they are not competing with established academics for page space in the journal. They would also have a familiarity with the activities of The Japan Foundation, Sydney, the publisher of the journal. Moreover, potential authors would also be aware of the journal’s readership; namely, those from Australia (and beyond) who are broadly interested in Japanese Studies and may even be postgraduates themselves. These specific characteristics of the journal were motivating factors for our authors to submit to *New Voices in Japanese Studies*:

*I have read the articles which are written by some previous and current PhD students in my university and was impressed by their works. And I thought, as a postgraduate student who [is a] major in Japanese language education, New Voices [in Japanese Studies] is the most suitable place to submit my paper.*  
 (Author 3)

*I felt it to be a good way to have my work read by those in the Australian Japanese Studies field (and hopefully internationally).*  
 (Author 5)

*I was keen to submit to a journal that specialised in Japanese studies.*  
 (Author 4)

Sometimes external motivation is needed for students to consider publishing their writing. Importantly, three of the five authors indicated that their supervisor “encouraged” them to submit their article for consideration, thereby providing an impetus to begin their publishing career.

*I was encouraged by my supervisor to submit my work to New Voices. I saw the journal as an excellent opportunity to extent [sic] my studies and release my work into the public domain.*  
 (Author 1)

*My supervisor encouraged me to submit. I was also looking for opportunities to get published.*  
 (Author 2)

Encouragement of this kind is welcomed by journals such as *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, and is perhaps not surprising, given that the Australian higher education climate is one where there is pressure for postgraduates to produce peer-reviewed publications during their candidature. Edwards, Bexley and Richardson’s 2011 report from the 2010 National Research Student Survey provides recent data to support this: 80.8% of PhD and Masters by research students surveyed (across 38 of the 39 universities in Australia; 25.5% response rate) indicated that their supervisors “encouraged” them to “publish in peer reviewed journals” (2011, 56). More recently, this was anecdotally reinforced at the Graduate Workshop panel held at the Japanese Studies Association of Australia 2015 biennial conference, where established Australian academics stressed the importance of publishing early as part of their advice to postgraduate scholars.

Who benefits from postgraduate publications? The current Australian institutional funding model dictates that universities benefit, financially at least, because they earn research income from staff and student publications (that meet particular criteria). However, supervisors would be acutely aware that publishing during candidature (and after graduation) hones the generic skills needed to succeed as an academic, such as developing resilience when responding to feedback. As such, students are also the ones who benefit. The process facilitates valuable critique from reviewers who have a fresh perspective on a student's topic:

*The most valuable part of publishing with New Voices [in Japanese Studies] has been having my work scrupulously critiqued by [blind peer reviewers]. Initially, I was disheartened by the amount of problems the reviewer[s] found with my work, but after editing it, I realized just how much it had improved, and just how valuable the reviewers' input had been.*

(Author 1)

*The peer review process was very helpful in making sure my argument and supporting points were as clear as possible.*

(Author 5)

Cuthbert and Spark (2008), in their study of a postgraduate writing group at an Australian university, even point to how the publishing process may help, rather than hinder, what could be seen as the main task at hand: the completion of the dissertation. They observe that one of the goals of their writing group was to “enhance the commitment of candidates to their research projects and confidence in themselves as researchers and, in this way, assist more candidates in successfully bringing their research degrees to completion” (Cuthbert and Spark 2008, 80). In the case of a primarily postgraduate-author journal such as *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, there is often a direct correlation between the feedback an author receives on their article and how it may be used to shape the dissertation itself, and bring it to completion. One of our PhD authors for Volume 7 noted this:

*It is always helpful to get feedback from other academics, and to get a perspective on a particular part of my research. I have completed most of my thesis and am now honing and editing, so such detailed criticism is very useful at this stage of my PhD.*

(Author 4)

Another benefit to publishing from the thesis during candidature is that the author can cite their own article in the dissertation, thus drawing an examiner's attention to evidence of their command of the topic. Mullins and Kiley's research on examiner's perceptions of Australian PhD dissertations confirms that “when [a student's] thesis is presented for examination the examiner will be favourably influenced by the fact that the work has already been subject to peer review and found acceptable” (2002, 381). This gives the examiner confidence that the research has already been externally vetted. It could even be taken as an indication of a student's commitment to their work, and possibly to a future career as a researcher. Cuthbert, Spark and Burke

observe that it takes more than a passed dissertation to qualify a candidate for a career in academia in the Australian fields of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, because “the publication of refereed papers during candidature is fast becoming an expected part of graduating as a competitive researcher” (2009, 139).

Several of our authors in this volume saw their publication as the first step in developing a track record in research—a clear benefit to them in their quest for an academic career.

*This will be my first publication. I will have a ‘publication list’ along with my CV the next time I apply for a fellowship or a program.*  
 (Author 2)

*This is the first time, for me, to publish my own work. So I am grateful to New Voices for giving [me] the opportunity. It is [the] starting point of my career as a researcher.*  
 (Author 3)

Of course, not all authors pursue academia; some may prefer to turn to the professional fields. Regardless of one’s career choices, however, turning an original idea into a fully formed journal article takes commitment, drive and passion. It is not an easy task to refocus ideas which were originally intended for an Honours, Masters or PhD dissertation and fine-tune them for a journal article format that assumes a much wider readership. Our authors have taken this courageous step and we are delighted to present their work in this issue.

## **AUTHORS: NEW VOICES IN JAPANESE STUDIES, VOLUME 7**

**Ross Tunney**, a PhD candidate at the University of Tasmania, takes the reader into the world of Japanese documentary photography through his analysis of the 1940s-50s *Snow Land* series, produced by the celebrated photographer Hiroshi Hamaya. In doing so, he sheds light on how the idealised and utopic Niigata Prefecture village life depicted in the photos contrasts with the reality of wartime and post-war recovery. What follows is a sophisticated argument about the use of ideological discourses of the pastoral to reinforce Japanese identity, where the author ultimately views the *Snow Land* series as a critique of modernity.

**Mina Qiao**, a PhD candidate at the University of Auckland at the time of submission, chose *New Voices in Japanese Studies* as a forum to publish material from her Honours dissertation. “Sexuality and Space: Tokyo and Karuizawa in Mariko Koike’s *Koi*” analyses a contemporary novel set against the backdrop of the 1970s student movements in Japan. Qiao’s compelling reading of the novel shows how the author uses two key settings, Tokyo and Karuizawa, as mirrors and even catalysts for characters’ lifestyles and life choices throughout the narrative. *Koi* [1995] is not yet available in English translation, making her work a fresh and valuable contribution to English-language scholarship on Japanese literature.

**Toshiyuki Nakamura's** "Motivations for Learning Japanese and Additional Languages: A Study of L2 Motivation across Multiple Languages" is derived from his Masters thesis, undertaken at Monash University. The paper examines factors driving language learning, using motivational psychology and the concept of possible selves as a framework to compare learners' attitudes towards different languages. His research seeks to understand what influences learners to continue language study, with a focus on competition between languages in multilingual learners. Nakamura's findings may be useful for Japanese language teachers interested in promoting student retention.

**Jenny Hall**, an Honours graduate in anthropology and PhD student at Monash University, examines the value of Japanese clothing in communicating identity. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in the Kyoto heritage textiles industries and including interviews with key stakeholders, the article refutes the perception that traditional Japanese apparel production is in decline. Instead, a case is made for technological innovations such as digital looms to be seen as extensions of traditional techniques. Hall then draws attention to contemporary fashion in Japan and how consumers are embracing core elements of traditional apparel, from samurai armour to Imperial Court cuffed trousers, as a revitalised expression of Japanese culture.

**Miles Neale's** "A Comparison of English and Japanese Proverbs Using Natural Semantic Metalanguage" is based on his Honours thesis, completed at the University of Queensland. This paper takes an in-depth look at two pairs of proverbs that are positioned as equivalent in Japanese-English proverb dictionaries, and highlights the differences between the cultural logics that underpin them. In doing so, Neale problematises the practice of proverb pairing in language-learning resources and language education. He suggests that more attention should be paid to the culturally significant nuances that differentiate apparently similar proverbs, rather than simply focussing on the links between them, and calls for further examination of proverb pairs in this vein.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the authors for choosing *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, and for their cooperation throughout the publishing process. We hope that these publications pave the way for many more to come, and that the experience of publishing with *New Voices in Japanese Studies* proves to be an asset for their future careers.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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We would also like to thank our authors' supervisors for recommending *New Voices in Japanese Studies* and supporting their students' submissions, as well as for offering valuable advice to their students during the writing and editing phases. We are grateful to Dr Barbara Hartley (University of Tasmania), Dr Lawrence Marceau (University of Auckland), Dr Robyn Spence-Brown (Monash University), Professor Carolyn Stevens (Monash University) and Dr Masataka Yamaguchi (University of Queensland). Particular thanks are due to Dr Barbara Hartley and Yukiko Burns for their invaluable assistance in seeking permission to reproduce the arresting photographs by Hiroshi Hamaya that accompany Ross Tunney's paper, and also to Jenny Hall for obtaining permission to reproduce photographs of Sou-Sou's products in her paper, alongside her own stunning images.

Finally, this volume of *New Voices in Japanese Studies* (as well as volumes to come) owes much to the following individuals: Jon Zhu, for the journal's fresh new logo and layout template; Kevin Vo, for the new website, design expertise, and for his flexible troubleshooting through our first round of article layouts; Ayusa Koshi, manager of the Japanese Studies department at The Japan Foundation, Sydney, for her unflagging support of the journal and the renewal project; and Nao Endo, the director of The Japan Foundation, Sydney, for his commitment to supporting tertiary-level Japanese Studies in Australia.

In sum, it has been a challenging but highly rewarding experience working with everyone involved in the creation of Volume 7, which is a significant milestone for *New Voices in Japanese Studies*. This begins a new phase for the journal, and we hope that researchers locally and beyond will continue to read, cite and support the outstanding new voices selected to appear in its pages, just as we look forward to continued contributions from exciting new scholars in volumes to come.

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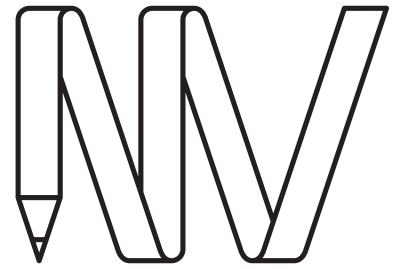
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# NEW VOICES IN JAPANESE STUDIES

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## Imaging the Rural: Modernity and Agrarianism in Hiroshi Hamaya's Snow Land Photographs

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**ROSS TUNNEY**

University of Tasmania

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### ABSTRACT

This article analyses the *Snow Land* photographic series by Japanese photographer Hiroshi Hamaya [1915–1999] in relation to issues of modernity, nostalgia and discourses of agrarianism in 1940s and 1950s Japan. Hamaya is one of Japan's most celebrated and influential documentary photographers at both a national and international level. His *Snow Land* series presents an idyllic view of life in the small mountain villages of Japan's Niigata Prefecture, emphasising a sense of community and spiritual meaning that Hamaya perceived to be lacking in modern society. In this sense, *Snow Land* constituted a critique of modernity. Through engagement with theorists such as Heidegger, Foucault and Barthes, as well as critical writings on agrarian ideology, this article investigates the underlying assumptions that govern Hamaya's depiction of snow country, demonstrating that the series is shaped by a modern worldview and is tied to ideological discourses of agrarianism.

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### KEYWORDS

agrarianism; Heidegger; Hiroshi Hamaya; modernity; nostalgia; photography; post-war; representation

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Hiroshi Hamaya [1915–1999] is one of Japan’s most celebrated photographers.<sup>1</sup> Born in a working-class area of Tokyo, he taught himself photography in adolescence before briefly undertaking formal studies. In his first professional position he was tutored by Yoshio Watanabe [1907–2000], also one of Japan’s most revered photographers (Reynolds 2013, 18). Before photographing the snow country landscape of Niigata Prefecture—a project that is the central object of analysis in this essay—Hamaya was mostly known for portraying modern life in his native Tokyo. His Tokyo photographs cover a variety of subjects, from Asakusa dance halls and other Western-style entertainment venues to subjects on the margins of society, including homeless people and street-peddlers. Jonathon Reynolds (2013) has argued, however, that despite what must have been Hamaya’s awareness of the economic hardship experienced by many residents of Tokyo at the time, his photographs of the marginalised tend to “romanticise the conditions in which these people lived and worked” (19). Reynolds also notes that these images show little indication of either the rise of militarisation in Japan or the approaching war (2013, 19–20). As I will argue below, this tendency to omit from his photographs some of the harsher political and social realities of the era is also a central feature of his *Snow Land* (雪国 [Yukiguni]) photographic series.<sup>2</sup>

Hamaya commenced photographing the *Snow Land* series in 1940 and completed the project ten years later. All of the photographs in the *Snow Land* book (1977), which was first published in 1956, were therefore taken either during wartime or in the most acute period of post-war recovery. *Snow Land*’s portrayal of village life in remote snowy areas of Niigata Prefecture, however, contains little trace of the war or its subsequent impact. Instead, the images convey nostalgia for a vanishing way of life in Japan. While one may justifiably criticise Hamaya for this shortcoming, it is not the principal intention of this article to do so. Rather, I consider these photographs in relation to theoretical work on how landscapes are represented in modernity, with a view to demonstrating how the singularity of *Snow Land*’s representation reflects a worldview on the part of Hamaya that is grounded in the rationalising logic of modernity. In this worldview, the rural landscape stands as a peripheral, objectified and imaginary space ready for access by the modern, urban observer. Following from this, I discuss how in wartime Japan this modern view of the pastoral was incorporated into state discourses in a way that highlighted the paradoxical nature of the urban/pastoral binary. The article thus considers Hamaya’s *Snow Land* not only according to a putatively universal experience of modernity, but also in the context of particular socio-political discourses in Japan both precedent and contemporaneous to the series’ creation. In other words, I aim to situate the *Snow Land* photographic collection within the international and local discursive systems that operated during the time of its creation.

1 At a national level, Hamaya received the 1958 Japan Photographic Society’s annual award and the 1981 Japan Art Grand Prix. Internationally, he received the 1986 Master of Photography award from the International Center of Photography; the 1987 International Photography Prize from Sweden’s Hasselblad Foundation; and honorary membership of the Royal Photographic Society of England in the same year (Orto 2003, 340). In 1960, Hamaya became the first Japanese invited to join *Magnum*, the prestigious photo agency. Even today this is considered a benchmark of success for documentary photographers.

2 The series title is also often translated as “Snow Country,” however the bilingual edition to which this article refers uses the translation “Snow Land.”

In his essay, *The Age of the World Picture*, Martin Heidegger (1977) defines modernity as the age in which representation becomes the principal means for humankind to understand the world.<sup>3</sup> In modernity, the world becomes a rationalised object organised and explained according to multiple, intertwined scientific schemata. In this way, fundamental notions of the world are constituted in accordance with the centralised standpoint of humankind. The modern age, in other words, understands the world as a picture, an always-already posited image. This contrasts with the Middle Ages, for example, at which time the world was understood according to divine creation. During that period, “to be in being” meant “to belong within a specific rank of the order of what has been created” (1977, 130). Heidegger argues that although the world as a preconceived image is ontologically constituted through a variety of representational forms, the most pervasive are the sciences, all of which are unequivocally grounded in research. Thus it is through research that the world is made to stand before humanity in the modern age (1977, 118). One such science that informs the world-as-picture in modernity is ethnography, a discipline heavily reliant on documentation and data collection. Ethnographic documentation was a central imperative for Hamaya’s photographic expeditions into the rural snow country spaces of Niigata Prefecture, as demonstrated below.

Hamaya’s *Snow Land* can be seen as both creative work and ethnographic research. While the series contains many dynamic and expressively composed images, the book is also a carefully edited and organised documentation of life in a small Niigata village. The project sought to record “the depth and richness of a spiritual life with a long history behind it” (Hamaya 1977, n.p.). This way of living was conceived of at the time by figures such as Shinji Ichikawa [1901–1982] and Keizō Shibusawa [1896–1963] as both exceptional and endangered. Hamaya met Ichikawa, an ethnographer, in Takada, a snow country town where the former was employed to photograph Japanese military training exercises. Ichikawa introduced Hamaya to Shibusawa, a wealthy amateur ethnographer who, with Ichikawa, persuaded Hamaya of the scholarly importance of photographically documenting life in the Niigata snow country (Reynolds 2013, 20).

As an ethnographic work, *Snow Land* accords with Heidegger’s account of scientific research. Heidegger defines research as the enactment of procedures bound to a “ground plan” which is conceived in advance and subsequently guides these procedures (1977, 118). In Hamaya’s case, the preconceived “ground plan” is an idea of socio-historical development that positions the rural and the urban according to a teleological schema. Hamaya’s “procedure” is the rigorous production of images captured and arranged in a way that locates the snow country and its people within historical progression. In this sense, *Snow Land* is also an historiographical work, as Hamaya—a modern urban subject—essentially sought to capture a way of life that he perceived as a “primitive (始原的な)” remnant of a past “Japan (日本)” (Hamaya 1971, 35).

<sup>3</sup> This essay first appeared in a German-language publication of Heidegger’s essays entitled *Holzwege* [1952]. The first English translation, to which this discussion refers, was first published in *The Question Concerning Technology* (1977), a collection of Heidegger’s essays.

This links the photographer with a long genealogy of Western anthropologists and ethnographers who documented other cultures as part of research into the historical development of humankind. According to anthropologist Johannes Fabian (2002), a fixation on human development often blinded anthropologists to the contemporaneity of their research subjects. The human subjects of research were objectified as living relics and thus inferior iterations of humanity in comparison to the modern researcher (2002, 25–35). Like these early ethnographers, Hamaya's project attempts to capture a disappearing culture. However, where anthropologists depicted their subjects as inferior, Hamaya valorised Japan's snow country as the site of an ideal lifestyle.

According to Heidegger, it is no accident that in the modern age research is fundamentally anthropocentric. He argues that "the more effectually the world stands at man's disposal as conquered", that is, as possessed through knowledge of it, the more persistently the world is understood from an orientation that centralises humanity (Heidegger 1977, 133). Consequently, "observation of and teaching about the world" increasingly becomes "a doctrine of man" (1977, 133). Humanism, therefore, "first arises where the world becomes picture" (1977, 133). The study of humankind was of central concern for Hamaya, who said that throughout his career, "what captured and held my interest as a photographer was people and their problems. My work... began with the main "object: man"<sup>4</sup> (Hamaya 1971, 214). On an international level, Hamaya's photography became linked to a mode of humanism prevalent in the early post-war era that arose to counter the nationalism which had led to World War I and World War II. Blake Stimson (2006) notes how, in the decade following World War II, public intellectuals such as Franz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre advocated a concept of identity that transcended cultural and national boundaries. Rather than the nation-state or even a United Nations, "what was desperately needed", according to these thinkers, "was a world community integrated organically, morally, and politically through the development of a new *idée-force* that gave form to new thoughts and new sentiments in the figure of a postmodern, postnationalist citizen of the world" (Stimson 2006, 15). Stimson goes on to argue that photography was seen as an integral medium for this new concept of global identity, largely because of a general belief that the photograph was an unbiased and democratic mode of representation. Photography, it was claimed, could provide a new "sense of belonging...distinct from race, language, region, and other national markers, and distinct from that of the transcultural marketplace" (2006, 20).

Hamaya's links to this broader global movement are evident from the fact that his work featured in the 1955 *The Family of Man* exhibition curated by Edward Steichen [1879–1973], the director of photography at the prestigious New York Museum of Modern Art. It is important to evaluate Steichen's exhibition in order to compare Hamaya's *Snow Land* with the particular kind of representation found in *The Family of Man*. This exhibition toured internationally for 8 years, attracting around 9 million viewers and symbolising an apex of post-war universal humanism in photography. The exhibition was a large collection of images taken throughout the world by various photographers

4 「写真家としての私の関心を、つねに把えて離さなかったのは、人間の問題だった。私の写真は人間を対象にすることからはじまった。」

and grouped under universal themes like birth, death and work. In Steichen's own words, it was designed to present "a mirror of the essential oneness of mankind" and to communicate a "basic human consciousness rather than social consciousness" (Steichen 1955, 3, 4). Stimson has argued that the *The Family of Man* was intended to counter a recurrence of the horrors brought on by the divisive nationalism that fuelled World War II. Despite such laudable intentions, the exhibition was nonetheless a "hopeless attempt to reconcile universal with particular", in which "political vision was understood to appeal directly to something universally human and primordial" (Stimson 2006, 11). Roland Barthes (2009) describes this type of humanism as a "very old mystification" founded upon the belief that "in scratching the history of men a little, the relativity of their institutions or the superficial diversity of their skins...one very quickly reaches the solid rock of human nature" (122).

In spite of critiques such as those of Stimson and Barthes, it is important to acknowledge the good intentions behind this effort to diffuse cultural conflict by downplaying cultural differences. The problem, however, is that the resultant universalism inevitably ignores the distinctive historical particularities of given cultures, as well as real injustices. The exclusion of the latter is especially problematic given that some of the images were created during wartime. Barthes argues that the ultimate effect of *The Family of Man* was to:

...suppress the determining weight of History: we are held back at the surface of an identity, prevented precisely by sentimentality from penetrating into this ulterior zone of human behaviour where historical alienation introduces some 'differences' which we shall here quite simply call injustices.  
 (Barthes 2009, 122)

Hamaya's representation of the snow country often exhibits the type of sentimentality that is criticised above. Specifically, the landscape and its inhabitants are depicted as symbolising harmonious community and hardy self-sufficiency. A 'surface' Japanese identity is produced in the *Snow Land* series that obscures the tensions that beset any community, such as those surrounding class and gender relations.

However, Hamaya's *Snow Land* is different from *The Family of Man* in one important sense: Hamaya was not trying to promote an idea of transnational unity, but rather, a culturally specific notion of Japanese identity. Yet there are still resonances with Steichen's exhibition in his work: Hamaya's *Snow Land* posits a sentimental and unifying ideal of authenticity for Japanese society that not only ignores the particular influences of history, place and culture in the rural landscape but also elides a sense of cultural diversity within Japan. In this sense, both of these photographic projects symbolise a modern worldview that renders the world as picture. In each instance, despite aspirations towards objectivity, the world is constituted as a subjective representation of a universalised sense of being that overwrites contingencies and particularities.



The sentimental representation of the snow country in Hamaya's photographic series clearly reflects a modern mode of subjectivity through its emotive appeal to a unified sense of Japanese identity. This representation signifies the extent to which Hamaya was at that time embedded within modern systems of knowledge production. In modernity, the physical landscape becomes ontologically peripheral to the human subject, and the rural landscape in particular is conceived of as exterior to the modern urban centre. This space is produced through the aforementioned sentimentality and also through a scientific mode of representation. A scientific approach is particularly evident in *Snow Land* in that many images in the collection display a clear attempt by the photographer to objectively document his subject. This reflects the influence of his encounter with the ethnographer Ichikawa, who inspired Hamaya's documentation of village rituals in the Kuwadori Valley through immersive fieldwork which required him to "walk, observe, and feel (歩いて、見て、感じる)" (Hamaya 1971, 36). In his efforts to represent the snow country space as objective fact through observation, Hamaya also responded to his feelings by positing an imagined space that grounded his sense of identity both as a modern individual and as a Japanese person. In this sense, the photo series produces an imaginary site that Foucault entitles a "heterotopia": an externalised utopic space anchored to multiple physical locations. Heterotopia simultaneously affirms identity and calls it into question (Foucault 1986, 24). In Hamaya's representation, the snow country is experienced as modern society's peripheral opposite, the pre-modernity of its modernity. In a moment of *différance*, to use Jacques Derrida's term, the qualitative meaning of modern existence is confirmed by the positing of its opposite, but at the same time is undermined by a longing towards a seemingly superior utopic rural space (Derrida 1976, 23). It is not difficult to imagine that despite being physically present in the snow country for extended periods, Hamaya, as a modern Japanese subject, was not necessarily at home in this space. Instead, his time in the snow country must have been both stabilising and destabilising to his own sense of self.

To draw out the connection between 'objective' representations of modernity's external spaces and identity as they appear in Hamaya's *Snow Land*, it is useful to consider the example of colonial knowledge production. The space presented in *Snow Land* evokes a particular way of seeing the Middle East and Asia that is characteristic of 19th-century Europe. Using the example of world exhibitions held in Europe during the late 1800s (and drawing on the same Heidegger essay discussed above), Timothy Mitchell (1989) relates how, in a literal sense, Europeans constructed the Orient in a series of exhibits that re-created actual geographical spaces such as a busy street in Cairo, in order to be "viewed, investigated, and experienced" (220). In these exhibitions, the representation of the world-as-picture took a three-dimensional form. The Cairo street was reproduced as a life-sized diorama, a generic experience of the Orient created for exhibition visitors. Mitchell's example demonstrates one



of the ways in which European nations scientifically “observed” alien spaces in the colonial era that they then judged as retrograde in order to affirm the identity of Europe as superior to its opposite, the Orient.<sup>5</sup>

Hamaya’s documentary photographs of the snow country are clearly not constructed in the manner of a museum exhibit, nor are they an exercise in colonial discursive power. Nonetheless, like these exhibits of the Orient, *Snow Land* reflects an experience of life in Japan’s remote mountain villages, a singular representative space that combines various geographic locations. Hamaya produces this effect through a range of narrative devices. The image below, for example, is an overview shot that commences one section of the book (Figure 1):



**Figure 1:** Plate 47 from *Snow Land* (Hamaya 1977). © Keisuke Katano. Reproduced with permission.

The photograph resembles a diorama, an impression that is attributable to both the high angle from which the image has been taken and the distanced perspective; each aspect makes the landscape seem to be a miniaturised version of itself. The land is spread before the viewer to give a sense of the stage upon which the ensuing photographic narrative will take place. Furthermore, the manner in which the various lines and shapes in the landscape are carefully balanced gives the impression of a mapped space. Landscapes such as these are relatively rare in the book, with the majority of images depicting people undertaking preparations for traditional New Year celebrations. Within the context of the photo series, this image presents as a kind of “ground plan” (to use Heidegger’s term) for Hamaya’s more detailed documentation of village rituals (Heidegger 1977, 118). The photograph establishes a macro perspective

<sup>5</sup> This way of seeing and representing the Orient by the West is most famously explicated by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (2003). See in particular his concept of ‘imaginative geographies’ (49–73).

to contextualise the images of human subjects that follow, which are taken from a much closer vantage point. The landscape presented seems external yet knowable to the viewer, and thus presents as an objective display.

The photograph above (Figure 1) begins a section of the book that focuses entirely on New Year celebrations and is structured as a narrative through chronological sequencing of images and montage. Given the book's intention as an ethnographic work, it is not surprising to see these techniques being utilised in order to govern the viewer's experience. Chronological order, in particular, organises the various rituals and ceremonies conducted by the villagers, giving the impression of a meticulously produced spectacle, as in the European exhibitions referred to above. Below (Figure 2) is an excerpt from a sequence of twelve photographs that document a villager performing the *wakagi mukae* (若木迎え)<sup>6</sup> ritual:



**Figure 2:** Plates 14–17 from *Snow Land* (Hamaya 1977). © Keisuke Katano. Reproduced with permission.

The sequence from which the above montage is taken begins with an intimately close portrait of the man, after which the perspective shifts back to that of observer. The montage reflects Hamaya's self-assigned role as documenter. This is achieved in three ways. First, the photographer has withdrawn to a distance so as not to disturb what is unfolding before him. Second, the chronological sequencing creates a temporal narrative that reflects the photographer's wish to distance himself as narrator. Third, the absence of dramatic angles or other expressive framing techniques produces an objective aesthetic. The combined effect produces a 'factual' representation of the snow country space (much like the display of the Cairo street). Here, the snow country is carefully delineated and organised according to the rationalising logic of temporal sequencing. The space is presented to the viewer as a piece of objective information that can be incorporated into the broader world picture of modernity.

<sup>6</sup> The *wakagi mukae* ritual involves the cutting of a young tree in order to use it as an ornament in Japanese new-year festivities.



The images discussed above (Figures 1 and 2) demonstrate how the rural landscape is produced as a space peripheral to modernity's centre through rationalising logic. One consequence of this is that rural landscapes are also often represented according to the developmental logic of modernity as a retrograde past. This logic grounds a common perception of the rural landscape and its inhabitants as less civilised than those in urban spaces (Williams 1973, 1). More importantly for this discussion, such logic also contradictorily engenders nostalgia for an ideal lifestyle deemed lost. In the following section, I discuss the particular way nostalgia for the pastoral lifestyle in Japan features alongside attempts at pure documentation in Hamaya's *Snow Land*.

It is important to note that idealisation of the countryside is not unique to the modern age nor to Japan. Raymond Williams (1973), for example, has demonstrated how nostalgia for pastoral life and fear of its extinction can be traced to antiquity. In his example of modern writings about the English countryside, Williams observes a general shift beginning during the Renaissance whereby "the landscape becomes more distant, becomes in fact Arcadia, and the Golden Age is seen as present there" (1973, 16–17). As Britain became increasingly industrial and urban, recognition of the hardships of rural life present in earlier works began to disappear: "step by step, these living tensions are excised, until there is nothing countervailing, and selected images stand as themselves: not in a living but in an enamelled world" (1973, 18). This tendency to render the pastoral as a symbol detached from material and historical contingencies reflects a new way to produce meaning in the face of modernity's increased rationalisation of daily life. Due to rapid development starting in the Meiji era [1868–1912], many in Japan experienced not only economic and social upheaval, but also an existential crisis. The sense of dislocation in the Meiji era became even more pronounced in the Taishō era [1912–1926]. Alan Tansman articulates this phenomenon as follows:

...a time of 'blankness' lacking former myths and other objects of unselfconscious worship. Lost are previous forms of sociability and the rituals binding them, artistic forms sanctioned by tradition, and a sense of continuous time stretching back into the past and promising to continue without interruption into the future.

(Tansman 2009, 8)

In the face of modern logic, the legitimacy of old forms of knowledge and meaning became "a receding echo", retreating "steadily into a remaindered world of irrationality and ghosts" (Harootunian 2009, 83). Stefan Tanaka (2004) argues that this distancing of traditional from modern knowledge, and subsequently a distancing of humankind from the natural world, is symbolised in the Meiji-era replacement of the indigenous lunar calendar with the foreign solar (Gregorian) calendar. This new calendar was at odds with the timing of traditional events such as festivals and ceremonies, so that the experience of time in everyday life became disconnected from traditional

practice. Daily life was now organised around the logic of the solar calendar, and events that had punctuated the old lunar calendar were displaced and became illogical within the new organisational context of modern time. As a result, Tanaka argues, “what had constituted experience and common sense... [was] now evidence of a lack of understanding and reason, immaturity, or childhood” (2004, 82). Thus, the imposition of the solar calendar by the Meiji regime had the effect of condemning “the very organisation of people’s lives” as “evil customs of the past” (2004, 9).

It is clear that Hamaya himself keenly felt that something important had been lost in modern Japanese society. It was therefore important for him to record and evaluate the disappearing traditional systems of knowledge (Hamaya 1971, 152). Hamaya also saw the snow country as holding the promise of a collective identity he felt to be slipping away in the face of modern individualism. He has referred to his many field trips to the Niigata rural space during the creation of *Snow Land* as “like my return to [the nation of] Japan (日本への回帰とでも)” (Hamaya 1971, 38). This idea of an authentic Japan found in the snow country emphasises old systems of knowledge, most notably religious practice as a source of meaning and the virtues of close human relations that arise through shared activities. In the essay that accompanies the *Snow Land* images, Hamaya emphasises the importance of religion for both unity and resilience: “The farmers who built up the narrow, infertile and poor Japanese islands into a fertile land required deep faith in their gods to an extent inconceivable in the modern scientific age” (1977, n.p.). A sense of the resultant communal harmony is communicated powerfully in this image (Figure 3) that spreads across two pages of Hamaya’s book:



**Figure 3:** Plate 83 from *Snow Land* (Hamaya 1977). © Keisuke Katano. Reproduced with permission.

The wide frame of the image is crowded with people, yet none stand out as separate from the group. They all seem to be interacting with each other in different ways, suggesting a shared sense of purpose. Possibly through the use of a flash, the photograph has been exposed in a way that blackens

the background and erases the contextual details, while at the same time highlighting the human subjects. This sharp division between foreground and background not only makes the image dynamic, but also seems to isolate the group of men, imbuing the scene with a timeless sense of community. These visual effects produce a surface impression of communal identity as fundamental to an authentic Japanese landscape. In the modern sense that Williams (1973) notes, the landscape has been divested of a sense of the real hardships of life in a mountainous and bitterly cold landscape. Instead, it is a nostalgic representation of an originary Japan that promises to be a salve for the loss of meaning noted by Tanaka (2004) and Harootunian (2009). As will be discussed below, this sense of the snow country as a rejuvenating space is one important way in which Hamaya's *Snow Land* connects with the Yasunari Kawabata [1899–1972] novel of the same name.

### **ALIENATION AND REJUVENATION IN YASUNARI KAWABATA'S *SNOW COUNTRY***

There are clear differences between the representation of the snow country in Hamaya's *Snow Land* and Kawabata's novel, *Snow Country* (雪国 [Yukiguni]).<sup>7</sup> Kawabata's representation is intensely personal and aesthetic, whereas Hamaya generally strives for objectivity. Despite this, however, there are important similarities between Hamaya and Kawabata's protagonist, Shimamura. Both are men, native to Tokyo, who venture into the snow country in search of redemption. Throughout his novel, Kawabata emphasises Shimamura's status as an urban male hollowed out by modernity. We are told, for example, that he is a dance critic who has slowly moved from critiquing Japanese dance forms, with which he became disillusioned, to studying Western ballet, performances of which he has seen only in books. This deliberate choice, made because "nothing could be more comfortable than writing about ballet from books", suggests Shimamura's detachment from the real world (Kawabata 2011, 17). Like Shimamura, Hamaya seemed also to experience a sense of disconnection from the real world in his urban life. This is most apparent from the fact that after making several trips to the snow country, he perceived his earlier photographs of Tokyo as superficial and meaningless. In a dramatic turn of events, he burnt almost all of his Tokyo film negatives in a traditional New Year's bonfire held in one of the snow country villages he visited (Reynolds 2013, 21).

For Hamaya and Shimamura, the snow country was an antidote to alienation. Shimamura "lived a life of idleness, [and therefore] found that he tended to lose his honesty with himself, and frequently went out alone into the mountains to recover something of it" (Kawabata 2011, 12). In Kawabata's novel, Shimamura seeks rehabilitation in the small *onsen* town of Echigo-Yuzawa, in Niigata Prefecture. This is apparent the moment he steps from the train: "Shimamura's nose had been stopped by a stubborn cold, but it cleared to the middle of his head in the cold air, and began running as if the

<sup>7</sup> The original Japanese novel was begun in 1935 and completed in 1937; the definitive version was published in 1948. The first English translation (by Edward Seidensticker) was published in 1956. This article refers to the 2011 edition of Seidensticker's translation.



matter in it were washing cleanly away” (2011, 9). The most lucid moments of reconnection to authenticity are found in communion with other people in the village. Shimamura articulates this in conversation with his lover, Komako: “I’ve had to come into the mountains to want to talk to people again” (2011, 15). Yet for Shimamura, the people of the village do not necessarily exist separately from the landscape; rather, they are a part of it. With respect to Komako, the narrator goes on to tell us that Shimamura’s “response to the mountains had extended itself to cover her” (2011, 14). This reflects how ultimately Shimamura’s attraction to Komako is based less on her qualities as an individual and more on what she symbolises for him. This is evident, too, at the time that the pair first meet in the novel:

The impression the woman [Komako] gave was a wonderfully clean and fresh one. It seemed to Shimamura that she must be clean to the hollows under her toes. So clean indeed did she seem that he wondered whether his eyes, back from looking at early summer in the mountains, might not be deceiving him. (Kawabata 2011, 13)

Komako, a geisha living a traditional life, provides Shimamura with access to a visceral experience of ‘authenticity’ based in nature, through emotional and sexual union. This is articulated later in the novel when Shimamura, while listening to Komako play music, observes that “practicing alone, not aware herself of what was happening, perhaps, but with all the wideness of nature in this mountain valley for her companion, she had come quite as a part of nature to take on this special power” (Kawabata 2011, 50).

Although Hamaya strives for objectivity in *Snow Land*, at times he nonetheless reproduces Kawabata’s romantic representation of the snow country—in particular, the author’s habit of eliding snow country inhabitants’ individuality and simply depicting them as part of the protagonist’s experience of the natural landscape. The following photograph from Hamaya’s series (Figure 4) similarly appears to embed the depicted human figures into the surrounding landscape. In this dynamic image, the men seem to dissolve into nature, an effect engendered by the way the figures are arranged around the as-yet unlit bonfire, in a manner that incorporates them into the bonfire’s pyramid shape. This is reinforced by the vertical graduation of tones in the photograph, which integrates the men into the natural landscape’s tonal palette. This begins with the white snowy ground that blends into the mid-grey of the straw bonfire and the men’s coats, and culminates in the sky’s inky blackness. The distinction between human and landscape is further blurred by swirling white snowflakes. The subjects’ distinguishing features are not visible given both their distance from, and position in relation to, the camera. All of this evokes an impression that the men and the landscape have merged to form a dynamic visage of nature. Despite at times striving for objectivity—as in the previously discussed landscape image (Figure 1) and the *wakagi mukae* montage (Figure 2)—this photograph suggests that Hamaya, like Kawabata, was also motivated by a sentimental and romantic notion of life in the pastoral landscape of the snow country. As discussed below, this connects Hamaya’s *Snow Land* with particular discourses around rural life in pre-war twentieth-century Japan, one of the most persuasive of which was agrarianism, or *nōhonshugi* (農本主義).



**Figure 4:** Plate 81 from *Snow Land* (Hamaya 1977). © Keisuke Katano. Reproduced with permission.

## IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSES OF THE PASTORAL: *NŌHONSHUGI*

So far I have discussed how Hamaya's representation of the snow country constitutes a preconceived, bounded and idealised space. In *Snow Land*, the Niigata landscape reflects the photographer's notion of rural life as both foreign and superior to modern, urban ways of living. Although this is an understandable response to a modern crisis of meaning, the fact that this series was created during the period in which the war and its aftermath were most acutely experienced in Japan cannot be overlooked. As an ethnographic work, the series connects with the folklore studies discipline in which Hamaya was keenly interested. Marilyn Ivy (1995) has noted that folklore studies ultimately "contributed to the chauvinism and cultural nationalism of the wartime period" despite trying to distance itself from state discourses (94). *Snow Land* also connects with agrarian movements that valorised the pastoral. As Tom Brass has demonstrated, the discourse of agrarian myth was "an almost universal national response to the capitalist crisis" of the 1920s and 1930s (2000, 3). He argues that although these responses naturally varied in form from country to country, in each instance the agrarian myth was constituted at that time as:

a 'pure' (or middle) peasantry engaged in smallholding cultivation within the context of an equally 'pure' village community (that is unsullied by an external capitalism) is presented as embodying all the positive and culturally specific

attributes that are constitutive of a 'pure' national identity, which is protected in turn by these same peasants (=warriors-who-defend-the-nation). De-essentialization of the peasantry corresponds to alienation from an 'authentic' selfhood and thus estrangement from a 'natural' and ancient identity by a combination of 'foreign' others: capitalism, socialism and/or colonialism. (Brass 2000, 36)

*Nōhonshugi*, as the Japanese iteration of this agrarian myth, emerged as an ideology in the wake of the Meiji Restoration [1868] and Japan's consequent rapid modernisation (Havens 1970, 250). This ideology held that agrarian practices underpinned both the economic state and a unique Japanese spirit. As expressed by its leading thinker and practitioner, Kanji Katō [1884–1965], *nōhonshugi* was the suppression of "one's ego through devotion to growing crops, an enterprise best performed by self-sufficient villages composed of patriarchal families" (Havens 1970, 254). According to Katō, there were several facets to the agrarian lifestyle that characterised Japanese essence. These facets include: physically disciplining the body through hard labour on the farm; resurrecting the fading practice of shrine worship; and practicing traditional martial arts. Farming and combat had to eschew modern implements and methods in favour of tradition, such as the hand-drawn hoe and the sword respectively (Havens 1970, 256–57). A central motif of *nōhonshugi* was the idealised rice farmer, largely due to an historical association with rice as food and the aesthetics of Japan's rice paddies. The Japanese rice paddy was considered to embody not just rural Japan, but Japan itself (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993, 81–95). The rice farmer became so central to Japanese identity in the era between wars that by 1935, the Japanese anthropologist Kunio Yanagita [1895–1962] had come to define the "common people" of Japan solely as rice farmers (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993, 92).

There are no depictions of rice farming in the *Snow Land* book, primarily because Hamaya's series focuses on winter, during which the Niigata rural landscapes are mostly submerged in snow. He did, however, produce iconic images of rice farming in *Uranihon* (裏日本; lit., 'Japan's Back Coast'), a book published in 1957 as a follow-up to *Snow Land*. Incidentally, *Uranihon* also contained an introduction written by Kawabata, author of the *Snow Country* novel (Hamaya 1957). One of the most iconic images in *Uranihon* is the below image (Figure 5).

Although this image is from 1955, long after the end of wartime, it nonetheless symbolises some key aspects of *nōhonshugi*. It conveys an impression of the rice farmer as a person of individual discipline and self-reliance, while at the same time emphasising the communal working rhythms of the harvest. The former is achieved by the centralised presence of the two women who fill the image's frame, while a sense of coordinated harmony is produced by the manner in which the eye is drawn from the front figure towards the woman behind her. Harmony is further suggested by how the women are captured in symmetric pose while performing identical harvesting actions. These two aspects of the image position the women as archetypal figures, an impression accentuated by the fact that each woman's face is covered. This has the effect of erasing context and subjectivity from the scene so that the women become generic signifiers of the idealised Japanese rice farmer.





**Figure 5:** Plate 88 from *Uranihon* (Hamaya 1977). © Keisuke Katano. Reproduced with permission.

## FASCISM'S PROMISE FOR MODERNITY

Brass notes that in many modernising nations, agrarianism became incorporated into fascist ideology (Brass 2000, 20). It is therefore important to assess whether traces of agrarian fascist discourses might be found in Hamaya's *Snow Land* photographs. Like agrarianism, fascism emerged in Japan as a response to growing dissatisfaction with capitalist modernity, endeavouring to provide new meaning via a foundational mythology of the nation state. Maruyama (1969) notes that, although there were clear formal differences between the Shōwa [1926–1989] regime and the regimes of Germany and Italy, the ideological underpinnings of each were ostensibly the same. One structural difference between Japanese and European fascism resided in the fact that Japanese fascism did not emerge as a populist movement. Rather, it was driven by a small but powerful presence in government and civil society which exerted a disproportionate influence on the state (Maruyama 1969, 52–57). Despite this difference, Harootunian notes that in the final analysis

each regime sought to “save capitalism from itself, from the excesses of civil society, and from the class conflict it was capable of producing”, largely by erasing the notion of social divisions and individual identity (Harootunian 2005, 140–41).

The particular national mythology espoused in Japanese fascism is worth exploring more fully to understand the discursive context in which Hamaya’s *Snow Land* was produced. It will also help with assessing whether or not Hamaya was influenced by state discourses. Dislocation from old patterns of living—in conjunction with the failure of the global economy that led to the worldwide depression of the late 1920s—confirmed growing doubts about capitalist modernity to many in Japan. Nina Cornyetz notes that, unlike Germany following defeat in World War I, in Japan there was no single definable event to which a prevailing feeling of loss could be attributed. Nonetheless, there still existed “a sense of cultural crisis that was widely experienced as loss” (Cornyetz 2009, 337). This was engendered by the fear that Japanese civilisation was overrun by the Western influences that had become intertwined with modernising efforts in Japan since the Meiji Restoration (2009, 337). By holding the promise of replenishing a sense of community and unifying purpose, fascism emerged as one response to the crisis of modernity. The disenchantment and isolating effects of modern life were addressed in Japan through the renovation of ancient mythology and emphasis on connection with nature (Tansman 2009, 2–5). As already discussed, the ideology of *nōhonshugi* was central to this discourse because it promoted agrarian life as an intrinsic feature of national identity. In this way, fascism sought to unite the population, to provide a sense of superior cultural uniqueness that connected individuals and communities together. It thus appeared to provide an antidote to the fracturing of old family structures brought about by modernisation.

While fascism promised a sense of unity, it also required significant sacrifice by Japanese citizens. The Emperor, as the symbolic head of spirituality and the state, embodied the higher force to which sacrifice should be made (Skya 2009). The national body was subsequently rendered sacred through its association with the emperor, and the emperor’s status as supreme *kami*—the apotheosis of nature’s power—meant that a nexus formed between the emperor, the state and nature (Picken 2004; Karatani 2012, 61). As a consequence, a central motif in Japanese fascist aesthetics was the frequent association of nature and the rural with an essential national identity. This extended beyond the realm of ideological discourse and into politics; for some political thinkers, agrarianism was a foundation for a new state model.

Maruyama (1963) notes that among major political thinkers in the 1930s there existed a concept of the village model as an ideal upon which to base the Japanese state. For example, Seikyō Gondō [1868–1937], a central figure in the reactionary May 15 Incident of 1932, was highly critical of state exploitation of the provinces in the process of modernisation.<sup>8</sup> This criticism was driven

<sup>8</sup> The May 15 Incident was an attempted *coup d’état* carried out in 1932 by ultra-right factions of the military and some civilians in order to supplant the democratically elected government and replace it with a military state headed by the emperor. This included the assassination of then-Prime Minister Tsuyoshi Inukai [1855–1932]. Despite assassinating the head of state, the perpetrators received only relatively light punishment.

not only by Gondō's outrage at the abject poverty in rural Japan, but more importantly by his belief in the village model. According to Maruyama, Gondō wanted the state to be "based on the native-village community" and "built up from the bottom like a pyramid" (Maruyama 1963, 56–57). Kōsaborō Tachibana [1893–1974], another key figure of the May 15 Incident, argued that agrarian life was an essential state of being for Japanese. In his *Principles of Japan's Patriotic Reformation*, he wrote: "what is tilling the soil if not the very basis of human life?" He further claimed that "only by agrarianism can a country become eternal, and that is especially the case for Japan" (cited in Maruyama 1969, 43).

Maruyama shows how agrarianism's proponents (such as Gondō and Tachibana) were at odds with others in the Right who believed in industrial development. This led to a contradiction in the fascist state in that it sought wholesale industrial development on the one hand—thus privileging the urban centre over the rural periphery—while positing agrarianism as a cultural ideal on the other. For this reason, Maruyama points out that "as 'fascism' descends from the realm of ideas into the world of reality, agrarianism is bound to turn into an illusion" (1969, 52–57). In other words, the fascist state—inherently militaristic and aggressively expansionist—could never subsist on agriculture alone, but must rely on the tools of modernity to achieve its expansionist aims at the expense of those who supposedly represented the agrarian ideal. In this instance, the instability at the heart of the urban/pastoral binary was made apparent in a material sense in the fascist state that relied so heavily on industrial modes of production. In the context of Hamaya's *Snow Land*, it is important to note that the fascist state's exploitation of the rural landscape and its inhabitants is not depicted in the photographs, an omission which further demonstrates how socio-political tensions are elided in his representation of the space.

The illusory nature of agrarianism did not lessen its power in fascist discourse. As discussed previously in this article, the agrarian ideal of a close union between humans and nature is fundamental to fascism's promised anti-modern utopia. This is because the agrarian ideal is the obvious antithesis to capitalist modernity in its communal-social formation. The connection to traditional mythology and folklore, and a relation to nature that was lost to urban subjects, became key ideological tools through which fascist discourse—utilising visual and literary art mediums—sought to mobilise the public. This discourse not only took the form of state-driven cultural productions, but ultimately *governed* cultural production.<sup>9</sup> It thus came to shape works such as Kawabata's *Snow Country* novel, and, I would argue, Hamaya's photographic depiction of the snow country.

In suggesting this I do not mean to imply that Hamaya consciously produced a work of propaganda. Rather, I argue that given the power of the Japanese state discourses and systems of knowledge operating at the time, it would have been almost impossible for these not to have in some way influenced his photographic work. We might note, for example, that Hamaya was employed

9 Important discussions of this can be found in Peter B. High's book, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War*, and in Alan Tansman's *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism*, which examines literature and other popular entertainment. Please see bibliography for publication details.



by several state-sponsored wartime publications, including *FRONT*, a propaganda magazine intended for foreign audiences that showcased the various military aspects of Japan's war efforts, alongside romantic portrayals of agrarian life in Japan's colonies.<sup>10</sup> Although Hamaya's involvement in these projects can be explained by the fact that much work for freelance photographers during the war period came from the state, it is also clear that he was at times swept up in the militarist discourses of the era. He recounted later how he was intoxicated by the displays of military power he photographed: "Being in the midst of the explosive noise of the bombers and the deafening roar of the tanks set my blood racing. My sluggish spirits were swept away. I was wildly enthusiastic, thinking, 'arrows or bullets, bring them on'" (cited in Reynolds 2013, 22). This enthusiasm seems to have been short-lived, however. Reynolds speculates that Hamaya's decision to resign from *FRONT* after just one year was motivated by "growing frustration with the military and disgust over the duplicity of wartime propaganda" in which he had played a part (2013, 24).

## CONCLUSION

Hamaya's *Snow Land* was clearly motivated by a sense of dissatisfaction with the state of modern Japan in the 1940s and 1950s. This dissatisfaction was not only attributable to a hollowing out of daily life considered to be a universal experience of modernity, but also disillusion with the promises of the fascist state. In that sense, *Snow Land* can be understood as a critique of modern life, and an attempt to rediscover a more fulfilling mode of living for Japanese society. On one level, therefore, we might dismiss this project as a simplistic and "well-known habit of using the past, the 'good old days,' as a stick to beat the present" (Williams 1973, 12). However, as the discussion above demonstrates, the manner in which nostalgic representations of the rural in *Snow Land* elide historical contingencies is the product of a particularly modern way of seeing the world as a pre-formed picture. The space depicted in the book reflects not so much the material realities that Hamaya photographed, but the idealised notion of the rural space as a heterotopia, a singular utopia distilled from real physical spaces in Japan. It can therefore be argued that Hamaya was deeply embedded in a modern consciousness which, as Heidegger contended, objectified the natural world as a picture, an already-posited conceptual space available for observation and recording by the modern subject.

We can interpret Hamaya's depiction of the snow country as constituting an unconscious iteration of both universal discourses of modernity, and discourses specific to the 1940s and 1950s Japanese context. By representing the countryside as an icon, Hamaya channels discourses of nostalgia for a pastoral golden age in Japan. In the context of wartime Japan, such discourses of agrarianism served state ideology: they were intended to unite the populace according to state imperatives. In fascism, the inherent contradiction at the heart of the binary relationship between centralised, teleological modernity and an externalised, ahistorical understanding of the countryside became apparent. In order to fuel progress, the modern centre must consume its rural

<sup>10</sup> *FRONT* was published between 1942 and 1945 by Tōhōsha, a publishing company set up at the behest of the military command and funded by private corporations. Its principal intended audience was the countries that comprised the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Shirayama 2003, 382).

periphery in both a material and ideological sense. As a product of Japan's urban centre, Hamaya perceived the snow country space according to the worldview of a modern individual. The photographic representations that he created offer a pastoral landscape that stands before modern individuals as a peripheral and objectified space. This space is produced by those in urban centres as a salve for the crises of meaning and identity in modern life.

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# Sexuality and Space: Tokyo and Karuizawa in Mariko Koike's *Koi*

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**MINA QIAO**

University of Auckland

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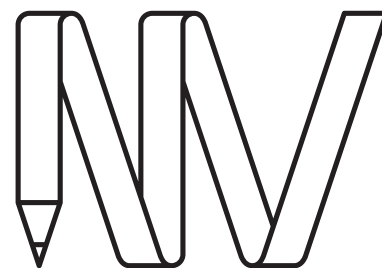
## ABSTRACT

This article employs Koike Mariko's novel *Koi* [1995] as a case study to explore the functions of urban space in contemporary Japanese fiction. It examines the way that urban space works as an axis upon which the characters in *Koi* interact, and analyses how those interactions function in direct proportion to the nature of the urban space through which they move. This article also analyses the plot paradigm of 'sexual deviance/transgression during periods of social turbulence', and identifies the interrelations between sexuality and socio-political factors. The representation of urban space in *Koi*, together with the socio-political backdrop of the 1970s student movements, is shown to complement the construction and development of the characters' sexualities, thereby enriching the narrative and supporting Ai Maeda's claim of urban space's impact on literature.

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## KEYWORDS

Ai Maeda; contemporary; criminality; literature; Mariko Koike; sexuality; urban space



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Urban space has become an essential element of modern literature. Ai Maeda (1996) suggests that, with the frequent appearances of toponyms in literature, urban space in real life and in textual imagery infiltrate each other to generate more text in turn (1996, 24–25). As such a work, *Koi* (恋) by Mariko Koike, first published in 1995, is ‘a tale of two cities’—Tokyo and Karuizawa—where an unconventional romance takes place against the backdrop of the 1970s student movements. The title, “*Koi*”, is a Japanese word that means affection, emotional dependency, or longing.

Mariko Koike [b. 1952] is a Japanese female author. Koike was active in street demonstrations of the student movement in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and infuses the sentiments of that era into her writing. Her trademark novels are love stories with a nostalgic flair, such as *Mubansō* (無伴奏 [A Cappella]; 1990) and *Koi* (2008 [1995]). The novel *Koi* won the Naoki Prize in 1996, and has also been adapted into a TV film by Tokyo broadcaster TBS<sup>1</sup> which was first televised on December 16, 2013. The narrative of *Koi* is set in the context of the early 1970s student movements and the Asama Sansō Incident of 1972.<sup>2</sup> Fumiko Yano, a university student from a working-class background, becomes an assistant to university professor Shintarō Katase for his translation project of a fictional British novel called *Rose Salon*.<sup>3</sup> Fumiko is later drawn into the upper-class social circle of Shintarō and his aristocratic wife Hinako, and is captivated by their uninhibited charm. As a threesome, they become absorbed in a realm of erotic sensation while the outside world faces upheaval. The story ends when, in a strange turn of fate, Fumiko murders Hinako’s new lover on February 28, 1972, the same day that the Asama Sansō Incident tragically ends.

Despite the rich elements of its narrative, *Koi* has attracted little scholarly attention in Japan or elsewhere. I intend to address this gap in research by employing *Koi* as a case study to investigate the implications of urban space in Japanese contemporary fiction. I explore the hypothesis that urban space serves as an axis upon which the characters in *Koi* interact, and show how the characters function in direct relation to the nature of the space in which they are located. Furthermore, I will use *Koi* to exemplify the plot paradigm of ‘sexual transgression during periods of social turbulence’ in literary works, and to identify the interrelations between sexuality and socio-political factors.<sup>4</sup>

1 Tokyo Broadcasting System Holdings, Inc.

2 On February 19, 1972, five armed members of the United Red Army broke into a lodge called Asama Sansō at Mount Asama, and took several hostages. The standoff between police and the United Red Army members lasted ten days. On February 28, the incident ended with the police storming the lodge and successfully rescuing the hostages. This incident led to the decline in popularity of leftist movements in Japan. As Koike writes in *Koi*, it also marked the end of an era (2008, 310).

3 *Rose Salon* is a crucial narrative device for *Koi*, as its translation and publication runs throughout the story. Furthermore, the novel *Rose Salon* serves as the *mise en abyme* of *Koi*. ‘*Mise en abyme*’ is a concept first proposed by André Gide in 1893 (Dallenbach 1989, 7), and means “an internal duplication of the theme of a work of art” that reflects the work and confirms its overall structure (Ireland 1983, 66). The surrealistic setting of *Rose Salon* mirrors Karuizawa’s nature as a fantasyland, a ‘Rose Salon’ for the threesome. In this article, “*Rose Salon*” refers to the novel, while “Rose Salon” refers to Karuizawa as a metaphor.

4 In this article, ‘sexual transgression’ is defined as sexual acts that differ “in degrees of tolerance within and between societies in spite of the codes of sexual propriety sanctioned by official scientific or state discourse” (Donnan and Magowan 2009, 9). I regard the sexual patterns represented in *Koi* as sexual transgression because engaging in extramarital sexual acts, having multiple sexual partners, and entering into a *ménage à trois* violate the social codes of sexual propriety in Japan.

While sexuality functions as a key motif in *Koi* and informs the narrative, there are also other important narrative elements. I suggest that urban space—in all its socio-political, chronological and geographical senses—is important to the representation of sexuality which drives the narrative in *Koi*. I identify three elements which are interrelated with social factors to facilitate the development of the narrative: modern urban spaces; the dynamic in gender relations brought about by the *ménage à trois* between Fumiko and the Katases; and the socio-political backdrop. Drawing on these elements, I explore the intersection of geographical, chronological, sociological, political and psychological elements as they contribute to the construction of sexuality in the novel.

There are three main limitations to address in this study. First, unlike Tokyo, Karuizawa is not a major metropolitan area; it is a resort town in the Kitasaku District of Nagano Prefecture, a highland area in central Japan. However, over the course of *Koi*, the narrative directly contrasts Tokyo and Karuizawa, positioning the sites as mirror images of each other. This study therefore regards Karuizawa as a metaphoric urban site existing in parallel with Tokyo for comparative analysis. Second, I analyse Tokyo and Karuizawa as two locations presenting opposing characteristics, and suggest that the clear dichotomy of Tokyo (culture) and Karuizawa (nature) exists to reinforce the representation of urban space in *Koi*. Some may argue from an urban sociological perspective that a city can never be purely ‘cultural’ or ‘natural’. Erik Swyngedouw (1996), for example, considers cities as hybrid forms and states: “In the city, society and nature, representation and being, are inseparable, integral to each other, infinitely bound up; yet, simultaneously, this hybrid socio-natural ‘thing’ called ‘the city’ is full of contradictions, tensions and conflicts” (66). However, *Koi* simultaneously emphasises and leaves out certain characteristics of Tokyo and Karuizawa to enhance the tone of the narrative. These locations are artistically fictionalised to enable the storytelling. Third, Tokyo in the early 1970s has been analysed here as a city which is not liberated but actually quite conservative. Present-day Tokyo is a modern city where various kinds of subcultures take root. Tokyo is depicted as bizarre and mysterious in many contemporary films and literary works that include sexuality as a major element; for example, the Ryū Murakami novel *Topāzu* (トパーズ [*Tokyo Decadence*]; 1988) and subsequent film (1992), and the Hitomi Kanehara novel *Hebi ni Piasu* (蛇にピアス [*Snakes and Earrings*]; 2003) and subsequent film (2008). However, the interpretation of Tokyo that is adopted in this study focuses on its identity as a political capital in a time of social upheaval, and is specific to the time of the 1970s student movements which act as the backdrop for *Koi*.

## MODERN URBAN SPACE

### Uptown Girl

“Class, as with sexualities, is geographically produced” (Binnie 2011, 24). In *Koi*, urban space affects the dichotomies of central/peripheral, public/private, proletariat/bourgeoisie, and reality/fantasy. It can be argued that in *Koi*, Tokyo represents the proletariat and Karuizawa represents the bourgeoisie. Each site is defined by human activities and consciousness (Donald 1999, 2–3). Tokyo



functions as the political capital of the nation, spinning at high speed while also serving as a target for activists to initiate social changes. Karuizawa, by contrast, is an upscale summer resort town located in the mountains, and is free of Tokyo's social and political strife. In this instance, "the city is, by nature, unnatural" because its landscape and even its weather are shaped by human activities (1999, 2). While the "unnatural" attributes of Tokyo are obvious, Karuizawa—specifically chosen for its highland characteristics—was nonetheless also built as an artificial summer retreat for the pleasure of aristocrats and elites in the political and business world (Koike 2008, 162). In other words, Karuizawa is a place for the upper classes. To the characters in *Koi*, moreover, Karuizawa is a getaway not only to escape the summer heat but also from Tokyo itself. While Tokyo is filled with propaganda brochures and the inflammatory speeches of leftist university students, the wealthy upper classes enjoy their leisure time in the cool breezes of Karuizawa. Stallybrass and White (1986) note that "the logic of identity-formation involves distinctive associations and switching between location, class and the body" (25), and it is clear that as Fumiko moves from one location to another, her identity undergoes a subtle transformation.

At the time of the narrative, Tokyo is a space for the masses, while Karuizawa is a private place exclusive to aristocrats and elites (Koike 2008, 162). This recalls Ai Maeda's concepts of exteriority/the world of everyday life, and interiority/the world of the non-daily:

The two realms of 'exteriority' (*omote*) and 'interiority' (*ura*), which separate the spaces of a dwelling, shift at the level of urban space into conflicting structures of the world of everyday life and the world of the non-daily. The world of the non-daily is equivalent to the interiority of a dwelling. It exhibits the negative properties that have been expelled from the world of everyday life, such as strong taboos, subtle ambiguities, anarchy, uncleanness, marginality, and somatic sensation.<sup>5</sup> (Maeda 1996, 68)

In *Koi*, Karuizawa represents 'interiority' and the world of the non-daily, which enables sensational indulgence and transgression, while Tokyo represents 'exteriority' and the world of everyday life, which stands for accepted social norms. The Katases' resort in Karuizawa is a summer house away from their work duties and social routines. Compared to the 'exteriority' of Tokyo, Karuizawa is a secretive and inviting 'interior' space where 'Other' patterns of sexuality simmer. Maeda suggests that class boundaries can be found laid between a central region and a marginal region (1996, 286). In *Koi*, the Karuizawa periphery is the heartland of the mysterious and alluring, and where class boundaries are crossed.

In *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (1986), Stallybrass and White point out the psychological dependence of the high class on the low. Without the social opposite of the excluded Others, the construction of the high's

5 「住いの空間のなかで分離されるオモテ/ウラという二つの領域は、都市空間のレベルでは日常的な世界と非日常的な世界の対立構造に変換される。非日常的な世界、住いのなかのウラの領域がそうであるように、強力な禁忌、隠微な曖昧さ、無秩序、不浄性、周縁性、体性感覚性といった日常的な世界から分離され、排除された負性のしるしがあつめられている場所である。」 Note: all English translations of Japanese source texts are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

subjectivity is incomplete (1986, 5). While Fumiko's romantic affair with the Katases may appear incidental, it is also inevitable because of her status as a low Other to the Katases' high. Hinako has had other lovers who come from the upper class, such as Soejima (a businessman) and Handa (a university student), and presumably there are more, but the Katases do not make any of them a special partner as they do with Fumiko. Perhaps tired of their high-class toys, they specifically choose the marginalised and eroticised Other—Fumiko—to fulfil their fantasy. Fumiko, a socially peripheral character, becomes symbolically central to this romantic affair and to the narrative as a whole in a manner that confirms these ideas:

A recurrent pattern emerges: the 'top' attempts to reject and eliminate the 'bottom' for reasons of prestige and status, only to discover, not only that it is in some way frequently dependent upon the low-Other...but also that top *includes* the low symbolically, as a primary eroticized constituent of its own fantasy life. The result is a mobile, conflictual fusion of power, fear, and desire in the construction of subjectivity: a psychological dependence upon precisely those others which are being rigorously opposed and excluded at the social level. It is for this reason that what is *socially* peripheral is so frequently *symbolically* central.

(Stallybrass and White 1986, 5)

In *Poison Woman* (2007), Christine Marran refers to Stallybrass and White (1986) and suggests that transgression (i.e., crime committed by socially peripheral parties) is embedded in the psychological dependence of the high on the low: "The trouble with transgression is indeed its indispensability. The social symbolic needs its criminals. It needs its terrorists, its sex addicts, its drug czars" (2007, xix). From this perspective, Fumiko's later crime (i.e., murdering Hinako's lover, Ōkubo) is as inevitable as her romantic affair with the Katases.

## The Citizen

Caught between two places, Fumiko says to Shintarō "We live in different worlds (生きてる世界が違ふんです)", referring to the gap between them created by class (Koike 2008, 107). If not for the Katases, Fumiko would never have come to Karuizawa to spend the summer (see 2008, 162). Even had she been able to afford the financial expense, the word 'Karuizawa' itself was sensitive for the majority of university students at a time of such political tension, and when young people enjoyed the privilege of mocking the lifestyles of the upper class (2008, 162). Even before Fumiko traverses the boundary into Karuizawa, she is in fact something of a drifter in Tokyo and does not seem to belong to either place. Although she comes from a university which is famous for its student movement, she never appears to care about the riots in Tokyo. Nonetheless, while she spends the summer vacation in Karuizawa, she is still merely a temporary guest in the world of the upper class. Fumiko is therefore neither a complete stranger nor a fully accepted citizen of either Tokyo or Karuizawa.

Raymond Williams argues that “[a]n effective awareness of social identity depends on actual and sustained social relationships” (cited in Donald 1999, 154). James Donald also suggests that the identity of a “citizen” is “a position in the set of formal relations defined by democratic sovereignty” rather than “a type of person” (1996, 174). The romantic relationship Fumiko develops with the Katases is the basis for her temporary identity as a Karuizawa citizen/insider. Discussing the relationship between romantic bonds and identity, Gaylin notes how the former “[fuses] the separate sense of self into a common identity” (cited in Murakami 2002, 129), which in turn reinforces the notion of ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ (Murakami 2002, 129). It is Fumiko’s romantic relationship with the Katases that makes her an insider and grants her residency in Karuizawa. Moreover, according to Murakami (2002), modern emotion/desire plays two roles, namely “identification with the same and discrimination against others” (128). The logic of Otherness in urban life “often is played out in violent modes of exclusion or in isolating forms of disconnection and strangeness” (Tonkiss 2005, 28). When Karuizawa, home to three insiders (i.e., Shintarō, Hinako, and their ‘pet’ Fumiko), is invaded by the stranger/outsider Ōkubo, the danger of violence (i.e., Fumiko killing Ōkubo) takes root.

When the Katases’ marriage is threatened by Hinako’s affair with Ōkubo, the delicate balance between Shintarō, Hinako and Fumiko is also broken. On a symbolic level, the home that once belonged to the Katases in Karuizawa is now occupied by the invader, Ōkubo. Fumiko is no longer welcome there. The marriage of the Katases is threatened and Fumiko loses the subject of her emotional submission (i.e., the Katases as an entity), which again shows that Fumiko’s identity is loosely constituted and dependent on the romantic bonds of the threesome. The deteriorating situation causes Fumiko to lose her identity and thus her free pass to this utopia. In other words, the withdrawal of Fumiko’s sponsors results in her deportation from the Karuizawa fairyland. Reflecting on her crime, Fumiko mentions *L’Étranger* [1942], a novel by Albert Camus in which the protagonist, Meursault, kills a man for no good reason: “It is possible for people to kill others just like Meursault did (人はムルソーのように人を殺すことができる)” (Koike 2008, 415–16). The allusion to *L’Étranger* may imply that Fumiko has become a stranger/outsider to the Katases and the exclusive world. This loss further compromises Fumiko’s identity and leads to her violent behaviour.

## The Spell of Fairyland

A fairyland requires borders because magical wonders always entail danger. The boundaries are considered to be “the separation of objects, people or places”, which are “always shadowed by the idea—the ‘fantasy’ or the danger—of their connection” (Tonkiss 2005, 31). In *Koi*, Usui Pass is the border which separates Tokyo as reality from Karuizawa as fantasy. The mist in Karuizawa marks the entry into the other world. Like the fog in Dickens’ London and the snow in Joyce’s Dublin, the mist in Karuizawa is an inseparable part of the town’s ‘urban’ landscape and also an externalisation of the characters’ consciousness (Donald 1999):

Once we passed Usui Pass, and before we could take a breather, there poured the inopportune rain. The dense mist, like enveloping white smoke, crept over the ground. I remembered getting an unusual vibe as if I were stepping into a strange land when the car took the path towards the villa from the highway.<sup>6</sup> (Koike 2008, 166)

The mist, in other words, reinforces the mythical and enigmatic atmosphere of Karuizawa, while also profiling its capricious and whimsical feminine sexuality (the engendered aspect of urban space is discussed in detail later).

Hinako has many lovers; however, her taste for lovers changes with the switch of geographical locations. In Tokyo, she has a physical relationship with Handa. In Karuizawa, she loses her interest in Handa and turns to Soejima, for whom she has no feelings in Tokyo.

That person [Soejima] lives in Tokyo, and only comes here occasionally. But I feel nothing when I meet him in Tokyo. Isn't it uncanny? I fall for him every time I come to Karuizawa. It's like I am tempted. If there was something to blame, it must be the weather here.<sup>7</sup> (Koike 2008, 171–72)

Tokyo and Karuizawa are contrasted in Hinako's words, just like the two lovers: a young university student and a sophisticated middle-aged man. The two cities represent different patterns of desire, demonstrating how the landscape has an effect on the character's (sub)consciousness. From this perspective, the narrative renders the climate of Karuizawa as sensual: "Soundlessly as usual, the mist enveloped the ground and wrapped the heels of the two men. [...] Their voices were muffled and submerged in the mist (相変わらず音もなく地面を這っている地霧が、二人の男の足元を包みこみ、……くぐもった音と化して霧の中に吸い込まれていった)" (2008, 176–77).

By isolating and enveloping the space of Karuizawa, the mist creates a fantastic and erotic interiority. Anthropologists such as Russell (2001) and Roche (2009) argue that marginal and private geographical settings are central to the construction of sexually transgressive action, since public conventions are replaced by negotiated norms in these contexts. The next section discusses the application of these ideas to the *Koi* narrative.

When a person is at a borderline, they have the potential to liberate themselves from routines of everyday life and experience an alternative lifestyle (Yamaguchi 1975, 90). Maeda (1996) takes this idea further and suggests that, "In literary works, a character's act of crossing a border discloses his/her hidden duality and allows a glimpse of the possibilities available for living an alternative life (文学テキストに描きだされた登場人物の越境もまた彼の行為のなかに隠されている両義性を開示し、もうひとつの生の可能性を垣間見させる契機なのである)" (42). Crossing the border into Karuizawa, Hinako feels she is falling in love (Koike

6 「碓氷峠を越え、あと一息というところまで来ると、折悪しく雨が降り始めた。地霧と呼ぶのだろうか、たちこめた霧が白い煙のように地面を這っていて、国道から別荘に通じる小径に入った途端、異界に踏み込んだような違和感を感じたのを覚えている。」

7 「その人は東京に住んでる人なの。こっちはたまにしか来ないの。でも、東京であってても、別に何も感じないのよ。不思議ね。軽井沢に来ると、その人が恋しくなるの。うずうずしてくるの。何のせいかしら。こっちの気候がそうさせるんだわ、きっと。」

2008, 173). Fumiko's emotional ties with the Katases are also developed in Karuizawa rather than in Tokyo. Karuizawa offers a seductive atmosphere and secluded space, and characters go along with this atmosphere and further contribute to it by indulging themselves in unconventional lifestyle choices. This setting serves as a prophecy in the narrative. Later on, Hinako has a life-changing affair in Karuizawa with Ōkubo, who symbolises the dangers lurking in fantasyland which put an end to the comfort and security of the *ménage à trois*.

## GENDER RELATIONS

### Outside the Salon

Whether encoded as the relationship between the socially desirable and the pathological, the normal and the stigmatized, or the dominant subject and its dominated other, sociological studies of privilege and perversion often reinscribe the binary codes of Western epistemology.

(Ault 1996, 449)

In case studies of social norms, people whose sexual orientations, bodies and races are different from the majority often end up as socially marginalised Others. Once a norm is established, all those against the norm become Other (Clapton and Fitzgerald 1997).

In *Koi*, the urban dichotomy (i.e., the fictional Rose Salon as Karuizawa, versus the world outside as Tokyo) forms an essential setting. Away from Tokyo, in secluded Karuizawa, the threesome is inspired by the fictional novel *Rose Salon* to follow their own sexual and social norms. This enables an active female sexuality which forms the basis of the gender dynamics in *Koi*. The microcosm of Karuizawa, the threesome's metaphorical Rose Salon, is the centre of Fumiko and the Katases' world; yet, the 'Salon' is not a real social centre, but rather a site on the margins. The three principal characters serve as Others vis-à-vis society, and consider commonly held norms and people who espouse those norms as deviant. For example, when Hinako confesses her sexual rapacity to Fumiko—how she rushes home to have sex with Shintarō in the middle of grocery shopping—Fumiko does not think of that as at all “impure (不潔)” (Koike 2008, 251). Rather, she worships Hinako's pure and unadulterated sexual desire; Fumiko wants to be like Hinako, being able to crave carnal pleasure without any emotion (see 2008, 251). This suggests that the characters are subject to their own moral codes.

The fictional novel's eponymous Rose Salon serves as a duplication of the threesome's world. Here also, primitive sexuality is worshipped. Fumiko relates a description of Rose Salon as it appears in *Rose Salon's* narrative:

A group of men and women gather in the sanctum called “Rose Salon”. Like heavenly deities, they live by the unfathomable rules of nature, endlessly copulating, conversing, laughing, weeping, singing and dancing.



While the Salon is not completely free of secular emotional entanglement, sentiments such as jealousy, irritation, or a sense of alienation soon disappear into the unique sexual energy of the Salon itself. It is only when a new character appears that a ripple is felt by the members of the Salon, revealing the candid dynamic of a work of fiction. When that new character blends into the Salon, however, a quiet, calm lull descends on the ground.<sup>8</sup>

(Koike 2008, 245)

As in the fictional novel, *Rose Salon*, sexuality is regarded as sacred in the threesome's world, while emotional and spiritual relations are regarded as profane. For Fumiko and the Katases, the ground rule is always to obey and perform in a way that places a high value on carnal pleasure, and their worship of unadulterated sexuality forms the basis of their own standard of morality. To Fumiko, the Katases are "elegant and immaculate, and above all, enormously sensual (高貴で無垢で、そのうえ、素晴らしく官能的だった)" (Koike 2008, 198). Being "enormously sensual" does not detract from but rather enhances Fumiko's perception of their nobility and innocence. For Fumiko, it is the socially desirable that is pathological, and the 'normal' that is stigmatised.

The entry of Ōkubo, however, disrupts this pattern. This is because Hinako establishes a platonic rather than carnal bond with the young man. Realising this, Fumiko begins to see Hinako as dissolute. To Fumiko, the fact that Hinako craves Ōkubo's spirit instead of his body is "filthy (不潔な行為)" (Koike 2008, 344). "[Hinako's craving for spirit] defiled human dignity. People who greedily demand flesh and sensation and indulge themselves in sex are far cleaner (汚らわしかった。食欲に肉体を求め、快感を求め、性に溺れていく人間のほうが、遥かに清潔だ、と私は思った)" (2008, 344). To Fumiko, Hinako's pure and holy image when "she enjoyed sleeping with thousands of men other than Shintarō (信太郎以外に、千人の男を相手にし、嬉々としている)", stands in stark contrast to the Hinako who, now having "committed her soul to only one man", becomes "no different to a whore (たった一人の男に魂をまるごと預けようとする雛子は淫売も同然だった)" (2008, 344). Thus, the norm for sexual relationships in *Koi*, which had valorised the profane, begins to disintegrate with the appearance of Ōkubo, who refuses to conform to that paradigm.

## Corporeality and the Metropolis

The body and the city are produced under the influence of each other: "the city is made and made over into the simulacrum of the body, and the body, in its turn, is transformed, 'citified,' urbanized as a distinctively metropolitan body" (Grosz 1992, 242). Urban space, therefore, is a socially constructed body to which a gender can be attributed (1992, 242). As the public-private and cultural-natural dichotomy conventionally corresponds to masculine-feminine space (Korsmeyer 1998, 158; Grosz 1992, 248), Karuizawa becomes

<sup>8</sup> 「ローズサロンと呼ばれる屋敷の居間に集まってくる大勢の男女。彼らは天界に住む神々のように、計り知れない自然の法則に従って交合し、語り合い、飲み食いし、笑い、泣き、歌い、踊り続ける。

生臭い感情のぶつかり合いがないわけではないのだが、嫉妬や苛立ちや疎外感は、ただちにサロンそれ自体が持っている性的エネルギーの中に消失していく。新しい人物が登場した時だけ、居合わせた人々の間に波紋が起こり、小説らしい率直なダイナミズムを見せるものの、その人物がローズサロンの中にとけこんでしまうと、再びそこには、風のような穏やかな静けさが舞い戻る。」



feminised for its privacy and naturalness, and Tokyo represents masculinity for its public and cultural attributes. In this way, *Koi* contrasts Tokyo and Karuizawa as engendered bodies.

“The body-politic is an artificial construct which replaces the primacy of the natural body”, such that the body-politic of urban space is a battle between culture and nature (Grosz 1992, 247–48). Applied to *Koi*, the power structure that is masculine (cultural) productivity attempts to supersede and overtake feminine (natural) reproduction (1992, 248). In *Koi*, the political protests carried out by the students in Tokyo represent masculine force: cultural, productive, and aggressive. These protests aim to overturn authority in the name of civilisation and democracy. Karuizawa, where the heart of the bourgeois class lies, thus serves as the feminine defence which represents nature and idleness. The class struggles that divide Tokyo and Karuizawa correspond to a gender combat in which each sex occupies a battlefield: male for Tokyo and female for Karuizawa.

As discussed above, the mist in Karuizawa symbolises unpredictable feminine charm. Karuizawa as a whole embodies female sexuality. The triumphs of female sexuality over the male take place in Karuizawa. Furthermore, a biblical element also becomes apparent in this relationship, as argued below.

### Lilith versus Adam

According to Fumiko, “In my eyes, Hinako was Eve, and Shintarō was Adam. Even if Eve slept with hundreds of men and Adam slept with hundreds of women, they would still be the one and only couple in the world and no-one could ever come between them”<sup>9</sup> (Koike 2008, 185). However, is Hinako really Eve? Or does her rebellious character better fit the figure of Lilith? In the chapter Genesis, Lilith is depicted as the first woman God created for Adam. However, Lilith leaves Adam because she thinks that they are equal (see Renold and Ringrose 2012). Compared to Eve, who in spite of her original sin is ultimately portrayed as submissive, Hinako has more in common with Lilith, who asserts, “I will not lie below”, and who dares to desert Adam (Genesis 2:18, cited in Renold and Ringrose 2012, 48). Lilith’s rejection of Adam symbolises “women robbing men of phallic potency” (Renold and Ringrose 2012, 49). In the contemporary context, mythological references remain instructive for the analysis of cultural motifs and anxieties over feminine power and masculine loss in literature (2012, 49–50). For example, in *Lolita* [1955] by Vladimir Nabokov, an analogy of Lilith is used to describe the sexual charm of the putative *femme fatale*, Lolita: “Humbert was perfectly capable of intercourse with Eve, but it was Lilith he longed for” (Nabokov 2000, 20).

Lilith is often associated with the fear of castration. Hinako’s aggressive sexuality in *Koi* can be seen as an assertion of femininity and a challenge to male domination—in other words, a desire to castrate the male. The narrative of *Koi* can be interpreted as a feminist struggle against patriarchy: the battle

9 「私の目から見ると、雛子はイブで、信太郎はアダムだった。たとえイブが百人の男と寝ようと、アダムが百人の女と寝ようと、二人は世界でたった一つの番いであり、誰もその番いの関係を壊すことはできない。」

of Lilith versus Adam, a revolution in which females claim their power. In this small-scale feminist revolution, Hinako symbolises the dominating rebel of female sexuality, and Fumiko is the loyal follower of Hinako. We have seen how Fumiko admires Hinako's sexual rapacity, and thinks that "I rather envied her for having such a high sexual drive...I wanted to be like Hinako (雛子の性欲の強さを頼もしく羨ましく思った。……私も雛子のようになりたかった)" (Koike 2008, 251). Hinako is the role model for Fumiko in terms of sexual relations.

On the other hand, Shintarō represents the symbolically castrated male, as discussed in three ways. First, Shintarō's ability to have sexual intercourse with other women is constrained by Hinako. Hinako tells Fumiko that "Shin-chan is amazing. Since we got married, he hasn't slept with anyone besides me. Not even once (信ちゃんって、えらいのよ。私と結婚してから、一度も他の女の子を抱いたことがないんだから。ただの一度もよ)" (Koike 2008, 173). From her choice of words (such as "amazing" and "not even once"), the reader sees that it is not easy for Shintarō to remain faithful to Hinako, presumably because of his attractive physical appearance (see 2008, 120). However, Hinako does not reciprocate his loyalty, maintaining overtly physical relationships with two men—one of whom is Shintarō's student. Second, the only affair Shintarō has is with Fumiko, of whom Hinako approves. After their time together, Shintarō reports the details of their intercourse to Hinako. Hinako says to Fumiko, "Shin-chan said it was great! Fū-chan was so amazing that he felt extremely aroused! (信ちゃんは、よかった、って言ってたわ。ふうちゃんは素晴らしかった、って。ものすごく興奮しちゃった、って)" (2008, 220–21). The nature of Shintarō's sexual relationship with Fumiko is different from infidelity. Shintarō's sexuality is under the control of Hinako, even though he has had extramarital sex with Fumiko. Third, as the narrative unfolds, Shintarō and Hinako's biological relationship is revealed: they are half brother and sister. This is why Shintarō and Hinako do not have any children. When Fumiko asks Shintarō, "Don't you want to have children? (子供を作りたいくなかったんですか)", Shintarō answers, "Don't you know, Fū-chan? We simply cannot, because we have never forgotten the fact that we are half brother and sister (わかるだろう?ふうちゃん。僕たちが子供を作ることは許されない。その意味で、僕たちは兄と妹であることを片時も忘れたことはなかったんだよ)" (2008, 410). However, Shintarō is unable to leave Hinako and start afresh with other women. His response to Fumiko's question about starting over with someone else is, "Too bad. That's impossible (残念だけど……それはない)" (2008, 410). Their incestuous and infertile marriage can be seen as the deprivation of Shintarō's phallic potency. Shintarō's male sexuality can be seen as castrated because his sexuality fails to carry out the functions of exclusiveness or fertilisation, even within his own marriage. With Hinako as the head of their polygamous household, Shintarō and Hinako's relationship and marriage are a mark of the triumph of female sexuality.

Compared to Shintarō, Ōkubo represents the uncastrated and sexually active male. If Shintarō is defeated, then Ōkubo is a victorious combatant in the same battle. Ōkubo perseveres in close combat with Hinako because he is impervious to Hinako's weapon—her sexuality. Ōkubo's first meeting with

Hinako hints that they will engage in a platonic relationship. When Ōkubo comes to the house, Fumiko and Shintarō are doing a crossword puzzle. The word Shintarō deciphers is “Platonic Love”. “After the last piece of the puzzle was completed, Hinako asked the young man to the balcony. And then, they fell in ‘Platonic Love’ in the true meaning of those words (その言葉を最後にしてクロスワードパズルが締め括られた直後、雛子はあの若者をベランダに招き入れた。そして、文字通りの精神的な恋におちたのだ)” (Koike 2008, 289). The platonic characteristic of their relationship defeats Hinako’s sexuality. In the narrative, Hinako does not have sex with Ōkubo in the early stages of their relationship. Hinako confesses to Fumiko about her love for Ōkubo: “My love for him does not concern the body. Nor does his love for me. Sensual pleasure soon burns out, but spiritual pleasure lasts forever (私が愛してるのは勝也の肉体なんかじゃないの。彼が愛してくれてるのも、私の肉体じゃないの。肉体の快楽は味わえば、すぐに消える。でも、精神の快楽は永遠に続くのよ)” (2008, 355). Ōkubo satisfies a more profound need than Hinako’s sexual desire, while Shintarō has been indulging Hinako in purely sexual terms. After Hinako has sex with Ōkubo, she says, “Such perfect sex seemed to exist beyond this world (あれほど完璧なセックスはこの世にないと思われるくらいに)” (2008, 354). Ōkubo subjugates Hinako both psychologically and, eventually, physically. It seems that the male is going to win the battle at this point. However, the plot takes a turn that can be read as a subversive response to the common motif of phallocentric literary works.

## Hell Hath No Fury

Modern feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir and Kate Millett draw literary critics’ attention to the masculine bias in literary works (Tolan 2006, 326). The practice of approaching male authors from a feminist perspective is known as “phallocentric criticism” (2006, 326). Phallocentric criticism has identified patterns of imagery and language use which demonstrate concealed negative attitudes toward femininity. Feminist critics point to “the frequency with which novels punish women associated with sexuality and lust” (2006, 327). In the example of *Koi*, Hinako and Fumiko are the typical transgressive women with overtly sexual power who would be punished in conventional phallocentric works. The motif of “the transgressive female...eventually penalized for her action” can be found in classic literary works by male authors (e.g., Leo Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina* [1877] and Gustave Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* [1856]) (2006, 327). Female sexuality that attempts to challenge the dominance of male sexuality (e.g., in sexual terms by committing adultery) is punished under the patriarchal moral code in the narratives of these novels. In the narrative of *Koi*, too, Fumiko commits a crime and in an apparent punishment of the transgressive female serves a sentence of fourteen years’ imprisonment. Nevertheless, Fumiko’s behaviour can also be seen as a deliberate self-sacrifice, made in order to complete her mission. To be specific, Fumiko senses the danger to the ideals she holds dear and decides to take action when she realises that Ōkubo has defeated Hinako’s sexual dominance. Fumiko’s mission is to rewrite the result of the battle. The climax by means of which Fumiko takes matters into her own hands has its parallel in the decline of the student movement in the early 1970s.

The student movement can be seen as a duplication of the feminist struggle. Both are uprisings of minorities (i.e., leftists and females) attempting to overturn the authorities (i.e., central political authority and patriarchal authority). Both struggles start out in Tokyo, where Fumiko first meets with the Katases and the student movement rages, and retreat to (and end in) Karuizawa. The switch of locations symbolises the storyline of female sexuality confronting patriarchal possession (Tokyo) and then withdrawing into its own heartland (Karuizawa). The United Red Army's last-ditch resistance at Asama Sansō mirrors the downhill trajectory of Hinako's revolution and the desperate attempt that Fumiko will make to set things 'right'.

The depiction of the Asama Sansō Incident runs through two chapters, in which Fumiko confronts and kills Ōkubo. For instance, one chapter opens with "The hostage crisis and police siege at Asama Sansō ran on every TV broadcast throughout the entire day. Viewer ratings reached 90%, which was unprecedented in the history of TV broadcasting (その日は一日中、全国のTV局が浅間山荘における人質救出強行作戦の様相を生放送し続け、瞬間最高視聴率が九十パーセント近くにまではね上がった、というTV史上、類を見ない日でもあった)" (Koike 2008, 431). It is when Fumiko begins forming the idea of killing Ōkubo that the narrative mentions the TV broadcasts of the Asama Sansō Incident. This is a moment in that narrative when the historical events resonate with the characters' personal fates.

The United Red Army's killing of police at Asama Sansō and Fumiko's murder of Ōkubo are similar acts—the desperate struggle of one who is cornered. In the end, Fumiko successfully eliminates Ōkubo, the uncastrated sexual male, and preserves a partial victory for female sexuality which sees Shintarō and Hinako back together. Because it is assumed that after the incident, Hinako retreats from her previous lifestyle (i.e., taking lovers, having casual sex) and becomes a carer for Shintarō who is injured in the incident and paralysed later, the feminist struggle is incomplete. Even though Fumiko eliminates Ōkubo, the *ménage à trois* collapses with the murder. Her professional relationship with Shintarō also ends with the publication of *Rose Salon*. Furthermore, the fact that *Rose Salon* goes out of print while Fumiko serves her time in prison symbolises the fleeting happiness of the threesome. *Rose Salon* is not only a living relationship between Fumiko and the Katases, but also a concrete artefact of the female dominance that had defined their relationship. From the perspective of the feminist battle against patriarchy, Shintarō's paralysis serves as a reconfirmation of his symbolic castration and status as a prisoner of war—the war to which Fumiko sacrificed herself in order to alter its outcome. Although her feminist subversion only goes halfway, the novel's ending sends out feminist messages that partially subvert the traditional phallocentric paradigm.

## SOCIOPOLITICAL BACKDROP

### Duplication of the Riots

In her studies of female criminality, Ann-Louise Shapiro notes that "[d]eviant women [seem] to offer a particularly vivid mirror in which to recognise the ills of modern urban life" (Shapiro 1996, 218). Fumiko's crime reflects conflict not

only in the private sphere but also in the public sphere. In the *fin-de-siècle* Paris analysed by Shapiro, crimes of passion committed by women can be seen as a means of addressing social problems such as “unstable gender relations” and “perceived threats to the traditional family” (1996, 137). The hazards inherent in Fumiko and the Katases’ unconventional interpersonal relationships and sexual practices lurk beneath the surface long before Fumiko produces the gun she uses as a murder weapon. Fumiko’s ‘private’ crime and the public Asama Sansō Incident both function as forms of social confrontation. The two actions parallel each other and thus enrich the narrative.

On the day which altered my destiny, Japan’s national attention was drawn to the news of Asama Sansō. With this news the talk of the town, I came alone to Karuizawa where the members of United Red Army were firing shots, and took up a gun in my hands. Even as my finger pulled the trigger, TV was broadcasting news of the Asama Sansō Incident. [...]

They buried one era as they clashed with the law and sacrificed several lives. And I, who was around the same age as they at that time, forfeited my future by committing the murder.<sup>10</sup>  
(Koike 2008, 309–10)

The TV broadcast of the Asama Sansō Incident duplicates Ōkubo’s murder scene at the Karuizawa villa. Even though Fumiko is apathetic about politics, she notes that what she has in common with the people of that era (e.g., the United Red Army, leftist students) is the fact that they are drowning in “a kind of fantasy (或る種の幻想)” (2008, 310). While her fantasy is about sexuality and theirs is about politics, both are social constructs. The TV footage duplicated by Fumiko’s shooting confirms the subtle relations between sexuality and politics at a specific historical period. Neither social circumstances nor the political environment can be excluded from the construction of sexuality.

When fantasy is crushed by reality, Fumiko crosses a fatal boundary and a tragic public event becomes part of a private affair. Fumiko’s crime and her fate are inevitably imprinted on this turbulent time of social change. Fumiko is one of the masses who are destroyed by the social elites in that era. In Shapiro’s words, “In retelling [the stories of female criminality], attentive to their production, mobilisation, and effects, we can see the dense web of cultural concerns that stretched across the social distance between elite and masses, oblivious to the (rhetorical) boundaries between public and private worlds, which allowed criminal women to be the carriers of so much symbolic weight” (1996, 220). In other words, Fumiko serves as a scapegoat for all those who have threatened the social order during the student movements of the 1960s and the early 1970s.

<sup>10</sup> 「私にとっての、あの運命の日、日本中の人々が浅間山荘事件のニュースに釘づけになっていた。そして私は、そんなニュースでもちきりの中、連合赤軍が銃撃戦を繰り返している軽井沢に一人でやって来て、猟銃を手にするようになるのである。私の指が銃の引金にかかった時も、つけっ放しにされていたTVからは、浅間山荘事件に関するニュースが流れていた。……」

彼らは法を犯し、幾つもの命を犠牲にしながら一つの時代を葬ったが、彼らとそれほど年齢の変わらなかつた私もまた、同じように人を殺し、自分自身を葬った。」



As suggested above, the student movement and the Asama Sansō Incident function in parallel to the main thread of *Koi*'s narrative. Furthermore, the socio-political backdrop of the narrative is entangled with the story itself. Marran (2007) argues that deviant behaviours on the part of transgressive women appear especially in times of political and social change. Referring to Shapiro's studies of Parisian cases [1996] and Lisa Duggan's studies of American cases [2001] on female criminality, she suggests that the representation of the female sexual "deviant" and crime are inseparable from social life and that "these stories of social deviants are 'cultural narratives'" (Marran 2007, xvi). To borrow Shapiro's words, *Koi* is a "melodrama" which casts "deviant women in leading roles" (1996, 10), and it aligns with Shapiro's conclusion that "the story of female criminality [is] a story about the pain of social change" (1996, 10). Thus, in *Koi*, the setting of the narrative, the year 1972 (the year of the Asama Sansō Incident) and Tokyo/Karuizawa all become essential to the characters' sexual transgression, and therefore to the storytelling.

As a love story set in a time of chaos, the socio-political backdrop is the stage upon which characters act, and the socio-political conditions constrain (as well as facilitate) the characters' actions. *Koi*'s plot paradigm of 'ménage à trois under social turbulence' can also be found in other literary works; for example, *Ein Lied von Liebe und Tod* (*A Song about Love and Death*) by Nick Barkow [1988], and Gilbert Adair's *The Dreamers* [2003]. Koike uses specific historical events as the background to her novel, which enriches and enables its narratives. The transgressive sexuality in *Koi* is inseparable from the social conditions of the time of the narrative. Riots and revolutions turn society upside down and challenge existing social norms. When people's belief in norms is shaken by social change, a transgressive side of humanity is released. Thus, Tokyo and Karuizawa during the 1970s student movements become fallen cities, where transgression and deviance can appear.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout *Koi*'s narrative, modern urban space defines two distinct social classes and marks the boundary between them. Fumiko's original social identity as a peripheral character from the lower class makes her a symbol of the eroticised Other, and determines her transgression. The dichotomy of Tokyo and Karuizawa symbolises the class stances and characters' attitudes towards politics (i.e., Tokyo as lower-class people who are aggressive and radical; Karuizawa as upper-class people who are indifferent and apathetic). Fumiko, who crosses this boundary, is caught in between the identities of 'the citizen' and 'the stranger'. The instability of Fumiko's social identity leads to her deviance. The geography of Karuizawa, which offers grand natural beauty and secluded space, serves as an accelerator to the actions of the characters.

The ground rule that the threesome follows falls outside the social norms of mainstream society, which generates danger in their social relations. The

trope of 'metropolis as corporeal' allows us to read Tokyo and Karuizawa as each having a sexual identity. The engendered metropolitan bodies of the masculine force (Tokyo) or feminine force (Karuizawa) develops the narrative of the feminist struggle against patriarchal domination. The gender relations represented in the narrative evolve around the plot of females attempting to subjugate males through symbolic castration. As analysed in this essay, the narrative of *Koi* utilises the historical background of political upheaval to facilitate the storytelling. The feminist struggle in pursuit of sexual fantasy duplicates the 1970s student movement in pursuit of a political one, highlighting the contrast between the sexual and the political in the narrative. At the end of the narrative, Fumiko's crime duplicates (on an individual scale) the chaos prevalent in her society. The shots she fires at the Karuizawa villa echo the gunfire at Asama Sansō. The chronological aspect of the urban space (i.e., Tokyo in the late 1960s and the 1970s, and Karuizawa at the time of the Asama Sansō Incident) provides the characters with the stage upon which they act. The elements of sexual transgression and female criminality complement the representation of urban space, and vice-versa. The narrative further weaves a socio-political element into the construction of sexuality. In sum, sexuality in *Koi* is constructed through the entanglement of geographical, chronological, sociological, political and psychological elements.

*Koi* is a story about sexuality and, at the same time, a story about cities. Karuizawa in its geographical sense supports the characters' unconventional sexualities. Framing the story in Tokyo/Karuizawa during the early 1970s student movements shows the urban space in its socio-political and chronological senses, which in turn forms the thread of *Koi*'s narrative of sexual transgression. The representation of urban space complements the construction and development of the characters' sexuality together with socio-political factors, and enriches and deepens the narrative with the inclusion of historical context. From the analysis of *Koi*'s narrative, we have seen that the representation of sexual transgression necessitates the presence of social upheaval, making *Koi* a salient example of a literary work with the plot paradigm of 'sexual transgression during social turbulence'. The narrative of *Koi* also shows the significance of urban space as a literary motif in all its socio-political, chronological, and geographical senses.

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# Motivations for Learning Japanese and Additional Languages: A Study of L2 Self-Image across Multiple Languages

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**TOSHIYUKI NAKAMURA**

Monash University

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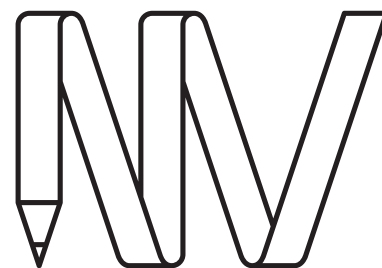
## ABSTRACT

This qualitative study aims to identify language learners' motivations for studying Japanese by comparing these with motivations for learning or using additional languages. Thirteen students from an Australian university participated in the study, all of whom were learning Japanese as a second language (L2) and were also learners or users of additional languages. Utilising Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System and the concept of 'domains of possible selves' (Unemori et al. 2004), this study investigates the language self-images (L2 selves) associated with Japanese, and contrasts them with the L2 selves associated with participants' additional languages. Further, it explores the formation of L2 selves and the relationships between different L2 selves within a learner. Previous studies in this area have emphasised the negative impacts of the ideal English L2 self on motivations for learning subsequent languages. However, this study indicates that multiple ideal L2 selves can coexist without competition if each language has a firm link to a different domain (i.e., Interpersonal, Extracurricular, Career, Education) in a learner's future self-image. The results of this study can be used to inform the practice of Japanese language teachers in multilingual contexts.

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## KEYWORDS

domains of possible selves; Dörnyei; Japanese language education; Japanese language learners; L2 Motivational Self System; L2 self; linguistics; motivation; self-concept



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This study examines the motivations of university students learning Japanese as a second language (L2), and contrasts this with their motivations to learn other languages. Since Dörnyei (2005) proposed the L2 Motivational Self System theory of learner motivation, learners' images of themselves as second language users (known as 'L2 self-images', or 'L2 selves') have been seen to play a central role in L2 learning motivation (Dörnyei 2009).<sup>1</sup> Language learners' visions of their desirable future selves as competent L2 users, as well as their visions of undesirable future selves, can be powerful driving forces of learning motivation because learners wish to reduce the discrepancy between these visions and their current state.

A number of studies (e.g., Taguchi et al. 2009; Csizér & Kormos 2009; Kim 2009; Lamb 2009) which investigate the L2 Motivational Self System focus on learning motivation for a particular language (mostly English), and present important findings on the developmental process of a learner's L2 self. However, scholarly research on learners' motivations for learning multiple languages remains limited, despite the fact that many language learners study or use more than one foreign language. Indeed, in the Australian university context, the majority of Japanese-language learners speak languages other than English (Northwood and Thomson 2012, 338–39). Therefore, an examination of the influence of learners' L2 self-image on decisions to learn Japanese as well as additional languages will lead to a better understanding of Japanese language learners' motivations. The results of this study can be used to inform the practice of Japanese teachers in multilingual contexts.

The two research questions guiding this study are:

1. How do learners' L2 selves change over their learning history in Japanese?
2. How do L2 selves in additional languages influence and interact with the L2 self in Japanese?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Motivation in Second Language Learning

Motivation research in the area of L2 acquisition started with Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert's (1959, 1972) pioneering studies which introduced the concepts of 'integrative' and 'instrumental' orientations. According to Gardner (1985), L2 learning motivation is a conglomerate of three internal factors: motivational intensity, desire to learn the target language, and favourable attitudes towards learning that language. Therefore, L2 learning motivation can be described as "the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and satisfaction experienced in this activity" (1985, 10). 'Integrative orientation' refers to "a goal to learn a second language because of a favorable interest in the other

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<sup>1</sup> The L2 Motivational Self System is a broad construct of L2 motivation which consists of three main components: ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self and the L2 learning experience. This is discussed in detail later.

language community” (1985, 54), while ‘instrumental orientation’ involves “the economic and practical advantages” of learning a new foreign language (1985, 52). These concepts represent socio-psychological factors which can activate learners’ motivation, and have been widely used in L2 motivation research for more than five decades.

However, in the field of motivation psychology, there has recently been a move towards more contextual dynamic approaches for the analysis of motivation (e.g., Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008). This trend is characterised by a focus on the complexity of the L2 motivation process and its organic development in interaction with internal, social and contextual factors (Ushioda and Dörnyei 2012, 398). Although the integrative and instrumental dimensions of L2 motivation are still considered to be significant variables in determining basic learning goals and language choice, these concepts alone are no longer sufficient to account for the ongoing process of motivational evolution.

## The L2 Motivational Self System

Gardner’s (1985) motivation research was the starting point for Dörnyei’s (2005) L2 Motivational Self System theory. Drawing on Higgins’ (1987) theories from personality psychology, Dörnyei (2005) proposed an interpretation of Gardner’s concepts in terms of learners’ future self-images. Higgins had postulated a model of motivation comprised of ‘ideal’ and ‘ought-to’ self-images, where ideal self-images are characterised by a *promotion* focus (e.g., hopes, growth), and ought-to self-images have a *prevention* focus (e.g., responsibilities, obligation) (1987). Dörnyei linked Gardner’s concept of integrative orientation to Higgins’ ‘ideal self-image’, as it represents the wish to become a competent L2 user. Further, Dörnyei divided Gardner’s ‘instrumental orientation’ into two types. He proposed that when the instrumental orientation is prevention-focused (e.g. learning the L2 in order not to fail an exam), it can be categorised as ‘ought-to self’. In contrast, when instrumentality is associated with promotion (e.g., learning the L2 for career advancement), it is linked to ‘ideal self-image’. This framework is at the core of the L2 Motivational Self System (2005).

The L2 Motivational Self System is composed of three dimensions: the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning experience (Dörnyei 2005, 2009). The ideal L2 self involves the vision of oneself in the future. “If the person we would like to become speaks an L2, the ideal L2 self is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves” (Dörnyei 2005, 105). The ought-to L2 self represents the attributes that one believes one ought to possess, and focuses on duties and obligations imposed by external authorities. If one feels pressured to learn an L2 in order to avoid the unfavourable end-state of not learning it, the ought-to self might be a strong driving force for learning. The third dimension, the L2 learning experience, refers to the motivational impact of the immediate learning environment and experience.

Although the L2 Motivational Self System has been gaining empirical support (e.g., Taguchi et al. 2009; Lamb 2009; Kim 2009), most of these studies have focused on a particular L2 (mostly English) and learners who have relatively similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds. While the multiplicity of a learner's self has been emphasised in L2 motivation research (e.g., Ushioda 2009), the interaction of multiple L2 selves within a learner has not been sufficiently examined by scholars to date, despite the fact that many language learners have learned or are learning more than one foreign language (Cenoz et al. 2001; LASP 2007).

## Relationships between Multiple L2 Selves

As Henry (2011) suggests, in order to investigate L2 learners' motivation, it is necessary to identify the motivational influences from other languages they use. However, only a few studies have focused on the impact of an L2 on motivation for learning additional languages. These include Csizér and Dörnyei (2005), Henry (2010; 2011) and Dörnyei and Chan (2013), the findings of which are briefly discussed below. Three of these are quantitative studies which suggest that existing L2s are closely related to learning motivation for other target languages. Moreover, these authors found that when the L2 is English, it has a negative influence on motivation for learning subsequent languages. While recognising the benefit of learning more than one foreign language, Csizér and Dörnyei make the following claim:

[B]eing motivated to learn more than one L2 at the same time also causes interferences in that positive attitudes toward one language can exist at the expense of another. Thus, there is a "competition" among target languages for learners' limited language learning capacity, and in this competition the clear winner appears to be World English.  
 (2005, 657)

Dörnyei and Chan sought to reveal the presence of independent L2 self-images with a survey of 172 native speakers of Cantonese who were studying English and Mandarin at a secondary school in Hong Kong. The results indicated that the development of L2 selves is largely dependent on each learner's ability to generate mental imagery. Further, it was shown that the ideal L2 self-images associated with different target languages are distinct, thus constructing different L2-specific visions (2013).

Henry (2011) explored the impact of an L2 (English) on the ideal/ought-to language selves associated with additional L2s (i.e., Spanish, French and Russian) in four Swedish secondary students, based on Markus and Nurius' (1986) framework of working self-concept.<sup>2</sup> The results obtained from in-depth analysis of interview data indicated that English L2 self-concept has a negative impact on additional L2s in a school setting. For example, when one of the participants had to read a difficult text in the Russian classroom, he often had a desire to read it in English instead of Russian. In other words,

2 'Working self-concept' refers to the "set of self-conceptions that are presently accessible in thought and memory" (Markus and Nurius 1986, 957).

the English-speaking/using self-concept formed a dominant presence in his working self-concept and had a forceful impact on his Russian-speaking/using self-concept.

These studies show that in situations of multiple language learning, individuals' different L2s may form different language-specific visions, and have an effect on each other. Moreover, they also show that when the L2 is English, one's learning motivation in additional languages tends to be negatively affected. However, the relationship between multiple L2 selves has not been adequately investigated in research to date. The purpose of this study is to explore the motivational development of Japanese learners, especially focusing on the relationships between their different L2 selves.

## Conceptual Framework

As a means of investigating the motivational relationships of multiple languages, this study utilises Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System. As McIntyre et al. (2009) point out, the L2 Motivational Self System perspective enables us to explore the various motivations a learner will experience, including motives for learning additional languages, because "the self, like motivation, is multifaceted and constantly changing" (52).

In addition to the L2 Motivational Self System, I also employ the concept of 'domains of possible selves' (Oyserman and Markus 1990). Although the developmental process of language learners' L2 selves in particular social environments has been investigated (e.g., Kim 2009; Lamb 2009), little attention has been devoted to the content of their future self-images. Writing in the area of general motivational psychology, for example, Oyserman and James claim as follows:

Individuals possess multiple positive and negative possible selves. These possible selves are often linked with differing social roles and identities, so that possible selves are likely to develop in domains relevant to current life tasks such as being a student, a parent or a life partner.  
 (2009, 273)

Therefore, in order to understand the nature of learners' L2 selves, it is vital to focus on the domains in which the L2 self is constructed.

Based on a previously developed coding schema, Unemori et al. (2004) utilised six thematic categories of possible selves to analyse the future self-images of university students in European-American, Japanese-American, Japanese and Chilean contexts (2004, 326). These are:

- (1) *Intrapersonal*, e.g., anxious, rich, happy, excited about the future
- (2) *Interpersonal*, e.g., keep in touch with friends, strengthen relationships
- (3) *Career/Education*, e.g., worried about future job, applied to medical school

- (4) *Extracurricular*, e.g., involved in club activities, swim more
- (5) *Attainment of material goods*, e.g., have a regular income, have a car, buy new clothes
- (6) *Health-related*, e.g., in shape, less tired all the time, recovered from surgery

The analytical framework used in this study is based on these dimensions, for two reasons. First, they enable us to examine not only first language (L1) self-concept, but also the nature of the L2 self or selves. Second, this coding schema was employed to investigate university students' future self-concept in an international study, and can therefore be seen as applicable to the Australian university context where students come from a variety of cultural backgrounds. However, as Unemori et al.'s study was not related to language learning, it was found that the original domains were not always sufficiently defined for the purposes of this study, and that two of the domains related to areas not significantly connected to language use. Consequently, the schema was modified based on domains identified from interview data for this study. The resulting four domains were utilised for this analysis:

- (1) *Interpersonal*, e.g., communicating with friends, communicating with family
- (2) *Extracurricular*, e.g., enjoying media, enjoying other hobbies
- (3) *Career*, e.g., desired job
- (4) *Education*, e.g., plan to study abroad, concern for grades, mastering a language

## METHODOLOGY

### Participants

This study involved 13 (11 female and 2 male) undergraduate students of Japanese at an Australian university, aged between 18 and 24 years. These students were all enrolled in lower-intermediate level Japanese, and two were also enrolled in other language courses at the time the study was conducted. All students were learners or users of three or more languages. Eight identified as native speakers of English, four of whom spoke other languages at home. There were five students whose native language was not English, and who had therefore learned it as a second language. Four participants either spoke or had learned more than one variety of Chinese (i.e., Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien).<sup>3</sup> Although their linguistic and cultural backgrounds were diverse, they generally shared a high interest in Japanese. Background information about the participants is presented in Table 1.<sup>4</sup>

3 Although there is a continuing debate over whether these varieties of Chinese should be called dialects or languages in their own rights, the present study follows Matisoff's (1985) view that many southern Chinese languages such as Yue (Cantonese) and Min (Hokkien) have different roots from Mandarin, and thus can be classified as distinct languages.

4 Participants' names are all pseudonyms.



A questionnaire and a semi-structured interview were employed for data collection. Initially, participants were asked to fill in a brief questionnaire regarding their previous and current learning experiences of Japanese as well as other languages, and their experiences of visiting countries where these languages are used.

Each participant subsequently completed a face-to-face interview with the researcher in September 2013 (see Appendix). The purpose of the interviews was to elicit information about the nature and construction process of their self-images for each language, as well as the relationships between them. The interviews were conducted in English and lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. During the interview, the participants were asked about their family languages, their L2 learning experiences at school and university, their reasons for commencing (and stopping) their study of the languages, their willingness to visit the countries where the languages are used, and their future plans associated with the languages. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed immediately after each interview.

**Table 1.** Background of Participants<sup>5</sup>

Name	Age	Major at University	Family Language	L1	L2 / Formal Study	Sojourn Experience	L3 / Formal Study	Sojourn Experience	L4 / Formal Study	Sojourn Experience	L5/ Formal Study	Sojourn Experience
Hilary	21	Science	English	English	Japanese 5 years	1 time 2 weeks	French 1 year	N/A				
Maria	19	Arts	English	English	Japanese 6 years	1 time 2 weeks	French 0.5 years	N/A				
Kristin	19	Information Technology	English	English	Japanese 9 years	2 times 9 weeks	French 3 years	N/A				
May	24	Arts	English	English	Japanese 3.5 years	1 time 2 weeks	Korean 1 year	N/A	French 3 years	N/A		
Polly	20	Arts	English Farsi	English	Farsi	N/A	Japanese 2 years	3 times 8 weeks	Korean 1 year	1 time 4 days	German 7 years	N/A
Sabrina	24	Pharmacy	English Cantonese Mandarin	English	Cantonese	2 times	Mandarin 8 years	2 times	Japanese 2 years	4 times	Latin 4 years	N/A
Sarah	20	Information Technology	English Mandarin	English	Mandarin 15 years	10 years in Singapore	Japanese 5 years	N/A	Hokkien	N/A	French 3 years	1 time
Cindy	20	Law	English Mandarin	English	Mandarin 12 years	2 times	Japanese 2 years	2 times	French 6 years	N/A		
Jane	19	Education	Korean English	Korean	English 15 years	6 years in Australia	Japanese 5 years	N/A	Mandarin 2 years	N/A		
Glen	19	Engineering Science	Cantonese English	Cantonese	English 15 years	7 years in Australia	Japanese 1 year	1 time 1 week				
Jack	19	Science	Cantonese English	Cantonese	English 10 years	9 years in Australia	Mandarin 3 years	10 years in China	Japanese 1.5 years	3 times	Spanish 1 year	N/A
Linda	18	Medicine	Mandarin	Mandarin	English 11 years	5 years in Australia	Japanese 4 years	1 time 2 weeks	French 1 year	N/A		
Nicole	22	Arts	Cantonese	Cantonese	English 17 years	4 years in Australia	Japanese 5 years	5 times	Mandarin 8 years	2 times		

Interviews are a basic tool of qualitative research, but they are not without problems. As an individual's self-concept is complex and dynamic, it is difficult to elicit an overall picture of a participant's L2 self-image through an interview. This is especially true for the five participants who were responding

in an L2 (English), and who might have found it more difficult to talk about their learning experiences or self-image than the other participants. However, despite these limitations, the data offers a valuable window into the participants' L2 selves.

## Data Analysis

The analysis aimed to identify the nature of the participants' L2 selves, as well as the various relationships between each participant's multiple L2 selves. Interview data was transcribed, and references to self-image as a language user or imagined future language user were coded with the domain to which they appeared to apply. For example, when participants referred to future L2 selves associated with personal hobbies such as watching anime, travelling and cooking, these were coded as relating to the Extracurricular domain. Statements categorised within the Interpersonal domain related to the subjects' future relationships with family or friends that would be constructed through the target language. When participants mentioned possible self-images of using the target language in a future job, their responses were coded within the Career/Education domain. Comments relating to participants' willingness to learn the target language or concern about marks also fell into the Career/Education domain.

No utterances corresponding to 'Attainment of material goods', 'Health-related' and 'Intrapersonal' domains were found, so these domains were discarded, as discussed earlier. In contrast, comments within the Career/Education domain were numerous and diverse, so this was subsequently divided into two independent domains, each with a number of subcategories. Table 2 lists the four domains and their subcategories along with illustrative examples, and also specifies the frequency with which they appeared. Since all the participants are Japanese learners, the number of instances regarding Japanese self-image was much higher than those of other languages.

## RESULTS

### Language-Specific Self-Images

As can be seen from Table 2, the domains most commonly associated with participants' self-image as a language user were different for different languages. Regarding Japanese, the most frequently observed subcategory of L2 self was 'Enjoying media' within the Extracurricular domain (14 out of 44 examples) of the participants' future selves. In contrast, the L2 selves associated with English were most frequently connected to the subcategory of 'Desired job' within the Career domain (5 out of 6 examples). Of the eight participants who learned or used Asian languages other than Japanese, four participants identified them as heritage languages. Thus, these languages were

5 For the purposes of this table, the L2s of individual participants are classified as L2, L3, L4 and L5 in order of each participant's competence.

strongly related to the ‘Communicating with family’ subcategory within the Interpersonal domain (4 out of 6 examples) of their future life. Finally, all 10 participants who had studied other European languages had learned them at school, and therefore these languages were often linked to ‘Concern for grades’ within the Education domain (3 out of 6 examples). The data indicates that one of the most significant features of Japanese self-images is that they tend to be related to the Extracurricular domain of the learners’ future life. In fact, all participants in this study stated that they were fond of reading Japanese manga or watching Japanese animation before starting their study of Japanese. As one participant states:

I do like to watch anime and I like to read manga. So, there are translated anime, translated manga, but that’s not enough. [...] They are not really translated well, especially manga. So, I really wanted to read more, so I thought, instead of waiting for [them] to come out, I can just start learning. It will be faster.  
(Sarah 2013)

Sarah’s original positive Japanese self-image was related to Japanese pop-culture, and it seems to have remained within her even after commencing formal study of the language. When asked about the languages she might use in the future, she commented, “I’ll be reading a lot of stuff in Japanese, definitely. I think I’ll still be interested in [it]” (Sarah 2013).

**Table 2.** Domains of L2 Selves<sup>6</sup>

Domains	Frequency					Examples
	Jp	En	Eu	As	Hr	
Interpersonal						
Communicating with friends	8	–	–	2	–	I'm not learning to become translation level, and I would like to be able to communicate to people well and understand them. (Cindy)
Communicating with family	2	–	–	–	4	I'm not into learning Chinese academically. I just want to speak it with my grandparents. (Sarah)
Extracurricular						
Enjoying media	14	1	–	2	–	It (Japanese anime) always has Chinese subtitle on the bottom... And I was thinking if I can understand without subtitle. That would be really great. So, I started [to] learn... (Linda)
Enjoying other hobbies	3	–	1	–	–	But, I wished I continue French because if I did learn French... good fun to study baking. (Sarah)
Career						
Desired job	7	–	1	3	1	After graduate, I'll keep studying Japanese, and I want to go overseas, back to Japan to work. ...Maybe teaching English, I think. There is a program...in Japan. (Hilary)
Education						
Plan to study abroad	3	–	–	1	–	Actually, I want to go for two semesters' exchange. So, I want to go one to Japan, one to Korea. (Polly)
Concern for grades	3	–	3	–	1	...and for French, because it was a compulsory subject.... And I also needed to do well at school. (Sarah)
Mastering the language	3	–	1	–	–	And I was, I just...very curious what all the words were, and I couldn't stop, wanted to know more, so I wanted to study Japanese. (May)
Total	43	1	6	8	6	

Key: Jp = Japanese; En = English; Eu = other European languages (French, German, Spanish, Latin); As = other Asian languages (Mandarin, Korean); Hr = participants’ heritage languages (Mandarin, Cantonese, Hokkien, Farsi)

<sup>6</sup> All responses, including those from non-native speakers of English, are reproduced verbatim.

In a study of Japanese learners' motivation in four Australian universities, Northwood and Thomson (2012) point out that a large proportion of university learners are motivated by Japanese popular culture to take up and to continue their study of Japanese, claiming, "Wanting to read manga more frequently, to watch anime without waiting for the latest dubbed version, ignites a desire to learn Japanese" (2012, 350). Similarly, the results of the present study show that Japanese is strongly linked to the Extracurricular domain of learners' future lives. More precisely, learners of Japanese identify with a future self who can engage directly with Japanese popular culture using Japanese.

On the other hand, for participants who were L2 users of English, the English self-image seems to be closely related to the 'Desired job' subcategory within the Career domain. Although the number of examples in the data was low, it was found that participants' English self-image was often influenced by social or parental pressure. One learner comments:

Even though I don't have motivation, I have to have [English] anyway, I can't stop learning it. [...] Basically it's not like Japanese in that way. [...] In Hong Kong, you have to use English if you want to excel...  
 (Nicole 2013)

As mentioned earlier, three participants had learned Asian L2s (other than Japanese) as their heritage language. Accordingly, these languages are often connected to the Interpersonal domain of their future selves. As Sarah says, "Chinese is [important] because I need to communicate with my grandmother" (Sarah 2013).

Thus, the results of this study are consistent with other recent research findings that the ideal L2 self-images associated with different target languages are distinct, and that each language engenders different L2-specific visions (Dörnyei and Chan 2013).

## Multiple Domains in an L2

It was also found that self-image for a single language can cross multiple domains. For instance, Kristin (L1: English, L2: Japanese, L3: French) has a future self-image that includes using Japanese to travel around Japan (Extracurricular domain), translating Japanese games into English at a game company (Career domain), and reading Japanese manga in her holidays (Extracurricular domain). This finding shows that domains are not always independent, but can overlap. As Kristin's ideal future job is an extension of her hobby, the two domains (Career and Extracurricular) of her future self-image are closely related to each other. As previously discussed, Oyserman and James (2009) state that individuals' multiple possible selves are linked with social identities in various domains. The results of the present study indicate that an L2 self can also be connected to a variety of domains of one's future life.

According to Dörnyei and Chan (2013), positive attitudes toward a particular L2 may negatively influence an individual's attitude toward additional languages, because "coexisting ideal language images in a person may cause interferences with each other" (2013, 455). In the present study, some evidence indicated negative impacts of an L2 self on additional language self-images, or "competition" among languages (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005, 657).

Cindy (L1: English, L2: Mandarin, L3: Japanese, L4: French), for instance, stopped studying French after she graduated from high school. Instead, she chose to study Japanese at university. She had been interested in Japanese when she was in high school because of her interest in Japanese pop culture (e.g., anime, manga), but did not have any opportunity to study the language as it was not offered at her high school. Although she studied French at school for five years, her 'ideal' French self appears weak. She claims:

I didn't want to have a major in French, and I've already studied [it] so much for a degree [...] I'm interested in picking up a new language.  
(Cindy 2013)

Thus, Cindy's French self can be categorised as an 'ought-to self' (Education domain), connected to the languages her school offered. In the interview, she comments that English would be useful for her future career, likely related to international or family law. However, Mandarin and Japanese appear to have different roles in her future. She speaks about the languages she might use in the future as follows:

Obviously I spoke Chinese with my parents [...]. So, I was more motivated [to study Chinese] when I realised that I could use it, that it had an impact on who I was, then on how I communicate with others.

And Japanese as well, I am more motivated when I watch movies or watch anime [to study Japanese], and I'm like, 'Wow, I understand that!'

Definitely [Japanese]. Because I would like to visit Japan again, and I have a few friends right now who are teaching in Japan.  
(Cindy 2013)

From the perspective of domains of future selves, Cindy's English (L1) is linked to the Career domain, and Mandarin (L2) is closely related to the Interpersonal domain (Communicating with family). Japanese (L3) is connected to the Extracurricular (Enjoying media) and Interpersonal (Communicating with friends) domains. Her French self, however, seems to be an 'ought-to self' which was linked to the Education domain while she was in high school, but is no longer relevant. In other words, French appears to have lost out in the competition with other languages which are more relevant to her future self.

Interestingly, the data also shows that even the self-images associated with an individual's first language can diminish if that individual is not able to



imagine a future self to whom that language is relevant. For instance, Jane's mother tongue is Korean. However, after coming to Australia at 12 years of age, English became the dominant language in her daily life. Consequently, she has been losing her Korean. Talking about her foreseeable future language use, she comments as follows:

I'm going to teach English, Japanese in primary school with other subjects if I can. [...] I think Korean will be out. [...] I won't be speaking Korean at all except for my parents or a number of Korean people.

With English, cause I say it every day. It's something that [I] use every day. I'll use that in my career. [...] Korean, definitely out of the race.

If I want to communicate with my cousin in future, and in future with her children also [in] Japanese [...] I have to be able to speak Japanese! So, I think I'd be doing forever [sic].

(Jane 2013)

These examples indicate that Jane's L2 (English) might be linked to her future in terms of a job as an English teacher (Career domain) and other domains of 'everyday' life. Her L3 (Japanese) is also related to a possible future job as a Japanese teacher (Career domain) and to communicating with her cousin (Interpersonal domain). However, she imagines herself using Korean only when she talks with her parents (Interpersonal domain). While her ideal English and Japanese selves possess links to several domains of her future self-image, her ideal Korean self seems limited to the Interpersonal domain. Thus, the L1 self can become restricted to a limited domain or domains, and cease to be the dominant language in one's broader self-image. Conversely, future self-images of particular languages which are more relevant to an individual's future might be developed and maintained within his/her self-concept. The relationships between different L2 self-images within a learner may be observed as "competition" (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005, 657).

## Coexistence of L2 Selves

While there are several examples which indicate competition between different L2 selves, this study produced a larger number of examples which imply the coexistence of multiple ideal L2 selves.

Linda (L1: Mandarin) has studied English (L2), Japanese (L3), and French (L4). When asked about her future languages, she explains that English will be useful for her future job as a bio-medical researcher (Career domain). In contrast, Japanese appeared to play an important role in her personal hobbies (Extracurricular domain):

Because of my interest in Japanese, I will always be really watching Japanese drama and anything related Japanese. [...] I can imagine myself actively involving in Japanese in the future even though it's not related to the career [sic]. (Linda 2013)

From the interview data, it is obvious that Linda has positive and clear English and Japanese self-images. In addition, these L2 selves do not seem to compete with each other. This could be because the English and Japanese self-images are connected to different domains of her future life.

However, another example indicates that ideal multiple L2 selves can exist together, even when they share a common domain. For instance, Polly (L1: English, L2: Farsi) is currently studying Japanese (L3) and Korean (L4). She started to learn these languages because she was interested in Korean and Japanese pop culture, and she is planning to go to both Japan and Korea as an exchange student (Education domain). When asked about the languages she might use in the future, Polly also states that she would be speaking both Japanese and Korean to communicate with her friends (Interpersonal domain).

Japanese and Korean. I think they are already part of my life. A lot of my friends now are from Japan and Korea. So, that's already something I don't think I'll forget.  
 (Polly 2013)

Thus, Polly's ideal Japanese and Korean self-images seem to share three domains (Extracurricular, Education and Interpersonal) of her future life. Although her ideal Korean and Japanese selves share several domains, these L2 selves do not seem to interfere with each other. This is probably due to the fact that the roles of each language self-image within the same domain are distinctive. The ideal Korean and Japanese self-images linked to the Interpersonal domain were directed to different friends, whereas the L2 selves connected to the Extracurricular domain were directed to different areas (e.g., Korean pop songs and Japanese manga).

Based on the data from these two participants, it can be concluded that if multiple ideal L2 selves are firmly linked to an individual's future self-image, they can exist together. In addition, coexisting ideal L2 selves do not inherently interfere with each other, even when both L2 self-images share the same domains of future life.

## Construction of L2 Self

So far, this study has mainly focused on domains of the L2 self and how different L2 selves exist within a learner. This section shifts the focus from the 'content' of the L2 self to the developmental 'process' of the L2 self, starting with the example of Maria. Maria has been studying Japanese since she was in primary school, and is an anime fan (Extracurricular domain). When she was 16 years of age, she visited Japan for two weeks as an exchange student. After that, she decided to take Japanese at university, and now she imagines herself working in a Japanese company as an illustrator (Career domain). When mentioning her future, she states:

I'd really like to be an illustrator or something like that. Maybe sort of design as well. So, if I would be able to do that in Japan, then I probably, I'll be using Japanese.

If I have kids, I would like to teach my kids Japanese as well.  
 (Maria 2013)

Thus, she identifies an L2 self connected to her future career, and is also able to envision herself teaching Japanese to her future children (Interpersonal domain). This illustrates how Maria's ideal Japanese self-image has developed to encompass multiple domains throughout her learning history.

Another example which indicates the construction process of the ideal L2 self can be observed in Hilary's (L1: English, L2: Japanese, L3: French) comments. After finishing her study of Japanese as a compulsory subject at primary school, she stopped formal study of Japanese until she entered university. She explained the reason why she chose to study Japanese at the university: "I wanted to learn a language [...] and decided to do Japanese because I like the culture, and the anime" (Hilary 2013).

Initially, Japanese was only linked to the hobbies, such as watching anime (Enjoying media subcategory, Extracurricular domain), of her future life. However, while she was taking the Japanese unit, her ideal Japanese self-image started to change:

And I'd never been ever since, so I wanted to go to Japan at the end of the year, and I wanted to learn a little bit about the language. And then, I enjoyed it so much, that after the unit I decided to enrol in the Diploma to keep learning.  
 (Hilary 2013)

She had planned to visit Japan for two weeks (Enjoying other hobbies, Extracurricular domain). After visiting Japan, she decided to take a Diploma course to learn Japanese (Education domain). The following comment shows that she is now thinking about future jobs which are related to Japanese (Career domain):

So, after working in Japan [as an English teacher], the sort of career goal [sic], I'll study Physics. Then [I'll learn] how much Japanese I'll [need to] use in Physics [...]. So, if possible, I will study [Physics] in Japanese.  
 (Hilary 2013)

From these quotes, it is obvious that the connections between Japanese and the domains of Hilary's future self-image have gradually increased. More precisely, Hilary has made new connections between Japanese and several domains of her future life over time.

### **The Domain Perspective**

By utilising the notion of the domains of self-image, this study has shown that learners of multiple languages have distinct L2 selves for each language, linked to specific domains of activity. That is, each L2 self within a learner has connections with different domains of his/her future life. In particular, Japanese-specific L2 selves appear to be linked to the Extracurricular domain of learners' present and future lives. Thus, the concept of domain, which represents situations in which each language will be spoken or used, was shown to be useful for investigating the nature of distinct L2 selves within a learner from a macro perspective.

### **Competition between L2 Selves from a Broad Perspective**

Unlike Henry's (2011) study, which explored the competition or interference between different L2 selves from the perspective of working self-concept, the present study seeks to explain the influences of an existing L2 on the construction of additional L2 selves from the broader perspective of domains of future selves. As Cindy's case indicates, when a learner clearly identifies an L2 with particular domains in their current and future life, but fails to identify an additional L2 with any important domains, it can be difficult for them to construct a viable self-image of the subsequent L2, and thus the language might lose out in the competition for learning motivation.

It was also found that development of a strong L2 self in a powerful language like English does not necessarily have a dampening impact on the development of additional L2 selves. The power relationship among multiple L2 selves can be changed depending on one's identification with possible L2 selves in particular domains of use. Hence, a previously developed L2 self might not always exist dominantly in one's self-concept. As Jane's case suggests, even an L1 self may be displaced in particular domains by other languages.

According to Csizér and Dörnyei (2005), the major cause of competition among different L2 selves comes from the dominant L2 (mostly English) itself or learners' limited language learning capacity (657). However, this might not be always the case. From the perspective of the domains of future self, the present study has shown that even if one has learned a powerful language (such as English) as an L2, and that L2 is linked to all the domains of one's future selves, one can still establish ideal L2 selves in additional languages. Further, it has shown that ideal multiple L2 selves can coexist within the same domain, as long as the roles of each L2 self within that domain are different. Therefore, the dominance of a powerful L2 does not in itself hinder the construction of additional L2 self-images. Rather, failure to identify an additional L2 with particular domains in one's current and future life appears to be the main barrier to development of a related L2 self.

As mentioned earlier, previous studies in this area have mainly focused on the negative impacts of an ideal L2 (English) self on additional L2 selves (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005; Henry 2011; Dörnyei and Chan 2013). Dörnyei emphasises the impacts of global English on learners' identities as follows:

It seems to me that 'World English learning' is becoming a prominent and distinct subarea in human education, and due to the all-encompassing relevance of World English in a globalized world, the success of this process will partly be a function of the language aspect of the individual's global identity.  
(2005, 118)

While negative impacts of English on participants' self-image with regard to other languages were observed in the present study, it also showed that the cause of these impacts might not be the powerful nature of English itself, but learners' lack of a viable future L2 self in the other target languages.

Thus, language teachers whose students are learning a less-dominant L2 need to understand that the students' dominant L2 (e.g., English) might have some negative (or positive) impacts on their additional L2 selves and on their motivation for learning the related target languages. However, these teachers also need to remember that no matter how powerful the dominant L2 is, multiple ideal L2 selves can coexist without any competition if the student can clearly identify a future L2 self associated with at least one domain of their lives. Therefore, it is important for language teachers to know what their students' L2-specific self-images are, and to consider how they can encourage their students to imagine particular domains of their future L2 self in the classroom.

One participant (Kristin) compared her Japanese and French classrooms at high school. Her Japanese teacher emphasised the practical use of Japanese in the students' future, whereas the French teacher did not. Consequently, she became more interested in the study of Japanese but stopped learning French. She compares her studies of the two languages as follows:

[Compared with my French teacher,] my Japanese teacher set up a lot of Japanese films, Japanese animation. [She said that] in the future, if you continue reading and learning Japanese, by the end of Year 12 you'll be able to read it and understand it, and watch this and understand it. [So I saw the connection] between [what] I'm learning and [what] I'm going to achieve [...]. [But with French,] I [was] learning but [couldn't] see the goal at the end of it.  
(Kristin 2013)

The quote above clearly indicates how her Japanese teacher successfully activated Kristin's ideal Japanese self-image, which was to be able to watch and understand Japanese media (Extracurricular domain).

Thus, from a motivational point of view, language teachers need to take account of the possible domains in which students can imagine a future L2



self. In Japanese language classrooms where many learners study because of an interest in Japanese pop culture, teachers can motivate students by helping them envision future Japanese-speaking selves not only in the Education and Career domains, but also in the Extracurricular domain. As Kristin's comment shows, the 'practical use' of Japanese does not always mean its usefulness for a future career, but can also imply its usefulness for enjoying popular culture.

In addition, through the developmental process of an L2 self, domains can overlap. For example, Jane's ideal Japanese self, which is related to Japanese pop culture (Extracurricular domain), developed due to the influence of her Japanese friends (Interpersonal domain). Other participants also commented that they share the same interest in Japanese pop culture with other members of their Japanese club at university or with Japanese email friends. Thus, the construction of the Extracurricular domain of Japanese self can be related to the Interpersonal domain. Also, as Kristin commented, her interest in Japanese pop culture allowed her to envisage herself working in a Japanese game company. Hence, the Extracurricular domain of her Japanese self-image has contributed to the development of the Japanese L2 self which is related to the Career domain. If one can establish a firm L2 self in one particular domain, other domains may be added later as one expands one's learning experience and language ability. Therefore, where students start with only one domain (e.g., Extracurricular), language teachers can help them broaden their L2 self-image to include other possible domains, as happened with Kristin who started to see her extra-curricular interest in Japanese expanding into future career possibilities.

## FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has shown that focusing on motivation for learning multiple languages allows us to investigate language-specific future self-images—as well as the developmental process of these L2 selves—more deeply than monolingual analysis does. However, the quality of one's Japanese self-image, as well as its relationship with other L2 self-images, may be different in each social context. As Markus and Nurius claim, "the pool of possible selves derives from the categories made salient by the individual's particular sociocultural and historical context" (1986, 954). If this study was to look at students in other contexts, different features of L2 self might be found. Therefore, in order to gain a better understanding of Japanese learners' motivation, studies investigating context-specific impacts or constraints on the development of Japanese L2 self-image would be valuable. Finally, although this study examined some aspects of the developmental process of Japanese learners' L2 selves, the question of how future selves give rise to learning behaviour is still under-researched. Hence, longitudinal studies are another possible direction for future research, as they may better reveal the influence of Japanese learners' developing L2 selves on their learning behaviour.

Cindy. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 12.  
Hilary. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 10.  
Jane. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 13.  
Kristin. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 11.  
Linda. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 12.  
Maria. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 9.  
Nicole. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 9.  
Polly. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 12.  
Sarah. [pseud.]. 2013. Interview by author. Digital recording in English. September 11.

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# Re-Fashioning Kimono: How to Make 'Traditional' Clothes for Postmodern Japan

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**JENNY HALL**

Monash University

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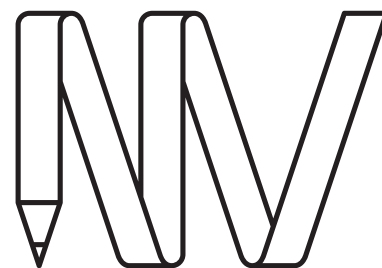
## ABSTRACT

It is difficult to ride a bicycle or drive a car while wearing a kimono. Kimono are not considered suitable for contemporary life in Japan, and because of this, there is a pervading view that the Japanese traditional textile industry is in decline. However, Japanese designers and consumers are redefining Japanese clothing (*wafuku*) while retaining its 'traditional' image. This project investigates how the contemporary reinvention of Japanese clothing embodies the process by which tradition and modernity interact, and helps us understand how new designs are a vehicle for designers' and consumers' expressions of Japanese culture.

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## KEYWORDS

culture; contemporary; fashion; kimono; textiles; tradition; sensory ethnography; *wafuku*



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“You cannot ride a bicycle or drive a car while wearing a kimono.”

A Japanese apparel designer from Kyoto made this comment to me during an interview in 2010. After I repeated this statement at an academic conference on material culture, an American colleague contested this view, stating that she often wore kimono and rode a bicycle. This conflict of opinion illustrates how people from different cultures, and with different modes of engagement with Japanese culture, view the correct way to wear a kimono (as well as the correct way to ride a bicycle!). If a woman is wearing a kimono in the ‘correct’ way—in the “samurai-turned-bourgeois” style (Dalby 2001, 126) of post-war convention—it is difficult to do either of these activities. The tight tubular wrapping of the body means that large steps cannot be taken, and a leg cannot be thrown over a bicycle without dislodging the overlapping folds and the wide *obi* (the kimono waist sash). The *obi*, as knotted in a decorative style, would also become uncomfortable and crushed against the back of the seat of a car when wearing a seat belt. But whether or not activities such as cycling or driving are possible when wearing a kimono is not the issue. Rather, it is this perception of kimono that is significant. Why is it important? The designer’s statement above points to the heart of two simultaneous phenomena concerning the Japanese textile industry: firstly, the decline of *wafuku* (meaning Japanese clothes, including kimono); and secondly, its reinvention.

The term ‘*wafuku*’ is generally used as a counterpart to ‘*yōfuku*’, which was coined in the Meiji period [1868–1912] to denote Western dress (Dalby 2001, 67). As key scholar Dalby states, “before *yōfuku* there could be no *wafuku*” (2001, 66). The term ‘*wafuku*’ is usually used to refer to kimono, but can also encompass other forms of clothing worn throughout Japanese history, such as *jinbei* (a short jacket that crosses left-over-right with a tie fastening, and loose-fitting shorts or trousers), *yukata* (a lightweight summer kimono) and *noragi* (regional work clothing) that were typically comprised of two pieces: a *haori* (a short jacket), and *mompe* (loose fitting trousers that come in at the ankle). These forms of *wafuku*, which Dalby terms “the other kimono”, are included in my analysis of contemporary clothing (2001, 161).

The overarching goal for my research is to understand how contemporary Kyoto designers and consumers are adapting and adopting *wafuku*, and how their new designs represent a vehicle for designers’ and consumers’ expressions of Japanese culture. Dress serves as “the repository for conceptions of individual and collective identity” (Slade 2009, 4). It establishes the individual as a “*social being*” (Lehmann 2000, 4) because dress communicates certain meanings about the wearer such as gender,<sup>1</sup> status, class and social values. National dress communicates membership of a group at a state level, and states have used this to establish “the mythical apparatus of a centralized nation-state” (Slade 2009, 14). The idea of “Japaneseness” itself is a Meiji invention (Mathews 2000), and as noted above, *wafuku* came into being with this invention, placed as a binary opposite to Western clothing. The representation of kimono as national dress

1 Much has been written about the issue of gender and kimono. While I acknowledge its importance, a thorough discussion of it is beyond the scope of this paper.

is what has defined the Kyoto heritage textile industries until recently, and consumption of kimono in the contemporary era has largely been connected to specific cultural uses.

The main research question for this article is: how are designers and consumers making kimono ‘ride a bicycle’ in a figurative sense? In other words, how are they making *wafuku* suit contemporary everyday life? The re-creation of *wafuku* illustrates what is occurring at the nexus of the past and the present in the Japanese textile industry. In this paper, I contend that these two aspects challenge the pervading view that the Kyoto kimono industry is in decline. I analyse both the current situation of the kimono industry and the way that younger consumers’ engagement with kimono has changed, reinvigorating the position of *wafuku*. My fieldwork findings show that Kyoto designers and consumers are both redefining *wafuku* while retaining its traditional image and working to disconnect kimono from classical conventions and settings. In fact, the decline in kimono is being compensated for by a rise in revitalised Japanese clothing. Brumann’s (2010) comment regarding Japanese architecture can be equally applied to Japanese clothing: “it is an ongoing connection of things past to the present, with the perspective of further evolution in the future, that is the motivational focus” of this revitalisation trend (162).

This interaction between the past and the present is accompanied by a complex negotiation of concepts such as ‘tradition’ and ‘authenticity’. These terms have been much debated in Japanese studies (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Vlastos 1998; Bestor 1989; Brumann and Cox 2010) and come packaged with value-laden assumptions that can, on closer examination, be challenged. For example, even though the kimono form dates back to the 10th century (Dalby 2001, 37), the contemporary mode of wearing it “is an over-stylized invention of the Meiji period that has been transformed into a national symbol of Japanese culture” (Assman 2008, 371). Therefore, kimono as it is worn today can be viewed as an “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). ‘Traditional’ techniques used to produce kimono textiles, such as Nishijin *ori* (weaving)<sup>2</sup> and *Kyō-yūzen* dyeing techniques, are not “invented traditions” in that they are not recent in origin and therefore do “establish continuity with a suitable historic past” (1983, 1). However, it is important to note that the Japanese notion of tradition simultaneously includes revitalisation (*saisei*) and evolution (Brumann 2010), which allows for development of new production techniques. Such evolution can be seen in contemporary Nishijin weaving and *Kyō-yūzen* dyeing (discussed later).

In this article, I adopt the fanciful image of the kimono riding a bicycle as a metaphor, where the kimono is symbolic of *wafuku*, and ‘riding a bicycle’ is symbolic of suitability for contemporary lifestyles in Japan. I employ this metaphor in three ways. First, I apply it to the production of Japanese clothing in contemporary Kyoto, in the areas of manufacture and distribution. Second, I consider how Kyoto designers are creating contemporary apparel that is linked aesthetically to *wafuku*. Third, I look at changes in the consumption

2 Nishijin is a district located in northwest Kyoto that is renowned for weaving.

of kimono and *wafuku*, as well as how they are more generally viewed and interpreted by consumers.<sup>3</sup> These changes are inextricably linked to concepts of national identity, because “[f]rom the nineteenth century on, a single-mode kimono has been defined as native attire as opposed to the foreign or Western” (Goldstein-Gidoni 1999, 353). The links are either direct, through the representation of kimono as national dress, or indirect, through the creation of products that overlap symbolically or aesthetically with traditional apparel. Further, in both production and consumption (in this case, the act of donning and wearing), there is what can be perceived as a ‘speeding up’ of kimono to make it more affordable and wearable. By considering both the production and consumption of dress, I aim to address the gulf that Entwistle (2000) claims has not yet been bridged between these arenas by social theory.<sup>4</sup>

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data for this paper was collected during fieldwork in Kyoto in 2012, with follow-up communication in 2013 and 2014. Interviews were conducted in Japanese, and I spoke with contemporary Kyoto designers who use traditional methods and design elements to create contemporary fashion. To fully comprehend the designs and techniques these companies are using, the production side of the industry—namely, kimono- and *obi*-making—was also explored. Non-participatory direct observation, including video recording, was undertaken in order to document and obtain a deeper understanding of the working conditions of artisans and staff members. My fieldwork surveyed specific companies and workshops operating within Kyoto that were involved in producing kimono, *obi* or contemporary equivalents.

Due to my focus on the active use of the kimono, I wanted to think about the way that kimono is worn on the body, how garments are experienced as well as interpreted, and how this experience in turn affects production and consumption. I chose sensory ethnography as the methodology for the research because it refocuses ethnographic enquiry to include all of the senses in data collection methods and writing (Classen 1993; Howes 2003). For example, it encourages the researcher to be attentive to details such as how the tactile qualities of textiles affect the design process; the importance of visual observation for the transmission of tacit knowledge regarding heritage skills; and aural characteristics of workplace environments and their influence on the succession of skills. In addition, the textures of fabrics, the exact colours of a kimono, or the sound, rhythm and noise level of a power loom are easier to describe to a reader if they are experienced with all the senses.

Sensory ethnography can also give us information about kinaesthetic or bodily learning that language cannot. As such, it is a particularly good fit with the Japanese traditional arts because not only do many concentrate on and influence the sensory experience, but they are also taught through

<sup>3</sup> I have also conducted research on marketing and how manufacturers and retailers use the discourse of tradition to sell their products, but discussion of that is beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Entwistle argues that the study of fashion usually fails to acknowledge the dual nature of the subject as both a cultural phenomenon and as an aspect of manufacturing, resulting in parallel histories of consumption and production (2000, 2).

repeated patterns of movement known as *kata*, so that learning occurs through the physical reproduction of an action and relies on employment of all of the senses (Yano 2002, 24–25). Pink (2009) argues that the concept of an “experiencing, knowing and emplaced [researcher’s] body is...central to the idea of a sensory ethnography” (25), and I contend that this is also the case in regard to the research subject’s body. The experience of both the researcher and the research subject informs and continually changes the meanings of objects. Howes aptly expresses this process when he says:

What gives objects their sensory meaning—and what may give them new meanings—is not just the memories we associate with them, but how we are experiencing them right now. Sensory signification is a continuing development, not a simple reliving of once-learned associations. (2003, 71)

The sensory ethnographic research in this article contributes to the field of social anthropology by addressing the “sensorial poverty” (Howes 2003, 1) in social anthropological discourse, ethnographic data collection methodology and anthropological literature.

## INNOVATIONS IN TRADITIONAL CLOTHING-MAKING TECHNIQUES

Anecdotally, one might argue that Kyoto’s residents can be seen wearing kimono more often than residents in other major Japanese cities. Even in Kyoto, however, kimono is not considered typical everyday wear. It is primarily reserved for special occasions such as weddings, funerals, coming-of-age ceremonies and graduations, which means that demand is not consistent. Consequently, many in the kimono-making industry believe the industry is facing an unprecedented crisis, caused by factors including the current economic recession, lifestyle changes that have impacted on clothing styles, and the unwillingness of young people to learn traditional kimono- and *obi*-making skills (Hareven 2002; Moon 2013). Those currently working in the kimono industry are typically in their sixties or older and they cite the lack of successors as a main cause of the industry’s perceived decline (Yamada 2012; Kameda 2012). As Moon (2013) says of Nishijin weaving, “many [in the industry] also claim that most of the craftsmanship will disappear when the present, aging generation retires” (79). Hareven also documents similar opinions (2002, 45).

However, there are signs of regeneration and revitalisation because of technological innovation and changing ideas regarding *wafuku*. There are currently three main traditional techniques being used in the Kyoto kimono industry that are recognised by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (hereafter, METI) as producing “officially designated traditional craft products” (METI 2013): Nishijin weaving, *kanoko shibori* (fawn-spot tie-dyeing) and *Kyō-yūzen* (Kyoto-style paste-resist dyeing). This state recognition of Kyoto kimono techniques establishes them as worth preserving for the nation. These techniques are being retained through changes in technology and production processes that reduce costs and make the products more affordable.

Weaving is not only the construction of cloth but also the art of building patterns into fabric as it is woven on the loom (as opposed to patterns added later by dyeing, printing or stitching). Since the late Meiji period, much of the weaving performed in Kyoto has been not to make kimono cloth but to create *obi* (Nakaoka et al. 1988) and more recently neckties, bags and interior furnishings. However, the Nishijin Textile Industrial Association estimated that in 2011, 90% of Nishijin production was for *obi*, and only 10% was used for these other products (Nishijin Textile Industrial Association 2011, 1). The reason that Nishijin weaving is not used as much for contemporary apparel is complex. The work is labour-intensive and is divided minutely according to specialisation between family-run businesses (Hareven 2002, 110). For some manufacturers, production of certain goods is linked to their very identity, and this inhibits them from innovating. There is also a pervasive atmosphere of distrust and competitiveness in the industry that prevents the sharing of new ideas for goods (2002, 50). In addition, Nishijin goods are considered high-end goods, which pushes the price up and alienates potential customers (Moon 2013, 82).

Contemporary Nishijin manufacturers are attempting to revitalise the industry through technological innovation in the weaving process, at the design stage of production, and in distribution. There are four main types of loom in use in the kimono industry today: the treadle loom (a more traditional loom with no automation); the jacquard loom (a semi-automated system where a punch card controls the warp threads); the power loom (which uses a power source to drive mechanical parts); and the digital loom (computerised control of the warp and weft). All of these looms have the same function: to hold the warp threads in place while the weft threads are passed under or over them (Schoeser 2012, 169–70). The sequence of the warp-thread positions determines the texture and pattern.

### Case Study: Shinji Yamada

Manufacturers started to use digital looms in the 1980s (Hareven 2002, 42) and this has enabled a reduction in production costs for *obi*. A digital loom is a power loom in which the jacquard design component has been computerised: the designs are transmitted to the power loom by computer, and the loom produces the design as dictated by the computer data. Shinji Yamada<sup>5</sup> is a third-generation Nishijin-based *obi* manufacturer. Yamada produces *mofuku obi* (mourning *obi*) and more casual and colourful *fukuro obi* (a grade less formal than the most formal, *maru obi*) at his company. His company does not dye thread or fabric, but creates the designs and coordinates weavers in Tango Peninsula (in Kyoto Prefecture) to manufacture the *obi*.

Computer technology is enabling Yamada's company to be more cost-efficient at the design stage of production (Yamada 2012). Designs are done in-house on a computer, and the digital blueprint chart is sent via email attachment.

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5 A pseudonym has been used at the interviewee's request.



Yamada says that only 20% of manufacturers currently use this method; the other 80% outsource to a specialist, even though it is expensive (2012). He reveals that to outsource designs to an *obi* pattern designer would cost between JPY30,000 (AUD\$300) and JPY50,000 (AUD\$500) per design, but designing in-house using “e-design” is “free”—it just takes time (2012). His son, Nori, creates the designs for Yamada’s business using Photoshop, taking about five or six hours per design. So while the traditional *obi* manufacturers who outsource design are limited financially in the number of different designs they can produce<sup>6</sup>, Yamada can make hundreds of different designs (Figure 1). As the weavers Yamada employs use digital looms, the production time is much faster: about two to three days, as opposed to two to three months using traditional production processes (2012).<sup>7</sup> *Obi* designs such as Yamada’s are primarily created through weaving, but designs for most kimono cloth in Kyoto are created through dyeing techniques like *shibori*.



**Figure 1:** Examples of Yamada’s *fukuro obi*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In the past, it was even more expensive to get a pattern designed for an *obi*—about JPY100,000 (AUD\$1,000) using traditional methods rather than a computer (Yamada 2012).

<sup>7</sup> In addition to technological innovations at the design stage of production, Nishijin manufacturers have also been able to use new communications technology to their advantage at the distribution end of production. My research shows they have done this by putting their services online, making themselves more visible to retailers, and finding relevant retailers directly. They are able to bypass wholesalers if they wish as well as keep up with consumer trends.

<sup>8</sup> All photos are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

*Shibori* is the Japanese collective term for all forms of resist dyeing that use binding, stitching, folding, pleating, twisting, wrapping or clamping to create patterns across fabric. There are various kinds of *shibori*; for example, *kumo* (spider web) *shibori*, a pleated and bound resist technique; *nui* (stitched) *shibori*, which uses a simple running stitch pulled tight to gather the cloth; and *itajime shibori*, a shaped-resist technique created by sandwiching cloth between two pieces of wood. The most revered form of *shibori* in Japan is *kanoko shibori* (lit., ‘fawn-spot tie-dyeing’) where the tiny tie-dyed dots are said to look like the spots on a fawn’s back (Tabata 2012; see Figure 2). It is the most difficult form of *shibori* because hundreds of tiny sections of cloth must be tied in rows, each one even and tight (2012). As the methods used to achieve each kind of *shibori* are quite different, artisans usually specialise. This means that several people could be involved in making one kimono depending on the techniques required for the design. Therefore, industry networks are vital for manufacturers, designers and artisans to connect and work together. *Shibori* manufacturers and artisans are changing traditional industry practices to make a kimono ‘ride a bicycle’ in two ways: by using communications technology to inform manufacturers and consumers of their skills and products, and by outsourcing the time-intensive tying process to cheaper labour markets such as China.



**Figure 2:** An example of *kanoko shibori* by Kazuki Tabata.



Kazuki Tabata creates a range of *shibori* in his home workshop in the southwest of Kyoto. His workroom is a typical *tatami*-matted room with a bench fixed to the end wall. The bench has hooks which are used to secure the thread for tying. Tabata learned *shibori* from watching his father and is now certified by METI as a traditional craft artisan. He dyes cloth using *kanoko shibori* (his main specialty) for traditional apparel like kimono and *yukata*, but he also works for contemporary apparel manufacturers such as design studio Sou Sou. The products he dyes for Sou Sou are noteworthy examples of *wafuku* designed for contemporary lifestyles. They include Sou Sou's 'flying squirrel' caplets, t-shirts, *tenugui* (cotton hand towels) and *furoshiki* (wrapping cloth) bags (Figure 3). He ties the fabric and dyes it by hand in his backyard (Tabata 2012).



**Figure 3:** A *furoshiki* bag dyed by Kazuki Tabata for Sou Sou.

Tabata has a blog where he displays images of his latest work and also has an online shop (Tabata Shibori 2015). As with the Nishijin weaving industry, artisans in Japanese textile industries have traditionally relied on established networks and family ties with designers, manufacturers and distributors. This affects the demand for their products as well as their acquisition of skills, as it is common practice in Japanese artisan families for potential successors to work outside the family to gain more skills and then bring them back to enrich the family business. The internet is helping artisans to sidestep these relationships, allowing exposure to different markets. In addition, by engaging with social media, artisans can assess the popularity of new products. 'Likes' on Facebook and comments on his blog can give Tabata an indication of the items that might appeal to customers and therefore sell well (Tabata 2012). Furthermore, the internet provides industry visibility, which is vital for

success—particularly given artisans’ high degree of specialisation. Tabata’s website gives his specialty as *kanoko shibori*, which allows manufacturers searching for this particular form of *shibori* to find him, and his METI certification gives him added legitimacy in the eyes of consumers (2012).

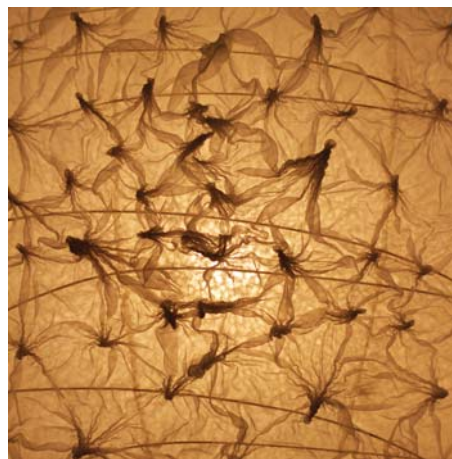
In contrast to this recent reliance on technology for communication, the actual craft of *shibori* is low-tech, physically demanding and labour-intensive. A sensory perspective gives an insight into some of the difficulties of Tabata’s craft, and suggests reasons as to why young Japanese are reluctant to take on *shibori* skills practice. Tabata mentions that the chemical dye smells unpleasant and that the dye vats attract mosquitoes, which sometimes makes his neighbours complain. In addition, for some techniques he has to use a mallet and bang to tighten thread, but he cannot do this late at night because it is too noisy. He also says that older artisans can no longer perform some of the techniques because they take a lot of strength and are physically demanding (2012).

### Case Study: Kazuo Katayama

Kazuo Katayama is a *shibori* designer and manufacturer based in Kyoto. To address the problem of an aging artisan population and increasing production costs in Kyoto, Katayama sought an alternative to sourcing *shibori* artisans in Japan: he outsources to China (Katayama 2012). Katayama designs and sells *shibori* scarves and accessories with a very contemporary feel at his shop, Katayama Bunzaburō Shōten. He has been designing shibori for ten years but does not do any of the processes himself, apart from design. He outsources the tying to China, after which the items are shipped back to Kyoto for dyeing (2012). His adaptation of *shibori* exaggerates the tying aspect of the technique (Figure 4), resulting in three-dimensional sculptural works with unexpected applications (Figure 5). Katayama uses these sculptural characteristics to design scarves, necklaces, bracelets, lampshades and some clothing.



**Figure 4:** A *shibori* scarf by Kazuo Katayama.



**Figure 5:** A lampshade made from Kazuo Katayama’s *shibori*.

Beside *shibori*, the other primary method for dyeing kimono cloth in Kyoto is *yūzen*. *Yūzen* utilises paste-resist techniques with rice paste, either by piping the rice paste on by hand (*tegaki yūzen*) or by using stencils (*kata yūzen*) to apply it. It is much faster to dye a pattern onto fabric using *kata yūzen* than it is to weave a design, so production costs are cheaper than weaving. Traditional kimono-making companies such as Pagong Kamedatomi (hereafter Pagong, discussed below) have switched the use of their *kata yūzen* dyed fabrics (Figure 6) from kimono to contemporary apparel to overcome the decline in kimono sales. However, even *kata yūzen* is time-consuming, because if a design has twenty colours, then twenty dyes have to be mixed and twenty stencils made, with each one dyed separately.

A new form of *yūzen* has been invented in recent years that overcomes these obstacles: digital *yūzen*. Artisans can create their designs on a computer and print them out onto fabric using an inkjet printer. While these artisans still refer to their craft as ‘*yūzen*’, this method eliminates many of the time-consuming processes of traditional *yūzen*. *Tegaki yūzen* takes a minimum of ten steps and *kata yūzen* takes at least eight, whereas digital *yūzen* uses only six steps. But how can digitally printing a design using an inkjet printer still be called *yūzen* when it no longer involves most of the processes of *yūzen*? The answer is in part because of the Japanese framing of the concept of tradition: digital *yūzen* is merely a new innovation of *yūzen* production. *Yūzen* artisan Yūnosuke Kawabe explains: “we think of tradition as a constant thing, as with our thinking about *yūzen*, but in fact it is always evolving and innovating”<sup>9</sup> (Japan Style System Co. Ltd. 2015).



**Figure 6:** An example of Pagong’s *kata yūzen*.

9 「伝統として変わらないモノと考えられがちな友禅も、実は絶えず進化と革新を遂げてきたのです。」



Makoto Mori, a 26-year-old digital *yūzen* kimono maker, creates *furisode*, the long-sleeved formal kimono worn by unmarried women for the coming-of-age ceremony and other special occasions (Figure 7). His workspace is similar to a contemporary office, with computers and the constant hum of the inkjet printer. The visual similarity of his workplace and the prevalence of computer skills, both associated with the popular profession of graphic design, are more likely to be an enticement for young designers than traditional *yūzen* working conditions (Figure 8), which may involve working in draughty workshops, mixing batches of dye in buckets, and repeatedly humping large heavy stencils along banks of fabric. In addition, unlike traditional *yūzen* in which labour is highly divided, digital *yūzen* artisans are in complete control of their work.



**Figure 7:** Makoto Mori's digital *yūzen* *furisode* [detail].



**Figure 8:** A traditional *yūzen* workshop; in this case, Pagong's *kata yūzen* factory.

In summary, Kyoto textile artisans and manufacturers are applying a range of technological innovations and changes to their traditional production processes, from design through to distribution. These changes are enabling them to adapt *wafuku* for contemporary lifestyles by reducing production costs and thereby making items more affordable for consumers. Another way to make a kimono ‘ride a bicycle’ on the production side is by producing more practical clothing for the present day.

## CREATING APPAREL FOR CONTEMPORARY LIFESTYLES

Kyoto designers maintain traditional apparel using new materials or applying modern print designs to such items as kimono, *haori* or *furoshiki*; others retain the core elements of traditional clothing, such as kimono, and incorporate them into contemporary dress. At the beginning of this article, I recounted how a Kyoto designer noted the difficulty of riding a bicycle or driving a car while wearing a kimono. Shinji Yamada reinforces this point: “you can’t do violent movements (激しい動きができないですね)” in a kimono (Yamada 2012). He sees this both as a negative attribute, because contemporary life is fast-paced, and a positive one, because a kimono makes the wearer slow down and appreciate different things: “When I wear a kimono and practice tea ceremony, my thinking slows down, I become calm (お茶する時、……考え方……着物きてしているとやっぱり丸くなるかな)” (2012). Despite the difficulties of wearing kimono and other forms of traditional clothing in modern-day life, some apparel producers continue to make them, albeit with a contemporary flair.

### Case Study: Sou Sou

Sou Sou is a Kyoto design studio founded in 2002 by textile designer Katsuji Wakisaka,<sup>10</sup> architect Hisanobu Tsujimura and apparel designer Takeshi Wakabayashi. Sou Sou creates *wafuku* by using new materials and applying modern print designs to traditional products, such as *jika-tabi* (split-toed shoes). They also create *wafuku* by using the main features of traditional apparel, such as long flowing lines, wide sleeves and attached neckbands that cross left over right, yet ensuring that the resulting clothing is more suitable for present-day lifestyles. An example is Sou Sou’s knitted cotton kimono-sleeved tops for men that feature wide sleeves and a v-shaped neckband that mimics that of a kimono (see Figure 11). Using these methods, Sou Sou strives to increase the relevance of traditional apparel to contemporary consumers.

One way that Sou Sou makes traditional clothing more relevant is through use of contemporary fabrics and patterns. Sou Sou produces a variety of traditional apparel and accessories made with its distinctive Katsuji Wakisaka-designed print fabric, such as *asabura zori* (straw sandals), *furoshiki* (wrapping cloth), *tenugui* (cotton hand towel), *sensu* (fan), *hanten* (short winter coat) and *yukata* (summer kimono). But their most popular traditional product is the

10 Katsuji Wakisaka is well known in design circles for being the first Japanese designer to work for Marimekko, a Finnish textile company which had global success in the 1970s.



*jika-tabi*: split-toed shoes with thin soles. *Jika-tabi* are traditionally a work shoe worn by farmers and *jinrikisha* pullers, and available only in black, white or indigo. They are purportedly good for balance, and historically have also been favoured by construction workers who have to traverse beams on site. Sou Sou's versions (Figure 9) differ from traditional *jika-tabi* because they have a thicker sole for durability, as well as being made of more colourful contemporary fabrics and patterns. By reviving *jika-tabi* in this way, Sou Sou is attempting to change how this style of footwear is perceived in Japan.



**Figure 9:** Sou Sou's *jika-tabi*.

There is some prejudice among older Japanese people about *jika-tabi*: when asked about the new-look *jika-tabi*, a group of Kansai women in their seventies still associate them with the lower working class and cannot understand why they are popular among young people.<sup>11</sup> Sou Sou is changing this image by presenting work shoes as suitable for casual wear (much the same as occurred with American jeans), and the shoes act as a constant sensory reminder to the wearer of both the traditional and renegotiated meanings of *jika-tabi*. This exemplifies the dialectic between the past that “lives on through the clothes and is revived in the details of sartorial styles created anew each season” and fashion’s constant quest for new meanings, because “without the connotation of antiquity, modernity loses its *raison d’être*” (Lehmann 2000, 8). The Sou Sou designers maintain this link between traditional and new meanings by reproducing the main features of *wafuku* in their designs.

<sup>11</sup> Personal communication with six members of the Sakura-kai study group, Osaka, April 21, 2010.

As mentioned, by adapting the features of the kimono to contemporary apparel, it can be said that designers are attempting to ‘speed up’ the kimono to suit present-day lifestyles. This ‘speeding up’ occurs at the donning stage—contemporary apparel is much easier and faster to put on—as well as in the wearing, because it allows for much more freedom of movement. While it might be straightforward to assume that adapted kimono forms are a hybrid of the kimono and Western clothing styles, Sou Sou’s clothing can also be interpreted as versions of ‘the other kimono’—that is, other forms of *wafuku* that have been used for informal occasions for many centuries such as *jinbei* or *noragi*, as discussed earlier. In fact, Sou Sou describes its clothing as *wafuku*, and many designs reflect the shapes of traditional informal garments as well as items of Western clothing such as singlets, t-shirts, dresses, shorts and shirts. The influence of traditional clothing on Sou Sou’s designs is visibly evident, and is reaffirmed by product names: *yukata-mitate* dresses (dresses with features of the *yukata*), *kataginu* (sleeveless ceremonial robe for samurai), *hirogata mompe* (wide-legged *mompe*) and *kyūchūsuso* (imperial court cuffed trousers) (Sou Sou 2015). The figures below compare some of Sou Sou’s products with contemporary versions of historical costumes worn at the Jidai Matsuri (the Festival of Ages) in Kyoto (October 22, 2012), showing the influence of traditional clothing forms on Sou Sou designs. Sou Sou’s ‘*wafuku*’ challenges the traditional order of society by mixing imperial court styles with *noragi* (regional work clothing), demonstrating changing attitudes about fashion—much as with the new *jika-tabi*.



**Figure 10:** Jidai Matsuri participant wearing traditional trousers.





**Figure 11:** *Kyūchūsuso* (imperial court cuffed trousers)  
by Sou Sou (2015). © SOU SOU. Reproduced with permission.



(Left to right)  
**Figure 12:** Jidai Matsuri participant wearing traditional trousers with leg bindings.  
**Figure 13:** *Kyūchūsuso ayui* (imperial court cuffed trousers with leg bindings)  
by Sou Sou (2015). © SOU SOU. Reproduced with permission.





Kyoto Denim creates and sells jeans and other denim apparel in-store in Kyoto and online. The company's *yoroi* jacket and jeans are another example of design that attempts to retain core elements of traditional apparel—in this case, samurai armour—and render it accessible to wider society. The jacket incorporates typical *yoroi* armour features (Figure 14), such as sections that mimic the *kumihimo* braid and plate-like shoulder guards (Figures 15 and 16), and the ribbed flaring collar that echoes the wide, semicircular neck guard of the helmet (Figure 17). The *yoroi* jeans have seven strips of denim on the outside of each leg that echo the traditional armour's waist protector. The diamond patterns on either side of the hips (known as *tasuki-kikubishi*) are a traditional design from the Heian period [794–1185]. Designer Toyoaki Kuwayama says his aim in designing the jacket and jeans was to resurrect the chivalrous atmosphere of the Sengoku period [1467–1598]. Kuwayama is keen to “combine Kyoto cultural virtue with foreign culture, technology and economics” (Kyoto Denim 2014). An emphasis on “dynamism” and “romanticism” are key marketing concepts for the products, which he labels a new form of “*wafuku*” (Kyoto Denim 2014). His interest in the evolution of Japanese attire is evident in his designs, and these designs in turn evolve further when the customer dons the apparel.



**Figure 14:** Jidai Matsuri participants wearing *yoroi* armour.



(Left to right)

**Figure 15:** Kyoto Denim's *yoroi* jacket.

**Figure 16:** Detail of Kyoto Denim's *yoroi* jacket sleeve with braid.

**Figure 17:** Kyoto Denim's *yoroi* jacket collar.

Judging by the number of retail outlets in Kyoto, contemporary apparel is by far the largest area of apparel production to use fabric decorated with traditional techniques, such as *tegaki yūzen*, *kata yūzen* and *shibori*. Dyeing techniques, in particular *kata yūzen* and *shibori*, are much more adaptable to contemporary garments than Nishijin weaving because more fabric can be produced in less time and at a lower cost.

### Case Study: Pagong Kamedatomi

Pagong is the retail face of the Kamedatomi company, first established in 1919. The company originally dyed kimono fabric (woven elsewhere) for external kimono makers but now produces both men's and women's apparel. Pagong apparel is unique in its look because it is produced using *kata yūzen* and the motifs derive mainly from the company's Taishō era [1912–1926] patterns. In the 1920s, the company commissioned *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting) artists to create the patterns (Pagong Kamedatomi Co. 2014). This era was renowned for its distinctive designs, sometimes called 'Taishō chic', which employed a blend of modern and traditional elements. Third-generation owner Kazuaki Kameda comments on the suitability of his company's products for present-day Japanese fashion:

I sometimes wished that our company had centuries of history like some Kyoto shops and companies, but if we hadn't started in the Taishō era, we wouldn't have our catalog of uniquely traditional and modern designs. Maybe people say that our catalog could not be more perfect for our current time, when people are longing for more connection to tradition and a by-gone world, our patterns in the shape of Western clothing does not look unnatural [sic].  
(Pagong Kamedatomi Co. 2014)

By using original Taishō era kimono patterns, Pagong continues to reproduce an 'of that time' style in their new designs. The Taishō era was a period of great transition in Japan, and Taishō design is distinguished by its "balance between modernity and nostalgia" (Carr 2008, 2). It is important to note that at that time, 'modern' usually meant Western, in contrast with 'traditional' Japanese designs. Japanese artists of the time, such as Kiyoshi Kobayakawa [1899–1948], were influenced by Western art movements: "Art Deco and Impressionism were a great inspiration for the Taishō artists who fused the elements of modernity and nostalgia to create a distinctive aesthetic" (Carr 2008, 2). On examining Pagong patterns, this influence is evident. For example, the pattern *Asagao* (Morning Glory), a design of red and yellow flowers with white and green leaves on a black ground from the early 1930s, is described by the company as "high Art Deco", with strong, colourful tints, an American flavour and a "modern impression" (Pagong Kamedatomi Co. 2014).

When considering the original context of the company, the visual sensory picture becomes more complex. During the Taishō era, to wear a kimono was a statement in itself, as this was a time when women were starting to adopt



Western-style dress. Modernity was associated with Western clothing in this era (Goldstein-Gidoni 1999), so to wear a kimono was a statement that could give a more conservative or patriotic impression. However, I surmise that to wear a kimono that was Western in pattern and colour could symbolise a more progressive outlook: ‘I am both a modern woman and also Japanese’. It is also distinctly gendered, such that when women wear kimono they become “a model of Japaneseness” (1999, 357).

In some respects, this is a reversal of what is happening today. During the Taishō era, the garment (kimono) indicated adherence to tradition, whereas the patterns printed on the fabric indicated a Western influence. Now, Pagong garments have a Western-style cut, but the printed patterns are considered traditional (Figure 18). Young women during the Taishō era were only just becoming accustomed to the feel of wearing Western-style clothes, whereas the young women wearing Pagong’s outfits are similarly not used to wearing kimono (young Japanese women today are often not able to dress themselves in a kimono without the help of a professional dresser). Kameda is not attempting to design garments that resemble the kimono, like Sou Sou does. Instead, he makes Western-style clothing using fabric printed with Taishō-era kimono patterns, combining traditional patterns with apparel suited to the contemporary lifestyle, and utilising traditional dyeing techniques to do it (Figure 19). The Pagong customers who wear these clothes embody the zeitgeist of nostalgic periods in Japanese history while renegotiating the original significance of the patterns, much like the wearers of Sou Sou’s *jika-tabi*. In this way, “[f]ashion and modernity, as the expressions of elementary progress, need the past as (re)source and point of reference, only to plunder and transform it with an insatiable appetite for advance” (Lehmann 2000, 9).



**Figure 18:** Women’s tops [detail] by Pagong.

**Figure 19:** Contemporary apparel by Pagong.

Finally, a third way to make the kimono ‘ride a bicycle’ is by disconnecting it from traditional social conventions and settings. The kimono’s image today is a garment that is beautiful but expensive, impractical, difficult to put on and daunting to wear in terms of adherence to the strict rules of etiquette that have developed since World War II. Yet the kimono industry and kimono wearers still persist because “the kimono has become a communicative symbol to convey an individual attitude towards societal conventions and national identity” (Assman 2008, 360). The new efficiencies in production mentioned above would be meaningless if consumers were not interested in purchasing the apparel. These efficiencies enable individuals who once would only have been able to rent a kimono to purchase one; once purchased, they look for more opportunities to wear it outside the conventional occasions.

Individuals and retailers are challenging conventional ways of wearing kimono by making it less formal. This is taken to extremes via an increasing focus on *asobi* (play) and self-expression that is bringing the world of cosplay into the world of the kimono. This aspect of the consumption of kimono and *wafuku* demonstrates that “[s]ocially, consuming is both a bonding and an individuating experience” (Stevens 2010, 202), and the concept of cosplay explicates this because by wearing both kimono and contemporary *wafuku*, cosplayers create and participate in a community. The term ‘cosplay’ (‘*kosupure*’ in Japanese) is an amalgamation of ‘costume’ and ‘play’, and usually refers to the practice of dressing in the clothing of a manga, anime, video game or movie character, and role-playing that character (Daliot-Bul 2009, 367). But more recent definitions are wider, with the important characteristics of cosplay being temporary transformation; the display of attire to an audience that can include the general public; and the *asobi*, or “play” element, as opposed to wearing a uniform for work (Rahman et al 2012).

### Case Study: Kimono Cosplay

*Kimono Hime* (lit., ‘Kimono Princess’), a Japanese magazine published since 2003, instructs consumers in how to combine antique kimono and *obi* with modern Western accessories. Miki Aizawa, a stylist for *Kimono Hime*, mixes a kimono with tights and high heels, earmuffs, gloves and lace (*Kimono Hime* 2003), recalling the early Meiji period when, as Dalby notes, “high button shoes, red flannel shirts, hats and capes—all worn with kimono—were thrown together into eclectic and exuberant outfits” (2001, 71). Aizawa has even included a front-tied *obi* such as courtesans used to wear in the Edo period—something bound to raise eyebrows among many kimono wearers because of this practice’s sexual connotations.<sup>12</sup> Traditionally this was about practicalities concerning the wearer’s *mizu shōbai* (night entertainment business) profession, but today it is about making kimono accessible to younger wearers by introducing easier ways of adjusting and wearing them. In addition, this metaphorical loosening of the restrictive *obi* is about rendering kimono accessible to a wider range of wearers by changing the kimono’s image.

12 From the 17th century, courtesans and prostitutes became known for wearing their elaborately tied *obi* in the front rather than the back to assist with speedier disrobement and re-dressing (Dalby 2001).

Kimono retailers and young Japanese are adopting these sartorial deviations. For example, Kimono Hearts is a chain of stores found in western Japan that rents kimono for various occasions. Their website categorises long-sleeved *furisode* kimono into the following styles: romantic girly, glamorous, neo-classic, gothic, Japan ‘trad’, floral feminine, Kyoto *maiko*<sup>13</sup>, *oiran* (courtesan) and retro trip, bringing cosplay noticeably closer to the realm of kimono (Kimono Hearts Corporation 2014). For example, the neo-classic style is described as being for those women desiring “antique taste (アンティークなテイスト)” and suggests accessories such as pearls and lace. The gothic category is a “mix of Japanese kimono and Western medieval styles (和の着物と洋の中世スタイルをMIXした)” with accessories that include gold and black ribbons, velvet and mesh. The *oiran* is described as “Edo rock style (江戸のロックスタイル)” and features images of women wearing kimono off the shoulder and front-tied obi. Accessories include the tobacco pipe, *takageta* (tall wooden clogs), and *wagasa* (Japanese umbrella). Retro trip is a combination of “Taishō romance and Shōwa [1926–1989] modern (大正ロマンスや昭和モダン)” that features kimono with either large flowers or hypnotic stripes in black, white, red, royal purple or cobalt blue, matched with equally bright *obi* in contrasting colours. Hairstyles are contemporary; bob cuts with bows and long cuts worn loose or in a chignon and decorated with floral clips. The practice of donning the elements of a particular category, and thereby acting out a role from a historical era or fantasy world, is extremely suggestive of cosplay.

While the cosplay world frequently involves kimono-wearing participants, these sartorial deviations are bringing cosplay into the kimono world. They expand the image of what can be cosplayed and indicate that cosplaying is now a pastime observed outside the manga/anime world. This increasing sense of playfulness around kimono has been enabled by the growing affordability of Kyoto’s digital *yūzen*, as well as second-hand and rental kimono. Kyoto rental and retail shop Guiches (2015) provides another example where kimono, accessories and hairstyles in marketing materials display a mix of traditional and contemporary. Osaka University of Arts students have taken some of these new styles on board, as illustrated by images of them dressed for their graduation in the magazine *Untitled* [sic] (2011). The students wear a mix of clothes, and none of the kimono wearers completely adhere to the conventional mode of kimono dress; for example, some wear boots or shoes as opposed to traditional footwear, while others adopt Western-style headwear. The elements of temporary transformation, play and performativity all apply to these situations, but “unlike other ‘simulation games’ during which a player temporarily plays a character of her/his choice, by adopting eccentric fashion styles a person plays himself or herself while constructing his or her personal and social identity” (Daliot-Bul 2009, 369). This aspect of the consumption of kimono and *wafuku* demonstrates that “this is not just ‘play’ but serious identity work that has consequences in other public arenas such as political and economic spheres” (Stevens 2010, 204).

13 *Maiko* are apprentice geisha.



This article has contested the viewpoint that the Kyoto textile industry is in decline. While it is true that many of my research subjects talked about the decline in demand for kimono in Japan, there is growth in traditional textiles being utilised in new designs. Looking at companies that are using traditional techniques to produce contemporary clothing, we can see that the industry is complex. Contributing factors include the invention of new products that employ heritage industry skills, innovations in production, new distribution patterns, and changing attitudes and tastes amongst consumers.

In all of these areas, there is a 'speeding up' of kimono in order to make it more compatible with contemporary life. Companies are reducing production costs to make *wafuku* more affordable. They are attempting to broaden the image of *wafuku* by creating products that link symbolically or aesthetically with traditional apparel, but offer functionality that is more optimal for contemporary lifestyles. Simultaneously, consumers are also attempting to change the image of kimono and *wafuku*, demonstrated by new wearing practices as well as the success of rental companies and magazines. A sensory perspective uncovers the reasons why individuals are reluctant to take up skills on the production side of the industry, and also why innovation is helping kimono 'ride a bicycle'. The perceived decline in demand for kimono is not a question of the industry's survival: the disconnection of kimono from classical conventions, as well as the focus on redefining *wafuku*, opens up new possibilities for garment design, thus allowing for new expressions of social and political identity.

## GLOSSARY

<i>asabura zōri</i> (あさぶら草履)	straw sandals
<i>asobi</i> (遊び)	play
digital <i>yūzen</i> (デジタル友禅)	A form of <i>yūzen</i> where designs are created on a computer and printed onto fabric using an inkjet printer
<i>fukuro obi</i> (袋帯)	casual and colourful <i>obi</i>
<i>furisode</i> (振袖)	long-sleeved formal kimono worn by unmarried women
<i>furoshiki</i> (風呂敷)	wrapping cloth
<i>geta</i> (下駄)	wooden clogs
<i>hanten</i> (半纏)	short winter coat; the folk equivalent of a <i>haori</i>
<i>haori</i> (羽織)	short formal coat
<i>hirogata mompe</i> (広形もんぺ)	wide-legged <i>mompe</i>
<i>itajime shibori</i> (板締め絞り)	shaped-resist technique of tie-dyeing created by sandwiching cloth between two pieces of wood
<i>jika-tabi</i> (地下足袋)	split-toed shoes

<i>jinbei</i> (甚平)	short jacket that crosses left-over-right with a tie fastening, and matching loose-fitting shorts or trousers
<i>jinrikisha</i> (人力車)	rickshaw
<i>kanoko shibori</i> (鹿の子絞り)	fawn-spot tie-dyeing; the tiny tie-dyed dots are said to look like the spots on a fawn's back
<i>kata</i> (型)	patterns of movement; patterning
<i>kataginu</i> (肩衣)	sleeveless ceremonial robe for samurai
<i>kata yūzen</i> (型友禅)	stencil-based dyeing
<i>kimono</i> (着物)	lit., “object of wear” (Dalby 2001: 65), usually referring to <i>wafuku</i> (defined in opposition to <i>yōfuku</i> ); also used to refer to the robe that has come to represent Japanese national dress
<i>kosupure</i> (コスプレ)	cosplay; usually refers to the practice of dressing in the clothing of a manga, anime, video game or movie character, and role-playing that character
<i>kumihimo</i> (組紐)	braid or plaited cord for clothing
<i>kumo shibori</i> (蜘蛛絞り)	spider web tie-dyeing
<i>Kyō-yūzen</i> (京友禅)	Kyoto-style paste-resist dyeing
<i>kyūchūsuso</i> (宮中裾)	imperial court cuffed trousers
<i>kyūchūsuso ayui</i> (宮中裾脚結)	imperial court cuffed trousers with leg bindings
<i>maiko</i> (舞子)	apprentice geisha
<i>maru obi</i> (丸帯)	formal kimono sash
<i>mizu shōbai</i> (水商売)	night entertainment business
<i>mofuku obi</i> (喪服帯)	mourning kimono sash
<i>mompe</i> (もんぺ)	loose-fitting trousers that come in at the ankle
<i>Nishijin</i> (西陣)	district located in the northwest of Kyoto renowned for weaving
<i>Nishijin ori</i> (西陣織)	Nishijin weaving; the technique of Nishijin weaving
<i>Nihonga</i> (日本画)	Japanese-style painting
<i>noragi</i> (野良着)	regional work clothing
<i>nui shibori</i> (縫い絞り)	stitched tie-dyeing
<i>obi</i> (帯)	kimono waist sash
<i>oiran</i> (花魁)	courtesan
<i>saisei</i> (再生)	revitalisation
<i>sensu</i> (扇子)	fan
<i>shibori</i> (絞り)	tie-dyeing
<i>takageta</i> (高下駄)	tall wooden clogs
<i>tasuki-kikubishi</i> (襷菊菱)	diamond patterns that are a traditional design from the Heian period [794–1185]
<i>tegaki yūzen</i> (手書き友禅)	rice-paste resist dyeing in which the rice paste is piped on by hand

<i>tenugui</i> (手ぬぐい)	hand towel made of cotton
<i>wafuku</i> (和服)	Japanese dress, including kimono
<i>wagasa</i> (和傘)	Japanese umbrella
<i>yōfuku</i> (洋服)	Western dress
<i>yoroi</i> (鎧)	samurai armour
<i>yukata</i> (浴衣)	lightweight summer kimono
<i>yukata-mitate</i> (浴衣見立て)	dresses with features of the yukata
<i>yūzen</i> (友禅)	rice-paste resist dyeing
<i>zōri</i> (草履)	flat thonged sandals

## APPENDIX: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

- Kameda, K. 2012. Interview by author. Digital recording in Japanese. September 24.  
 Katayama, K. 2012. Interview by author. Digital recording in Japanese. October 11.  
 Tabata, K. 2012. Interview by author. Digital recording in Japanese. October 7.  
 Yamada, S. [pseud.]. 2012. Interview by author. Digital recording in Japanese. November 1.

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# A Comparison of English and Japanese Proverbs Using Natural Semantic Metalanguage

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**MILES NEALE**

The University of Queensland

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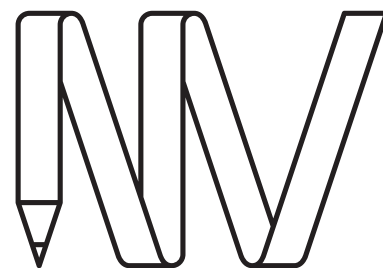
## ABSTRACT

This investigation examines the meaning of semantically similar English and Japanese proverbs. It uses textual data sourced from online corpora to highlight and compare the different cultural and conceptual elements embedded within these proverbs. The findings of this investigation demonstrate that matching proverbs from different languages is a potentially problematic exercise, both in dictionaries and in the second-language classroom.

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## KEYWORDS

culture; linguistics; language; metaphor; Natural Semantic Metalanguage; proverb



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This study compares two pairs of traditional English and Japanese proverbs that some Japanese dictionaries have identified as being similar in meaning. Its goals are to examine how these proverbs are used in everyday discourse and compare their meanings to test whether they are sufficiently similar to be paired together in dictionaries.

Japanese proverb dictionaries, such as the *Shinmeikai koji kotowaza jiten* (2007), the *Kotowaza no izumi* (Takashima 1981) and the *Nichiei hikaku kotowaza jiten* (Yamamoto 2007), offer English equivalents to the Japanese proverbs (called *kotowaza*) that they list.<sup>1</sup> However, there are subtle differences between some of the proverbs that these dictionaries pair together. Take the Japanese proverb, '*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo* (念には念を入れよ)', for example. The *Shinmeikai* dictionary offers 'Look before you leap' as an English equivalent (2007, 492). However, '*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*' directly translates as 'put care into care',<sup>2</sup> which appears to have a slightly different meaning to that of 'Look before you leap'. In a semantic comparison of proverbs in different languages, Charteris-Black (1995, 263) recommends a "simple matching exercise", in which students match proverbs from one language with equivalent proverbs in another language, as a useful way of introducing different metaphorical lenses into second language studies. However, this study finds that not only the metaphors but also the meanings and usages of so-called equivalent Japanese and English proverbs are not identical, which casts doubt on the usefulness of this exercise for language learners.

Linguists such as Charteris-Black (1995; 1999) and Goddard (2009; 2013), anthropologists Obeng (1996) and Briggs (1985), and even psychologists (Brown and Lenneberg 1954) have compared traditional proverbs from different cultures. They have examined poetic language in depth, trying to gain an insight into how proverbs reflect cultural thought and behaviour. Proverbs attract attention in these scholarly fields because they reproduce the shared common knowledge of a culture, providing an insight into the values and beliefs of the people who use them. While researchers agree on the usefulness of proverbs as tools for examining shared cultural knowledge and culturally-specific language (Norrick 1985; Whaley 1993; Mieder 1985), some researchers disagree about what constitutes a proverb. In the context of this study, a proverb is defined as "a brief, decontextualised, self-contained statement with a fixed form that conveys a sense of folk wisdom and traditionalism" (Norrick 1985, 31). This study is interested in comparing the folk wisdom and traditionalism contained within pairs of Japanese and English proverbs.

Proverbs convey folk wisdom using poetic devices such as metaphors. The different metaphors used in Japanese and English proverbs are an intriguing point of comparison, and a focus of this investigation. Lakoff and Johnson

1 Japanese proverb dictionaries such as the three listed here offer explanations of the meaning of proverbs, information about their origins, usage examples and other useful information. Note that the *Nichiei hikaku kotowaza jiten* (lit., 'The Japanese-English Proverb Comparison Dictionary') identifies differences in the metaphors contained within Japanese and English proverb pairs, but does not investigate whether the underlying meanings of the proverbs are similar, as this study does.

2 This and all other translations in this paper are by the author.

(1980) famously argued that “our conceptual system is largely metaphorical” and that “the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor” (124). Through language, cultures and societies share metaphors, and in so doing, share linguistic devices that structure how we view the world. By comparing Japanese and English metaphors, we are in effect comparing two societies’ common knowledge and traditionally shared views on the world.

Just as there are similarities and differences between Japanese and Western culture, so too are there Japanese metaphors that share similarities with English metaphors and ones that do not. Thus, while some Japanese metaphors translate easily into English, others are not so compatible. As an example of this, Minami (2009) observes that English and Japanese share the metaphor of ‘flowing water’ to describe the progression of a story: “‘the flow of the story’ in English and ‘*hanashi no nagare*’ in Japanese” (66). Conversely, the two languages also contain a number of metaphors that lose their meaning when directly translated into the other language. Minami uses the word ‘parallel’ as an example, explaining that you can use it to mean ‘the same’ in English (e.g. ‘parallel interests’), but you cannot use the direct Japanese translation, ‘*heikō* (平行)’, in this way (2009, 57). Scholars have also observed that there are several words and concepts that cannot be directly translated across the two languages, such as the Japanese concept of ‘*amae* (甘え)’, which can be translated into English as ‘spoiling’, ‘nestling up to’, ‘dependent upon’ or even ‘being fooled by’, depending on the context in which the word is used (House 2000, 69).

Other commonly researched examples are metaphors that include the Japanese words ‘*kokoro* (心)’, meaning ‘heart’, and ‘*hara* (腹)’, meaning ‘stomach’ (see Hasada 2002, 108; Passin 1982, 87). Some Japanese expressions involving the word ‘*kokoro*’ are very similar to metaphorical English expressions featuring the word ‘heart’, such as ‘*kokoro ga kowareru* (心が壊れる)’, meaning ‘one’s heart breaks’. On the other hand, expressions like ‘*kokoro ga sawagu* (心が騒ぐ)’, meaning ‘one’s heart is troubled [lit., ‘makes a lot of noise’]’, do not have similar English expressions. Furthermore, Japanese metaphors containing the word ‘*hara*’ express different concepts from English metaphors involving the stomach. For example, ‘*futoppara* (太っ腹) [lit., ‘large-stomached’]’ describes a person who is not necessarily rotund or gluttonous, but who is generous. This shows that words and metaphors in Japanese and English do not necessarily invoke similar imagery or have the same construction (Hasada 2002). Thus, we must employ a method of comparison that analyses the meaning of these metaphors, rather than one that looks solely at word-level differences.

## METHODOLOGY

This study examines two pairs of ‘equivalent’ English and Japanese proverbs as defined by the *Shinmeikai* dictionary (2007), using Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) to analyse the core meaning of each. Developed by linguists Anna Wierzbicka (1996) and Cliff Goddard (2002), NSM is a unique

method of linguistic analysis that involves using simple words to express more complex meanings. This technique avoids the complex terminology and abbreviations that dictionaries are prone to use, and more importantly, provides a tool for expressing meaning that transcends culturally specific metaphorical language such as that found in proverbs. This study defines the complex concepts that English and Japanese proverbs express using a set of simple words called ‘semantic primes’, which Goddard calls “the irreducible semantic core of all natural languages” (2002, 8). These semantic primes are words that cannot be simplified further; some examples in English are ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘someone’, ‘something’, ‘this’, ‘happen’, ‘know’ and ‘move’. Wierzbicka and Goddard use the term “reductive paraphrasing” (Goddard 2002, 7) to describe the process of using these words to express the meaning of a concept, and call the products of this process “semantic explications” (Wierzbicka 1996, 113). Semantic explications are made up of simple clauses constructed with semantic primes. By reducing proverbs to NSM semantic explications, we can express and compare their meanings using the same universal terminology.

This study departs from dictionary definitions and instead offers new NSM definitions of Japanese and English proverbs. Simply paraphrasing the meaning of proverbs based on an individual source could lead to error, bias or a reliance on the dictionary definitions being scrutinised. Therefore, this study examines how various members of the public interpret the meaning of specific proverbs by randomly sampling texts from the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ) which contain the chosen English and Japanese proverbs.<sup>3</sup> The BNC is a 100-million-word collection of samples from a wide range of written and spoken sources. It is a representative cross-section of British English usage from the later part of the 20th century, and thus is an authoritative corpus from which to sample everyday discourse incorporating proverbs. Similarly, the BCCWJ is a corpus of 100 million words of contemporary written Japanese sourced from publications, government documents and text from the internet. Its comprehensiveness makes it the most valid corpus from which to source discourse incorporating Japanese proverbs. Following analysis of corpus data, this study creates and compares NSM semantic explications of the proverbs, identifying differences in their meaning and construction. It uses textual data from the corpora to determine how people link proverbs to real life events, and identifies how Japanese and Western common knowledge is reproduced in these proverbs.

The semantic explications are based on a five-part semantic template for proverbs that was originally developed by Goddard (2009). The five sections in this template describe what Goddard sees as the core characteristics of proverbs: ‘traditionality’, a ‘recurrent situation’, ‘advice’, ‘analogy’ and ‘status as folk wisdom’. Goddard notes that ‘traditionality’ and ‘status as folk wisdom’ are qualities that all proverbs share (2002, 107). ‘Traditionality’ describes how users position a proverb as something that people have used over a long period of time, while ‘status as folk wisdom’ describes how a proverb communicates the common knowledge of a specific culture. As these qualities are common

<sup>3</sup> The British National Corpus (BNC) is managed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. The Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ) is produced by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics.



to all proverbs and therefore are not useful for distinguishing differences, they are omitted from the explications in this study.

The focus herein is on the other three sections of Goddard's template, which examine the content of proverbs. The first element, [a] *recurrent situation*, describes the real-life situation that a proverb warns against. For example, the recurrent situation of 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush' is that people are prone to pursue things of great value that they do not have, rather than hold onto things of lesser value that they do have. The second, [b] *advice*, describes the moral lesson of a proverb. The advice of 'The early bird catches the worm', for example, is that one should wake up early. It should be noted that some metaphorical proverbs, such as 'Out of the frying pan and into the fire', lack the *advice* element. The final element, [c] *analogy*, describes the metaphor contained in a proverb and what it stands for. In 'A stitch in time saves nine', stitching up tears before they widen is an analogy for acting to solve a minor problem before it becomes a major problem. It is important to note that non-metaphorical, maxim-style proverbs, such as 'Respect your elders', do not employ an analogy. In this section of the template, the metaphors within proverbs will be paraphrased so that they can be easily compared.

In addition, these metaphors are examined from a cognitive linguistic perspective, identifying the image schema and conceptual metaphors that underpin them. An image schema is a fundamental, recurring pattern of cognition that we use subconsciously to represent and understand complex concepts (Johnson 1987, 23). An example is the 'containment' schema, which is observable in phrases where the human body is metaphorically portrayed as a container for emotions, such as 'I bottled up my anger'. Image schemas are present in the metaphors employed in English and Japanese proverbs, and are an interesting point of difference between the two. They will thus be examined herein.

The proverbs that are the subject of this study are two commonly-used English proverbs and their Japanese equivalents. The English proverbs being examined have been chosen because the *Shinmeikai* dictionary links them with well-known Japanese proverbs, and because they are commonly used in their own right. These proverbs are 'Look before you leap' and 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating'. Their Japanese pairs in the *Shinmeikai* dictionary are proverbs from the popular Edo version of the *iroha karuta* card game: '*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*' (2007, 492) and '*Ron yori shōko* (論より証拠)' (672).<sup>4</sup>

## ANALYSIS: 'LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP' AND 'NEN NI WA NEN O IREYO'

### Proverb 1: Look before you leap

The first step in comparing these proverbs is to examine samples of texts in which they are used. This gives an insight into how the proverbs are employed

<sup>4</sup> *Iroha karuta* is a traditional Japanese game played with cards that feature illustrations representing Japanese proverbs. Owing to the popularity of the game itself, the proverbs featured in *iroha karuta* are also popular and well-known in Japan, reproducing and affirming the folk wisdom of Japanese society as they are used in everyday discourse.

in everyday discourse and assists with comparing and re-evaluating their definitions. We begin by analysing the following excerpts of texts, retrieved from the BNC, containing the English proverb ‘Look before you leap’:

#### Text 1.1

‘**Look before you leap**’ is a maxim impulsive people fail to follow. People who aren’t impulsive think through the consequences of their actions before taking decisive steps. They can resist temptation long enough to make decisions based on good sense. Impulsive people are just the opposite. They do things rashly. They make snap decisions. They lack self-control... [ARJ]<sup>5</sup>

#### Text 1.2

You yearn to bring about a revolution in your lifestyle and it’s undoubtedly possible in April—but it will be a hollow victory if you overthrow one repressive regime just to replace it with another. Proceed with caution and, at the risk of sounding like a tabloid astrologer, **look before you leap**. [ECT]

#### Text 1.3

There are many old sayings and proverbs that point to the wisdom of thought before action, such as ‘**look before you leap**’, ‘more haste, less speed’, ‘second thoughts are best’, and so on. If you are able to prevent the things you have been doing, then you are already half-way to your goal. [BM0] (BNC 2007)

The Oxford British and World English Dictionaries both explain the meaning of ‘Look before you leap’ as “You shouldn’t act without first considering the possible consequences or dangers” (Oxford Dictionaries 2015a). Similarly, these three texts explain ‘Look before you leap’ as an admonition to think before acting. With the metaphor of leaping comes the implication that the actor to whom the proverb is referring is attempting to achieve a goal. These texts present hypothetical actors with two potential scenarios: in the first one, the actor acts without thinking and meets with failure. This scenario, although implicitly present in each text, is most clearly described by Text 1.1, which says that “Impulsive people...do things rashly. They make snap decisions. They lack self-control”. This line is representative of the ‘recurrent situation’ of the proverb; that is, it paraphrases the proverb’s warning about what often happens to people who have not learned from its moral tale. The recurrent situation in ‘Look before you leap’ can be rendered in NSM as below:

#### [a] Recurrent situation

something like this often happens:

someone does something because this someone wants something to happen  
 before this someone does it, this someone doesn’t think about it  
 because of this, when this someone does it,  
 something bad happens to this someone

The texts indicate that the alternative scenario for the actor is to be cautious and, as Text 1.1 states, “think through the consequences of their actions before taking decisive steps”. This is the moral, or ‘advice’, of this proverb. It can be rephrased in NSM as follows:

5 These letter codes are used to label individual texts in the BNC.

**[b] Advice**

when someone does something because this someone wants something to happen  
it is good if this someone thinks about it before this someone does it

This proverb's analogy can also be deduced from the above texts. Text 1.3 says that the proverb advocates "the wisdom of thought before action". Within the proverb, 'looking' represents thinking ahead and preparing for one's next move, while 'leaping' represents stepping out and taking action. We can represent these metaphorical analogies in NSM as such:

**[c] Analogy**

it is often like this:

someone moves because this someone wants to be somewhere  
this someone doesn't see this place before this someone moves,  
this someone doesn't know anything about this place  
a bad thing will happen when this someone moves

The main metaphors within this proverb, 'looking' and 'leaping', can also be defined using image schemas. The analogy of leaping from one area to another area reflects the 'source-path-goal' schema and the conceptual domain of a 'journey'. In addition, 'looking', a metaphor that represents 'caution' and 'preparation', aligns with the 'physical perception' and 'visual perception' schema (Faber 1999, 258). These image schemas influence the terminology that texts use. This is particularly evident Text 1.3, which echoes the 'source-path-goal' schema and the 'journey' domain when it states that following the advice of the proverbs puts you "halfway towards your goal". Text 1.2 also reproduces this image schema with the advice to readers to "proceed with caution". It appears then that the image schemas and conceptual domains that feature in this proverb influenced word choice and how the proverb was positioned in the texts.

**Proverb 2: *Nen ni wa nen o ireyo* (lit., 'put care into care')**

Having identified the basic meaning of 'Look before you leap' and some of its underlying conceptual metaphors, this study will now examine the Japanese proverb listed as the equivalent to 'Look before you leap' by the *Shinmeikai* dictionary: '*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*' (2007, 492).

<i>Nen</i>	<i>ni wa</i>	<i>nen</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ireyo</i>
care	TOP	care	ACC	put in-IMP (archaic)

The following are texts from the BCCWJ that contain '*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*'.

**Text 2.1**

When flying a foreign flag, remember the lesson taught by '*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*' and be sure not to fly the wrong flag or fly it upside-down.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> 「外国旗を掲揚するときは、旗の間違いや上下逆さまのミスを起こしやすいので、念には念を入れよという教訓である。」

### Text 2.2

No matter how much you know or how thoroughly you have prepared, when it comes to moving, the unexpected often happens. I strongly felt that it was necessary to ‘**Nen ni wa nen o ire**’ and have someone talk with the removalists for me and help me out with other odd jobs.<sup>7</sup>

### Text 2.3

Even though I knew there was no one there, I ‘**Nen ni wa nen o irete**’ and trod lightly. I gently twisted the doorknob so that it wouldn’t make a noise. (BCCWJ 2009)<sup>8</sup>

The content of these sample texts is indeed similar to the texts containing ‘Look before you leap’. Texts in both sets appear to use the proverb to advocate caution rather than rash action. However, there are subtle differences between the two proverbs that become apparent when the texts are examined in detail. Let us first look at the recurrent situation described by ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’.

Text 2.1 perhaps provides the best indication of this proverb’s ‘recurrent situation’ (the undesirable outcome of not following the advice of the proverb). This text uses the proverb to warn people who fly national flags to be especially careful, lest they fly a flag upside-down or fly an incorrect flag. While this echoes the warning expressed in ‘Look before you leap’ (i.e., that rash action leads to disaster), the tone of Text 2.1 is different from the tone of the English texts. This difference is made clearer by Text 2.2, in which the narrator reflects on their experience of moving house in old age. Text 2.2 advises other elderly house-movers to be cautious, but also assumes that they have already taken certain precautions. It says that these people should be cautious “no matter how much you know or how much you have prepared”. This statement and the literal meaning of the proverb (‘put care into care’) imply that people will think about their problem ahead of time, but advises those people to think about that problem more carefully. This situation contradicts the situation of ‘Look before you leap’, which describes the actor not thinking at all before they act. The texts’ usage of the proverb reflect the *Shinmeikai* dictionary’s Japanese definition of ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’: “after you have been cautious and checked, be even more cautious (よく注意し確かめたうえに、さらに注意せよ)” (2007, 492). We must portray this aspect when explicating the recurrent situation of ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’ to reflect that of the above texts:

#### [a] Recurrent situation

something like this often happens:

someone does something because this someone wants something  
 to happen  
 before this someone does it, this someone thinks about it  
 after this, this someone doesn’t think about it anymore  
 something bad happens because of this

Text 2.3 describes a person who is trying not to be heard. It implies that if this person is heard, something bad could happen to them. To avoid this, the

7 「引越しは、どんなに予備知識や心構えがあっても、予想外のことが起こりやすい。念には念を入れ、だれかに業者との立ち合いやその他諸々協力してもらう必要があると痛感した。」

8 「誰もいないとわかって、念には念を入れて慎重に足音を殺す。ドアノブも音をたてないようにそっと扱った。」



person heeds the advice of ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’ and thinks carefully about his or her actions. This sentiment, which is the advice of the Japanese proverb, is echoed in Texts 2.1 and 2.2. We can rewrite this advice in NSM as follows:

**[b] Advice**

when someone does something because this someone wants something to happen  
 it is good if this someone thinks about it well

The final element of Goddard’s semantic template is the ‘analogy’. However, ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’ is a literal maxim that does not employ an analogy. This section must therefore be omitted from the NSM explication. Considering this proverb does not contain an analogy, it can be concluded that users were not influenced by a specific conceptual metaphor. This is another aspect that sets ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’ apart from ‘Look before you leap’.

**Table 1:** NSM explications of ‘Look before you leap’ versus ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’

Look before you leap	<i>Nen ni wa nen o ireyo</i>
<b>[a] Recurrent situation</b> something like this often happens: someone does something because this someone wants something to happen before this someone does it, this someone doesn’t think about it because of this, when this someone does it, something bad happens to this someone	<b>[a] Recurrent situation</b> something like this often happens: someone does something because this someone wants something to happen before this someone does it, this someone thinks about it after this, this someone doesn’t think about it anymore something bad happens because of this
<b>[b] Advice</b> when someone does something because this someone wants something to happen it is good if this someone thinks about it before this someone does it	<b>[b] Advice</b> when someone does something because this someone wants something to happen it is good if this someone thinks about it well
<b>[c] Analogy</b> it is often like this: someone moves because this someone wants to be somewhere this someone doesn’t see this place before this someone moves, this someone doesn’t know anything about this place a bad thing will happen when this someone moves	<b>[c] Analogy</b> N/A

Table 1 aligns and compares complete NSM explications of the English proverb and its corresponding Japanese proverb. Comparing the two explications in this manner, it becomes clear that while the meanings of the two proverbs are indeed similar, they differ in subtle ways. ‘Look before you leap’ describes a recurrent situation where a person acts without thinking, and ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’ describes a person who has prepared for something to a certain extent but should prepare even more. This difference is also reflected in the advice of the proverbs. The analogy of ‘Look before you leap’ employs two image schemas: ‘source-path-goal’ and ‘visual perception’. These image schemas are evidence of conceptual domains that users reproduce when positioning the proverb in discourse (for example, Texts 1.2 and 1.3 use the proverb to talk about achieving a goal). Meanwhile, ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’ does not employ an analogy, and thus its sample texts did not contain phrases sourced from

those same conceptual domains. As we saw in examples from the BNC, texts are likely to use ‘Look before you leap’ in relation to ‘movement’ (Text 1.1 refers to “taking decisive steps”, for example). In contrast, ‘*Nen ni wa nen o ireyo*’ contains no analogies that influence how it is used in discourse.

The similarities of these two proverbs may explain the decision of proverb dictionaries like the *Shinmeikai* to pair them together. However, NSM analysis has demonstrated that the two proverbs have subtly different meanings, and translators should be warned against simply substituting one for the other.

Do other proverb pairs have similar semantic and pragmatic differences? This study now investigates the proverb, ‘The proof of the pudding is in the eating’ and its Japanese pair according to the *Shinmeikai* dictionary: ‘*Ron yori shōko*’ (2007, 672).

## ANALYSIS: ‘THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING IS IN THE EATING’ AND ‘*RON YORI SHŌKO*’

### Proverb 3: The proof of the pudding is in the eating

This section examines three randomly selected texts from the BNC containing the *Shinmeikai* dictionary’s English equivalent to ‘*Ron yori shōko*’: ‘The proof of the pudding is in the eating’.

#### Text 3.1

We might reply that the simplicity of cave communities is idiosyncratic rather than typical: we might ask what general ecological insights we are going to obtain from communities that lack photosynthetic plants and herbivores, and are maintained by detritus flushed down from above: but Dr Culver gives us no answer. Arguments of this kind are easy to invent, but difficult to settle: in the end, **the proof of the pudding will be in the eating**. So let us turn to the main part of Culver’s book, and see whether his hopes are substantiated. Has, in fact, the study of cave life settled any important questions in evolution or ecology... [B7L]

#### Text 3.2

Working on the principle that half a loaf is better than none, the British side accepted the agreement, intending to open negotiations separately on military issues. The *modus vivendi* was not signed, but it was promulgated in January 1948 in the minutes of the Combined Policy Committee so as to avoid reference to Congress or to the United Nations, which would have been necessary for a formal international agreement. **The proof of the pudding was in the eating**: the *modus vivendi* turned out to be a great disappointment. The Americans got their ore, but the British received a pittance of information in return... [ABA]

#### Text 3.3

There’s no install program; you just copy the files across to the hard disk. Similarly, while a front-end [interface] is available, the program is designed to be run from the command line, like good old PKZIP. Mercifully, the Windows

shell offers you tick boxes instead of command line switches to make life a little easier. **The proof of the pudding is in the eating** and while I found that [the anti-virus software] didn't quite live up to the advertisers' claims, it was able to spot over 84 per cent of the infected files in my library... [FT8] (BNC 2007)

The three sample texts demonstrate that 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' is used when referring to the process of testing something to find out more about its value. This reflects the Oxford British and World English Online Dictionaries' definition of the proverb: "The real value of something can be judged only from practical experience or results and not from appearance or theory" (Oxford Dictionaries 2015b). However, this definition simply summarises the advice of the proverb and does not touch on the proverb's recurrent situation. The alternative to following the advice of the proverb is described well by Text 3.2, which says "The proof of the pudding was in the eating: the *modus vivendi* turned out to be a great disappointment". The text here is saying that because British diplomats put their faith in a trade deal that wasn't guaranteed to be beneficial, they were left with an unfavourable deal. Meanwhile, Text 3.1 warns about the dangers of presenting arguments without supporting them with evidence, and Text 3.3 implies that readers would not have known about the value of a brand of anti-virus software if it had not been tested. We can deduce from this that the 'test' involved in 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' can refer to a range of different objects and ideas. This should be taken into account when representing the recurrent situation of this proverb in NSM:

**[a] Recurrent situation**

something like this often happens:

a person thinks like this:

I know about a thing

because of this, this person does not do something

because of this, this person does not know this thing

something bad can happen to this person because of this

How should we interpret the advice offered by this proverb? Unlike 'Look before you leap', it is not immediately clear from the text samples how 'The proof of the pudding' is used to offer advice. In Text 3.1, the proverb is used to argue that the theories of a scientist (a "Dr Culver") should be proven by examining "the main part of his book" before they are believed. Text 3.2 uses the proverb to explain that a *modus vivendi* between British and US diplomats was believed to be better than it turned out to be in practice. Conversely, Text 3.3 uses the proverb to argue that testing antivirus software is a worthwhile endeavour. The implied advice of the proverb in these three texts is that 'it is good to test an unknown thing and learn more about it'. This can be expressed in NSM in the following manner:

**[b] Advice**

because of this, it is good if a person thinks like this:

I do not know this thing

I want to know about this thing

because of this, I will do something to this thing  
if I do this, I will know this thing

The analogy of ‘The proof of the pudding is in the eating’ is difficult to paraphrase in NSM, as the semantic primes are not capable of adequately describing food. However, Wierzbicka (2001) and Goddard (2002) propose that certain semantic units, called ‘semantic molecules’, can be used to express complex concepts that cannot be explained using semantic primes. Goddard defines the verb “to eat”, for example, as a semantic molecule (2010, 469). Using semantic molecules (labelled using the [m] symbol), we can produce an intelligible NSM definition of this proverb’s analogy. The noun ‘pudding’, while not a semantic prime or molecule, is used to make the explication clearer:

**[c] Analogy**

it is often like this:

someone makes [m] something for people to eat [m], like a \*pudding  
this someone thinks like this about it:

“maybe this is very good (to eat), maybe it is not good, I  
don’t know”

because of this, this someone eats some of it  
after this, this someone knows, he/she can’t not know  
this someone can’t know if this someone doesn’t eat some of it

**Proverb 4: *Ron yori shōko* (lit., ‘argument less than proof/demonstration’)**

Directly translating the Japanese proverb ‘*Ron yori shōko*’ demonstrates that its analogy differs from that of ‘The proof of the pudding is in the eating’.

<i>Ron</i>	<i>yori</i>	<i>shōko</i>
argument	less than	proof/demonstration

While the English proverb uses an analogy, ‘*Ron yori shōko*’ simply offers literal advice. Does this difference lead to differing interpretations of the proverb’s meaning? This is now tested by investigating texts from the BCCWJ.

**Text 4.1**

“Sensei, I want to see!” Everyone said “I want to see!” In the end, **Ron yori shōko**. I pick up the fairy light, and break just the glass.<sup>9</sup>

**Text 4.2**

If you just focus on one case and don’t consider other points of comparison or examples, you can’t really call it an objective evaluation. **Ron yori shōko**, I will look at other examples. I will [look into] one part of “Research into the invasion of East Asia”...<sup>10</sup>

9 「『先生、見たい!』。全員が『見たあーい!』[と言っています]。やっぱり**論より証拠**です。早速やってみます。豆電球をもってきてガラスだけを割ります。」

10 「[一つの事例]だけを突出して取り上げ、他の事例と比較考量しないのは、客観的評価とは言えない。**論より証拠**、私がそれをやってみよう。それは「東アジアにおける侵略の研究」の一環として…」

### Text 4.3

I stuck something like a Salon Pass [muscle relaxant patch] on the arch of my foot and it really worked well. **Ron yori shōko**, give it a try first.  
(BCCWJ 2009)<sup>11</sup>

It is clear that these three texts use ‘*Ron yori shōko*’ to make a comparison between a theory (or an argument) and a proof (or a demonstration). In Text 4.1, the teacher is arguing that it is better to demonstrate a theory through an experiment rather than simply explaining that theory. Text 4.2 makes an argument about the value of investigating something thoroughly, but then states that it is better to demonstrate this value than just talk about it. Meanwhile, Text 4.3’s claim is about the quality of muscle relaxant patches, while its proof will be the result of the reader’s test of those patches. Note here that while ‘The proof of the pudding is in the eating’ could refer to a test of an actual thing (such as the anti-virus software in Text 3.3), the three Japanese texts are all testing metaphysical things, such as arguments and theories.

**Table 2:** NSM explications of ‘The proof of the pudding is in the eating’ versus ‘*Ron yori shōko*’

The proof of the pudding is in the eating	<i>Ron yori shōko</i>
<b>[a] Recurrent situation</b> something like this often happens: a person thinks like this: I know about a thing because of this, this person does not do something because of this, this person does not know this thing something bad can happen to this person because of this	<b>[a] Recurrent situation</b> something like this often happens: some people say about something: “it is like this, people can know it” someone thinks about it like this because of this: “now I know it, it is like these people say” this is bad
<b>[b] Advice</b> because of this, it is good if a person thinks like this: I do not know this thing I want to know about this thing because of this, I will do something to this thing if I do this, I will know this thing	<b>[b] Advice</b> if some people say about something: “it is like this, people can know it” it is not good if someone thinks because of this: “now I know it, it is like these people say” it is good if someone thinks like this: “maybe it is like this, maybe it is not like this, I don’t know if I do something because of this, I can know”
<b>[c] Analogy</b> it is often like this: someone makes [m] something for people to eat [m], like a *pudding this someone thinks like this about it: “maybe this is very good (to eat), maybe it is not good, I don’t know” because of this, this someone eats some of it after this, this someone knows, he/she can’t not know this someone can’t know if this someone doesn’t eat some of it	<b>[c] Analogy</b> N/A

The *Shinmeikai* dictionary’s definition of ‘*Ron yori shōko*’ is “Things will become clearer if you show evidence/proof rather than making empty arguments (口先の議論を重ねるよりも、証拠を出したほうが物事が明らかになる)” (2007, 672). Again, this is a good summary of the advice of the proverb, but it does not describe the recurrent situation. This can, however, be defined

<sup>11</sup> 「土踏まずにサロンパスのような物を貼りましたが、とても良く効きましたよ。論より証拠、先ずはお試し下さいね。」



by looking to the texts. The recurrent situation of this proverb is made clear by Text 4.1, which states that a demonstration is better than simply explaining an experiment, which might cause the teacher's students to lose interest. The texts all warn that it is not good for someone to just talk about something, and for others to simply believe those arguments. We can articulate this message in NSM like this:

**[a] Recurrent situation**

something like this often happens:

some people say about something: "it is like this, people can know it"

someone thinks about it like this because of this:

"now I know it, it is like these people say"

this is bad

Texts 4.2 and 4.3 both advise readers that their own claims are not as useful as tests of those claims. For example, Text 4.3 says that rather than simply making claims about a muscle relaxant patch, it is best to try and see for yourself whether it works. In other words, according to the sample texts, the proverb's advice is that it is better to find proof or present a demonstration rather than to make arguments. This is subtly different to the advice of 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating', which specifically argues the value of testing physical and metaphysical things. The following NSM explication of the Japanese proverb's advice expresses this subtle difference:

**[b] Advice**

if some people say about something: "it is like this, people can know it"

it is not good if someone thinks because of this:

"now I know it, it is like these people say"

it is good if someone thinks like this:

"maybe it is like this, maybe it is not like this, I don't know

if I do something because of this, I can know"

Where '*Ron yori shōko*' differs from 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' is that while 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' uses a metaphor to communicate its advice, '*Ron yori shōko*' is a simple comparative maxim that does not employ any metaphors or analogies. The absence of an analogy in '*Ron yori shōko*' means that users are unlikely to make links with a specific conceptual domain. This is why no patterns were found in the kinds of phrases used in the texts, or in the context in which the proverb was positioned. This contrasts with the metaphor found in 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating', which, as evidence from the sample texts shows, compels people to use the proverb in discourse relating to food.

Table 2 demonstrates that whilst '*Ron yori shōko*' and 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' have very similar meanings, they differ both in their analogies and in what they advise people to test. 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' tells people to test the validity of things in general, and '*Ron yori shōko*' warns people to test the truth of an argument. This is another example of a Japanese proverb with a similar but subtly different meaning from that of its English proverb pair.

This study has shown that two English and Japanese proverbs paired together by the *Shinmeikai* dictionary in fact have a number of subtle differences. These differences emerged in the proverbs' culturally oriented advice, warnings and analogies (or lack thereof), and in the conceptual metaphors and image schemas through which these analogies were created. Because of these differences, the proverbs were used differently in sample texts. This should serve as a warning that so-called equivalent proverbs are rarely used in exactly the same way. These results indicate that it would be worthwhile examining other Japanese and English proverb pairs, as their meanings may also differ. The results of this study also cast doubt on Charteris-Black's (1995, 263) claim that a "simple matching exercise" in which students match a certain language's proverbs with equivalent proverbs in another language would be a useful way of introducing different metaphorical lenses into second language studies. While this activity would help learners to recognise the different metaphors that exist in different cultures, the activity's implication that one language's proverb is 'equivalent' to that of another language is potentially problematic, as the semantic explications in this investigation have shown. To better understand another culture's proverbs and how they are used in discourse, precise tools for analysing their meaning, such as NSM semantic explications, are useful (Goddard 2013).

The explications in this study revealed more about the different cultural and ideological knowledge embedded within proverbs than the aforementioned proverb dictionaries' definitions did. These dictionaries would do well to either offer similar explanations of the semantic differences between the Japanese and English proverbs that they link, or avoid the practice of linking proverbs altogether.

## GLOSSARY

ACC	Accusative
BCCWJ	Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese
BNC	British National Corpus
DAT	Dative
IMP	Imperative
NSM	Natural Semantic Metalanguage
TOP	Topic

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