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Volume 6:

A Journal for Emerging Scholars of Japanese Studies in Australia and New Zealand

New Voices
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The Japan Foundation, Sydney

***New Voices:* A Journal for Emerging Scholars of Japanese Studies in Australia and New Zealand**
Volume 6

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The Japan Foundation, Sydney
Level 1, Chifley Plaza
2 Chifley Square, SYDNEY NSW 2000
www.jpf.org.au

Japanese names are written in first name-surname order, in accordance with English-language convention. The long vowel sound in Japanese is indicated by a macron (e.g. *kōtsū*), unless in common use without (e.g. Tokyo).

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Foreword

In the six years *New Voices* has been published, the relationship between Australia and Japan has gone from strength to strength. Endeavours such as this journal serve to remind us more than ever that international friendship occurs not just on a political and economic level, but also through the exchange of ideas and thoughts about culture, history and language. Researchers from Adelaide, Canberra, Melbourne, Sydney and Wollongong have all contributed to this volume, highlighting the wide-reaching interest in Japan shown by Australian scholars.

Regular readers will note that, for the first time, all papers selected for this edition are published in both physical and electronic format. As the internet becomes our primary source of information in the academic world, the boundaries between these two formats have become more and more blurred—to the point where, from the next volume, *New Voices* will be published exclusively as an electronic journal.

I'd like to thank the following people for their assistance on this issue of *New Voices:* our Guest Editor, Dr Katrina Moore, without whose wise input the volume you are holding would not exist; members of the editorial advisory board, for kindly offering their time and expertise to review the articles; Sayuri Tokuman, Elicia O'Reilly and Matthew Todd for editorial assistance; and finally, to the seven contributors and their supervisors, whose enthusiasm and support for this project bodes well for the future of Japanese Studies in Australia.

Nao Endo
Director
The Japan Foundation, Sydney
January 2014

Contents

Introduction

I am happy to introduce to you this year's contributions to the Japan Foundation's *New Voices*. *New Voices* plays an important role in the field of Japanese Studies by offering postgraduate students and early career researchers a venue for presenting their academic work to a broader audience. These essays demonstrate the breadth and depth of Japanese studies being produced by emerging scholars in Australia and New Zealand. They constitute a new wave of perspectives across fields as diverse as international relations, cultural studies, literature, music and linguistics.

Together these essays show the authors' commitment to addressing significant social problems that are highly topical and relevant to contemporary Japan and Australian relations. In seeking to unpack pressing social issues using innovative research questions and designs, these essays demonstrate the authors' creativity and passion for their research. As a result, we gain a new perspective into the dynamism of Japanese cultural traditions, and new insights into the complex social relationships that have constituted Japanese society, past and present. These essays also facilitate greater understanding of the process of learning the Japanese language.

In her investigation, **Claudia Craig** analyses the idea of 'Japaneseness' in Western cultural discourse on Japan by focusing on one area of the nation's art and design: the landscape garden. In particular, she considers the way in which Western observers between the 1870s and 1930s promoted ideas of the Japanese garden as a space of tranquil harmony and pure untamed beauty, disconnected from the modern age. She analyses the notions of Japaneseness promoted through their interpretations and contends that these interpretations contributed to the development of unitary, stereotypical images of Japan in the eyes of Western observers.

Sally Chan analyses the process of 'negative language transfer' among people learning Japanese as a foreign language. How does a learner's knowledge of their first language affect their process of constructing their target language? In particular she investigates differences in the ways that native speakers of Chinese, Korean, English and Japanese recognise the misuse of the Japanese noun modifier *no*. Examining Japanese language learners at the University of New South Wales and the University of Sydney who had completed advanced-level Japanese courses, she finds differences in the ways each first-language group performed on tests of misuse recognition.

Adam Eldridge, in his contribution, analyses the paradox of Sino-Japanese relations: he sees them as interdependent economically but competitive in military-strategic terms. Eldridge provides a fresh perspective on how to understand this conundrum. In his view, economic interdependence theories overestimate the ability of economic cooperation to translate into military-strategic cooperation between Japan and China. He argues further that economic interdependence is only an intervening variable in international relations, because it has failed to shape states' perceptions and responses to security threats. His research contributes important findings to the field of international relations theory.

Catherine Hallett examines the function, social structures and transmission of music in Kamigata *rakugo* performance. In her lively analysis, she argues that more scholarly attention should be given to the musical components that accompany the performances. Then, by carefully examining some of those components heard during a *rakugo* performance, she reveals the multiple ways that this music aids a storyteller's performance, exploring both the personal significance that the music has for the storytellers' feelings and their motivations for their own performance. Hallett shows how the music helps generate excitement and anticipation for both the storyteller and audience, and the role it plays as the storyteller constructs the imaginary world that is integral to the high-spirited atmosphere of the Kamigata *yose* theatre.

Niamh Champ's article examines the impact that a learner's first language (L1) has in determining the course and pace of acquisition of subsequent languages. She writes about the benefits of using *gairaigo* (loanwords) in facilitating language learning, discussing the ways they can help learners acquire vocabulary in a foreign language. She then investigates how Japanese foreign language teachers at the University of Queensland perceive the use and effects of *gairaigo* as such a tool. Champ discovers that these teachers have a range of opinions and views about the benefits of using *gairaigo*, and explores the variables that influence their use of it.

Hiromi Nishioka, in her contribution, analyses language exchange partnership sessions at Monash University to see how they create opportunities for Japanese language learners to use and learn Japanese outside the formal classroom context. She contends that in these one-on-one learning settings, learners receive targeted language assistance from Japanese native speakers within their 'zones of proximal development'. These partnerships enrich the scope of learning opportunities available to such learners on university campuses and give them opportunities to engage in an active process of negotiating levels of assistance and tailoring topics of conversation to suit their language learning needs.

Tets Kimura looks directly at the international relationship between Australia and Japan, and reviews their ongoing dispute over whaling, a significant issue of contention between the two nations. He analyses attitudes toward whaling in the two countries and reviews how it is covered in both Australian and Japanese newspapers. Interestingly, he finds many similarities in the ways the issue is reported in both countries, such as the frequent focus on protest activities. He also offers valuable insights into Japan's *kisha* (reporters') club system which significantly influences how whaling is constructed and reported on in Japan.

Overall, the collection represents both the diversity and academic rigour of Japanese Studies in Australia and New Zealand. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Editorial Advisory Board and the panel of reviewers. I wish to extend special thanks to Dr Olivier Ansart, Professor William Coaldrake, Dr Misuzu Hanihara Chow, Emeritus Professor Hugh Clarke, Professor Nanette Gottlieb, Professor Henry Johnson, Dr Jun Ohashi, Dr Yuji Sone, Dr Rebecca Suter, Honorary Associate Professor Elise Tipton, Dr Yasuhisa Watanabe and Associate Professor Stephen Wearing for giving so generously of their time and expertise. I am grateful to Mr Nao Endo, Director of the Japan Foundation, for enthusiastically supporting *New Voices*. My gratitude also goes to Sayuri Tokuman, Manager of the Japanese Studies and Intellectual Exchange Department, for her care and expert guidance in steering this project and for supporting Japanese studies in Australia. My thanks also to Matthew Todd for editing and arranging the layout of the issue. I would particularly like to thank Elicia O'Reilly, Program Coordinator of the Japanese Studies and Intellectual Exchange Department, for her unflagging enthusiasm for this project. Her strong commitment to leading this project and its authors has been deeply inspiring.

I hope that you enjoy the contributions.

Dr Katrina Moore
University of New South Wales
Editor, *New Voices Volume 6*

Notions of Japaneseness in Western Interpretations of Japanese Garden Design, 1870s-1930s

Claudia Craig
University of London, Birkbeck College

Abstract

Aesthetic imaginings of Japan have stereotypically revolved around notions of beauty and restrained simplicity. Thus, the concept of 'Japaneseness' is imputed into what is commonly understood as 'Japanese design'. This article explores the way in which the idea of 'Japaneseness' has developed by focussing on one area of the nation's art and design: the landscape garden. Particularly, it considers the way in which the interpretations of Westerners between the 1870s and 1930s contributed to the dissemination of ideas of a quintessential Japanese garden aesthetic. It argues that such ideas resulted in images of gardens in Japan being embedded in the premodern rather than modern, and also contributed to a tendency for the notion of what is 'Japanese' to be essentialised to a single construct, one which existed as Other to a superior West.

Keywords

Japaneseness; landscape garden; Meiji era; Taisho era; Western interpretations

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Introduction

'Japanese design' has become such a widely used catchphrase that its meaning is hardly ever questioned in non-academic circles. In areas as diverse as fashion, graphics and architecture, the Japanese have become recognised as design leaders as much as technological leaders.[1] But what are the style elements that emerge from the products of these designs? Do they constitute something which can be termed 'Japanese'? And how did the idea of a distinctively Japanese style or aesthetic evolve?

This paper explores the idea of 'Japaneseness' in Western cultural discourse on Japan by focussing on one area of the nation's art and design: the landscape garden. Particularly, it considers the way in which Westerners between the 1870s and 1930s viewed the Japanese garden and the notions of Japaneseness promoted through their interpretations. While there is a concentration of Western academic research considering the question of Japanese cultural identity in architecture in Japan,[2] discourse on the subject of Japaneseness in the context of the landscape garden is limited. This article explores the influence of five significant Westerners—Christopher Dresser, Edward Morse, Josiah Conder, Bruno Taut and Christopher Tunnard—who visited or lived in Japan between the 1870s to 1930s and recorded their observations of Japanese gardens. Other than Morse, who was a trained scientist, each of these men was a professional in architecture, design or horticulture, and each communicated their impressions to Western audiences by public lectures or published work. This article argues that these authorities promoted the idea of a pure Japanese garden involving essential characteristics of beauty, simplicity and spirituality. It is submitted that many of these ideas were grounded in premodern images and did not reflect the reality of the emerging modern Japanese society. Further, it is argued the dissemination of such ideas contributed to the creation of aesthetic stereotypes as to what is 'Japanese'. These perceptions continue to inform the popular cultural identity of Japan in the West.

The period from the 1870s to the prewar 1930s has been chosen as the focus for this analysis because it is the earliest period of concentrated Western commentary on Japanese garden design. This paper does not analyse the influence of Japanese authorities on the development of a Japanese identity within landscape garden design. This forms another large and complex area of research which is beyond the scope of this article.

1 Sparke, *Modern Japanese Design*, p. 49.

2 For examples, see Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*; McNeil, 'Myths of Modernism'; Watanabe, 'Vernacular Expression or Western Style?'; and most recently, Reynolds, 'Can Architecture be both Modern and "Japanese"?'.

Japanese Design

It has become common for people in Japan and outside to generalise about characteristics of Japanese style. Elements such as simplicity, functionality and minimalism have been talked about in such a way that Westerners now understand Japanese design as a distinctive mix of all these elements. In an essay titled 'Why Japan?', J.V. Earle identifies two stylistic stereotypes of Japanese design: one colourful, decorative, exuberant and inventive (as depicted in woodblock prints); and the other monochrome, linear, refined and austere (as seen in traditional arts such as tea ceremony, architecture and gardens).[3] The latter intersects with *wabi, sabi* and *shibui*, a complex set of notions expressed in the tea ceremony and the lyrical poetry of the Heian imperial court[4] which embody qualities such as restraint, simplicity, purity and the expression of 'spirituality through minimal aesthetic means'.[5] The popular Western conception of a Japanese garden invokes many of these ideals. It also invokes notions of harmony and a special Japanese affinity with the natural world, each of which has become part of a general rhetoric in the West for describing things Japanese. The development of this imagery in the context of the Japanese garden will be examined in this article.

Western Interpretations of the Japanese Garden, 1868-1912

The availability of garden imagery from Japan was limited, but not absent, in the West prior to the Meiji era (1868-1912). As early as the 1600s, knowledge of Japanese gardens had travelled to Europe through pictures and botanical specimens collected by German physicians working in Nagasaki with the Dutch East India Company, resulting in an influx of Japanese plants into European gardens.[6]

However, it was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that Western architects frequented Japan and began to influence Europe and America with their views on garden design. Determined to prove Japan's strength and capability to Western nations, the new Meiji government had embarked on a rapid period of modernisation which, in its view, meant a mass program of Westernisation. This project took place across all areas of Japanese life. In the field of architecture, the government commissioned the construction of large Western-style buildings and employed Western specialists to visit Japan and train local architects.[7] During their time in Japan, these specialists, together with experts from non-architectural fields, observed Japanese gardens and disseminated aesthetic ideas that influenced the way Japanese gardens were appreciated in the West.

3 Earle, 'Why Japan?', pp. 12-13.
4 Kuitert, *Themes, Scenes and Taste in the History of Japanese Garden Art*, p. 239. For further discussion of these aesthetics, see pp. 228-255.
5 Sparke, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
6 Lambourne, *Japonisme*, pp. 192-193.
7 Watanabe, 'Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan', p. 22.

Christopher Dresser (1834-1904) was the first European designer to visit Japan as part of the Meiji government's modernisation scheme.[8] Self-described as an 'architect and ornamentist',[9] Dresser was invited as a guest of the government for four months in 1876-77 to advise on the modernisation of the nation's art industries.[10]

Although not a garden design specialist, Dresser was an expert in botany, and his book, *Japan—Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures,* published in London in 1882, contains many vivid descriptions of gardens and scenery. Dresser was a powerful figure in late nineteenth-century European design and the Japonisme movement, and the text is considered one of only a few significant first-hand Western accounts of architecture in Japan during the Meiji era.

The designer introduces himself with authority:

> An apology is needed for adding to the number of our books on Japan. We have heard of the ways of the Japanese, of the peculiarities of their manner, of their feasts and festivals, of the food they eat, and of the aspect of the country in which they live. My excuse for writing is a simple one—I am a specialist.[11]

This all-assuming self-introduction establishes a hierarchical relationship between the specialist Dresser and the 'peculiar' race he intends to study. He plants the latter firmly in notions of the exotic and curious: strange articles of food, strange people, strange objects 'meet the eye on every side…Indeed it would be difficult to describe the impression of novelty left in our minds.'[12] It is from this Orientalist vantage point that Dresser gives his account of the 'native style', an expression used frequently throughout the book to describe Japanese custom.[13]

Dresser was overwhelmed by what he perceived as a country of great beauty, declaring, 'everything is so pure, so clean and so thoroughly Japanese'.[14] The purity of the immaculate summit of Japan's 'peerless cone' (Mount Fuji), the charming gardens and teahouses, picturesque bridges, and an air of cleanness and beauty create for Dresser a picture of the Japanese people as 'genial and loving'.[15] He constructs the Japanese garden in idyllic notions of beauty and purity:

8 Halén, 'Dresser and Japan', p. 127.
9 Dresser, *Japan, Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures*, p. 209.
10 Halén, *op. cit.*, p. 132. Dresser himself states two further objectives of his visit: to bring the South Kensington Museum donation to the national museum in Tokyo, and to collect objects of art for his own personal Japanese collection and that of Tiffany and Co.
11 Dresser, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
12 *ibid.*, p. 9.
13 For example, Dresser describes his breakfast in Japan as a collection of 'native dainties' and the straw sandals he wears as the 'native shoe'; *ibid.*, pp. 4, 132.
14 *ibid.*, p. 131.
15 *ibid.*, p. 27.

> On the moat outside the castle hundreds of wild ducks were floating. In the moat I saw leaves and bent seed capsules of the beautiful Nelumbrum or Buddhist water-lily.[16]

> The garden surrounding the palace is a lake of the greatest purity, a running stream, and small waterfall...[17]

These romantic articulations of tranquil harmony ignore several historical realities. Many famous gardens in Japan were built during periods of war and social upheaval, negating any suggestion of them being places of purely harmonious and spiritual value. Further, political and imperial power were often important motivations for the construction of gardens in premodern Japan, and accounted for the changing uses of gardens over time. For example, in the Nara period (710-794), government and aristocrats utilised Buddhism as a political tool, rendering Buddhist gardens and temples places of prayer for the protection of the State, and disconnecting them from the common people.[18] In the Muromachi (1398-1573) and Edo (1603-1868) periods, gardens were built by shoguns primarily as symbols of wealth and power and had relatively little connection with worship or spirituality.[19] The garden at Nijō Castle (and the castle itself) and the Tōshōgū Shrine in Nikkō are examples of this kind of construction.

For Dresser, the Tōshōgū Shrine is 'the most beautiful of all the shrines in Japan'.[20] Dresser is largely referring to the highly ornamental architectural features of the shrine, reminiscent of Victorian tastes. However, he also addresses the surrounding gardens. References to the mountain river and stream of 'delicious water', the 'great sanctuary' and images of birds, flowers and clouds carved into the enclosure walls[21] are evocative of a harmonious paradise and romantic beauty. These images stand in juxtaposition to the shrine's significance as a symbol of political authority. Construction of the grand, baroque shrine was a self-deifying act by the founding Tokugawa ruler, Ieyasu, whose attempts to rival the sacred claims of the imperial court included the capture of an imperial prince at the shrine.[22] Ieyasu was later buried in the shrine's grounds.

Dresser also applauded a perceived harmony between the Japanese people and nature: 'There seems to be in Japan a harmony between man and the lower creatures such as I had never before seen'.[23] The idea of the Japanese people having a special affinity with

16 *ibid*., p. 32.
17 *ibid*., p. 36.
18 Goto, *The Japanese Garden*, p. 69.
19 *ibid*.; Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, p. 35.
20 Dresser, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
21 Dresser does not specifically refer to the garden itself but rather to an 'enclosure surrounded by walls'; *ibid*., p. 201.
22 Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 35.
23 Dresser, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

nature is a central stereotype within claims of Japanese uniqueness, and one that has only recently come under critical attack.[24] Authors Pamela Asquith and Arne Kalland dismiss the idea of such a unique relationship, stating, 'the Japanese have—like most other people, the Chinese included—an ambivalent attitude towards nature in which their love and veneration is only one dimension'.[25] It is outside the scope of this article to explore questions of a special Japanese affinity with nature. However, Dresser's idealist comments are an early example of the way the idea of a special Japanese love of nature and a corresponding ability of the Japanese to live harmoniously with nature were transmitted by a Western authority.

Dresser was instrumental in the establishment of a Japanese village at North London's Alexandra Park in 1875, providing the British public with their first real view of a Japanese garden.[26] The garden was in fact part of the exhibit from the 1873 Vienna World Exposition which Dresser had purchased under the banner of his recently established importing venture, the Alexandra Park Company, and re-erected in London.[27] Unfortunately, records of the village are scant. Pictorial images show a garden with a summer house, pavilion, stone lantern and bridge over an artificial pond (Figures 1 & 2). It is also believed to have included a Shinto shrine.[28] These were all structures which appealed to the British thirst for the curious and exotic. This exoticism was enhanced by the surrounding representations of 'domestic life of remote nations',[29] including a Moroccan harem and an Egyptian house where one might have believed they were 'drinking coffee in Cairo'.[30]

In his study of the modern Japanese garden, Toshio Watanabe notes that Japanese gardens were a regular feature at major international exhibitions from the 1870s to the 1960s.[31] According to Watanabe, these large-scale international exhibitions attracted audiences in the millions and were instrumental in constructing imagery of Japanese culture within Europe.[32] By 1878, Japanese artefacts were high fashion in Europe and readily available in retail stores,[33] while the Japanese tea garden had become popular in middle-class English homes.[34] Japan fever was such that, by 1885, a second Japanese

24 See Asquith and Kalland, *Japanese Perceptions of Nature*, for a collection of essays dealing with questions of the Japanese relationship with nature.
25 *ibid*., p. 29.
26 The Japanese section at the 1862 International Exhibition in London did not include a garden.
27 Watanabe, 'The Modern Japanese Garden', p. 348; Halén, *op. cit*., p. 131.
28 Watanabe, 'The Modern Japanese Garden'.
29 Untitled, undated newspaper extract, Alexandra Palace archives, Hornsey Library, London. Although the newspaper report is undated, its contents indicate that it is likely to have been published on or about 1 May 1875.
30 'The Alexandra Palace', *The Times*, 27 April 1874, p. 9.
31 Japanese gardens were featured at expositions in Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876, 1926), Paris (1878, 1889, 1900, 1925), Chicago (1893, 1933), St. Louis (1904), London (1875, 1910), San Francisco (1915, 1939), New York (1939-1940, 1964-1965), Brussels (1958), Seattle (1909, 1962) and Montreal (1967). See Watanabe, 'The Modern Japanese Garden', p. 348.
32 *ibid*.
33 Halén, *op. cit*., p. 134; Kramer, 'Master or Market?', p. 208.
34 Tunnard, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*, p. 91.

village was constructed at South Kensington. Watanabe claims that the garden was probably the most significant phenomenon of twentieth-century Japonisme.[35]

Dresser's views of Japanese art and architecture were fundamental in promoting Japanese art culture as a serious subject of study during the late nineteenth century.[36] By 1879, he was the most active and well-known promoter of Japonisme in Britain and the largest importer of Japanese wares through his personal trading business.[37] He also wielded significant influence in the United States, conducting lectures and interacting with high-profile trade officials and retailers, most notably the jeweller Tiffany and Co. However, he did so from a European Orientalist standpoint which subordinated the objects he appraised to the 'quaint' and 'curious',[38] thus reinforcing European hegemony in Anglo-Japanese relations.

In the context of decorative art, Anna Jackson has criticised Dresser's views, stating they are based on an 'unshakeable belief in the ultimate superiority of Western civilisation' and imply backwardness on the part of the Japanese.[39] She has also criticised Dresser's ideas as reflecting an 'escapist longing by those coming to terms with the complexities of life in the industrialised West'.[40] This statement resonates in the light of Dresser's romantic portrayal of garden beauty described above. Jackson's criticisms contrast with the view of Widar Halén, who asserts that Dresser was instrumental in 'removing the false hegemonic barriers between Western and Oriental art'.[41] It is this author's contention that, while Dresser actively sought to illustrate the value of Japanese art to the Euro-American art world, he did so by entrenching that value in the traditional, not the modern. By fixing imagery of Japanese gardens in the past and seeking the preservation of those aspects of simplicity and purity he so admired, Dresser confined an emerging progressive nation to a static place of relative inferiority. As Elizabeth Kramer notes, nineteenth-century Western commentators on Japanese art possessed:

> a desire to preserve a romantic view…that Japan was inhabited by a people who were by their very nature artistic, whose exotic and singular art was regarded as authentic and of high quality as long as it remained untouched by the introduction of industrial means or market demand.[42]

35 Watanabe, 'The Modern Japanese Garden', p. 349.
36 Halén, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
37 *ibid.*, pp. 135-7; Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
38 Jackson, 'Imagining Japan', p. 247.
39 *ibid.*, p. 250. Jackson here was referring to images created by Dresser of Japanese craftsmen as 'simple, innocent, primitive Japanese' who created beautiful objects as a labour of love.
40 *ibid.*
41 Halén, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.
42 Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

Dresser's references to a 'thoroughly Japanese' and 'purely Japanese' character contributed to the idea that there was such a thing as a Japanese style which could be understood independently as a national aesthetic. This was so, despite his constant likening of Japanese design to Indian, Greek, Egyptian and Chinese styles and his attempts to discern the influences of Buddhism on Japanese art and architecture.[43]

Dresser's views must also be considered in the context of his 1876-7 visit, which was arranged entirely by a new Meiji government eager to impress its Western guest. The tour included visits to esteemed Shinto sites such as Ise Shrine, an audience with the Meiji Emperor, and the rare privilege of viewing the imperial collections in Nara and Kyoto.[44] Dresser's views on Japanese beauty must, therefore, be seen within the highly constructed context of an official agenda promoting government (and imperial) interests. The itinerary limited Dresser's tour to elite residences and gardens, failing to provide him with a balanced view of the architecture and gardens of which he so confidently spoke.

Dresser's commercial interests also add scepticism to his motives. Kramer states that Dresser had much to gain personally in terms of 'cultural capital' for his business, design and literary ventures by visiting Japan.[45]

> In a market hungry for Japanese art, it was financially lucrative to position oneself as knowledgeable of Japanese art and culture and to produce objects inspired by Japan.[46]

Four years after the publication of Dresser's book, the American zoologist, archaeologist and collector Edward Morse (1838-1925) published *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, a work now considered to be the first detailed Western study of Japanese architecture.[47] The book discusses the architectural features of Japanese houses, devoting a whole chapter to the garden.

Originally visiting Japan to study brachiopods, Morse was offered a post as chair of zoology at the Imperial University of Tokyo (1877-80), during which time he became fascinated with the Japanese house and garden. Morse was impressed by what he perceived as the simplicity of the Japanese garden, stating that:

43 Halén, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 138; Dresser, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 149, 203-204.

44 Halén, *op. cit.*, p. 132-133. Dresser was accompanied to Japan by Japanese commissioners Sekisawa Akiko and General Saigo Tsugumichi. His visit was reported on by an official of the Japanese Home Office and later transformed into a book.

45 Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

46 *ibid.*; Halén also claims that Dresser established his 1873 importing business with the aim of selling Japanese wares at the Japanese village at Alexandra Park. Halén, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

47 McNeil, *op. cit.*, p. 281. Morse is said to have been influenced by Dresser's passion for collecting Japanese art objects. Morse also collected Japanese ceramics and teaware. Halén, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

> The secret in a Japanese garden is that they do not attempt too much. That reserve and sense of propriety which characterizes this people in all their decorative and other artistic work are here seen to perfection… [I]n Japan [plots of ground] are rendered charming to the eye by the simplest means.[48]

Morse's impressions stem from a broader base than Dresser's. Unlike Dresser, who attended only Japan's grandest gardens and shrines, Morse visited a range of gardens including imperial and private gardens, those of merchants and priests, and also those of the lower and middle classes. However, Morse's commentary retains much of the Orientalist flavour of Dresser's book. Like the Japanese house, which Morse describes as a 'peculiarly characteristic dwelling',[49] his construct of the Japanese garden possesses a 'peculiar charm'[50] embedded in quaint features such as 'little rustic shelters', the 'delightfully conceived' twist of vines[51] and 'little promontories with stone lanterns'[52] (Figures 3 & 4). He patronises the Japanese with direct statements such as: 'the nation is poor, and…the masses are in poverty…for this reason a Japanese builds such a house as he can afford'.[53] Like Dresser, who painted the Japanese as a curious race, Morse's descriptions have a subordinating effect. They reinforce ideas of Western superiority, simultaneously imposing a medieval backwardness on the Japanese which was inconsistent with modern reality.

Morse's construction of the Japanese garden also includes elements of the sacred and poetic, embedding Japaneseness in the spiritual and refined. For example, Morse quotes the inscription of a legend on a rock tablet from an Omori tea garden famous for its plum blossoms (Figure 3):

> 'The sight of the plum-blossom causes the ink to flow in the writing-room'—meaning that one is inspired to compose poetry under the influence of these surroundings.[54]

Morse was writing at a time of enormous technological and social change in Japan. In the fifteen years preceding his book, Japan had successfully installed its first telegraph line as well as completed a railway link between Tokyo and Yokohama.[55] Morse is aware of these changes yet chooses to cast images of Japaneseness in terms of an ancient romantic idealism completely disconnected from the landscape of the modern age.

48 Morse, *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*, p. 274.
49 *ibid*., p. xxxiii.
50 *ibid*., p. 285.
51 *ibid*., p. 280.
52 *ibid*., p. 285.
53 *ibid*., p. 10.
54 *ibid*., p. 276. Wording of the inscription is as translated in Morse's book.
55 McNeil, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan*, pp. 73-77. Japan installed its first telegraph line in 1869. The Tokyo-Yokohama railway line was completed in 1872.

His nostalgic commentary connotes the imaginings of a people accomplished in composition and calligraphy—pastimes which, at least until Edo times, were the precinct of the cultured nobility and spiritual elite, not the common classes.[56]

Morse admired the Japanese ability to construct miniature gardens, and promoted the rustic elements of garden construction.[57] However, his predominant image of the Japanese garden was of the charming and picturesque, conjuring up romantic notions of ancient legends and poetry. He rejected the 'jigsaw' effect of American gardens and the 'horrors' of the 'taundry glint and tinsel' in the over-decorated dwellings of middle-class American homes which reflected his country's urban reality.[58] Instead he seemed to find escapism in a traditional view of Japanese gardens that constituted not only an exotic charming 'other' but also a refreshingly pleasant romantic image of the simple and pure.

This notion of simplicity in Japanese gardens was strengthened through the teachings of Josiah Conder (1852-1920), an English architect invited to Japan in 1877 to design Western-style buildings for the Japanese government, and who also became a professor at Tokyo's Imperial College of Engineering. Conder led the design of several large modern buildings including the Imperial Museum (1882) in Ueno, Tokyo, and the famous Rokumeikan dance hall (1880-1883), also in Tokyo, earning him a reputation as the 'father of modern Japanese architecture'.[59] In 1893, after 16 years in Japan, Conder wrote *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, a seminal work which brought ideas on the relationship between landscape and architecture in Japan to the West.[60]

Conder's views on gardens projected a Japanese essence: a closeness to nature, simplicity, cleanliness and refinement. He saw the Japanese as 'unrivalled in their genuine love of nature' and possessing a 'manner of observation and enjoyment…peculiar to themselves'.[61] Conder was impressed with the Japanese garden and house as a blended concept and the integration of indoor and outdoor areas through the use of sliding *fusuma* screens and open matted rooms. He was possibly the first person to bring Japanese ideas on the relationship of garden and architecture to Western attention.[62]

56 Kuitert, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Bellah, 'Intellectuals and Society in Japan', pp. 90-91. In the Heian period (794-1192), the cultured nobility of the imperial court used gardens for boating, poetry composition and reading literature. Lyrical poetry was concerned with images of nature and gave an emotional dimension to plants, trees and other things of nature in the garden. In the ensuing Kamakura period (1192-1338), Zen Buddhist priests emphasised spirituality over elegant beauty and used their gardens for meditation rather than leisure activities. Even in the 17th century when tea gardens reached their popular peak, they were favoured by the urban elite rather than the common classes. Kuitert, pp. 254, 258.

57 Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

58 *ibid*., p. 348.

59 Watanabe, 'Josiah Conder's Rokumeikan', p. 22.

60 Basham, *Dovetailing East and West*, p. 71. *Landscape Gardening in Japan* was published in two volumes, Volume One containing text and plates, and Volume Two (known as the Supplement) containing plates only.

61 Conder, *Landscape Gardening in Japan, Vol. 1*, p. 2.

62 Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Conder described the Japanese ideal of beauty as being expressed in asymmetry, as opposed to the 'fundamentally alien' aesthetic of geometrical patterning employed in Western gardens.[63] He also perceived nature as representing an ideal beauty in which the pine tree, plum tree, mountain, lake and waterfall were the standards.[64] The wilder state of gardens which had fallen into disrepair appealed to his tastes for the irregular and ideals of purity. Of Kyoto's fourteenth-century Kinkakuji Temple he said, 'in one spot was a mossy nook from which welled up a natural spring of the purest water',[65] while the fifteenth-century Ginkakuji Temple was described as a place of lotuses and wooded hills with a 'bubbling spring of the purest water'[66] (Figures 5 & 6). Conder's projection of these gardens as peaceful wellsprings of pure, untamed beauty ignored historical realities. Kinkakuji Temple was a massive display of wealth comprising ten buildings and a seven-storey pagoda built by the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, and Ginkakuji Temple was a self-indulgent palace constructed by Yoshimitsu's grandson, Yoshimasa, during the post-Ōnin War poverty and social chaos in Kyoto.[67]

Conder emphasised purity as a Japanese element of garden design. He noted that Japanese gardens were rarely 'disfigured by hybrid and incongruous elements' as compared with the exotic but unfamiliar combinations of nineteenth-century English gardens.[68] He believed careful consideration of aesthetic elements such as scale, proportion, unity, balance and congruity, together with the avoidance of overcrowding or embellishment and the consistent use of materials from within Japan allowed the Japanese gardener to achieve a simplicity and purity of style.[69] He spoke of the profound serenity resulting when a clever artistic balance between rocks, hills and water was achieved,[70] and praised the 'unified single composition' which he believed gave Japanese art a rank and importance surpassing other styles.[71]

Conder identified aesthetic elements of 'extreme simplicity', a 'scrupulous cleanliness' and the 'appearance of antiquity' in the tea garden, describing the tea ceremony itself as the 'cultivation of simplicity and gentleness of manners'.[72] He also observed functionality in the use of garden stones, such as the ability to support a kettle, candlestick or lantern, or the use

63 Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
64 *ibid.*, p. 2.
65 *ibid.*, p. 22.
66 *ibid.*, p. 23.
67 The Ōnin War (1467-1477) destroyed most of Kyoto, leaving many people starving. Ignoring the suffering of his people, Yoshimitsu built Ginkakuji Temple entirely for his own indulgent pleasures. Special features included a white sanded area from which he could view the garden by moonlight and indulge in fantasies of the moon and gods. In the process of construction of the palace, a graveyard was dismantled. Goto, *The Japanese Garden*, pp. 138-145.
68 Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
69 *ibid.*, p. 7, 9.
70 *ibid.*, p. 95.
71 *ibid.*, p. 12.
72 *ibid.*, p. 147.

of a hollow stone for the washing of hands.[73] He noted that tea gardens expressed different sentiments but shared a common 'character of wilderness and sequestered solitude'.[74]

For Conder, the Japanese garden was 'at once a picture and a poem', a place of retreat for 'secluded ease and meditation' reflecting the temperament, sentiments and occupation of the owner.[75] Thus, the garden of a priest or poet may express a character of 'dignified solitude, virtue, and self-denial', while a samurai's garden should be of 'bold, martial character'.[76]

Conder's construction of the Japanese garden in terms of idealised beauty, simplicity and serenity depicted Japan as a nostalgic place where poets and priests led philosophical lives among rocks and lakes representing natural elements. Even his image of a samurai-owned garden was an outdated one of stylised heroism, the samurai having been a military force under the previous Tokugawa shogunate and occupying a considerably less-powerful and relatively impecunious position under the new Meiji regime. His vision of purity can be seen as a nostalgic rejection of modern European landscape design, which he saw as creating a 'confused variety of fanciful scenes' vulgar to the eye.[77]

In her book *Discourses of the Vanishing*, Marilyn Ivy discusses the question of Japan's national-cultural identity in terms of a search within Japan for a lost past or a 'vanishing auratic'.[78] She argues that assertions of a pure or unique Japanese national-cultural identity have in part been driven by desires to preserve tradition in the face of an age of electronic reproduction.[79] She cites the Noh theatre and tea ceremony as examples of Japan's 'refined high culture' which have been preserved by the Japanese as icons of Japaneseness.[80] Thus, she says, nostalgia for the premodern is an appealing motivator for the preservation of tradition and the assertion of a traditional national-cultural identity in the modern age.

I would argue that this logic can be applied to Western observations of Japan's garden landscape during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That is, in the same way that repetitions of traditional practice in Japan today act as reminders to the Japanese of a time when tradition played a significant role, premodern images of a poetic, spiritual and beautiful Japan appealed to the nostalgic need of Western architects to revisit their own lost pasts and, in so doing, escape the realities of a more caustic industrial age. Susan Napier makes this connection in a literary context when she states:

73 *ibid*., p. 54. Conder also noted the religious meanings of particular stones as well as the attachment of auspicious meanings; *ibid*., pp. 46-55.
74 *ibid*., p. 17.
75 *ibid*., p. 9.
76 *ibid*.
77 *ibid*., p. 6.
78 Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing*, p. 12.
79 *ibid*.
80 *ibid*., p. 11.

> [A] kind of 'aesthetic utopia' can be found in premodern Japan in The *Tale of Genji* which speaks nostalgically of a vanished world of an elite in possession of aesthetically, if not morally, superior accomplishment.[81]

Conder was pioneering in his promotion of Japanese concepts such as indoor-outdoor architecture. However, he trivialised the complex and sophisticated web of influences that had come to bear on Japanese landscape design through his use of expressions such as a 'charming system of ethics' and a 'quaint philosophy'.[82] This had the effect of subordinating the very art he so admired.

Western Interpretations of the Japanese Garden, 1912-1930s

European architects continued to visit Japan in the early twentieth century. Notably, these include the Czech Antonin Raymond, who assisted Frank Lloyd Wright with the construction of the Imperial Hotel, and Viennese-born Richard Neutra.[83] However, it is the German architect Bruno Taut (1880-1938) whose writings are most instructive in relation to Japanese gardens. Fleeing Nazi Germany, Taut arrived in Japan in 1933 where he spent three years employed as an advisor to the Industrial Arts Research Institute. His writings concentrate predominantly on the architectural structures in Japanese gardens, only referring incidentally to the gardens themselves, but are significant in their creation of new meanings for what was considered Japanese.

Taut was the first foreign architect to critically question what was essentially Japanese and acknowledge Korean and Chinese influences on Japanese arts. In a forthright lecture on Japanese architecture presented to the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* in 1935, he declared Japan's era of exoticism over, claiming prehistoric artefacts had failed to reveal any peculiar Japanese characteristics in craftsmanship or in the design of houses. Rather, Taut asserted that the houses pictured on these artefacts bore features shared with those of other countries such as the Scandinavian nations and Germany.[84]

For Taut, the closest example of indigenous Japaneseness came in the form of Ise Shrine, which he declared to be the most 'Japanese' of all things in Japan.[85] This was the first time Ise's architectural beauty had been openly praised by a Western visitor.[86] He placed the shrine on a par with the Parthenon, noting its simplicity and supreme use of natural

81 Napier, *The Logic of Inversion*, p. 4.
82 Conder, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 8.
83 McNeil, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
84 Taut, *Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture*, p. 14.
85 *ibid.*, p. 15.
86 Previous Western visitors to Ise Shrine, such as Isabella Bird, Ralph Cram and Basil Chamberlain, had dismissed it as architecturally insignificant. Reynolds, 'Ise Shrine', pp. 320-321.

materials, as well as its functionalist value.[87] The blending of landscape and architecture provided an authenticity which appealed to Taut. Jonathan Reynolds observes that 'the way the buildings at Ise harmonised with their natural surroundings stood in stark contrast to the artifice of European Victorian architecture'.[88]

Similarly, Taut declared the seventeenth-century Katsura Villa and gardens in Kyoto an 'eternal beauty'[89] representing 'the standard Japanese architecture for the world':[90]

> Only at Katsura does there exist that overwhelming freedom of intellect which does not subordinate any element of the structure or the garden to some rigid system.[91]

In contrast, Taut categorised the structures of Tōshōgū at Nikkō—praised so heavily by Dresser fifty years before—as 'bad art' bearing 'an overabundance of ornamentation and ostentation' and 'undigested importation'[92] (Figure 7).

Taut has been criticised for pursuing a utopian image of serenity and natural beauty consistent with tradition rather than with twentieth-century architectural practice.[93] According to McNeil, Taut deplored Japan's urban modernity, labelling the post-earthquake buildings of Tokyo which mixed European and Japanese styles as hideous monstrosities.[94] Thus, rather than ignoring Japan's modernisation as the late Victorian observers had, Taut 'vilified' it.[95]

Taut's influence was significant in drawing a distinction between what was *honmono* (authentic) and *ikamono* (kitsch),[96] or as Taut put it, 'the critical question … as to which elements of Japan's culture are essentially Japanese in character and which are not'.[97] In so doing he created new codes for describing Japanese architecture. Taut contributed to a devaluation of the heavily decorated style of Tōshōgū Shrine[98] and a new aesthetic appreciation for the simpler, cleaner styles of Ise Shrine and Katsura Villa.[99]

87 Isozaki, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
88 Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
89 Taut, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
90 *ibid.*, p. 19.
91 *ibid.*
92 *ibid.*, pp. 18-19, 21.
93 McNeil, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
94 *ibid.*, p. 284.
95 *ibid.*, p. 282.
96 Isozaki, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
97 Taut, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
98 Isozaki, *op. cit.*
99 Ise Shrine had previously been valued as a religious symbol, while the Katsura Villa had never before been opened to the public and, therefore, had not been recognised.

Taut's views coincided with the growing idealisation of imperial rule in Japan during the 1930s,[100] as well as new thinking on the concept of Japaneseness. It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss the internal promotion of ideas of uniqueness by the Japanese themselves. However, it is worth mentioning that the projection of the value of beauty by Taut contributed to an aesthetic re-evaluation within Japan, which in turn created new benchmarks for what was internally promoted as Japanese.

Finally, I would like to discuss the influence of Canadian-born, British-trained horticulturist Christopher Tunnard (1910-1979). Tunnard is regarded in America as the first major educator on the subject of Japanese gardens in the English-speaking world.[101] In Britain his work was also influential, although it did not receive the same positive attention there as in the United States.[102]

Tunnard worked with Wells Coates, an architectural engineer born in Japan. Influenced by Bernard Leach's teachings on Eastern art and Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan*,[103] Tunnard expressed his views on Japanese landscape gardening in a series of articles written in 1937 for the British *Architectural Review.* These formed the basis for his book, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*, published the following year. In a section titled 'The Oriental Aesthetic',[104] Tunnard hailed the Japanese as possessing a 'genius for building' and exercising 'great skill' in the use of native materials, spatial management and distribution of rooms.[105] Like Conder, Tunnard praised the sliding-folding window for breaking down the 'rigid barrier between house and garden'[106] (Figures 8 & 9). He implored modern Western architects to change their ideology, declaring, 'our gardens have a new mission—to fulfil the need for an affinity with Nature'.[107]

Like Conder, Tunnard compared the asymmetrical design of Japanese gardens with the symmetrical layout of European landscape gardens. He saw beauty as Taut had in unembellished design, praising the simplicity and uncluttered quality of Japanese rooms which he contrasted with the 'bulging Victorian curio cabinet'.[108] He also praised the restrained use of colour in Japanese gardens which he believed contributed to an 'extreme simplicity of effect'.[109]

100 *ibid*., p. 14.
101 Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America*, p. 190.
102 Basham, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.
103 *ibid*., pp. 178, 180.
104 The title 'The Oriental Aesthetic' appears in the original 1938 edition of Tunnard's book but is omitted from the 1948 edition. Apart from the title, the contents of the Japanese section are identical in both editions. Page references in this paper have been taken from the 1948 edition.
105 Tunnard, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
106 *ibid*., pp. 90-91.
107 *ibid*., p. 89.
108 *ibid*., p. 87.
109 *ibid*., p. 90.

However, Tunnard's overriding praise was for the Japanese ability to merge identity with nature and to unify habitation within the environment.[110] Thus, he supported the idea of the garden as a place for use as much as visual appeal. He called for European gardens and landscapes to be 'humanised' in accordance with needs of the twentieth century and appealed to European designers to discard the 'old clothes' of the past age and 'absorb the Oriental aesthetic'.[111]

Despite his outwardly modernist views, Tunnard reinforced traditional ideas of simplicity, beauty and spirituality in his formulation of the Japanese garden. He also re-emphasised the notion of a special Japanese affinity with nature, stating, 'the truth which the Orient now reveals is that his identity is not separate from Nature and his fellow-beings, but is at one with her and them'.[112]

Thus, like Dresser, Tunnard perpetuated a way of thinking that intertwined Japanese aesthetics with the idea of an intrinsic Japanese affinity for nature. This essentialism has been well-touted in theories of Japanese uniqueness (*nihonjinron*). However, as Tessa Morris-Suzuki articulates in her chapter on nature in *Re-Inventing Japan*, the relationship between the Japanese and their natural surroundings cannot be reduced to a single essentialism.[113] In the Edo period, she asserts, there were differences in opinion among Japanese thinkers as to the human relationship with nature, with one school viewing man and nature as one, and the other seeking to utilise the natural world for economic benefit.[114]

Tunnard continued Orientalist rhetoric by proclaiming there was such a thing as an 'Oriental aesthetic' and positioned the 'Oriental' in opposition to the 'European' in his commentary. Unlike Taut, he did not question external influences on the Japanese design, thereby perpetuating the idea of a singular Japanese style.

Conclusion

Western authorities between the 1870s and 1930s defined the Japanese garden as possessing a number of aesthetic values. These included beauty, simplicity, refinement, functionality, rusticity, spirituality and harmony. In so doing they fixed notions of Japaneseness within traditional boundaries, evoking images of Heian-period court life and Buddhist and Shinto rituals. In this way, characteristics such as beauty and

110 *ibid*., p. 88.
111 *ibid*., p. 92.
112 *ibid*., p. 88.
113 Morris-Suzuki, *op. cit*., pp. 35-59.
114 *ibid*., pp. 40-46.

refinement, which were appropriate descriptions for Heian gardens, were transcribed to an appreciation of gardens in the modern era. Further, the values of a narrow cultured elite were generically grafted onto a modern Japanese society operating in a new technological age. The aesthetics of Japanese beauty and simplicity appealed to these architects who were 'seeking alternatives to the British mid-nineteenth-century obsession with the Gothic revival'.[115] The perception of Japanese gardens as gentle, clean and harmonious places conjuring up romantic associations of noble court life and spirituality presented a welcome contrast to the mass production and urban realities of European and American industrialised cities. In projecting their views of Japaneseness in landscape design, what became defined as modern in the international world was actually the highly traditional.

In continually using terminology such as 'Japanese design', 'Japanese style' or 'the Oriental aesthetic', Western authorities contributed to the development of the idea of the Japanese garden as a singular, unitary construct possessing a distinctive cultural style. They ignored historical realities, such as the influence of Buddhism and other Chinese influences on landscape design in Japan, which make the concept of a purely Japanese garden style an impossibility. Taut came the closest to identifying an indigenous Japanese style in the Shinto-based architecture of Ise. In so doing, he rooted Japaneseness in the premodern rather than the modern, a conception that was to prove highly influential in the international architectural movement in the mid-1900s.[116]

The changing values and meanings associated with gardens in Japan render any attempt to ascribe essential aesthetic characteristics such as spirituality, simplicity and beauty to a singular notion of a Japanese garden futile. Gardens in Japan have been used for different purposes, with different levels of spiritual connection and varying philosophical bases. Before 1600, they were the precinct of the cultured elite, government and religious groups, and had little connection with the common people. Thus, observations of premodern gardens—at least those created prior to the Edo period—cannot be used to draw assumptions about a general Japaneseness in gardens. These important distinctions have a strong bearing on how Western interpretations of the Japanese garden can be understood.

Narrowed to essentialisms, Western views of Japanese gardens promoted during the Meiji and prewar eras refuse to acknowledge many of the realities behind the beautiful facades of Japan's gardens. In highlighting the relationship between garden and architecture, Western commentators reinforced the idea of the Japanese possessing a special affinity with nature.

115 Sparke, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
116 Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

The continual positioning of Japanese style against Western models also reinforced the notion of Japan as a unitary cultural construct only existing in relation to another construct, 'the West'. One way Edward Said defined Orientalism was in terms of an 'ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority'.[117] It is questionable whether Said's theory can be applied to Japan, a nation outside the scope of his Middle Eastern focus and one which was not subject to colonial or imperial rule by the West. However, to the extent that Said highlights the presumed authority and superiority Europeans adopted in their quest for knowledge about their (Middle) Eastern colonial subjects, his ideas do resonate to some degree with Western interaction with Japan during the Meiji and interwar eras.

In referring to the 'charming' and 'quaint', Western observers of Japanese gardens in the Meiji era suggested a way of thinking that perpetuated the notion of Japan as the Other, a curious and peculiar subject to be studied and known by an authoritative West. However, at the same time, these observers offered great praise for a Japanese style of garden, saluting many aspects which were not seen in Europe and, in many cases, encouraging Europeans to adopt the Japanese way. This admiration had the effect of elevating appreciation of Japanese architecture and landscape design both outside and within Japan and contributing to the incorporation of many Japanese features into modern architectural and garden design in the Western world.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to thank Professor Christopher (Rusty) Tunnard for kind permission to reproduce photographs by his father, Christopher Tunnard.

117 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 42.

Figure 1. The Japanese village at Alexandra Park, 1875 (*The Official Guide to the Alexandra Palace and Park*, p. 2)

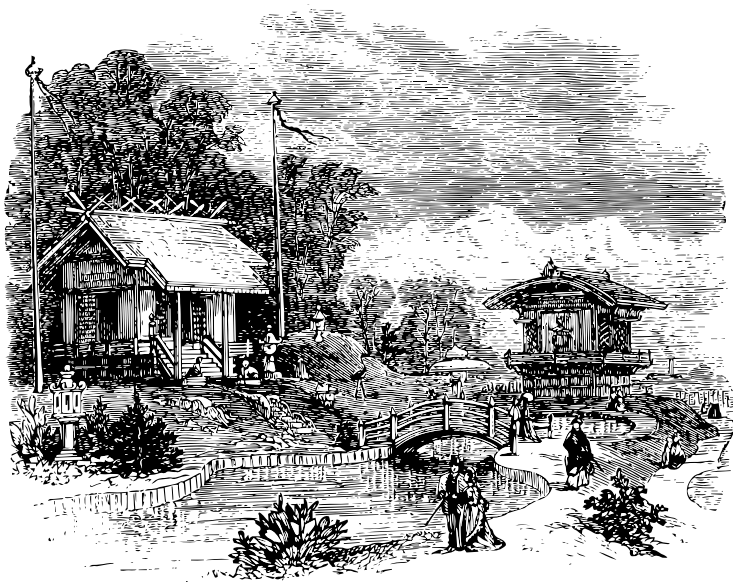


Figure 2. Summer house, pavilion and garden features from the Japanese village, Alexandra Park, 1885 (Archival material, Hornsey Library, London [detail])

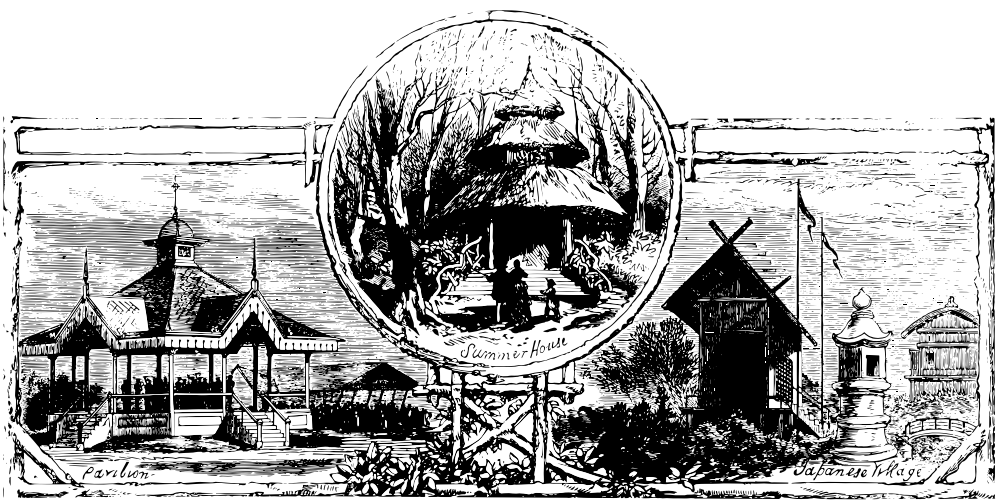


Figure 3. Garden tablet inscribed with legend (Morse, p.279)

Fig. 263. — Garden Tablet.

Figure 4. Example of 'rusticity' and 'quaintness': a garden bridge observed by Morse (Morse, p. 279)

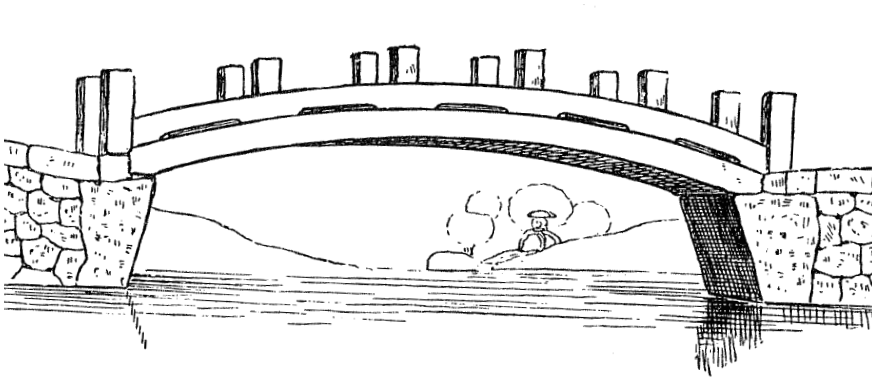


Fig. 269. — Stone Foot-bridge.

Figure 5. The romantic beauty of Kinkakuji Garden, as seen by Conder (Conder, *Landscape Gardening in Japan, Vol. 2*, Plate VIII)

Figure 6. Lake and pavilion at Ginkakuji, as admired by Conder (*ibid.*, Plate IX)

Figure 7. Heavy ornate detail of Tōshōgū Shrine in Nikkō, decried by Taut as 'bad art' (Dresser, p. 206)

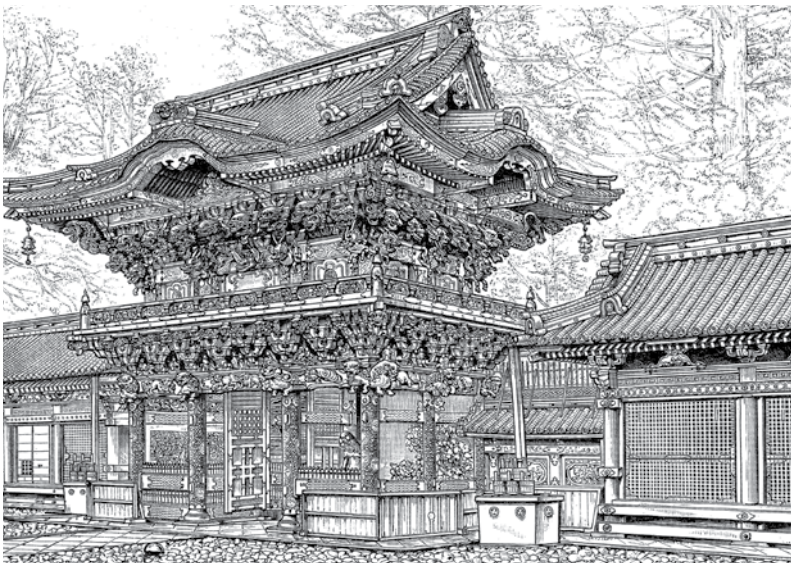


Figure 8. The blended indoor-outdoor style heralded by Tunnard (Tunnard, p. 89)

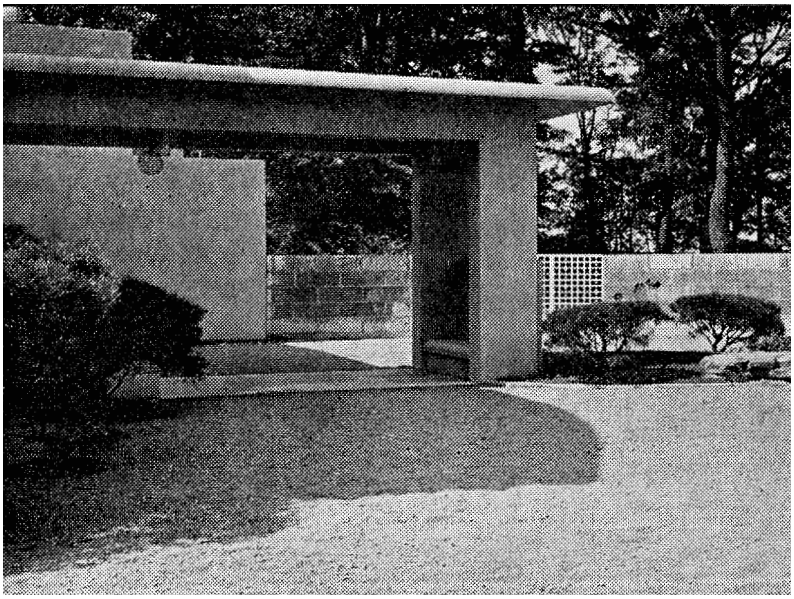
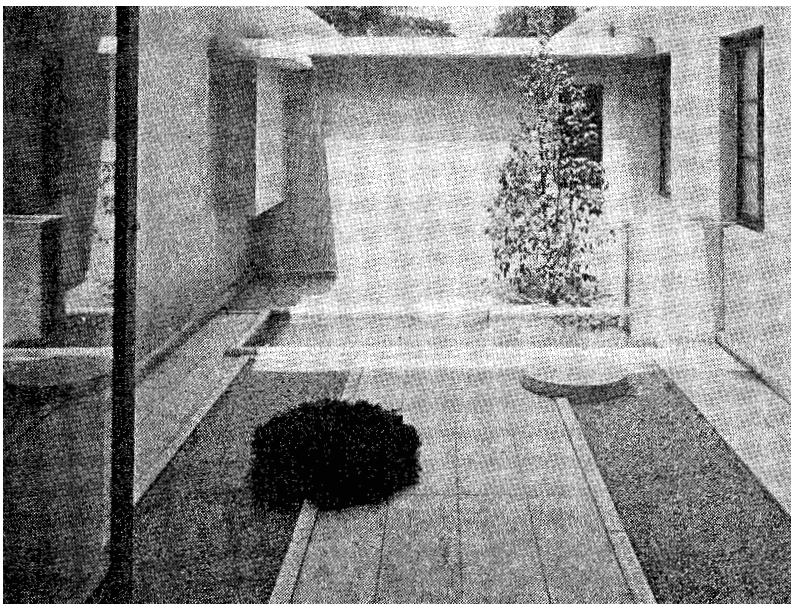


Figure 9. (As above)



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The Effects of Prior Language Knowledge in Japanese Acquisition as a Foreign Language: The Case of the Japanese Noun Modifier *No*

Sally Chan
The University of New South Wales

Abstract

The misuse of the Japanese noun modifier *no* has been observed over decades. Recent research investigating learners of Japanese as a foreign language with Chinese as their first language (L1) presented evidence of negative language transfer. This study aims to replicate the findings of a quantitative study conducted in Japan that investigated the misuse of *no* through assessing Chinese, Korean and English L1 learners of Japanese who reside in Sydney, Australia. These learners were tested in both instantaneous production and production with no time restriction. Given that the Chinese language contains a corresponding noun modifier 的 (*de*), the results showed a significant negative language transfer in the Chinese L1 group. This and other results will be discussed.

Keywords

foreign language acquisition; negative language transfer; noun modifier *no*; prior language knowledge

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Introduction

The ability to acquire new languages is affected by an individual's past language knowledge and experiences.[1] Speakers of Chinese, Korean and English as their first language constitute approximately 57% of Japanese language learners across the world.[2] Much literature has examined the effects of these three languages on the acquisition of Japanese, particularly from the perspective of language transfer.[3]

Language transfer is the effect of any knowledge of the learner's first language or other prior language knowledge (Lp) that has been 'transferred' or applied by the learner, either consciously or subconsciously, in the acquisition and/or in the construction process of the target language (TL).[4] Of the two main types of language transfer, negative language transfer is the production of unusual or 'un-native-like' forms of the target language of which may resemble other already acquired language(s). For example, there are reported observations of the misuse of the Japanese term 生きる (*ikiru*; to live (the state of being alive)) for 住む (*sumu*; to live (to reside at a location)) by English first-language (L1) learners;[5] for example, 'シドニーに生きている' (*Shidonii ni ikiteiru*; literally, 'I am alive in Sydney').[6] This is a result of negative language transfer from English to Japanese, where the English 'to live' has a wider semantic field than the Japanese '*ikiru*'.

This study aims to replicate a study conducted in Japan by Okuno,[7] which investigated the misuse of the Japanese noun modifier *no* by Chinese, Korean and English L1 speakers. By examining a sample of Japanese learners residing in Sydney, Australia, this study confirms that negative language transfer is the process underlying this misuse.

This article will first review past research related to the Japanese noun modifier *no*, and outline the research methodology. The results will then be presented and examined in light of negative language transfer, followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study. Lastly, the study will be summarised in the concluding section with reference to some directions for future research.

1 Ellis, *The Study of Second Language Acquisition* (2nd ed.).
2 The Japan Foundation, *Survey Report on Japanese-language Education Abroad 2009.*
3 For example: Koyama, 'Rentai shūshoku kōzō'; Okuno, *Dai ni gengo shūtoku;* Peng, *Gaikokujin wo nayamaseru nihongo*; Sakoda, 'Dai ni gengo shūtoku'; Shirahata, 'Seijin dai ni gengo'; Shirahata, 'Rentai shūshoku kōzō'; Shirahata, 'Yōji no dai ni gengo.'
4 Odlin, *Language Transfer.*
5 Learners of Japanese with English as first language (English L1 learners); learners of Japanese with Chinese as first language (Chinese L1 learners); learners of Japanese with Korean as their first language (Korean L1 learners) and so forth.
6 Peng, *op. cit.*
7 Okuno, *op. cit.*

The Japanese Noun Modifier No

Evidence of negative language transfer has been found in studies concerning the misuse of the Japanese noun modifier *no* (の). The Japanese noun modifier *no* is a particle that indicates ownership, for example, 車の色 (*kuruma no iro*; the colour of the car), and its usage is restricted to cases following a noun, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Examples of the Uses of the Japanese *No*

	Noun-modifying phrase	**True adjective phrase**	**Noun-adjective phrase**	**Verbal phrase**
Japanese	車の色は赤です。 *Kuruma no iro wa aka desu.*	小さい犬 は可愛いです。 *Chiisai inu wa kawaii desu.*	そのきれいな人は先生です。 *Sono kirei na hito wa sensei desu.*	寝ている猫はブーちゃんです。 *Neteiru neko wa buuchan desu.*
English translation	The colour of the car is red.	Small dogs are cute.	The beautiful person there is the teacher.	The cat which is sleeping is Bu-chan.

However, its misuse has often been observed.[8] There are four main misuse categories in relation to this noun modifier, as shown in Table 2.[9]

Table 2. Four Categories of Misuse Related to the Noun Modifier *No*

	Noun-modifying phrase	**True adjective phrase**	**Noun-adjective phrase**	**Verbal phrase**
Observed misuse	車色は赤です。 *Kuruma iro wa aka desu.*	小さいの犬 は可愛いです。 *Chiisai **no** inu wa kawaii desu.*	そのきれいの人は先生です。 *Sono kirei **no** hito wa sensei desu.*	寝ているの猫はブーちゃんです。 *Neteiru **no** neko wa buuchan desu.*
English translation	The colour the car is red.	Small dogs**'** are cute.	The beautiful**'s** person there is the teacher.	The cat which is **of** sleeping is Bu-chan.

In the case of noun precedence, the *no* is observed to have been omitted, whereas in the case of the true adjective and verbal phrase, the particle *no* was observed to have

8 Clancy, 'The Acquisition of Japanese'; Okuno, *op. cit.*.; Sakoda, *op. cit.*; Shirahata, 'Seijin dai ni gengo'; Shirahata, 'Rentai shūshoku kōzō'; Shirahata, 'Yōji no dai ni gengo.'

9 English translations have been provided to give a rough equivalent of the misuse.

been inappropriately added. Lastly, in the case of the noun-adjective, *no* has been observed to replace *na* (な).

The above misuses have been observed in conversation data amongst learners of Japanese from different first-language backgrounds, such as Korean, Chinese, English, Malaysian and Thai, as well as among children acquiring Japanese as their first language,[10] which is suggested to be a developmental error.[11] Taking Japanese-language proficiency into consideration, a meta-analysis of conversation data revealed a bell-curve trend in the number of observed misuses. The number peaks around the intermediate proficiency level, begins to decline as learners reach the advanced level, and falls close to zero at the professional (superior) level of proficiency.[12] However, Sakoda reports an exception.[13] Chinese L1 learners have demonstrated the misuse even at stages of advanced and professional proficiency. This is attributed to 'interference', or the negative language transfer of prior language knowledge of the Chinese character 的 (*de*), which carries an equivalent meaning to that of the Japanese noun modifier *no* but differs in usage (see Table 3).

Table 3. Examples of the Equivalent of the Noun Modifier *No* for Different Languages[14]

Language	Noun-modifying phrase	True adjective phrase	Noun-adjective phrase	Verbal phrase
Japanese	車**の**色 *Kuruma no iro*	小さい犬 *Chiisai inu*	きれいな人 *Kirei na hito*	寝ている猫 *Neteiru neko*
Chinese	车**的**颜色 *Che **de** yanse*	很小**的**狗 *Hen xiao **de** gou*	美丽**的**人 *Mei li **de** ren*	在睡**的**猫 *Zai shui **de** mao*
Korean	자동차(의)색상 *Ja-dong-cha (ui) saek-ssang*	작은 개 *Ja-geun gae*	예쁜 사람 *Ye-ppeun sa-ram*	자고있는 고양이 *Ja-go-in-neun go-yang-i*
English	The colour **of** the car	A small dog	A beautiful person	The cat which is sleeping OR the sleeping cat

10 Clancy, *op. cit.*; Koyama, *op. cit.*; Murasugi, *Noun Phrase in Japanese and English*; Murasugi and Hashimoto, 'Yōji ni mirareru meishiku de no nishurui no kajō seisei'; Nagano, 'Yōji no gengo hattatsu'; Okuno, *op. cit.*; Sakoda, *op. cit.*; Shirahata, 'Seijin dai ni gengo'; Shirahata, 'Rentai shūshoku kōzō'; Shirahata, 'Yōji no dai ni gengo'; Yokoyama, 'Yōji no rentai shūshoku.'

11 Developmental errors are 'errors that are normal occurrences in the course of learning either a first or second language' (Odlin, *op. cit.*, p. 166).

12 Koyama, *op. cit.*; Sakoda, *op. cit.*

13 Sakoda, *op. cit.*

14 Based on Okuno, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

The Chinese *de* is distinctive from Japanese, Korean and English equivalents in that, in addition to nouns, it can also follow adjectives and verbs. Thus, this conflicting usage between Chinese and Japanese may have delayed or even prevented the successful acquisition and/or production of the correct use of *no* by Chinese L1 learners. However, Sakoda's results were limited for the following reasons: the results were binary coded (yes or no misuse) and thus the quantitative information was discarded; the study was cross-sectional and therefore changes cannot be tracked over time; and as qualitative research offers limited scope for assessing the significance of data, the results lack convincing empirical evidence.

Inspired by Sakoda's research, two further studies were conducted by Okuno to confirm the effects of negative language transfer of the Chinese *de*.[15] The first study was a qualitative longitudinal study where Oral Proficiency Interviews (OPIs) held with professionally trained and qualified OPI assessors were recorded and transcribed to determine Japanese language proficiency and observe misuse in learners' speech.[16] All subjects (29 in total) were Japanese language learners on exchange in Japan who were L1 speakers of Chinese (11), English (6), Spanish (1), French (1), German (3) and Korean (7). OPIs were held before (pre-course) and after (post-course) university courses at two local universities in Japan. Subjects were ranked across proficiency levels (beginner, intermediate or advanced) and within each level (lower, middle or upper).

The results showed the following:

1. Subjects who were ranked as beginners pre-course (5 Chinese and 2 English L1 learners) did not demonstrate much use of *no*. After achieving intermediate proficiency, misuse was observed in five of these seven students in post-course OPIs, regardless of their first language.

2. Subjects who were ranked as intermediate pre-course (6 Chinese, 4 English, 1 French, 1 Spanish and 3 German) also demonstrated misuse, regardless of their first language. However, among subjects with advanced proficiency post-course, more Chinese L1 learners demonstrated misuse across the four grammatical categories of misuse identified above.

Similar to Korean and English L1 learners, French, Spanish and German L1 learners used the Japanese *no* equivalent only after nouns, and in the Spanish and French case, also after verbs. The above results demonstrated trajectories of change in misuse over

15 *ibid.*
16 *ibid.*, p. 74-93.

the learners' progress from beginner to advanced proficiency, confirming the results of Sakoda. Furthermore, they provided indication for negative language transfer of Chinese, at least for advanced learners.

To overcome the limitations of the qualitative nature of previous research, Okuno's second study used a quantitative approach.[17] Firstly, OPIs were conducted to determine the Japanese-language proficiency level of 30 university students or graduates with Chinese, Korean and English L1 (10 per group). Negative language transfer was examined using the Instantaneous Response Judgement Test (IRJT) introduced by Okuno.[18] The IRJT is a listening test comprising manipulated sentences that include both misuses and correct uses of *no*. It aims to assess the subject's language knowledge at a subliminal level through restricting response time and increasing the cognitive load.[19] Cognitive load is imposed on the subjects by the need to simultaneously process both audio and visual information to judge the grammaticality of the sentences.

In addition to assessing subliminal knowledge, conscious knowledge was also assessed using a written version of the IRJT, namely, the self-paced Written Test (WT), where the auditory component of the test is removed and sufficient time is given for subjects to complete the test at their own pace. The WT aims to verify that subjects have acquired all relevant language knowledge and ability necessary to identify and correct misuse.

In comparing the performance of Korean and Chinese L1 learners, the Chinese L1 learners demonstrated significant difficulty in recognising misuse in the verbal phrase category of the IRJT. This was despite WT results indicating that both Chinese and Korean learners had the same level of correctly acquired conscious language knowledge of grammar. No difference was found amongst the performance of the Chinese and English L1 groups.

From this, and in line with past studies,[20] Okuno postulated that the misuse of *no* emerges as a developmental error at the intermediate level across language groups, similar to that found during first-language acquisition in Japanese children.[21] Negative language transfer appears to affect Chinese L1 learners as proficiency advances, and only in the verb category. However, there are several limitations to this study. Firstly, empirical evidence from one study is insufficient to suggest negative language transfer as the cause of misuse. Furthermore, negative language transfer should be assessed in consideration

17 Okuno, *op. cit.*, p. 96-111.
18 *ibid*., p. 99.
19 Cognitive load was suggested to increase the dependence on subliminal or better learnt knowledge (Lp) and increase the likelihood of negative language transfer (see Shirai, 'Conditions on Transfer').
20 Koyama, *op. cit.*; Shirahata, 'Seijin dai ni gengo'; Shirahata, 'Rentai shūshoku kōzō'; Shirahata, 'Yōji no dai ni gengo.'
21 Clancy, *op. cit.*; Murasugi, *op. cit.*; Murasugi and Hashimoto, *op. cit.*; Nagano, *op. cit.*

of the following: '1) intra-group homogeneity, 2) inter-group heterogeneity and 3) similarities between the native language [Lp] and interlanguage performance'.[22] Okuno's study did not reveal inter-group heterogeneity between the Chinese and English groups, and did not demonstrate negative language transfer despite the fact that Chinese also utilises *de* following an adjective (see Table 3). Moreover, the effectiveness of the IRJT was not clear. Lastly, Okuno and Sakoda's studies were conducted in Japan with subjects who had lived in Japan for at least six months at the time of participation and had no other prior language knowledge apart from their mother-tongue and Japanese.

This study firstly aimed to investigate the misuse of *no* by Chinese, Korean and English L1 learners of Japanese to determine whether negative language transfer underlies the misuse and to assess whether the misuse is prominent in only the verb category by replicating Okuno's study using a sample from outside of Japan. Secondly, an additional group of Japanese L1 speakers was added to offer insights regarding the learners of Japanese and to identify potential inadequacies of the IRJT. The major difference between this study and Okuno's is that the participants in this study are studying at an Australian university using English. This means Chinese and Korean L1 learners in the new study are also functionally fluent in English. Lastly, the results from the current study will be contrasted with Okuno's, with special consideration for the English knowledge of the participants.

Based on the above aims, the research questions are as follows:

1. Does the advanced Chinese L1 learner group perform significantly more poorly in recognising misuse of *no* in the four categories (true adjective, noun-adjective, verbal and noun-modifying phrase), compared with the advanced Korean L1 and English L1 groups?

2. If there is observed poorer performance, is this due to the participants not having acquired and/or being unable to apply the relevant grammar knowledge to *no*?

3. Are these results different from the results of Okuno?

4. Are there differences in the performance of the three L1 groups when compared with the group of Japanese native speakers?

22 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

If the Chinese L1 group does perform significantly worse than the Korean and English L1 groups on the IRJT without differences in the WT, then misuse may be attributable to negative language transfer. If comparatively poorer performances in Chinese L1 groups are only found in the verbal phrase, as suggested by Okuno's study, then negative language transfer may be specific only to errors in one category despite the rules relating to the use of *de* in Chinese. If no differences are found, this may indicate that English as a second language has impacted on Japanese-language acquisition and/or production.

Research Methodology

In contrast to the mainly qualitative approach of past research on this topic, this study employed a quantitative approach based on Okuno's second study. Ethics approval for this study was granted by the University of New South Wales Ethics Committee in November 2011.

Design

This study employed a 4x4 design. The independent variables are the subjects' first language (i.e. Chinese, Korean, English or Japanese) and the four categories of misuse of *no*: the omission of *no* after nouns (noun-modifying phrase), the addition of *no* after a true adjective phrase, the addition of *no* after verbs (verbal phrase) and substitution of *no* for *na* in noun-adjective phrases. The dependent variables are the number of correct uses and the number of misuses of *no* correctly judged in the IRJT and WT.

Participants

Twenty-eight current students and graduates of the University of New South Wales and University of Sydney either enrolled in, or having completed, advanced-level Japanese courses equivalent to Level N2 or above of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test[23] were recruited to participate in this study. The level of proficiency was confirmed by the Simple Performance-Oriented Test (SPOT).[24] The participants were Chinese L1 learners (9), Korean L1 learners (5), English L1 learners (9) and Japanese L1 learners (5).

23 For information on the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, see http://www.jlpt.jp/e/about/index.html.

24 See Ford-Niwa et al., 'Bunpō kōmoku chōtō nōryoku to onsei kankyō'; Hashimoto, 'Nihongo gakusei no SPOT tokuten'; Kobayashi et al., 'Nihongo nōryoku kan'i shiken (SPOT) no tokuten bunpūkeikō.'

Instruments

Three testing instruments and a questionnaire were employed to conduct this study. SPOT is a simple listening test that requires participants to fill in the missing *hiragana* character, as shown in Example 1.[25]

Example 1.

田中(たなか)さんはもうすぐ来(く)る(　　)ずです。

Tanaka san wa mou sugu kuru (　) zu desu

Lit. " Tanaka Mr [particle] very soon come (shou)ld is"

SPOT is comprised of ten practice and 60 test questions. *Furigana* was supplied for all *kanji* characters.[26]

A second listening test, the main instrument for measuring the recognition of *no*, is Okuno's IRJT.[27] As discussed above, the IRJT aims to assess the subjects' subliminal or better-learnt Japanese-language knowledge through their ability to instantaneously respond to auditory cues in a restricted time frame.[28]

The IRJT consists of two sections with 40 questions each, totalling 80 questions. Twenty-nine questions were manipulated to contain *no* misuse and 32 questions contained correct use. The 29 manipulated questions and the 32 correct-use questions were further divided into the four categories of true adjective, noun-adjective, verb and noun-modifying phrases, as shown in Table 4. The remaining 19 questions were fillers that contained misuse and correct use of other non-*no* grammar.

Table 4. The Number of Questions per Category in the IRJT

Categories / Questions	True adjective phrase	Noun-adjective phrase	Verbal phrase	Noun-modifying phrase	Total
Misuse of *no*	8	5	11	5	29
Correct use of *no*	7	5	10	10	32

25 SPOT was employed with approval of the developers.
26 Version 3 of SPOT was used.
27 Developed by Okuno, *op. cit.*
28 For more information on IRJT, see *ibid.*, p. 100.

Below are examples of misuse and correct use in the above four categories.

Example 2. Misuse: True adjective phrase

かれ　ほう　ただ　き
彼 の 方 が、正しいのような 気がしてきた。

Kare no hou ga, tadashii no you na ki ga shitekita.

↑
Answer: X

Example 3. Misuse: Noun-adjective phrase

れいせい　こうどう　あんしん
冷静 の 行動 をみて、安心 しました。

Reisei no kōdō o mite, anshin shimashita.

↑
Answer: な (*na*)

Example 4. Misuse: Verbal phrase

いまき　ひと　かのじょ
今来ているの人 は 彼女 ではありません。

Ima kiteiru no hito wa kanojo dewa arimasen.

↑
Answer: X

Example 5. Misuse: Noun-modifying phrase

にほん　がいこくじんともだち
日本にきて、外国人友達 をたくさんつくりました。

Nihon ni kite, gaikokujin tomodachi o takusan tsukurimashita.

↑
Answer: の (*no*)

Example 6. Correct use: True adjective phrase

がいこく　あたら　しごと　おも
外国で、新しい仕事をみつけようと思います。

Gaikoku de, atarashii shigoto o mitsukeyō to omoimasu.

Answer: Correct

Example 7. Correct use: Noun-adjective phrase

ちゅうごく　　しょうがつ　　とくべつ　　た　　もの
中国では、これは正月の特別な食べ物です。

Chuugoku de wa, kore wa shōgatsu no tokubetsu na tabemono desu.

Answer: Correct

Example 8. Correct use: Verbal phrase

えき　　でんしゃ　ま　　ひと　　おおぜい
駅のホームで電車を待っている人が大勢います。

Eki no hōmu de densha o matteiru hito ga ōzei imasu.

Answer: Correct

Example 9. Correct use: Noun-modifying phrase

ほん　　はは　　か
この本は、母のために買いました。

Kono hon wa, haha no tame ni kaimashita.

Answer: Correct

The target section requiring judgement is not printed on the test page, as shown in Example 10, to increase the dependence on subliminal knowledge.

Example 10.

かれ　ほう　　き
彼の方が、_____気がしてきた。(　　)

Kare no hou ga, _____ ki ga shitekita.

The audio recording was produced by recording a native Japanese speaker reading each question aloud at the average speed of speech to imitate natural conversations amongst native Japanese speakers. The recordings were edited to contain a half-second pause between the question number and the question, three seconds between each question and five seconds after ten questions for page-flipping time, as in the original study. Identical to the original study, a ten-second segment of Pachelbel's *Canon* was inserted midway through each section to allow for a short rest.

The section order was counterbalanced; that is, half of the participants received section one first and half received section two first, as in the original study. Participants were instructed to mark grammatically incorrect sentences with × and correct sentences with ○. One point was given per correct answer.

The last testing instrument was the WT. The participants were given 80 questions on paper without any audio cues, relying only on visual cues to increase the use of conscious language knowledge for grammar judgements. The questions were presented without missing parts, as shown below.

Example 11.

かれ　ほう　ただ　　き
彼の方が、正しいのような　気がしてきた。(　　)

Kare no hou ga, tadashii no you na ki ga shitekita.

Again, participants were instructed to mark grammatically incorrect sentences with × and correct sentences with ○. Questions marked as incorrect also required participants to make a correction. One point was given for each correctly answered question with the appropriate corrections made when necessary, as shown in Example 12.

Example 12.

かれ　ほう　ただ　　き
彼 の 方　が、正しい~~の~~ような　気がしてきた。(　×　)

Kare no hou ga, tadashii ~~no~~ you na ki ga shitekita.

The questionnaire was created to gather subjects' language background, their history of Japanese language studies, and the frequency and level of use of their acquired languages. Written permission was obtained from participants via a signed consent form.

Procedure

Data collection was conducted in the following order: 1) consent form; 2) SPOT; 3) IRJT; 4) WT; 5) questionnaire.

Firstly, participants read and signed the consent form to participate in the study and were subsequently assigned the SPOT. Instructions were provided both in Japanese and English on the paper, and explained verbally either in English or Japanese according to their preference. Practice questions were played to allow participants to adjust to the audio and the format of the test. The test was conducted with no pauses once the participants understood the instructions and test procedures. The SPOT test took six minutes.

The IRJT was assigned after a short break following the completion of the SPOT. This test was administered in a similar manner to the above, using instructions written in

Japanese and English and verbal explanations in either English or Japanese. This test took approximately 15 minutes. After the completion of the IRJT, the WT was assigned. English and Japanese written instructions were provided on paper, and verbal explanations were also provided in either English or Japanese, along with explanations of the examples. The WT is a self-paced test, and participants took between five minutes and one hour to complete the test. Lastly, the questionnaire was completed at the conclusion of the WT.

Results

Data Analysis

The results obtained were analysed using the statistical package SPSS 20. As the number of questions varied per category, a score out of five was calculated before analysis as a comparison benchmark.

Multiple t-tests were used as the method of analysis due to the small sample size, in conjunction with one-way ANOVA F-tests to control for error rates. Only results with a controlled error rate of $p < .05$ were analysed using t-tests. The results with the controlled error rate were the verbal category misuse recognition score ($F(1,20) = 7.28$, $p < .005$), and the noun-modifying phrase misuse recognition in the IRJT ($F(1,24) = 3.10$, $p < .05$).

Furthermore, t-tests were performed for within-group comparisons of misuse and correct use in each category between the IRJT and the WT, and for comparisons of misuse and correct-use recognition in the four categories of the IRJT and the WT.

Between-Group Comparisons

The analysis found significant differences in the correct recognition of *no* misuse in the verbal phrase category in the IRJT between the Chinese and Korean L1 groups ($t(12) = -2.36$, $p < .05$), Chinese and English L1 groups ($t(16) = -2.70$, $p < .05$) and the Chinese and Japanese L1 groups ($t(12) = -5.46$, $p < .001$), whereby the Chinese L1 group performed significantly worse. The English group performed significantly worse than the Japanese ($t(12) = -2.25$, $p < .05$). There were no significant differences in the case of Korean and English, and Korean and Japanese group comparisons (see Figure 1).

There were also significant differences in noun-modifying phrase category misuse recognition performance in the IRJT, whereby the Chinese group ($t(12) = -3.00$, $p < .05$) and

the English group ($t(12) = -3.10$, $p < .01$) performed significantly worse than the Japanese group, whilst the Korean group did not perform statistically differently.[29]

Figure 1. The mean scores of correctly recognised misuse of *no* per category for the four L1 groups in the IRJT

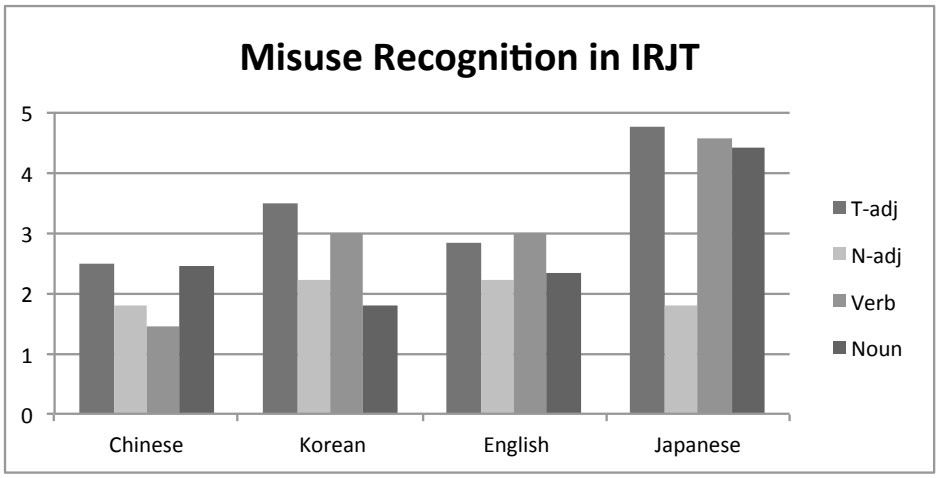
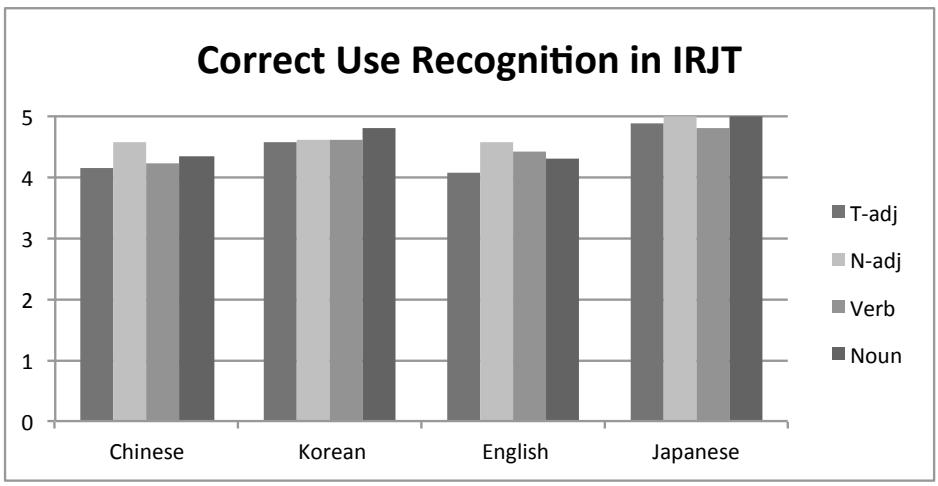


Figure 2. The mean scores of correctly recognised correct use of *no* per category for the four L1 groups in the IRJT



29 All standard deviations are as shown in Tables 5-8, overleaf.

Figure 3. The mean scores of correctly recognised misuse of *no* per category for the four L1 groups in the WT

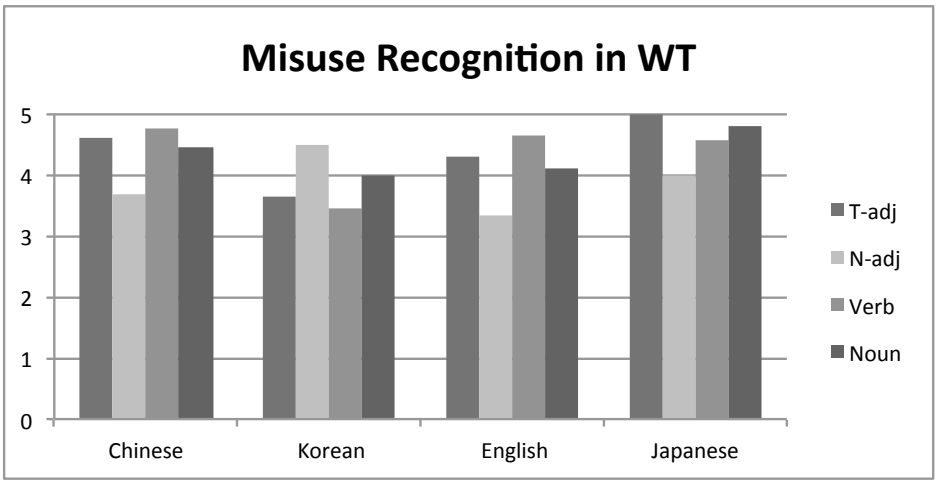


Figure 4. The mean scores of correctly recognised correct use per category for the four L1 groups in the WT

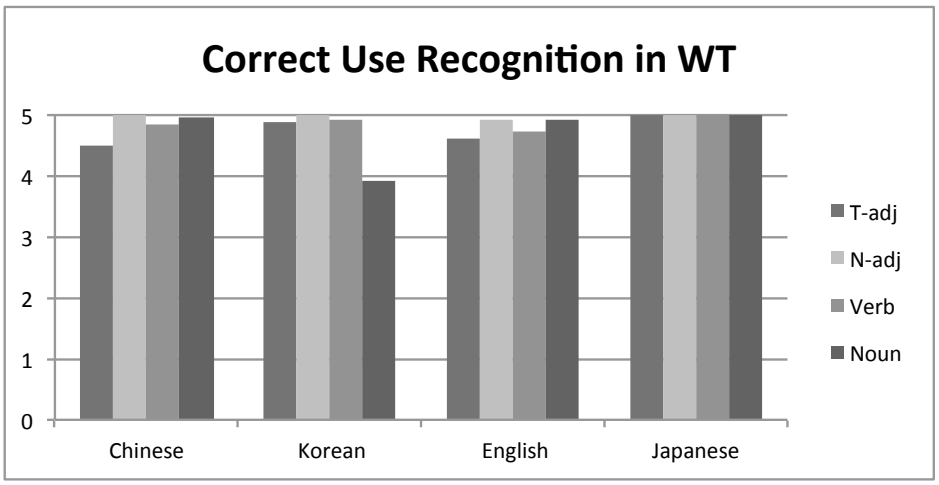


Table 5. Mean score and standard deviation per condition for misuse recognition in the IRJT

M (SD)	True adjective	Noun-adjective	Verb	Noun
Chinese	2.50 (1.53)	1.78 (1.64)	1.46 (1.01)	2.44 (1.81)
Korean	3.50 (1.91)	2.20 (1.10)	3.00 (1.42)	1.80 (1.48)
English	2.85 (1.40)	2.22 (0.67)	2.98 (1.35)	2.33 (1.41)
Japanese	4.75 (0.56)	1.80 (0.84)	4.55 (1.02)	4.40 (0.55)

Table 6. Mean score and standard deviation per condition for correct use recognition in the IRJT

M (SD)	True adjective	Noun-adjective	Verb	Noun
Chinese	4.13 (0.48)	4.56 (0.53)	4.22 (0.83)	4.33 (0.50)
Korean	4.57 (0.39)	4.60 (0.55)	4.60 (0.65)	4.80 (0.27)
English	4.05 (0.80)	4.56 (0.53)	4.39 (0.74)	4.28 (0.71)
Japanese	4.86 (0.32)	5.00 (0.00)	4.80 (0.45)	5.00 (0.00)

Table 7. Mean score and standard deviation per condition for misuse recognition in the WT

M (SD)	True adjective	Noun-adjective	Verb	Noun
Chinese	4.58 (0.70)	3.67 (0.87)	4.75 (0.33)	4.44 (0.73)
Korean	3.63 (2.09)	4.50 (0.58)	3.45 (1.97)	4.00 (1.41)
English	4.31 (0.79)	3.33 (1.22)	4.65 (0.50)	4.11 (1.27)
Japanese	5.00 (0.00)	4.00 (0.00)	4.55 (0.32)	4.80 (0.45)

Table 8. Mean score and standard deviation per condition for correct use recognition in the WT

M (SD)	True adjective	Noun-adjective	Verb	Noun
Chinese	4.84 (0.31)	5.00 (0.00)	4.83 (0.35)	4.94 (0.17)
Korean	4.86 (0.32)	5.00 (0.00)	4.90 (0.22)	3.90 (2.19)
English	4.60 (0.52)	4.89 (0.33)	4.72 (0.36)	4.89 (0.22)
Japanese	5.00 (0.00)	5.00 (0.00)	5.00 (0.00)	5.00 (0.00)

Within-Group Comparisons

The Chinese group ($t(8) = -8.89$, $p < .001$) and the English group ($t(8) = -4.32$, $p < .005$) performed significantly worse in verbal phrase category misuse recognition in the IRJT than the WT. In noun-modifying phrase category misuse recognition, Chinese ($t(8) = -3.80$, $p < .005$) and English ($t(8) = -2.35$, $p < .05$) L1 groups performed significantly worse in the IRJT than the WT. Only noun-adjective phrase category misuse recognition was significantly poorer in the Japanese group ($t(4) = -5.88$, $p < .005$) in the IRJT than the WT (see Figures 1 and 3). No difference was found for correct-use recognition in the IRJT and WT (see Figures 2 and 4).

Comparing recognition of misuse and correct use in the IRJT, the Chinese group performed significantly poorer in misuse recognition than correct-use recognition in the verb ($t(8) = -7.07$, $p < .001$) and noun ($t(8) = -2.98$, $p < .05$) categories. Similarly, the English group performed significantly worse in misuse recognition in the verb ($t(8) = -3.32$, $p < .05$) and noun categories ($t(8) = -4.45$, $p < .005$). Lastly, significantly poorer performances were found for the Japanese group in the noun-adjective category of misuse recognition in the IRJT ($t(4) = -8.55$, $p < .005$) (see Figures 1 and 2). No differences were found in misuse and correct-use recognition in the WT (see Figures 3 and 4).

Discussion

This study aimed to provide a better understanding of the misuse of *no* and the underlying cause by replicating Okuno's quantitative study. Investigations were conducted by examining Chinese, Korean and English L1 learners of Japanese in Sydney, Australia. A Japanese L1 group was added to provide new insights into the study.

The main findings of the current study are summarised as follows:

1. Poorer performances were found in the Chinese L1 learner group relative to their Korean and English L1 counterparts in verb-category misuse recognition in the IRJT. However, Chinese L1 learners performed better in verb-category correct-use recognition in the IRJT and misuse recognition in the WT than in misuse recognition in the verb category in the IRJT.

2. Chinese and English L1 learners performed relatively worse than Japanese L1 speakers only in noun-modifying phrase misuse recognition in the IRJT. There was no difference found in correct-use recognition in the IRJT and the WT.

3. The Japanese L1 group performed significantly worse in misuse recognition in the noun-adjective category than in correct-use recognition in the IRJT. This performance was also better than the misuse recognition in the WT.

The poorer performances of Chinese L1 learners relative to their Korean and English L1 counterparts in verb-category misuse recognition in the IRJT is not attributable to confounding variables, for example, having not (correctly) acquired relevant grammar knowledge, or not having other general skills that may enable recognition of misuse. This is shown by their relatively better performance in verbal-phrase misuse recognition in the WT and correct-use recognition in the IRJT, which demonstrates capabilities similar to those of the Korean and English L1 learners. These results were in line with Okuno's study, except that the English L1 learners also performed better than the Chinese L1 group. The differences may be an indicator for negative language transfer of prior knowledge of *de*. As indicated by Okuno (see Table 3), negative language transfer associated with the Chinese *de* is applicable not only in the verbal phrase but also the adjectival phrase category.

Based on this, negative language transfer should also appear in the adjective categories; however, it was neither found in the original nor the current study. In fact, in contrast with the verbal phrases, *de* is not compulsory in adjectival phrases in Chinese, a fact which was not specified by Okuno. While on one hand, adjectival phrases such as 美丽的人 (*mei li de ren*; a beautiful person) or 很小的狗 (*hen xiao de gou*; a very small dog) may utilise *de*; others do not, for example, 小狗 (*xiao gou*; a small dog).[30] In other words, knowledge of *de* may not have been 'transferred' in adjective categories in a similar fashion to that of the verb category. This can explain why misuse remained only in the verb category even after the Chinese L1 learners had reached an advanced level of proficiency.

Although the results suggest negative language transfer at work, there are alternative explanations that may also account for the relatively poor performance of the Chinese L1 learners. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, misuse of *no* is common in learners at the intermediate proficiency level, irrespective of their first language. However, as learners advance to higher proficiency levels, the observed misuse declines. The intermediate proficiency level may be considered as the developmental stage, where learners are in the process of acquiring the grammar of *no*, and the decline of misuse to almost zero at higher proficiency levels marks the completion of acquisition. Conflicting features between the native language (Lp) and the target language (TL) may potentially hinder development.[31] Thus, relative to other learners without the conflicting Lp-TL feature,

30 Other adjectival phrase examples without *de* include 黑发 (*hei fa*; black hair), 懒人 (*lan ren*; a lazy person), 好书 (*hao shu*; good book).
31 Yamaoka, *Dai ni gengo shūtoku kenkyū*.

the learners with a conflicting Lp-TL feature may not necessarily complete the acquisition at the equivalent proficiency level. The Chinese L1 learners may have been an example of this. If this is true, then inter-group heterogeneity[32] as a proposed criterion essential to the assessment of negative language transfer should be revised.

Secondly, due to the nature of the IRJT and WT, different cognitive processes are required to complete these tests. The WT, which offers sufficient thinking time, relies on conscious knowledge and allows for logical thinking. On the other hand, the IRJT demands instantaneous responses, and has a high dependency on automatisation or automatised knowledge. Automatisation refers to rapid and attention-free processing, which is achieved after much practice.[33] The poorer performance in verb category misuse recognition in the Chinese L1 group, which was found in the IRJT but not in the WT, may suggest that the acquired grammatical knowledge of *no* had not yet been automatised. As a result, its application requires attention which is not achievable in the limited time frame offered in the IRJT. Furthermore, the conflicting Lp-TL feature in only the verb category may have delayed the process of automatisation, thus poorer performance has only been observed in the one category.

In short, although at a glance the results suggest negative language transfer, as the foundation of the assessment is not strong, other factors may have potentially impacted the results. Thus, this study can only argue for a higher possibility of negative language transfer as the underlying phenomenon responsible for misuse. Further research is needed to clarify the causal relationship between knowledge of the Chinese *de* and the observed poorer performance of the Chinese L1 learners in recognising misuse in the verbal-phrase category.

Interestingly, if it is negative language transfer at work, then the consistency found in results from the samples of Chinese L1 Japanese-learning populations in Japan and Australia suggest that English as a second language had no effect on their performance. This is possibly because of the closer perceived language distance between Chinese and Japanese than English and Japanese. The closer the Lp knowledge is perceived to be to that of the TL, the more likely it is to be transferred.[34] As a result, the less-close English Lp may not have affected the Chinese L1 learners' judgements of misuse. However, the current study did not measure the perceived language distance in participants, thus further research is necessary to confirm this.

32 Ellis, *op. cit.*

33 Anderson and Lebiere, *The Atomic Components of Thought*, p. 5.

34 Ahukana et al., 'Inter- and Intra-lingual Interference Effects in Learning a Third Language'; Ellis, *op. cit.*; Ringbom, *The Role of the First Language in Foreign Language Learning.*

Overall, the Japanese L1 group demonstrated better performance in comparison to the three groups of learners of Japanese. In particular, statistically better performances were found in verb and noun-modifying phrase misuse recognition in the IRJT. However, no differences were found between the performances of the Japanese L1 group and the Korean L1 group. This offers a small indication of the performance differences between the three L1 groups of learners, whereby Korean L1 learners demonstrate more outstanding language capabilities than others at the advanced level of proficiency.

The Japanese L1 group exhibited interesting results in the noun-adjective category. They performed significantly worse in misuse recognition in the IRJT than in correct-use recognition, as well as when compared to misuse recognition in the WT. It is also noteworthy that the Japanese L1 group's performance in the noun-adjective category was worse than those of the English L1 and Korean L1 groups in the IRJT on misuse recognition, although the differences were not statistically significant. If correctly used, noun adjectives are followed by *na* in modifying nouns, not *no.* Although the two differ only by a vowel, native Japanese speakers are capable of differentiating the sounds.[35]

However, Japanese native speakers demonstrated an apparent difficulty in using the *na* and the *no* correctly, possibly due to dual functions of certain noun-adjectives.[36] For example, although 特別な (*tokubetsu na*; special) is a noun-adjective and takes up the *na*, it can also function as a noun; that is, 特別の (*tokubetsu no*) where *no* is attached. Furthermore, 元気な (*genki na*; physically healthy) and its antonym 病気の (*byōki no*; being ill) contain a semantic contrast, where one is a noun-adjective and the other a noun, respectively. Noun-adjectives, as the label suggests, are adjectives that can function like nouns and adjectives. Thus, the necessity of determining whether the vocabulary is a noun-adjective or noun, and if a noun-adjective, whether it takes *na* or *no*, can complicate matters.

Having a more complete knowledge of vocabulary could have caused some confusion in the Japanese L1 group. While learners of Japanese may have access to only the adjective function of a noun-adjective, for example, 特別な (*tokubetsu na*), the Japanese L1 group would also have access to the noun function of the same word. Furthermore, Japanese L1 speakers were required to make this extra decision in the time the audio produces the *no*, that is, in approximately 0.074 seconds.[37] Although Japanese L1 speakers are noted to have difficulty in distinguishing correct and incorrect uses of *na* and *no* in the case of noun-adjectives,[38] no empirical investigation has been conducted on this so far. Thus, these results provide some empirical evidence for this phenomenon.

35 For example, they have no difficulty in differentiating なる (*naru*; to become) and のる (*noru*; to get into a vehicle or form of transport).
36 Kinoshita-Thomson, personal communication.
37 Calculated by dividing the number of phonemes in a question by the audio length.
38 Kinoshita-Thomson, personal communication.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations to this study. First, the small sample size is insufficient for quantitative analysis and for making reliable inferences. Additionally, the recruitment criteria recruited subjects possessing the language knowledge of interest, however, it did not rule out those who may have other additional language knowledge that may affect the results; for example, one English L1 participant reported knowing some Korean and a little Chinese on top of Japanese and English. This study did not control for participants' fourth or further language knowledge. Additional Lps may have potentially impacted on the results.[39] Furthermore, negative language transfer detection and attribution becomes more difficult in the context of multilingual participants.[40] Thus, strategies to account for additional languages would be necessary in future studies.

Secondly, although this was a good initial attempt at empirically investigating *no* misuse, the validity and reliability of the main testing instrument, the IRJT, which was employed to measure the negative language transfer, has yet to be verified. One main limitation of this test is that it does not allow for the pinpointing of errors. Simply marking a sentence as incorrect does not confirm that participants are correctly recognising misuses of *no* as incorrect; thus, inferences that can be made from the results are restricted. In addition, difficulty in recognising misuse (speech recognition) does not necessarily indicate that the participants produce the error themselves (speech production).

Conclusion

As there were no apparent problems with the understanding and application of the relevant grammar knowledge about the Japanese noun modifier *no* (Research Question 2), the statistically significant misuse recognition difficulty for the verb category observed in the advanced Chinese L1 participants, in comparison to their Korean and English counterparts, suggests that negative language transfer underlies the misuse (Research Question 1). These results were similar to those of Okuno's study, with the exception that in this study, the English L1 group also performed significantly better than the Chinese in the verbal category of misuse recognition in the IRJT (Research Question 3). Lastly, although the Japanese L1 group provided minimal insight into the performance of the other L1 groups, it provided some empirical evidence relating to the confusion of *na* and *no* attached to noun-adjectives in Japanese native speakers (Research Question 4).

39 Ringbom, *op. cit.*
40 Odlin, *op. cit.*

Future research may take into consideration the limitations of the IRJT and employ additional components to overcome them, such as requiring participants to provide verbal justification for judging sentences as grammatically incorrect between test questions during the test. An alternative may be measuring and comparing the reaction time (RT) needed to judge the misuse and correct use of *no*. RT has been employed as a fairly accurate measurement of cognitive processes in a range of publications.[41] Negative language transfer can also be more accurately examined if the sentences are presented on screen and the *no* alone is underlined for determination of grammaticality. Any difference in the RT found between the Chinese and other L1 groups in the verb category will offer more concrete empirical evidence. This would in turn reduce the cognitive load on Chinese L1 learners in listening comprehension tests. It may also be necessary to collect conversation data to confirm misuse production by participants. Future research should also incorporate investigations to differentiate negative language transfer from developmental errors; that is, errors made due to incomplete acquisition of the correct use of *no* in the verbal-phrase category for Chinese L1 speakers.

As there are millions of Japanese learners across the world, it is quite important to have a thorough understanding of the effects of prior language on the learning of Japanese as a foreign language. In addressing the matter of negative language transfer, teachers of foreign languages can employ strategies to overcome the effects and promote more efficient learning. Furthermore, results from Japanese second-language acquisition studies may provide insights into phenomena that can be generalised to the acquisition of other second languages.

41 Coyne et al., 'The Effects of Viewing Physical and Relational Aggression in the Media'; Koch et al., 'Chunking in Task Sequence Modulates Task Inhibition'; MacDonald et al., 'Performance Variability is Related to Change in Cognition.'

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The Limits of Interdependence: Cooperation and Conflict in Sino-Japanese Relations

Adam Eldridge
Monash University

Abstract

Since the introduction of Deng Xiaoping's Open Door policy in 1979, the value and complexity of Sino-Japanese economic ties have grown exponentially. However, even as economic ties have developed, security relations have deteriorated as perceptions of a 'China threat' and a 're-militarised Japan' have emerged in Tokyo and Beijing. The simultaneous existence of these trends challenges international relations theory. Economic interdependence theories expect that the development of economic relations reduces the role of security in bilateral relations. Conversely, neorealist theories posit that, given the preeminence of national security, a perception of threat will cool economic relations.

Sino-Japanese economic relations have demonstrable bilateral benefits. Additionally, economic relations have created interest groups invested in maintaining good relations. These groups have successfully managed economic friction points and integrated bilateral trade. However, economic interdependence seems not to translate to the security calculus confirming neorealism's contention that national security is preeminent. In particular, Japan's development of Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) illustrates the insignificance of economic ties in security planning. That said, it is equally true that perceptions of threat appear to have little influence on bilateral economic interdependence. Therefore, Sino-Japanese relations are best described by applying interdependence and neorealist theories in a complementary approach.

Keywords

BMD; economics; interdependence; neorealism; Sino-Japanese

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Interdependence and Neorealism

The competing theories of liberal-interdependence and neorealism conceive of the conditions under which states interact differently. Neorealists state that interaction is a product of the anarchical (i.e., the absence of a sovereign power) system of states.[1] They emphasise that, in such a system, states must give their overwhelming priority to achieving security by maintaining a balance of military-strategic power with rival states.[2] For neorealists, anarchy also works to constrain state cooperation, as the competitive nature of the international system means that states are most concerned about preventing the relative gains of rivals.[3] There are two broad schools of neorealism. The split lies in how these schools understand the way states attempt to achieve security.[4] Offensive realists posit that, to achieve security, states seek to maximise their share of world power, with the ultimate goal of regional hegemony.[5] In contrast, defensive realists[6] contend that states do the minimum necessary to counter perceived threats and maintain a balance of power.[7] For defensive realists, threats from other states are assessed according to that state's 'geographic proximity, offensive capability and perceived intentions.'[8]

Complex interdependence theorists do not entirely reject realist principles regarding the importance of the balance of power or state security.[9] However, they contend that the international states system has evolved into a 'world of complex interdependence,'[10] or 'trading states.'[11] Interdependence theorists Keohane and Nye posit a system of states where states do not exercise force in their region; there are multiple channels of trans-governmental and/or trans-national contact; and there is no clear hierarchy of issues amongst states, because military security is no longer their dominant consideration.[12] Interdependence theorists contend that states are increasingly focused on economic growth and social welfare, which is best obtained through international economic cooperation, and these forces drive states into relationships of mutual dependence.[13]

Interdependence theories generally contend that conflict is reduced between states engaged in interdependent economic relations.[14] One argument contends that as the value of the social welfare benefits gained from state cooperation increases, so too do

1 Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence,* p. 20.
2 Waltz, 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory', p. 40; Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*.
3 Waltz, 'The Emerging Structure of International Politics', p. 66; Grieco, 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation'; Zhao, 'Managing the Challenge'.
4 Snyder, *Myths of Empire*, pp. 11-12.
5 Mearsheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 410.
6 Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*.
7 Walt, *The Origins of Alliances.*
8 *ibid*., p. 5.
9 Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
10 *ibid*., p. 26.
11 Rosecrance, *The Rise of the Trading State,* p. 24.
12 Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Falk, *The End of World Order;* Grieco, *op. cit.*
13 Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*; Rosecrance, *op. cit.*
14 Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*; Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*; Polachek, 'Conflict and Trade'.

the costs of conflict (i.e., the loss of those benefits), and consequently this reduces the incidence of conflict.[15] This interdependence further reduces conflict by creating a positive feedback loop whereby cooperation encourages further cooperation, resulting in a 'functional web of interdependence'.[16] A second approach contends that economic interdependence creates domestic-level interest groups such as consumers and producers, who benefit from peaceful relations and apply domestic pressure on national governments to prevent the outbreak of conflicts.[17]

Neorealists critique interdependence in a number of ways. First, neorealists contend that survival is the pre-eminent value of states.[18] Therefore, when facing a threat, states must prioritise the security imperative and balance militarily against an identified threat, regardless of the costs and foregone benefits. Neorealists describe a 'security dilemma', where self-help efforts by one state to increase its own security, either through building alliances or increasing military strength, create a corresponding reduction in the feeling of security felt by other states. Other states will then respond to their feelings of reduced security by taking similar self-help measures to increase their own security. [19] For neorealists, in a system characterised by self-help and anarchy, economic interdependence can only be a weak influence.

Second, neorealists tend to dismiss interdependence, arguing that the ability to adjust policy in response to external events indicates a lack of sufficient vulnerability to create dependency.[20] Waltz argues that economic vulnerability is a rare circumstance that occurs where a state is quantitatively dependent on high percentages of trade and investment or qualitatively dependent on a scarce product or service.[21] Neorealists further argue that under anarchy, states seek only relative gains,[22] and that interdependence is in fact a cloaked form of dependency where stronger states manipulate their rivals' vulnerabilities into arrangements that allow them to reap unequal benefits.[23] According to this perspective, interdependence actually heightens the risk of conflict because the exploitation of vulnerabilities often leads to conflict. The US oil embargo against Japan in 1941 has been cited as a classic example.[24]

15 Polachek, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62; Rosecrance, *op. cit.*
16 Nye, 'Peace in Parts', pp. 109-110.
17 Arad and Hirsch, 'Peacemaking and Vested Interests'; Friedman, *The World is Flat*; Papayoanou, 'Economic Interdependence and the Balance of Power'.
18 Waltz, 'Structural Realism after the Cold War'.
19 Jervis, 'Cooperation under the Security Dilemma'.
20 Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 143-144.
21 *ibid.*
22 Grieco, *op. cit.*; Waltz, 'Structural Realism after the Cold War'.
23 Waltz, 'The Myth of National Interdependence', pp. 205-220; Keohane and Waltz, 'The Neorealist and his Critic', pp. 204-205; Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17.
24 Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

A third neorealist critique contends that closer contact through economic interdependence increases the points of potential competitive tension between states, thereby amplifying the potential for conflict.[25] Neorealists contend that intense competition results in rises and falls in the relative power of states and is therefore a common precursor to war.[26] For example, in her study of trade relations, Barbieri found that extensive economic interdependence increased the likelihood that states would engage in conflict.[27] For neorealists, increased economic interdependence means increased economic competition, and therefore, an increased chance of conflict.

Sino-Japanese Relations

This paper contends that Sino-Japanese relations can only be fully understood by applying both economic interdependence and neorealist theoretical perspectives. Defensive realism accurately describes the way Tokyo and Beijing seek to militarily balance against threats, while economic interdependence theories illuminate the significant costs that economic cooperation can create and its real effects on economic policy choice. However, neorealism fails to appreciate the complexity of Sino-Japanese economic relations, and in particular, that such bonds are not easily broken. Conversely, economic interdependence theories overestimate the ability of economic cooperation to translate into the military-strategic policy choices of Tokyo and Beijing.

Sino-Japanese Economic Interdependence

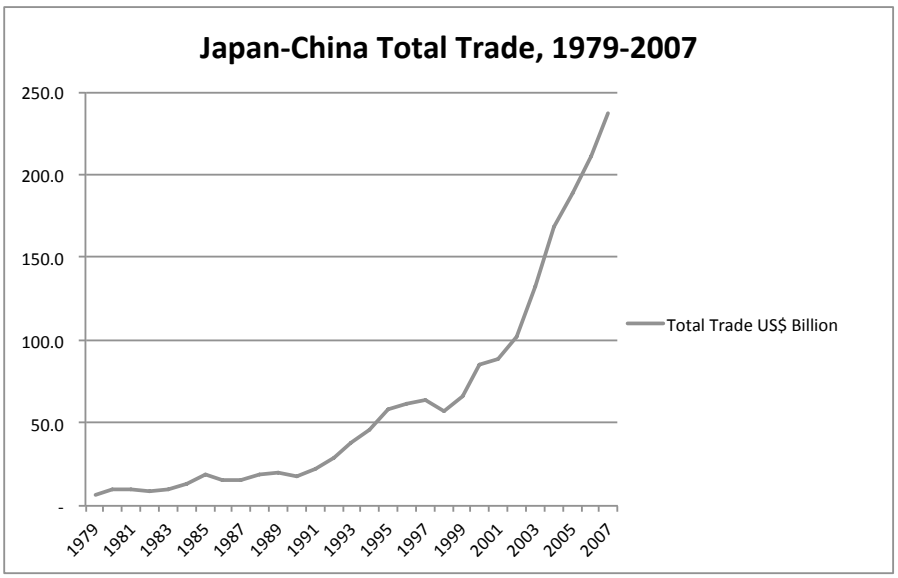
Sino-Japanese economic interdependence is characterised by lucrative bilateral trade and investment, with Japan and China obtaining large welfare benefits from their economic relations.[28] In addition, significant integrated production operations are present. Simply understood, foreign trade confers benefits on national economies by giving consumers access to better and cheaper goods and increasing the size of markets for producers.[29] The economies of both Japan and China are integrated into the world economy. In 2005, Japan's trade in goods equalled 20% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), while for China it was 64% of GDP.[30] This suggests that Japan and China rely heavily on international trade and the benefits that accrue for their national economies.

25 Grieco, *op. cit.*
26 Waltz, *Man, the State and War*; Waltz, 'Structural Realism after the Cold War', p. 33.
27 Barbieri, 'Economic Interdependence'.
28 For the purposes of this paper, 'China' refers to the People's Republic of China and excludes Taiwan and the special mandate territories of Hong Kong and Macau unless otherwise specified.
29 Polachek, *op. cit.*; Ricardo, *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.
30 Naughton, *The Chinese Economy*, p. 376. Note: a glossary of acronyms is provided at the end of this article.

Value

One way to demonstrate economic interdependence is to examine the value and growth of bilateral trade. Unless otherwise indicated, the figures and charts in this section have been calculated using International Monetary Fund (IMF) Annual Trade Yearbooks. However, an important statistical limitation of IMF figures should be noted: there is a major difference between the export and import figures reported by Japan and China. This is primarily a result of incorrect identification of imports and exports moving through Hong Kong without paying duties (i.e., entrepôt trade).[31] Chart 1 shows that since the implementation of China's Open Door policy in 1979,[32] the total value of annual Sino-Japanese trade has grown exponentially, from US$6.9 billion to US$302.7 billion in 2010.[33] By comparison, Canada-US trade totalled US$493.4 billion in 2010.[34] Sino-Japanese trade has grown at a compound average rate of 15% since 1979, and has proven consistent over both the Japanese and Chinese export and import sectors. The annual value of Japanese exports to China has grown from US$3.94 billion in 1979 to US$133.9 billion in 2007, while Chinese exports to Japan have risen from US$2.93 billion to US$127.6 billion. These figures demonstrate the impressive value and consistency of trade interdependence between Japan and China.

Chart 1.



31 Hilpert and Nakagane, 'Economic Relations'.

32 Lardy, 'The Role of Foreign Trade and Investment in China's Economic Transformation'; Naughton, *op. cit.*; Goodman, *Deng Xiaoping and the Chinese Revolution*, p. 92; Zhang, *China's Relations with Japan in an Era of Economic Liberalisation*, p. 72.

33 WTO, 'Country Profile: Japan'.

34 WTO, 'Country Profile: Canada'.

Relative Importance

A second demonstration of Sino-Japanese economic interdependence is the relative importance of Japan and China to each other's external trade. From the Japanese perspective:

1. China is Japan's most important partner, with two-way trade comprising 19% of Japanese imports and exports;

2. China is Japan's second-most important export market at 17%; and

3. China is Japan's most important single-country source of imports at 21%.

From the Chinese perspective:

1. Japan is one of China's three most important trading partners at 15%;

2. Japan is China's third-most important export market (excluding Hong Kong) at 14%; and

3. Japan is China's most important single-country import source at 15.2%.

Trends

Trade figures may also be used to identify trends in Sino-Japanese bilateral trade. Charts 2, 3 and 4 show that China has become increasingly significant for Japan as an export market, import source and trading partner.

Chart 2.

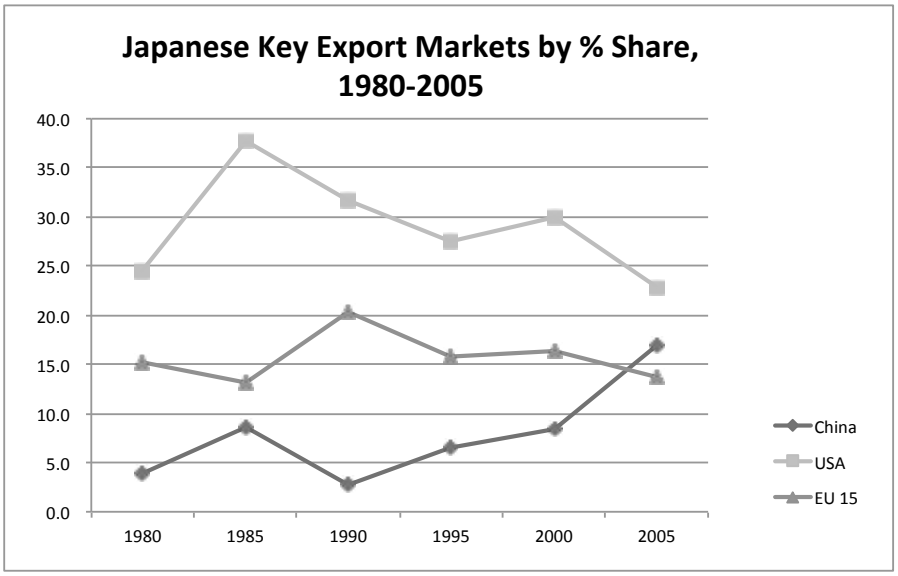


Chart 3.

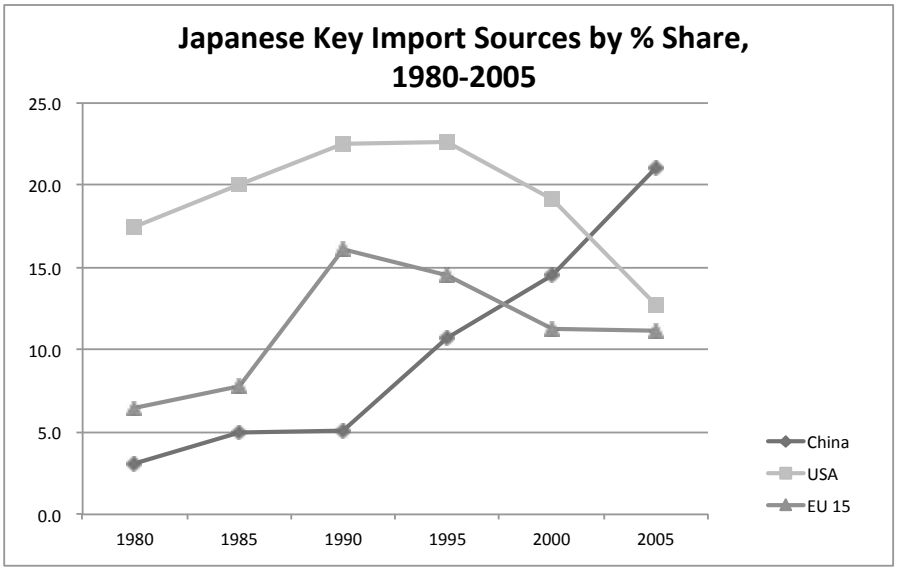
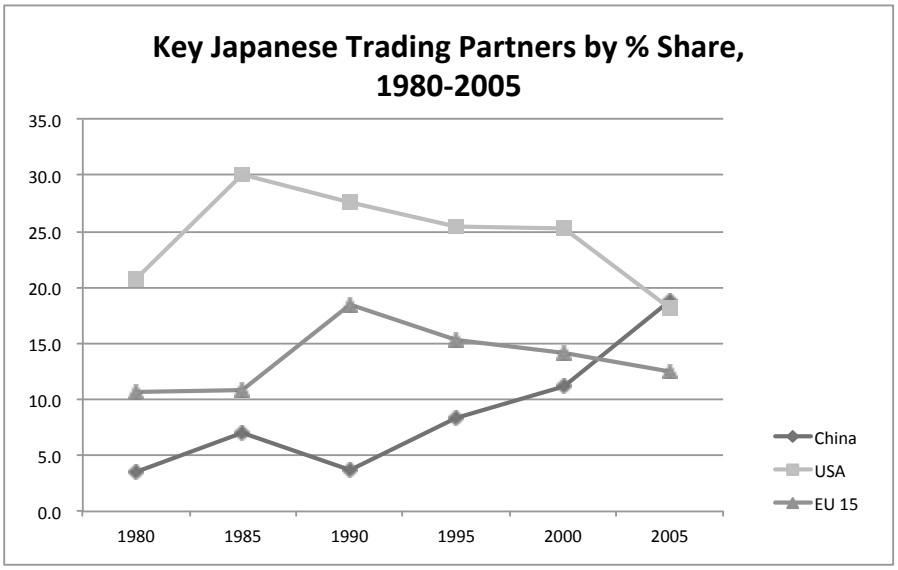


Chart 4.



Second, Charts 5, 6 and 7 show that from a high starting point, the relative importance of Japan for China is declining in all these areas.

Chart 5.

Chart 6.

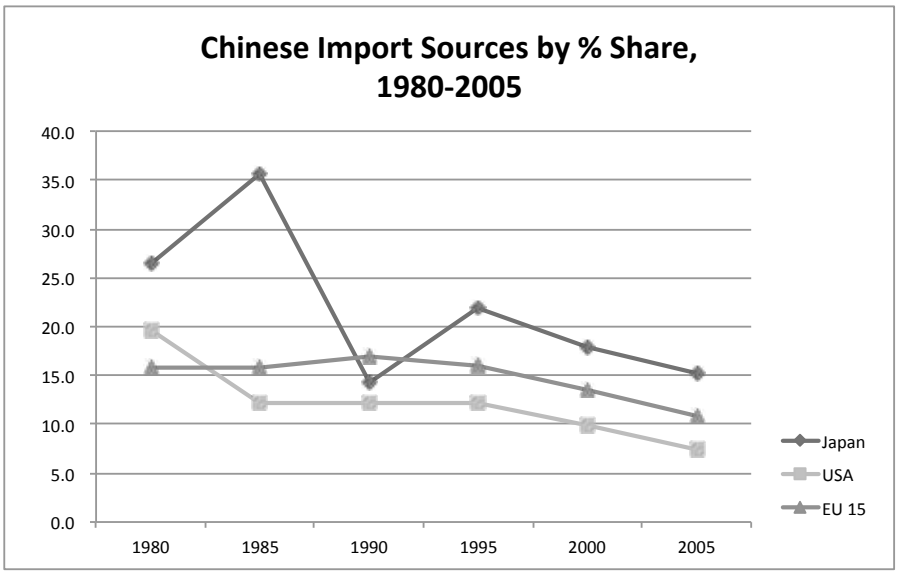
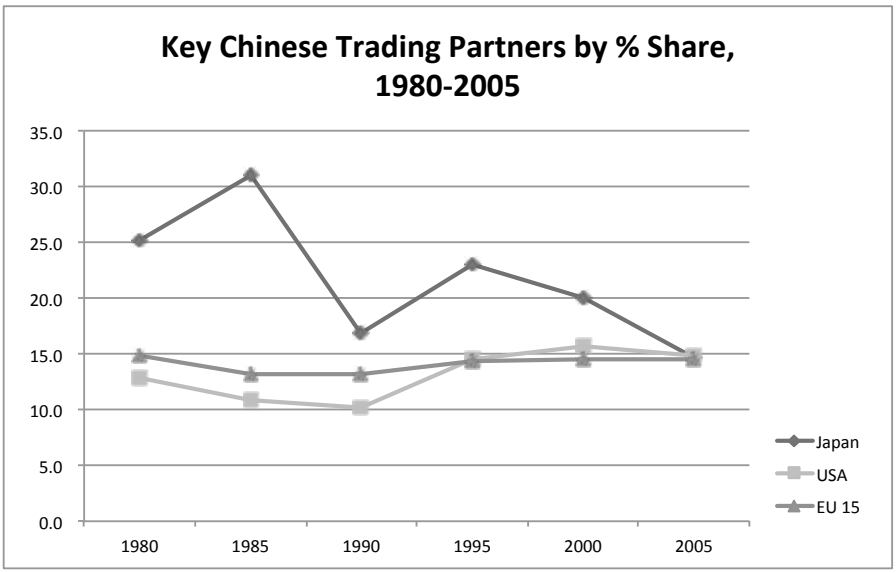


Chart 7.



Trade Intensity

A further measure, trade intensity indices, demonstrates the level of trade bias. Using the method adopted by Hilpert with updated IMF figures,[35] this measure assesses the preference of the Chinese and Japanese economies for trade with each other within the context of their respective shares of world trade. An unbiased trading relationship is equivalent to 1. Sino-Japanese relations exhibit significant trade intensity, with a significant bias on both sides. Table 1 shows trade intensity for Japanese exports. In 2005, Japan exported on average 2.6 times more to China than to the rest of the world. Similarly, Table 2 shows that in 2005, China exported 2.8 times more to Japan than to the rest of the world.

Table 1.

	Japan Export Intensity Indices, 1980-2005					
	1980	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**
China	3.6	3.7	1.6	2.4	2.3	2.6
USA	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.4
EU 15	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
ASEAN	1.0	0.9	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3

Table 2.

	China Export Intensity Indices, 1980-2005					
	1980	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**
Japan	3.2	3.5	2.8	3.6	3.7	2.8
USA	0.4	0.5	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.3
EU 15	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
ASEAN	0.7	1.6	1.4	1.0	1.2	1.3

35 Hilpert and Nakagane, 'Economic Relations'; also see Anderson and Norheim, 'History, Geography and Regional Economic Integration', pp. 23-24, 47-48.

Chart 8.

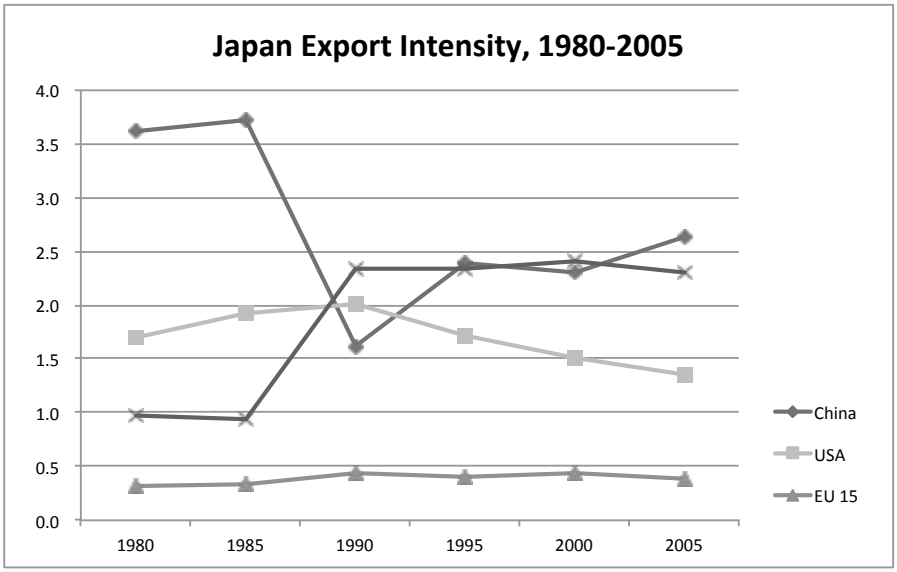


Chart 9.

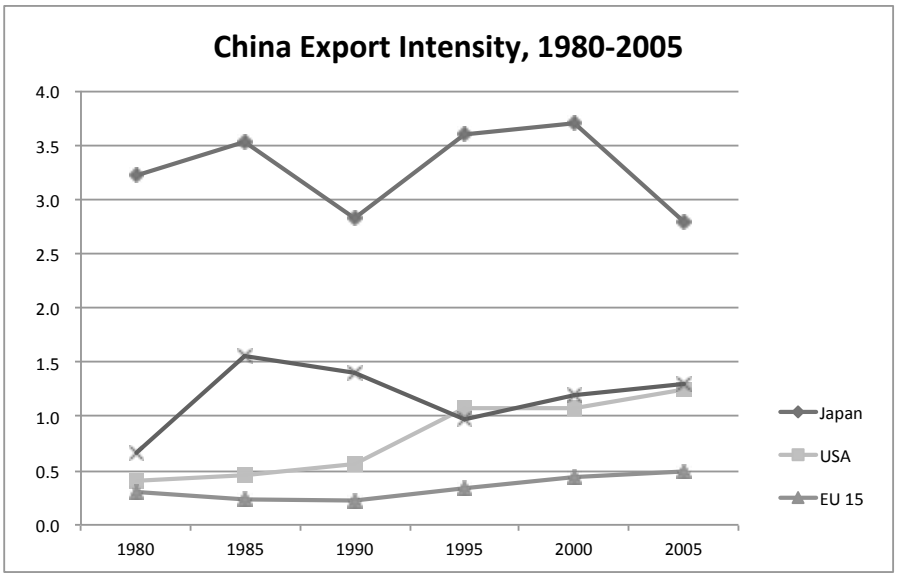


Chart 8 shows that Japan's export bias towards China began to increase from 2000 after levelling off between 1995 and 2000. This level ling off has been attributed to political tensions between the two states in this period, stemming in particular from China's nuclear testing in 1995 and the 1996 Taiwan Straits Crisis.[36] Chart 9 shows that China's export intensity with Japan has declined since 2000. This is generally attributed to the diversification effects on Chinese trade following China's 2001 entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO).[37]

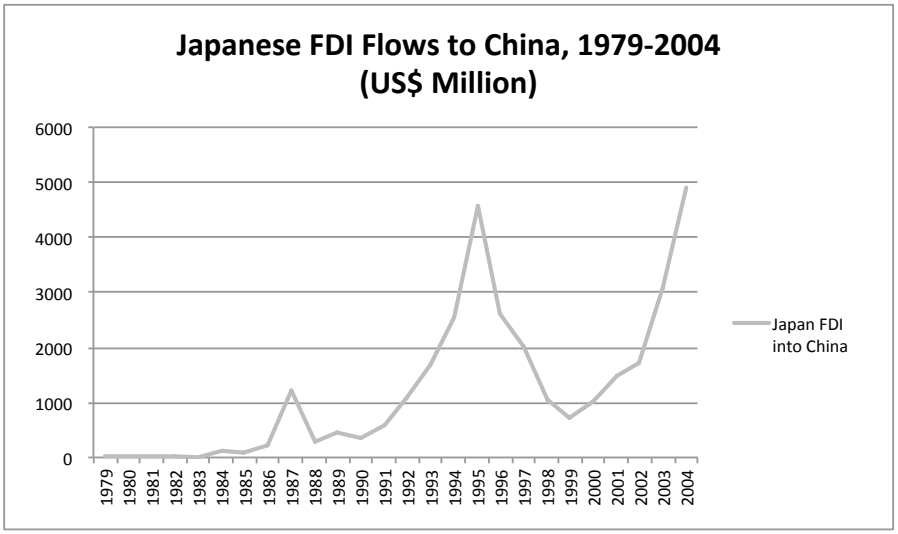
The Value of Japanese FDI in China

This section analyses the effect of Japanese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in China on Sino-Japanese economic interdependence. Given the historical absence of Chinese FDI in Japan, this has not been examined here.[38] FDI figures compiled by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)[39] have been used (unless otherwise specified) and Japanese FDI refers to Japanese investment made with the objective of obtaining a lasting interest in an enterprise resident in China.[40] Examples of FDI arrangements include wholly-owned subsidiary companies and joint ventures with Chinese partners. However, some limitations should be noted. First, foreign company subsidiaries in Hong Kong are recorded in some statistics as Hong Kong FDI and there are 198 Japanese firms headquartered in Hong Kong;[41] second, foreign companies registered in tax havens have distorted figures to the extent that the Virgin Islands were recorded as China's second largest source of foreign investment in 2006;[42] and third, integrated Asian Production Networks (APNs) mean that Japanese FDI to China is often channelled through Taiwan.[43]

Chart 10 shows Japanese FDI in China. When measured by value, Japanese FDI in China is impressive, with the cumulative total of annual Japanese FDI between 1979 and 2004 equalling approximately US$30 billion.

36 Sudo, 'It Takes Two to Tango', p. 45.
37 Rumbaugh and Blancher, 'China: International Trade and WTO Accession', p.3.
38 Zhaoxi, 'China's Outward Direct Foreign Investment'.
39 OECD, *OECD International Direct Investment Statistics*.
40 OECD, *OECD Glossary of Statistical Terms.*
41 Naughton, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
42 *ibid*., p. 414.
43 Deans, 'The Taiwan Question', p. 91.

Chart 10.



In 2006, Japanese firms invested US$9.9 billion in China, which accounted for 5.1% of total Chinese FDI inflows, although this is well down from the relative highs of 16.1% and 14.4% of 1985 and 1990.[44] In 2006, Japanese FDI was China's sixth largest source,[45] representing significant welfare benefits to the Chinese economy. For example, in 2004, Japanese FDI represented approximately 20,000 Japanese firms operating in China with a local workforce of around 9.2 million.[46]

Japanese-led Asian Production Networks

In addition to the welfare benefits outlined above, Japanese FDI made as part of Japanese-led APNs generates further economic interdependence. Japanese multi-national firms have long conceptualised the Asian region as a 'technologically stratified economy' and sought to create Japanese-led APNs using a division of labour that would efficiently exploit the factor advantage of each country.[47] The country with the highest factor advantage is the country with the lowest unit price for producing an intermediate input in a final product.

44 Nakagane, 'Japanese Direct Investment in China'.
45 National Bureau of Statistics of China, China Statistical Yearbook 2007.
46 Cheng, 'Sino-Japanese Economic Relations'.
47 Katzenstein and Shiraishi, *Network Power;* Hatch and Yamamura, *Asia in Japan's Embrace*.

A 'flying geese' model[48] was envisaged, with Japan playing the lead role by providing high-technology, high-value input in research and development, design and precision manufacturing. The newly-industrialised economies of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan would provide high-to-medium-technology input, with Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand responsible for medium-to-low-technology input.[49] Since Hatch and Yamamura wrote their seminal study of Japanese-led APNs, the flying geese model has changed in certain respects. Notably, China has increasingly displaced other economies at the bottom of the chain because of its lower cost-base and openness to FDI.[50]

Japanese FDI in Context

China's Open Door economic reforms have focused on encouraging Chinese Foreign Invested Enterprises (FIEs) to engage in export production activities which are dependent on advanced foreign technology and industrial organization.[51] Chinese policy-makers encourage this arrangement to generate economic activity and create low-skill employment. Additionally, there is an expectation of technology transfer.[52] However, one result of China's reform pattern is an increasing dependence on foreign investment. FIEs dominate the trade sector, accounting for 58% of exports in 2003.[53] As a result, the expansion of the export sector and the flow-on benefits such as employment are dependent on increased FDI from Japan (and other industrialised economies). Chinese economic dependency on FIEs, and increasingly, Wholly Owned Foreign Enterprises (WOFEs), is especially pronounced in the industrial and high-technology sectors where these firms account for 88% of exports.[54] For example, Charts 11 and 12 show that, as Chinese exports in industrial machinery grew, FIEs also increased their share of production. Similar trends were also experienced in the telecommunication and computer industries.[55]

48 Kojima, '*The Flying Geese Model of Asian Economic Development*'.
49 Hatch and Yamamura, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
50 Albaladejo and Lall, 'China's Competitive Performance'; Hatch, 'Japanese Production Networks in Asia'.
51 Gilboy, 'The Myth Behind China's Miracle', pp. 33-48; Naughton, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-423.
52 Gilboy, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-48; Naughton, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-423.
53 Gilboy, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
54 *ibid.*, 33-48; Naughton, *op. cit.*
55 Gilboy, *op. cit.*

Chart 11.

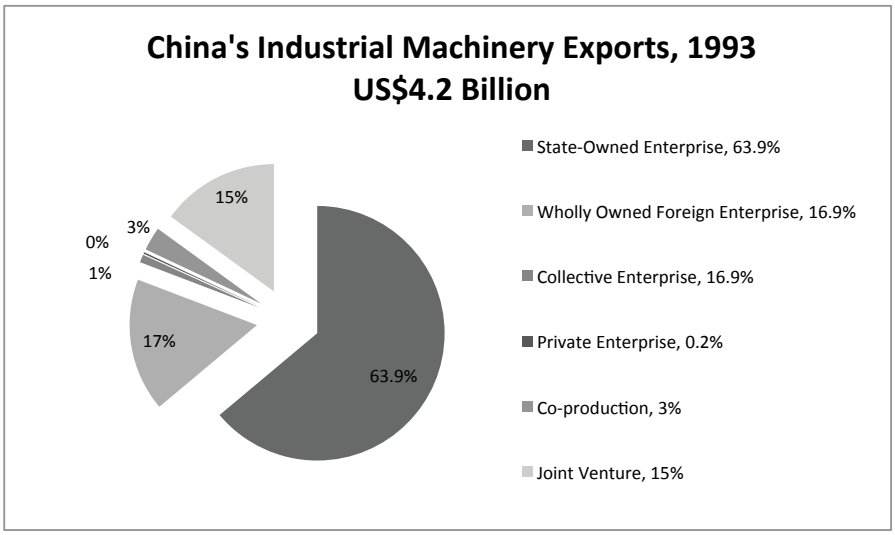
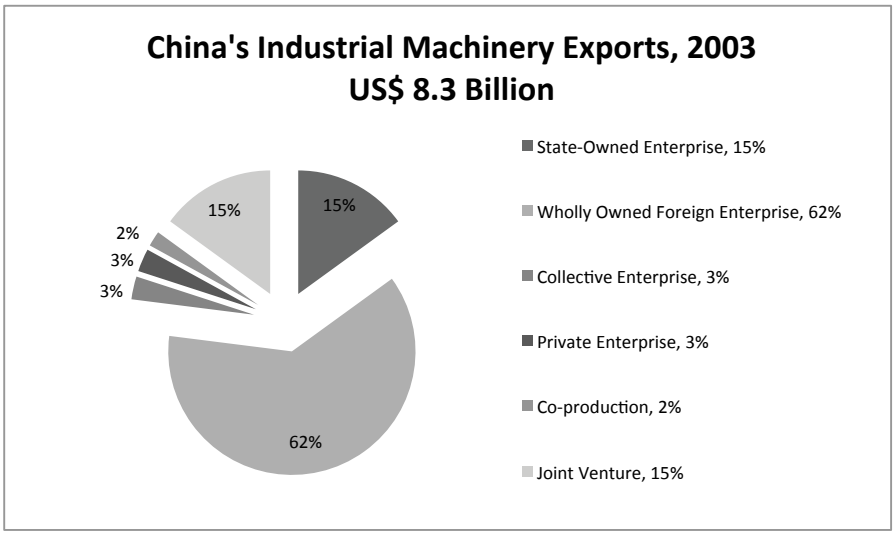


Chart 12.



Japanese FDI in China is generally part of Japanese-led APNs.[56] In general, Japanese firms investing in China focus on export-oriented production and channel investment into either labour-intensive assembly operations, or small to medium-sized firms that produce low-to-medium-technology intermediate goods.[57] This creates interdependence because Chinese economic activity and employment are dependent on Japanese firms, as the Chinese links in the network cannot operate independently. Japanese firms become dependent, too, as they rely on China's lower cost-base to maintain international competitiveness. There is also an important geographical dimension. Japanese FDI in China tends to cluster in the Bohai Sea Rim (food and apparel), the Yangtze River Delta (machine tools and electronics), Pearl River/Zhujiang (precision producers and electronics) and the Central West economic zones (still emerging), making these areas especially sensitive to the gains flowing from Japanese FDI.[58]

In addition to the level of Chinese economic development noted above, Japanese manufacturers' investment in China also reflects the apprehensions of Japanese policy makers, who fear Japanese industry being 'hollow[ed] out' by China's rise.[59] Japanese firms are encouraged to protect their competitive advantages by maintaining precision and high-technology production operations in Japan.[60] For example, the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) encouraged NEC to sell its plasma display business to Japanese-owned Pioneer rather than to a foreign firm.[61] Similarly, Canon chose to base its optical sensor factory in Japan.[62] As a result, FDI into China has concentrated on final assembly operations and this creates dependency on Japanese-designed production equipment and standards.[63]

A further benefit for China of Japanese FDI is the technological and industrial development it facilitates.[64] However, this has also been a source of tension as Chinese firms and officials tend to criticize Japanese firms for restricting transfers to low-level technology due to a fear of the 'boomerang effect'.[65] Nakagane disputes this claim, arguing that technology transfer occurs in response to economic advantage, and so further Chinese development will attract higher technology investment.[66] However, Hatch and Yamamura have persuasively shown that Japanese firms try to use production networks to maintain control over technology,[67] and the concentration of Japanese FDI in labour-

56 '(Still) Made in Japan'; 'Questioning the Middle Kingdom'; Samuels, *Securing Japan*, pp. 159-161; Hatch and Yamamura, *op. cit.*
57 Taube, 'Japan's Role in China's Industrialization', p. 115; Nakagane, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 145.
58 Farrell, *Japanese Foreign Investment in the World Economy*, p. 75.
59 Samuels, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
60 Vogel, *Japan Remodelled*.
61 '(Still) Made in Japan'.
62 'Questioning the Middle Kingdom'; Samuels, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
63 Samuels, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
64 Lardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 1065-1082.
65 Nakagane, *op. cit.*
66 *ibid.*
67 Hatch and Yamamura, *op. cit.*

intensive and low-technology production supports this conclusion.[68] That said, although Japanese firms seek to control the speed of technology transfer, benefits do continue to accrue in the Chinese economy, and FDI remains the predominant source of technology transfer.[69] For example, NEC and Hitachi have both established advanced production operations in China.[70]

The empirical evidence shows that significant Sino-Japanese economic cooperation is occurring, as both Japan and China accrue large welfare benefits from the size of their trade relations. Additionally, the integration of Chinese manufacturing into Japanese-led APNs creates further interdependence as Chinese firms lack the technology and productivity to operate independently, and Japanese firms rely on Chinese firms in their wider supply chains.[71]

Sino-Japanese Economic Competition

It has been shown that Sino-Japanese economic relations are lucrative and provide mutual benefits. However, there are also potential dangers in a relationship of interdependence. Interdependence heightens the frequency and intensity of contact between states, and interdependence theorists warn that friction may emerge from competition over the division of economic benefits.[72] For neorealists, increased competition is particularly important as they consider state competition a common precursor to conflict.[73] Given this, it is necessary to explore the dimension of competition to fully characterise the nature of Sino-Japanese economic interdependence.

In general, there is little evidence of Sino-Japanese trade friction severe enough to cause political spillover effects and create bilateral conflict. This does not exclude the existence of strong Sino-Japanese competition or discriminatory trade barriers. Rather, there do not appear to be examples of friction comparable with the US-Japan 'trade wars', and the EU/US-China textile disputes.[74] This is in contrast with the intrusion of Sino-Japanese political disputes into the economic realm; for example, the Chinese suspensions of rare earth exports, and the joint exploration of East China Sea gas fields in response to Japan's detention of the captain and crew of a Chinese fishing boat that rammed a Japanese coast guard vessel in September 2010 near the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands.[75]

68 Samuels, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-167; '(Still) Made in Japan'; 'Questioning the Middle Kingdom'.
69 Nakagane, *op. cit.*; Naughton, *op. cit.*, p. 306, 406.
70 Nakagane, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Hatch and Yamamura, *op. cit.*; Samuels, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-161.
71 Hilpert and Nakagane, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
72 Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
73 Waltz, 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory', pp. 43-44; Waltz, 'Structural Realism after the Cold War', p. 14; Barbieri, *op. cit.,* pp. 29-49.
74 Spencer, 'Japan as Competitor'; Bhagwati, 'The US-Japan Car Dispute'.
75 'Asia: Bare Anger'; 'Asia: Deng's Heirs Ignore his Advice'.

This section will examine three factors that have led to the absence of significant Sino-Japanese economic friction.

The Effect of Japanese-led APNs

As described above, Japanese FDI in China is concentrated in manufacturing, as part of Japan's integrated APNs.[76] This off-shoring of Japanese manufacturing and the creation of affiliates in China assists in facilitating the Sino-Japanese intermediate goods trade. Japanese affiliates in China drive procurement of Japanese-sourced parts and equipment, either via pressure from the Japanese-based 'mother company',[77] or by the in-built dependency of the affiliate on high-value Japanese-based equipment and intermediate products.[78] The result is managed trade that creates mutual economic benefits. Japanese firms hold their place at the technological edge and drive productivity, while for China, labour-intensive assembly jobs help create employment and provide technology transfer. However, some bilateral tensions have arisen, stemming from Chinese perceptions that Japanese firms are reluctant to transfer technology,[79] as well as protectionist Chinese laws aimed at forcing foreign manufacturers to shift production to China; for example, the imposition of higher duties on imported hybrid vehicles.[80]

The Effect of the WTO System

Arguably, the most important reason for a lack of friction is China's accession to the WTO and its subsequent general acceptance of the WTO system. There are two key consequences for Sino-Japanese relations: first, market access and economic liberalisation made in preparation for WTO entry and mandated in the post-accession period are opening Chinese domestic markets to Japanese competition;[81] and second, the WTO rules and processes have imposed a mutually acceptable conflict resolution framework, which helps to check the spread of these problems into the political realm.[82]

China's WTO compliance is still problematic in a number of areas.[83] However, given the complexity of its implementation agenda, the international community and most scholars generally accept that China is fulfilling its WTO reform obligations.[84]

76 Farrell, *op. cit*., p. 75.
77 Hu, 'Japanese Firms in China', p. 165.
78 Hatch and Yamamura, *op. cit.*; Samuels, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-161.
79 Tang, 'Sino-Japanese Technology Transfer and its Effects', pp. 152-168; Nakagane, *op. cit.*; Taube, *op. cit.*
80 METI, 'Report on Compliance by Major Trading Partners with Trade Agreements', p. 45; 'Going Green at the Shanghai Show'.
81 WTO, *Protocol on the Accession of the People's Republic of China 2001*; US Congress China Security Review Commission, *Annual Report to Congress 2002*; Naughton, *op. cit.*; Lardy, 'Integrating China into the Global Economy'.
82 Keohane and Martin, 'The Promise of Institutional Theory'.
83 US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 'Annual Report to Congress 2008', pp. 25, 36-37; METI, *op. cit.*
84 Lawrence, 'China and the Multilateral Trading System'; Naughton, *op. cit.*; METI, *op. cit.*

This includes a willingness to comply with international trade law when both formally and informally challenged.[85] Japanese firms seeking to compete in the Chinese market have benefited from the improved market access created by the WTO reforms, but barriers and problems remain.[86] The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) is particularly concerned with intellectual property (IP) issues, including counterfeiting and piracy, and also Chinese certification of vehicle imports.[87] Other more minor trade issues have emerged over Chinese use of WTO safeguard measures on steel imports[88] and China's failure to liberalise the telecommunications market.[89]

Generally, trade friction has been managed through the WTO, and bilaterally through the Japan-China Economic Partnership Consultation (JCEPC) process. Although Japan has not initiated WTO action against China on any issue, Tokyo has been an interested third party or has participated in consultations on a number of actions where China was the respondent to claims made by other economies.[90] While the use of WTO and JCEPC mechanisms indicate that some Sino-Japanese trade friction exists, the management of issues including IP[91] and the importation of integrated circuits[92] and automobile parts[93] through these mechanisms has prevented further escalation. Consequently, the available evidence suggests that market access and competition issues have yet to generate major conflict in bilateral relations that is comparable to the bitter US-Japan trade wars.[94] That said, it is worth keeping an eye on issues such as IP protection. Japan has raised IP in a number of international fora and joined, as a third party, the US WTO case against China for its failure to adequately protect IP.[95]

The Effect of the Nature of Chinese FDI

Finally, it is worth noting that the lack of bilateral economic friction may also be partly explained by the absence of Chinese firms attempting visible takeovers of Japanese firms or aggressively competing in the Japanese market. In terms of FDI, Chinese outflows to the world are still fairly embryonic[96] at US$22.5 billion in 2007, with total accumulated

85 Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
86 METI, *op. cit.*; JBIC, '2008 Survey Report on Overseas Business Operations by Japanese Manufacturing Companies', p. 16.
87 METI, *METI Priorities on WTO Inconsistent Foreign Trade Policies*, p. 1; METI, *Report on Compliance by Major Trading Partners with Trade Agreements*'.
88 'China to Invoke WTO Safeguards on Steel Imports'.
89 METI, *Report on Compliance by Major Trading Partners with Trade Agreements*, pp. 66-68; Marukawa, 'Why Japanese Multinationals Failed in the Chinese Mobile Phone Market', p. 417.
90 WTO Dispute, *China—Measures Affecting the Protection and Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights*; WTO Dispute, *China—Value-Added Tax on Integrated Circuits*; WTO Dispute, *China—Measures Affecting Imports of Automobile Parts*.
91 *ibid*.
92 WTO Dispute, *China—Value-Added Tax on Integrated Circuits*.
93 WTO Dispute, *China—Measures Affecting Imports of Automobile Parts*.
94 Schoppa, *Bargaining with Japan*.
95 METI, *Report on Compliance by Major Trading Partners with Trade Agreements*; WTO Dispute, *China—Measures Affecting the Protection and Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights*.
96 Zhaoxi, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-77, 68-9.

FDI stock at US$95.8 billion.[97] Chinese FDI is also generally concentrated in assembly and natural resources projects, making Japan a relatively unattractive destination.[98] Furthermore, in relation to takeovers, anecdotal evidence suggests (the Japanese government keeps no official figures) that Chinese FDI takes a soft approach by avoiding takeovers. For example, China's Haier and Guangdong Galanz Enterprise have both entered into the Japanese market using joint ventures with Japanese firms.[99] Haier partnered with Japan's Sanyo, allowing it to utilize Sanyo's distribution network to sell Haier-branded products in Japan, in return for providing Sanyo with access to its Chinese distribution network.[100] Consequently, there have so far been no takeover controversies comparable with Chinese CNOOC's withdrawn bid for US company Unocal.[101] Additionally, where Chinese firms have entered the Japanese market, they have also aimed at the less sophisticated and less lucrative ends of the market.[102] For example, Haier targeted the budget end of the Japanese whitegoods market.

Finally, it should be noted that while Chinese-branded goods may pose a threat to some Japanese manufacturers of final consumer goods, other Japanese firms may in fact benefit. In particular, Japanese firms that produce sophisticated components may benefit from increased demand from Chinese manufacturers for their components.[103] For example, Nidec, which has a market share of approximately 70% in hard-disk drive spindle motors, has benefited from rising Chinese demand.[104]

Sino-Japanese Economic Competition Case Studies

The following case studies of Sino-Japanese economic competition illustrate how Sino-Japanese trade friction is managed.

Case Study 1: Electrical Machinery

The electrical machinery industry has been a long-standing strength of Japanese manufacturers. Given that electrical machinery accounts for 20% of the value of Chinese exports to Japan, there appears to be, *prima facie*, a challenge to Japanese manufacturers in their home market.[105] However, an examination of the characteristics of Chinese

97 UNCTAD, *Country Fact Sheet China World Investment Report 2008*.
98 *ibid*., p. 60.
99 Nakamura, 'Asian Appliance Firms Seek Cracks in Japanese Market'.
100 Hu and Wang, 'International Marketing Strategies of Chinese Multinationals', pp. 115-6; 'Haier Targets Japanese Washer-Dryer Market'; 'The Liquidation of Sanyo Haier'.
101 Davidson, 'Chinese Oil Company Pulls Unocal Bid'.
102 Nakamura, *op. cit*.
103 '(Still) Made in Japan', *op. cit*.
104 Tanikawa, 'Razor Focus With a Heart'.
105 Fung et al., 'Japanese Direct Investment in China and Other Countries', p. 12; Ministry of Finance, 'Exports and Imports by Commodity', pp. 88-91.

exports and Japanese FDI activities reveal that rising electrical machinery imports do not evidence rising Chinese competition, but rather, the success of Japanese firms in restructuring their manufacturing operations and shifting labour-intensive operations offshore to China.

When examining the structure of Chinese exports, it is important to recall that FIEs are responsible for 88% of Chinese high-technology exports, and Chinese production is overwhelmingly concentrated in labour-intensive and medium-skilled activities, such as assembly. This means that Chinese exports of complex manufactures like electrical machinery have generally only been assembled in China and are generally produced as part of foreign-controlled production networks.[106]

In the late 1990s, Japanese firms in the electrical machinery sector, motivated by the need to lower costs in their labour-intensive operations, began concentrating FDI in China to establish low-cost manufacturing and assembly operations.[107] The rise in Chinese electrical machinery imports is the result of this process. The Japanese Ministry of Finance has recognised this, noting that 'highly sophisticated parts and materials are mostly imported from Japan,' and that 'China is the sole location for assembly.'[108] Japanese firms assemble their electrical machinery products in China to lower costs, and then re-import the finished products back into Japan or export them from China to other world markets.[109] Consequently, the apparent absence of Japanese firms seeking protection from Chinese-import competition can be explained by an industry understanding that these imports largely stem from their own production operations, not competition from Chinese firms. In fact, Japanese firms engaged in off-shoring manufacturing operations in China have an incentive to ensure a liberal trade regime, as they are dependent upon low-cost Chinese operations for their own productivity.

Case Study 2: Textiles

Clothing and textile imports have been an especially fractious issue in EU-China trade relations. As part of the terms of its 2001 WTO accession, China accepted the Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA), which restricted textile exports from developing countries to developed countries. The MFA governed the world trade in textiles and garments from 1974 through 2004, imposing quotas on the amount developing countries could export to developed countries. The MFA expired on 1 January 2005 with the transition to WTO arrangements. However, following its expiration, Chinese exports flooded into

106 Naughton, *op. cit.*, p. 396.
107 JETRO, *White Paper on Foreign Direct Investment 2002 Growth in Global Investment Slows (Summary)*, p. 20; Fung et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46.
108 Iwatsubo and Karikomi, 'China's Reform on Exchange Rate System', pp. 8-9.
109 Okuyama, 'Japan–East Asia Trade in Electrical Machinery and Equipment'.

the EU (and the US). This created a trade dispute, as 75 million Chinese garments were held in European ports and the matter was settled only after high-level negotiations.[110] Yet, in contrast, Sino-Japanese trade friction over textiles has not emerged to any comparable degree.[111] This is despite rising import penetration of the Japanese textile market from below 20% in 1980 to 40% in 1990 and 85% in 2005, the vast majority sourced from China.[112]

The absence of Sino-Japanese friction supports the finding in the first case study above: that the complementary nature of Sino-Japanese economic strengths and integration of Chinese firms into Japanese-led APNs has tended to mitigate tensions. Since the 1960s, the Japanese textile industry has been in decline and has experienced continual restructuring, with Japanese firms shifting labour-intensive operations to South-East Asia, and from the 1980s, to China. Additionally, while the volume of Chinese textile exports to Japan continues to rise, they represent only 60% of the value-add.[113] This suggests that Japanese firms have retained a position in the capital- and technology-intensive stages of production.[114] Furthermore, as with electrical machinery, the recent surge in Chinese textile imports was preceded by significant Japanese FDI in the Chinese textile industry, indicating that Japanese firms are promoting and controlling significant parts of the Chinese export sector.[115]

The integration of Sino-Japanese textile production has proved critical in mitigating potential friction. Yoshimatsu examined the failed attempt by some Japanese textile manufacturers to obtain WTO safeguard measures against Chinese imports.[116] He found that Japanese firms that have integrated offshore production from China into their operations are dependent upon importing finished products into Japan. In Japan, industrial associations play an integral role in coordinating industry matters, such as protection, with the government.[117] Although members of the textile industry body began to lobby for protection, METI resisted industry pressure to restrict imports, determining that the industry body was actually divided on the merits of protection. In particular, a number of powerful Japanese trading companies with established Chinese operations did not support the industry body's efforts because they were dependent upon a liberalised trading regime.[118] This incident provides a clear example of interest

110 'EU Warns China on Textile Exports'; 'EU and China Reach Textile Deal'.
111 Yoshimatsu, 'Social Demand, State Capability and Globalization: Japan-China', p. 393.
112 Farrell, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
113 *ibid*., p. 185.
114 *ibid*., pp. 175-6, 185-187.
115 JETRO, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Yoshimatsu, *op. cit.*, p. 384.
116 Yoshimatsu, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-408.
117 Dore, *Stock Market Capitalism, Welfare Capitalism*.
118 Yoshimatsu, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

group interdependence acting to reduce the potential for Sino-Japanese trade conflict by undermining potential protectionism.[119]

Sino-Japanese economic relations do not exhibit conflict-creating competition. Japanese-led APNs which deeply integrate firms from both countries effectively manage bilateral trade and help to ensure that cooperative gains are distributed in a mutually acceptable manner. APNs have also created domestic interest groups who promote the interests of liberalised trade. In addition, the WTO system has established a mutually acceptable framework for the resolution of disputes and prevented any spill-over into the political realm. Finally, Chinese firms have yet to mount visible competition in areas of Japanese economic strength.

The Sino-Japanese Balance of Power

Neorealist theories predict that Japan and China's *relative power* will dictate their behaviour, with power defined in military-strategic terms.[120] This paper argues that defensive realism best describes Sino-Japanese security relations, as Tokyo and Beijing seek to maximise their individual security by balancing against perceived threats.[121] In particular, economic interdependence appears absent from their security decision-making.

The Sino-Japanese balance of power is complicated by the presence of US military power. The role of the US remains indispensable to understanding the Sino-Japanese security balance. The alliance with Washington continues to underpin Tokyo's post-Cold War security.[122] However, the respective interests of Washington and Tokyo do not always converge, so analysts often conceptualise North-East Asian security in terms of the Beijing-Tokyo-Washington strategic triangle.[123] While US military power acts as the ultimate guarantee of Japanese security, the alliance raises a constant dilemma for Tokyo. Japan must both hedge against the risks of US abandonment while avoiding unwanted conflict with China.[124]

Following the end of the Cold War, Washington set out its blueprint for future security engagement in the Asia-Pacific in the form of the *United States Security Strategy for the East Asian Region*, commonly known as the Nye Initiative.[125] The Nye Initiative

119 Papayoanou, *op. cit.*
120 Mearsheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Waltz, 'Structural Realism after the Cold War'; Walt, *op. cit.*
121 Walt, *op. cit.*
122 Ministry of Defense, *Japan Defense White Paper 2008*.
123 Drifte, 'Engagement Japanese Style'; Pyle, *Japan Rising;* Curtis, *Getting the Triangle Straight*.
124 Samuels, *op. cit.*
125 US Department of Defense, *United States Security Strategy for the East Asian Region*.

confirmed Washington's commitment to security in the Asia-Pacific region and to maintaining its military presence. Crucially, the Nye Initiative foreshadowed an expanded role for Tokyo in these efforts. In its wake, Beijing began to doubt that the US-Japan alliance still played its traditional role in capping Japanese military ambition.[126] Furthermore, following the 1996 Taiwan Straits crisis[127] Beijing became acutely aware of the imbalance in military power between Chinese and US-Japanese forces and the implications for a final resolution of the Taiwan issue. Thus, despite the clear benefits for Beijing in the relatively stable East Asian strategic environment that US power guarantees,[128] Beijing continued its program of military modernisation.[129]

However, analysts are divided over Beijing's strategic intentions. Defensive realists like Kissinger and Brzezinski consider that Beijing may accumulate greater power in an attempt to balance against the perceived US threat, but that it will not seek to overturn the current East Asian order. [130] In particular, they believe that the benefits reaped by China from the current regional order and the difficulty in confronting the US make conflict unlikely.[131] In contrast, offensive realists are more pessimistic. They contend that states seek security by maximising their power, and predict a Chinese attempt to overturn the current US-led security environment and establish regional hegemony. [132] The result will be confrontation with the US (and Japan).

The growing Sino-Japanese security dilemma is evidenced by a series of developments since the 1990s that illustrate Tokyo and Beijing's perceptions of threat and their engagement in balancing behaviour. Particularly notable are:

- clashes over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands;[133]
- friction over the delimitation of the East China Sea maritime boundary;[134]
- friction over Taiwan;[135]

126 Mann, *About Face*, p. 44; Kissinger, *The White House Years*, p. 334; Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 693.
127 Mann, *op. cit.*; Copper, *Playing with Fire*.
128 Yahuda, 'Looking Ahead', p. 347.
129 US Department of Defense, *Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009 Annual Report*.
130 Brzezinski and Mearsheimer, 'Clash of the Titans'; Zhao, *op. cit.*
131 *ibid.*
132 Brzezinski and Mearsheimer, *op. cit.*
133 Drifte, 'Territorial Conflicts in the East China Sea'; Hsiung, 'Sea Power, Law of the Sea, and a Resource War'; Yu and Kao, 'The Taiwan Factor in Tokyo's Territorial Disputes with Beijing'.
134 Drifte, 'Territorial Conflicts in the East China Sea'; Hsiung, *op. cit.*
135 Deans, *op. cit.*; Nakai, 'US-Japan Relations in Asia'; Yu and Kao, *op. cit.*; Feigenbaum, 'China's Challenge to Pax Americana'; US Department of Defense, *Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009 Annual Report*, pp. 20, 41-45.

- Chinese nuclear testing and modernisation;[136]
- Chinese conventional force modernisation;[137]
- Japanese force modernisation and force posture changes;[138]
- Japanese legislative and institutional reforms, particularly the relaxing of restrictions on the deployment of the Japanese Self-Defense Force; [139]
- Japanese external balancing through a tightening of the US-Japan alliance;[140]
- Japanese participation in the development of Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) in partnership with the US.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an in-depth analysis of all these issues. However, Japan's development of BMD provides an excellent case study for analysing the Sino-Japanese security dilemma and illustrating some important aspects of the above issues.

Ballistic Missile Defence

Japanese development of BMD impacts upon Tokyo's alliance dilemma, as the operational and technical aspects of BMD require an integrated US-Japan partnership, creating a complex web of military interdependence. The stationing of key platforms in Japan, joint US-Japan 'command and control systems', and Japan's technological dependence on US early-warning systems all work to tie Tokyo to US policy choices.[141] This reduces the risk of US abandonment, while increasing the risk of entrapment through the 'compulsive logic of BMD technology.'[142] For example, in the event of a Sino-US conflict, such as over Taiwan, the use by the US of BMD platforms, related facilities and sensors stationed in Japan would make it extremely difficult for Japan to stand apart from the conflict.[143]

136 Johnston, 'China's New "Old Thinking"'; Shulong and Yu, 'China: Dynamic Minimum Deterrence'; Johnston, 'Is China a Status Quo Power?'; Green and Furukawa, 'Japan: New Nuclear Realism'.
137 US Department of Defense, *The Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009*; O'Rourke, *China Naval Modernization*; Johnston, 'Is China a Status Quo Power?'.
138 Ministry of Defense, *National Program Defense Guidelines FY 2005*; Samuels, *op. cit.*; Hickey and Lu, 'Japan's Military Modernization'.
139 Samuels, *op. cit.*; Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy*.
140 Green, 'US-Japan Relations after Koizumi'.
141 *ibid.*, p. 78.
142 Hughes, 'Sino-Japanese Relations and BMD', p. 79.
143 Drifte, 'Engagement Japanese Style', p. 66.

The Nye Initiative foreshadowed greater Japanese participation in BMD.[144] However, US-Japan development of Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) emerged after the 1996 Hashimoto-Clinton Declaration,[145] as Tokyo and Washington sought to reinvigorate the alliance.[146] Tokyo's reluctance to commit to BMD earlier was based on the implications of its security dilemma with Beijing, particularly the risk of entrapment created by tightening the alliance with Washington.[147] Tokyo's decision to participate in BMD was prompted by its concerns over Chinese and North Korean missile threats. The North Korean threat is a substantial element of Japan's strategic calculus, particularly following the firing of a missile over Honshu in 1998, but is also a useful piece of domestic justification for BMD participation.[148] That said, it is the Chinese missile threat which is critical to Japan's long-term thinking.[149]

Tokyo's pursuit of BMD was not an immediate response to China (or North Korea) possessing missile capability, as Beijing has a long-standing missile program; rather, it emerged as Tokyo began to harbour doubts about Beijing's strategic intentions. Tokyo's appreciation of a missile threat was prompted by China's 1995 nuclear testing, Beijing's opaque military modernisation program, and the 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis. These incidents combined to exacerbate Tokyo's doubts about Beijing's intentions and its ability to exercise influence over Beijing through a long-standing strategy of commercial liberalism.[150] Consequently, Japan's previous caution regarding BMD largely evaporated as it sought to balance against a China threat.

Tokyo has balanced against the missile threat posed by Beijing (and Pyongyang), both through the development of its indigenous BMD capabilities[151] and through BMD cooperation with Washington. Ultimately, Tokyo appears to have determined that the risks of entrapment in the US-alliance and a possible Sino-Japanese arms race[152] were outweighed by the need to balance against strongly-held suspicions of a Chinese missile threat.[153] This suggests that Tokyo is following the logic of defensive realism by balancing against a threat.[154]

Beijing's sensitivity to a US-Japanese BMD partnership is based upon three implications for Chinese security. First, BMD heightens Beijing's fears of a remilitarised Japan.

144 US Department of Defense, *United States Security Strategy for the East Asian Region February 1995*.
145 Ministry of Defense, 'Japan-US Joint Declaration on Security Alliance for the 21st Century'.
146 Drifte, 'Engagement Japanese Style', p. 57; Nye, 'The "Nye Report" 6 Years Later', p. 99.
147 Matthews, 'Japan's Missile Defence Dilemma', p. 130; Hughes, *op. cit.*; Drifte, 'Engagement Japanese Style', pp. 64; Soeya, 'In Defense of No Defense', p. 23.
148 Ministry of Defense, '*Japan Defense White Paper 2008*,' p. 167; Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
149 Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism*, p. 93; Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Ching, 'TMD: Safety Net or Threat', p. 35.
150 Green and Self, 'Japan's Changing China Policy'; Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism*; Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
151 Ministry of Defense, *Japan's BMD*.
152 Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-8, 130; Drifte, 'Engagement Japanese Style', p. 66.
153 Heginbotham and Samuels, 'Japan's Dual Hedge'; Soeya, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
154 Walt, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Second, it threatens to undermine Beijing's conventional-missile and nuclear-missile deterrence. Third, it potentially tilts the balance of power in the Taiwan Strait and East China Sea against Beijing.

Remilitarised Japan

The US-Japan BMD partnership increases Beijing's fears of a remilitarised Japan in two ways. First, Beijing considers BMD systems to be offensive in nature and, second, BMD increases Beijing's doubts about the US-Japan alliance. Tokyo (and Washington) asserts that BMD is a purely defensive capability directed at denying missile strikes from perceived rogue states, particularly North Korea.[155] Since the use of BMD is contingent upon coming under missile attack, Tokyo and Washington contend it must therefore be a defensive system.[156] However, Chinese analysts consider that BMD lacks the technological sophistication needed to deny Chinese missile capabilities.[157] Beijing remains sceptical about the real targets of Japanese-US BMD[158] and conceives of BMD in different terms. First, Chinese analysts adopt the perspective of conventional deterrence theory; that is, that potential attackers are deterred when they believe an attack will be costly and unlikely to succeed.[159] Accordingly, BMD constitutes an offensive capability because it shifts the balance of power against Beijing by denying, or at least reducing, the deterrence value of Chinese strategic and conventional missiles.[160] Second, Chinese military planners identify a close relationship between missile and anti-missile technology and believe BMD may be a precursor to a Japanese offensive missile program.[161]

Tokyo's increased willingness to partner with Washington militarily has also led to a growing belief in Beijing that the US-Japan alliance is being used as cover for a more assertive Japan.[162] Since Washington considers BMD a purely defensive capability, it believes partnering with Japan in BMD is a justifiable component of rebalancing the US-Japan alliance. However, given that Beijing considers BMD an offensive capability, this cooperation fuels Chinese doubts that the US-Japan alliance still works to cap Japanese military ambition.[163] Beijing fears that BMD creates a combination of greater security responsibilities and offensive capabilities that will break Tokyo's longstanding norms

155 Fukuda, 'Statement by Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary'.
156 Ching, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
157 Urayama, 'China Debates Missile Defence'; Hughes *op. cit.*, p. 77; Ministry of Defense, *Japan Defense White Paper 2008*, p. 167.
158 Urayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 129.
159 Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence.*
160 Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Brams and Kilgour, 'Deterrence Versus Defense'; Quackenbush, 'National Missile Defense and Deterrence'.
161 Ching, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Urayama, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
162 Wu, 'The End of the Silver Lining', p. 119.
163 *ibid.*

of military self-restraint.[164] Consequently, Beijing views US-Japan BMD collaboration as Washington's support for Tokyo's acquisition of offensive military capabilities and remilitarisation.[165]

Nuclear Deterrence

Beijing remains concerned that US-Japan BMD is intended to undermine its nuclear deterrence.[166] Washington and Tokyo contend that BMD lacks the capabilities to deny the offensive to a nuclear force the size of China's. However, both the proposed BMD interceptor speeds and the specifications of intended target missiles correlate strongly with Beijing's strategic capabilities.[167] For Beijing, BMD potentially changes the strategic balance and alters the force level necessary to exercise minimum nuclear deterrence against the US and Japan. Beijing worries that BMD provides Tokyo with the deterrence 'spear' of US nuclear forces and the deterrence 'shield' of denial.[168]

Beijing fears that the removal of its nuclear deterrence would allow Tokyo to respond less cautiously in the event of a Sino-Japanese or Sino-US clash. Although Gronlund argues that, even with a 95% effective BMD system, the risk of a nuclear attack on a city is unacceptable,[169] Beijing is extremely sensitive to the way that BMD developments impact on strategic deterrence. Beijing's sensitivity, and belief that BMD is fundamentally offensive, explains why it has continued to pursue conventional and nuclear missile force modernisation despite security-dilemma theory positing that a notionally defensive system such as BMD should not create an arms race.[170]

Taiwan

Beijing interprets BMD as a threat because of the potential to upset the current *status quo* relating to Taiwan. First, Beijing employs its strategic missiles both to discourage Taiwanese moves toward independence and to deter US intervention in the event of a Taiwan Strait conflict.[171] Second, this deterrence is supplemented by the threat of China's 1050-1150 Short-Range Ballistic Missiles (SRBMs).[172] China fears that the Navy Theatre-

164 Christensen, 'China, the US-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia', p. 51.
165 Drifte, 'US Impact on Japanese-Chinese Security Relations', p. 457; Glasser, 'Chinese Apprehensions about the Revitalization of the US-Japan Alliance'; Christensen, 'Chinese Real Politik'.
166 Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Urayama, *op. cit.*
167 Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Gronlund et al., 'Technical Realities', p. 17.
168 Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
169 Gronlund et al., 'National Missile Defense', p. 128.
170 Christensen, 'China, the US-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia', p. 51.
171 US Department of Defense, *Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2009 Annual Report*, p. 9.
172 *ibid*., p. 48.

wide Missile Defence (NTMD) systems, which Washington and Tokyo claim are for use against North Korean threats, are equally deployable in the event of a Taiwan crisis. Beijing is sensitive to the possibility that the NTMD could be used to shield Taiwan from Chinese missiles and fears this may embolden a declaration of independence. Beijing is concerned that Tokyo, through enhanced interoperability with the US, could intervene in the event of a crisis in support of US NTMD platforms; for example, via the deployment of Japanese BMD-equipped Aegis destroyers.[173] For Beijing, these concerns are based upon two scenarios: either that Tokyo is drawn into a Sino-US conflict because of the integrated nature of BMD systems and related alliance obligations, or that intervening in a Taiwan crisis is, in fact, Tokyo's real intention.[174]

The US-Japan BMD partnership has consolidated the broader US-Japan security alliance, as sought by Tokyo.[175] Tokyo has created deep bilateral military interdependence by both hosting US platforms such as the X-band radar at Shariki Air Base, and purchasing interoperable systems such as the Aegis BMD.[176] Tokyo has further cemented the US relationship through extensive BMD research and development collaboration. Notably, it has revised its legal and policy frameworks to permit BMD-related technology transfer to the US. For example, under Japan's Three Principles on Arms Control Exports, Japan is prohibited from transferring arms and arms-related technology, but it was determined that this policy would not apply to BMD. [177]

However, Tokyo has also increased its risk of entrapment and reduced its freedom of strategic choice, in particular due to its ongoing dependency on US-provided early warning and other related information, for example, Japan's reliance on US X-band radar data. [178] Notwithstanding the large overall US military presence in Japan, the logic of BMD technology makes it extremely difficult for Tokyo to stay out of potential Sino-US clashes where Washington would seek to use BMD or NTMD.

Defensive realism clearly describes the military-security policy choices of Tokyo and Beijing. There is no evidence in this case study that policy makers in either Beijing or Tokyo reflected on the consequences for economic interdependence when formulating their responses to security challenges. Beijing is conscious of its strategic weakness and is seeking to balance and deter Washington and Tokyo by modernising its strategic power, while Tokyo is uncertain about Beijing's future ambitions and has engaged in

173 Eto, 'Successful Completion of the Aegis Ballistic Missile (Defense) Intercept Flight Test in Hawaii'.
174 Urayama, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
175 Green, 'US-Japan Relations after Koizumi'.
176 US Missile Defense Agency, *Missile Defense Book 2009*, p. 9; Ministry of Defense, *Japan's BMD*, p. 17; Svan, 'Army Showing Off New X-Band Radar in Japan'.
177 Ministry of Defense, *Japan Defense White Paper 2008*, pp. 174-5.
178 Ministry of Defense, *Japan's BMD*, p. 28; Hughes, *op. cit.*; 'Japan's Fourth Spy Satellite in Orbit'.

internal and external balancing behaviour. Sino-Japanese relations are characterised by a classic strategic dilemma: as both states attempt to enhance their own security, such moves provoke fears in the other and cause balancing behaviour.

Conclusion

This paper supports the neorealist contention that economic interdependence is only an intervening variable in international relations, largely because of its failure to shape states' perceptions of, and responses to, security threats. Tokyo and Beijing have consistently made policy choices designed to increase their own strategic capabilities, with little obvious regard for the potential damage this may cause to economic relations. Tokyo and Beijing appear unable to remove the mutually felt perception of threat, and are thus locked in a security dilemma.[179]

It would appear that either economic interdependence theory is flawed because, as neorealists contend, security always takes precedence;[180] or that Sino-Japanese interdependence is insufficiently complex to affect calculations in other policy areas.[181] One indication that interdependence is insufficiently complex is that significant regional security institutions are notably lacking in East Asia. Keohane and Nye emphasise that international organisations are a critical ingredient in the formation of complex interdependence.[182] Thus, the absence of institutions establishing rules and norms for security relations appears to preclude genuine strategic cooperation between Beijing and Tokyo.[183]

However, the Sino-Japanese security dilemma stems from inherently incompatible security interests and strategic objectives; in particular, the division over the East Asian military-strategic balance. For while Japan supports the US intention to maintain a 'preponderance' of power,[184] China continues to push for 'multilateralism,' meaning at the very least a significant diminution of US power.[185] It is questionable whether institutions could be developed to establish security cooperation when such a fundamental divide exists.[186]

Defensive realism has proven the most adequate lens through which to view Sino-Japanese security relations. However, defensive realism puts forward two propositions concerning economic interdependence that are contradicted by Sino-Japanese relations.

179 Yahuda, 'The Limits of Economic Interdependence'.
180 Waltz, 'The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory', p. 48; Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
181 Keohane and Nye, *op. cit.*
182 *ibid.*, p. 30-31; Waltz, 'The Myth of National Interdependence', p. 21.
183 Ruggie, 'Multilateralism'.
184 US Department of Defense, *United States Security Strategy for the East Asian Region February 1995*.
185 Brzezinski and Mearsheimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50.
186 Mearsheimer, 'The False Promise of International Institutions'.

First, neorealist theories contend that economic interdependence is merely the product of manipulation of weaker states by more powerful rivals;[187] and second, that under conditions of anarchy, states acting under a security dilemma will not assist a rival to make relative gains.[188] The weight of strategic power favours the US-Japan alliance and, as shown in this paper, these powers jointly view China as a potential threat.

However, Tokyo (and Washington) continues to engage Beijing economically, and thereby aid its development. Two possible interpretations have been proffered, neither of which is congruent with neorealist theory. First, as argued by Green, Tokyo has abandoned hopes of using economic interdependence to directly influence Beijing, but is still seeking to integrate China into the international system to encourage regional stability.[189] Secondly, and conversely, Japanese prosperity appears dependent on continued Chinese economic growth. Copeland has shown that the US economy would suffer negatively from a stall in the Chinese economy and Japan could be expected to experience similar problems. [190] Thus, it would seem that the bonds of economic interdependence are stronger than neorealists assert. The result is a paradox: Sino-Japanese relations comprise a form of economic interdependence that is of insufficient strength to influence security policy choices; however, security conflicts are not serious enough to affect economic interdependence.[191]

Tokyo's and Beijing's security policies have been clearly shaped by perceptions of threat and a reference to the East Asian balance of power, not by their economic interdependence. The tensions in Sino-Japanese security relations are thus best analysed through the lens of neorealist theory. However, neorealism is unable to adequately explain the co-existence of a thriving Sino-Japanese economic relationship with a growing security dilemma. The challenge for both neorealist and interdependence theories is to adequately account for the disparity between military-strategic competition and complex economic interdependence.

187 Waltz, 'The Myth of National Interdependence'; Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*.
188 Grieco, *op. cit*.
189 Green, 'Japan in Asia', pp. 174, 178.
190 Copeland, 'Economic Interdependence and the Future of US-Chinese Relations'.
191 Green, 'Japan in Asia', p. 176.

Glossary

APN	Asian Production Network
ASEAN 10	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Brunei, Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam)
BMD	Ballistic Missile Defence
EU 15	European Union (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIE	Foreign Invested Enterprise
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Intellectual Property
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JCEPC	Japan-China Economic Partnership Consultation
JETRO	Japan External Trade Organisation
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (Japan)
MFA	Multi-Fibre Arrangement
OECD	Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development
NTMD	Navy Theatre-wide Missile Defence
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
SRBM	Short Range Ballistic Missile
TMD	Theatre Missile Defence
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
WOFE	Wholly Owned Foreign Enterprise
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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Music in Kamigata *Rakugo* Performance

Catherine Hallett
Australian National University

Abstract

Rakugo is the Japanese tradition of staged comic storytelling presented by highly trained *hanashika* storytellers associated with small urban variety theatres called *yose*, found in the Kamigata and Edo regions. Although *yose* theatres are associated with spoken rather than musical events, music is an integral component of Kamigata *rakugo* performance. It is central both to the rendering of a storyteller's performance and to creating the overall atmosphere in the *yose* theatre. This paper addresses the lack of detailed research on music in Kamigata *rakugo* performance, particularly in English. It demonstrates and documents the centrality of music in Kamigata *rakugo* performance, specifically the way that this music, which is rich in symbolism, aids a storyteller's performance and is intrinsically bound up in the hierarchical structure of the storytellers and *yose-bayashi* ensemble musicians. It focuses on how the music functions in the performances, transmitting meanings and supporting the social structure of the ensemble.

Keywords

Kamigata; *rakugo*; storyteller; storytelling; *yose-bayashi*

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Introduction

Rakugo[1] is the Japanese tradition of staged comic storytelling presented by highly trained *hanashika* storytellers associated with small urban variety theatres called *yose*, located in the Kamigata and Edo regions. Despite the comparable format and appearance of Kamigata and Edo *rakugo*, Kamigata storytellers consider music to be an integral component of *rakugo* performance.[2] It is central to the rendering of a storyteller's performance, as demonstrated by the inclusion of *debayashi* (theme songs), *ukebayashi* (withdrawal songs), *hamemono* (music and musical sound effects), and *aibayashi* (joining tunes).[3] The music also adds to the overall atmosphere created both inside and outside the *yose* theatre through the sounding of the *narimono* repertoire.[4]

The *yose* theatre's *hayashi* ensemble, which consists of a *hosozao shamisen* (thin-necked, three-stringed plucked lute) and *narimono* (percussion and flutes), performs all the music heard in the *yose* theatre. The term *narimono* refers to the percussion and flutes of the *hayashi* ensemble and also to the repertoire of music played solely by these instruments. In order to accurately convey its meaning throughout this paper, the term *narimono* will be used to delineate both *narimono* instruments and *narimono* repertoire. The structure of the *yose* theatre's *hayashi* ensemble and the indispensable role it plays in the theatre clearly reflect the etymology of the word *hayashi* (to be discussed later), and its purpose: to praise and support the storyteller.

The aims of this paper are, firstly, to address the lack of detailed research on music in Kamigata *rakugo*, particularly in English; and secondly, to demonstrate and document the centrality of music in Kamigata *rakugo*—specifically the way music, which is rich in symbolism, aids a storyteller's performance and is intrinsically bound up in the hierarchical structure of the storytellers and the *hayashi* musicians.

This paper has five parts. The first outlines the research methodology, and the second reviews the extant literature on music in *rakugo* performance. The third provides a brief introduction to *rakugo,* and the fourth discusses the instrumentation, function, social structures and transmission of music in *rakugo.* Finally, the central musical components heard regularly during any given *rakugo* performance are examined within the context of their important contribution to Kamigata *yose* performance as a whole.

1 A glossary of Japanese terms is provided at the end of this paper.
2 Yamamoto, *Rakugo handobukku*, p. 246; Mita, *Yose-bayashi gaisetsu*, p. 17; Hayashiya, *Geza-bayashi kenkyū dai nishū,* p. 14; Ui, *Rakugo no keifu*, p. 69.
3 Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
4 *ibid*., p. 64.

Research Methodology

Data for this paper was collected during fieldwork conducted in Osaka between January and February 2008. Interviews were conducted in Japanese with five storytellers and two *hayashi shamisen* musicians who are affiliated with the Kamigata Rakugo Kyōkai (Kansai Rakugo Association). Set interview questions were used for both storytellers and musicians, but in order to deepen understanding these were followed by unstructured questions relevant to the respondent's circumstances.[5] Non-participatory direct observation, including video and audio recording, was undertaken in order to obtain an ontological perspective on the *yose* theatre's *hayashi* ensemble. The Kamigata Rakugo Kyōkai and master storyteller Hayashiya Somemaru IV[6] (b. 1949) granted me permission to observe the workings of the *hayashi* ensemble during *rakugo* performances from behind the stage at Tenma Tenjin Hanjōtei, the main *yose* theatre in Osaka. Supplementary collection of data from primary and secondary Japanese-language materials (books, journal articles, textbooks, newspaper articles, theatre programs, video and audio recordings) was also undertaken.

Literature on Music in Rakugo Performance

This literature review briefly describes the existing literature on Kamigata *rakugo* performance to show the need for more empirical research on music in *rakugo*, particularly in English.

The extant literature on Kamigata *rakugo* primarily describes the linguistic and performative aspects of *rakugo* performance; it pays limited attention to the function, social structures and transmission of the music proceeding, during, and succeeding a storyteller's performance. Japanese-language literature on contemporary Kamigata *rakugo* performance is abundant. Significant contributors to the literature include Hayashiya Somemaru IV, Katsura Beichō III, Katsura Bunshi V, San'yūtei Enshō, Maeda Isamu, Masaoka Iruru, Mita Jun'ichi, Satake Akihiro, Sekiyama Kazuo and Ui Mushū—the first four of whom are also *rakugo* storytellers. Literature on contemporary *rakugo* performance in English is scarce, and focuses on Edo *rakugo* performance. No explanations are available on why non-Japanese scholars focus on Edo *rakugo*; however, this focus does explain the scarcity of English-language literature on music in *rakugo* performance. As mentioned, compared with Edo *rakugo*, Kamigata *rakugo* incorporates and places greater emphasis on the inclusion of music to create atmosphere in the *yose*

5 All interviews were transcribed and translated by the author. While data was drawn from the interviews for use in this paper, in order to maintain anonymity, none of the storytellers or musicians quoted have been identified.

6 A list of the Kamigata *rakugo ichimon* (artistic families) and the storytellers mentioned here is located at the end of this paper. For more details on the artistic families or specific Kamigata storytellers, see Yamada, *Kamigata rakugoka meikan*.

theatre.[7] The main contributors to the literature on contemporary *rakugo* performance in English include Lorna Brau, Ian McArthur, Heinz Morioka, Miyoko Sasaki, Matthew Shores, and Kimie Ōshima. Matthew Shores is the only one of these scholars who focuses his research on Kamigata *rakugo* performance.

Existing literature on music in contemporary *rakugo* performance is scant, and primarily limited to Japanese-language sources. The English-language writers Lorna Brau, Heinz Morioka and Miyoko Sasaki refer briefly to the presence of *debayashi* and *narimono* repertoire in the *yose* theatre, but they do not examine the function, social structures and transmission of music in *rakugo* performance. The Japanese-language literature on music in contemporary Kamigata *rakugo* performance can be divided into three categories: studies, anthologies and dictionaries, and *kikkakechō* (cue books). The first category includes descriptions of performance elements such as *debayashi*, *hamemono* and the *narimono* repertoire, and it documents the types of music traditionally incorporated into a storyteller's performance. This type of literature fails, however, to acknowledge the way that storytellers engage in innovation in contemporary performance by incorporating aspects such as foreign music, animation music and children's music into their performance. Noteworthy scholars include the aforementioned Hayashiya Somemaru IV, Katsura Beichō III, Katsura Bunga IV, Masaoka Iruru, Mita Jun'ichi, Satake Akihiro and Ui Mushū.

The second category of literature, anthologies or dictionaries, provide synopses or transcriptions of *rakugo* stories regardless of whether they contain *hamemono*. It is currently unknown precisely how many *rakugo* stories contain *hamemono* because it is unclear how many *rakugo* stories exist.[8] Most anthologies are arranged by theme or by storyteller. The main contributors of this literature include Mita Jun'ichi, Nagata Yoshinao, Satake Akihiro, Teruoka Yasutaka, Ui Mushū, the Tōdai Rakugokai and the Koten Geino Kenkyūkai. The third category of literature consists of *kikkakechō* (cue books) which notate when and where music should be inserted into a *rakugo* story. Literature in this category is scarce, and limited to sources published by Ōsada Sadao and Tachibana Uchiro. All *yose* theatre *hayashi* musicians and storytellers keep cue books with detailed information about *rakugo* performances containing *hamemono*; however, these are unpublished.

7 Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 246; Mita, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Hayashiya, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
8 Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 9.

What is *Rakugo*?

Rakugo is the oral tradition of staged comic storytelling of the Kamigata (or Kansai) and Edo (or Kantō) regions of Japan, which has been performed regularly since the Edo period (1600-1868).[9] In this tradition, stories are transmitted through oral interaction (*kōtō denshō*) from *shishō* (master) to *deshi* (pupil, apprentice storyteller).[10] The stories are called *hanashi* or *rakugo*, and are performed by professional storytellers called *hanashika* or *rakugoka*, the former terms being preferred in the Kamigata region.

When performing, the storyteller enters the stage, sits with his legs folded under himself (or herself) in the *seiza* position on a large *zabuton* cushion placed at centre stage, and tells a story. There are two types of *rakugo* upon which a storyteller may base a performance. The first, called *shinsaku rakugo* (literally 'new *rakugo*'), refers to stories composed during or after the Meiji era (1868-1912). The second, called *koten rakugo* (literally 'classical *rakugo*'), refers to stories that predate the Meiji era.[11] Each of these types of *rakugo* contains numerous categories of stories, such as *otoshi banashi* (stories ending with a joke or pun), *ninjō banashi* (stories of human compassion), *kaidan banashi* (ghost stories), *shibai banashi* ('theatre' stories) and *ongyoku banashi* (stories with instrumental accompaniment from the *shamisen* (three-stringed plucked lute) or *narimono* (percussion and flutes)). There is no consensus as to the number or type of representative themes,[12] and most commonly, anthologies of *rakugo* are arranged according to storyteller or by theme.[13]

Regardless of the type of *rakugo* performed, each storyteller's performance lasts for approximately twenty minutes. Each story characteristically consists of a *makura* (prologue), *hondai* (main story) and *ochi* (ending punch line). Storytellers customarily wear a *kimono* (traditional Japanese garment), or a pair of *hakama* (long pleated culotte-like trousers) and a *haori* (formal jacket). Storytellers use two props or accessories: a *sensu* (folding paper fan) and a *tenugui* (handkerchief/small cotton hand towel). These are said to have been the two items most carried by people during the Edo period.[14] The *sensu* can be used to symbolise objects such as chopsticks, scissors, cigarettes or a pipe, while the *tenugui* can be used to represent items such as a book, a handkerchief or banknotes.[15]

9 Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Shores, 'Travel and Tabibanashi in the Early Modern Period: Forming Japanese Geographic Identity', p. 107.
10 Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *Kamigata engei taizen*, p. 112.
11 Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
12 *ibid.*, p. 9.
13 Aiba, *Gendai kamigata rakugo benri jiten*; Koten Geino Kenkyūkai (ed.), *Gendai rakugo jiten;* Nagata, *Koten rakugo kanshō jiten*; Tōdai Rakugokai (ed.), *Rakugo jiten*; Ui, *op. cit.*
14 Brau, *Rakugo: Performing Comedy and Cultural Heritage in Contemporary Tokyo*, p. 49.
15 Ui, *Kamigata hanashi kō*, pp. 290-293.

The three main *rakugo* theatres in the Kamigata region are Tenman Tenjin Hanjōtei, Dōrakutei and Tanabe Yose. The main *rakugo* theatres in the Edo region include Suehirotei, Suzumoto Engeijō, Asakusa Engei Hōru and Ikebukuro Engeijō. In both regions, there are numerous other *chihō yose* or *chiiki yose* (provincial and regional theatres respectively) where one can hear *rakugo*.

The *Yose* Theatre's *Hayashi* Ensemble

Each element of the ensemble is worth considering, including its instruments, etiology, function and social structure. As mentioned, the *yose* theatre's *hayashi* ensemble is composed of a *hosozao shamisen*[16] (thin-necked, three-stringed plucked lute)[17] and *narimono* instruments (percussion and flutes). Those who play *shamisen* are referred to as *ohayashi-san*, after the name of the ensemble (hereafter *ohayashi* musicians), or *geza-san*, after the name of the room in which they perform. The former term is preferred in Kamigata *rakugo*.[18] The *narimono* instruments are played by apprentice storytellers. The instruments include but are not limited to percussion instruments such as *ōdaiko* (large barrel drum), *shimedaiko* (small barrel drum), *okedō* (folk drum with two heads lashed together), *dora* (gong with a knobbed centre), *atarigane* (small brass hand gong played with a small bone hammer on the inside of the gong), *rei* (Buddhist sutra bell used to indicate religious services or the entrance of a priest), *ekirei* (station bells), *hyōshigi* (wooden clappers), *tsuke* (striking clappers on a wooden board), *kotsuzumi* (hourglass-shaped drum), *ōkawa* (small drum), *sōban* (gong), *chanpon* (small cymbals) and flutes such as the *shinobue* (also referred to as *takebue*; transverse bamboo flute) and *nōkan* (Noh flute).[19]

Inside the *yose* theatre, the theatre's *hayashi* ensemble is seated in a small room called the *geza*, which is similar to the Kabuki theatre's *kuromisu* (literally 'black curtain'), the off-stage musicians' room.[20] From inside the room, the musicians are able to keep an eye on the storyteller through a small window covered by wooden slats and gauze-like fabric. The audience cannot see the *hayashi* ensemble from their seats in the theatre.

16 Kikkawa, *Hōgaku hyakka jiten*, p. 497.
17 The *hosozao* (thin neck) *shamisen* is the main type of *shamisen* used in the *yose-bayashi*, although there are times when the *chūzao* (middle-thickness neck) *shamisen* or the *futozao* (thick neck) *shamisen* are also used for certain genres of music.
18 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 63.
19 *ibid*., p. 1; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 6; Ui, *Kamigata hanashi kō*, pp. 294-295; Ui, *Rakugo no keifu*, p. 63; Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit*., pp. 184-185.
20 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 33; Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments,* p. 241.

Etiology of the Yose Theatre's Hayashi Ensemble

In discussing the ensemble, it is important to consider the etymology of the term *hayashi* and how it is exemplified in the *yose* theatre. *Hayashi* is a general term for different types of musical ensembles or musical accompaniments in Japan.[21] When referring to the *hayashi* found in the *yose*—that is, the *yose hayashi*—the phonetically correct term used to describe the ensemble is '*yose-bayashi*', and this term will be used here. The word *hayashi* can be traced to the nominal form of the transitive verb *hayasu* (囃す, 速す), meaning 'to favour' or 'to praise'.[22] At the core of the word *hayashi* is the suggestion 'that the festive mood associated with an instrumental ensemble [*yose-bayashi*] was created in praise of something.'[23] In Kamigata *rakugo* performance, this is clearly exemplified through the ensemble's sounding of the *debayashi* before a storyteller takes the stage and the *ukebayashi* after a storyteller's performance, and also through the sounding of *hamemono* incorporated during their performance.

The Function of the Ensemble

The music played by the ensemble is created 'to praise' or 'to favour' and support the storyteller. In the past it was common for a storyteller's wife to accompany her husband's *rakugo* performance with the *shamisen,* thus outwardly displaying support and encouragement for her partner. A particularly noteworthy example of this was Hayashiya Tomi (1883-1970), an *ohayashi* musician who was married to and accompanied her husband Hayashiya Somemaru II (1867-1952). Today, of those affiliated with the Kamigata Rakugo Kyōkai, there are two *ohayashi* musicians who are married to storytellers. *Ohayashi* musician Hayashiya Kazume (b. 1961) is married to Hayashiya Kosome V (b. 1963), and *ohayashi* musician Nakata Manami (b.?) is married to Katsura Harusame (b. 1964).[24] Interestingly, in 2008, one of the Kamigata *rakugo* storytellers interviewed as part of this research explicitly likened the relationship between the *ohayashi* musicians and storyteller to that between a husband and wife:

> The relationship between *shamisen* player and storyteller is similar to that between a husband and wife. The storyteller must respect and revere the *shamisen* player and conversely the *shamisen* player must support the storyteller.[25]

21 Kikkawa, *op. cit.*, p. 827.
22 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 33; Imada, 'Lupin III and the Gekiban Approach', p. 179.
23 Imada, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
24 Yamada, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.
25 「落語とお囃子の人は夫婦のようなものですね。落語家はお囃子さんのことを尊敬しなければいけない。お囃子さんも落語家のことを立てなければいけない。そういう縁の下の力もちですけれども、とても大事な役目になってます。」

Social Structures and Transmission of Music in Rakugo *Performance*

In *rakugo,* stories and music are transmitted through oral interaction (*kōtō denshō*) from master to apprentice storyteller.[26] Tokita and Hughes state that the traditional arts' 'reliance on oral transmission required the stability of social structure, as well as mechanisms and materials that became established and institutionalised in a variety of ways'.[27] All Kamigata storytellers and the majority of *ohayashi* musicians belong to an *ichimon* (artistic family) in which all performers follow and abide by a strict autocratic hierarchical structure. Master storytellers have substantial influence in the *yose* theatre, while *ohayashi* musicians have authority in the musical arena of the *yose* theatre. Apprentice storytellers are musically subservient to the *ohayashi* musicians; however, in the long run they will eventually become professional storytellers and at some stage have authority over the *ohayashi* musicians.

The configuration of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble contains a dichotomy based on gender and one's status as professional or amateur. The *ohayashi* musicians are professionally trained musicians who play the *shamisen*. The *narimono* instruments are played by apprentice storytellers, who are considered—and consider themselves to be—amateur musicians. The vast majority are men, and it is part of their formal *rakugo* training. This gender-based functional dichotomy is said to be evidence that *rakugo* parodies and inverts the conventions of Kabuki, in which all music is played by professional male musicians.[28]

All musicians, whether considered professional or amateur, practice their instrument and learn the prescribed musical components alone. There are only three occasions when the *yose-bayashi* ensemble practices together: first, when they are required to play *hamemono* that deviate from the prescribed accompaniment inserted in a particular *rakugo* story; second, when they incorporate *hamemono* into a *rakugo* story that does not usually contain *hamemono*; and finally, when a storyteller has selected, composed or received a new *debayashi*.

In the case where a storyteller adopts a new *debayashi* or incorporates *hamemono* into their performance, one of the *ohayashi* musicians will transcribe the melody and place the score in the *geza* (off-stage musicians' room) so that all the musicians are aware of the tune. If they discover immediately before a performance that an *ohayashi* musician is unfamiliar with a new *debayashi*, *aibayashi* or *hamemono*, they will ask a colleague to send them the score via mobile phone text (*sha-mēru*). The notation of the scores

26 Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 112; Ōshima, R*akugo and Humour in Japanese Interpersonal Communication*, p. 99.

27 Tokita and Hughes, 'Context and Change in Japanese Music', p. 14.

28 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 34.

usually exemplifies the skeletal structure of the melody with minimal expressive techniques noted. It is interesting to note that while musicians have certain agreed-upon ways to play a piece of musical accompaniment, there is no correct rendition of a piece; thus there may be several slightly different ways in which a piece of music could be heard.

As part of their apprenticeship, apprentice storytellers are required to learn a *narimono* instrument—either percussion or flute. One of the storytellers interviewed as part of this research indicated that learning an instrument is fundamental to *rakugo* training, as it aids in developing a sense of rhythm that is integral in storytelling.

> [Participating in the *yose-bayashi* ensemble] greatly improves your rhythm in storytelling. Some people have a sense of rhythm, while others have no sense of rhythm. Rhythm is very important in *rakugo*. People who are not musical are also bad at *rakugo*. They have a bad ear. But if you continue to practice the drums or *shamisen*, even if you have a bad sense of rhythm, your playing will improve and so will your storytelling.[29]

The *ohayashi* musicians I interviewed also revealed that apprentice storytellers are not scheduled on a roster to play with the *yose-bayashi* ensemble. Instead, those who have been asked to assist their master will assume the role of musician when required. Once an apprentice storyteller has become a fully-fledged storyteller, (s)he is rarely required to play in the *yose-bayashi* ensemble. The only time a storyteller may assume a role in the *yose-bayashi* ensemble is when (s)he is performing in a very small provincial or regional *yose* where only two or three storytellers are performing, and no or very few apprentice storytellers are available. In these cases, master storytellers will work on a rotational basis and assist each other.

Musical Components in Kamigata *Rakugo*

The central musical components heard during a *rakugo* performance include *debayashi*, *ukebayashi*, *aibayashi, hamemono*, and *narimono* repertoire (*ichiban daiko*, *niban daiko*, *nakairi shagiri* and *hane daiko*).[30] Consideration of the presence, role and function of each of these events will demonstrate the centrality of music in generating the excitement and anticipation for both storyteller and audience that is critical to the jovial atmosphere characteristic of the Kamigata *yose* theatre.

29 「お噺子、お噺子のリズムに大いに勉強なるし、人間って、リズム感のある人と全くダメな人、いてるでしょ。で、落語って、リズムが大事やと僕思うのね。歌の下手な人は、落語もダメ… 耳が悪い…と思う。だから太鼓とか三味線やってれば、ま、ある程度ダメな人でも、やれば、リズムがよくなる、そうなると、しゃべりが上手くなる、と僕は思うので。あまりみんなに言わないでほしいんやけど、音痴な人は落語ダメです。平均だめです。見てて、いや、自分のことは棚に上げてね、けど、そう思うわ。だから太鼓とかやってると、笛でも、やつは絶対に噺子にいきてくると思います。」

30 Ui, *Rakugo no keifu*, p. 64.

Debayashi

The *debayashi* (or *agari*) is the tune heard before each storyteller takes the stage.[31] It indicates to a knowledgeable audience which performer will be appearing next in the program.[32] Storytellers often refer to *debayashi* as their theme song (*tēma songu*),[33] while English academic discourse describes them as entrance music[34] or entrance signature tunes.[35] Today, every professional Kamigata storyteller is associated with a specific personalised *debayashi*.

Although *debayashi* are not the central component of a storyteller's performance, these tunes have substantial significance for performers. Academics discussing *rakugo* claim that the function of the *debayashi* is to signify to the audience which storyteller is about to take the stage.[36] While this statement is correct, it only holds true for those who frequently visit the *yose* theatre and or are avid *rakugo* fans. Of the storytellers interviewed as part of this research, three provided particularly insightful comments regarding the personal significance of the *debayashi* to their performance. The first indicated that the function of their *debayashi* is to assist them in focusing on their performance before they come on stage, while simultaneously 'boosting and confirming [their] inner spirit.'[37]

The same storyteller also likened the function of the *debayashi* to the function of theme songs for television programs, suggesting that when a person hears the theme song for their favourite program coming from the television they feel excited that the show will begin soon. In a similar way, when audience members hear the *debayashi* of their favourite storyteller, they too feel excited that this person will soon take the stage.[38] A second storyteller said that he places great importance on his *debayashi* because when it is playing and the excitement is building, he feels like the audience is saying to him, 'please, we are looking forward to your performance',[39] which inspires him to do his best. A third storyteller suggested that the function of his *debayashi* was to motivate him to do his best before he took the stage:

> The longer I use [my *debayashi*]...the deeper I consider aspects such as the way in which I take the stage prior to my performance, yes, the more

31 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen,* p. 33; Ui, *Rakugo no keifu*, p. 66; Ui, *Kamigata hanashi kō,* p. 294.
32 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 33; Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
33 Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 182.
34 Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
35 Brau, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 161-162, 231.
36 *ibid*., p. 33; Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
37 「自分を応援してくれる。」
38 「テーマ曲というか、やっぱりこの音楽を聞いたら、このテレビだった、この番組が始まるとか、やっぱ、お客さん、それ耳馴染みな人はこの曲を聞いて、この落語家さんが出て来るって言うの、それぞれの曲だから、僕はこの曲とか、この人はこの曲とか、決まっている。だからファンの人は例えば曲だけ聞いたら次だれが出てくるっていうのは分かる。で、自分も好きな曲だから、やっぱ気分も乗れるし、自分を応援してくれるような感じかな。」
39 「お願いします。」

> familiar I am with my *debayashi*, the more of a motivation is it is for me to succeed.[40]

The literature on *rakugo* indicates that many *debayashi* derive from pre-existing fragments of traditional Japanese music genres such as *nagauta* (long song), *jiuta* (songs of the country), *gidayū* (recitation), Edo *hauta* (Edo short song), Kamigata *hauta* (Kamigata short song), *kouta* (short song) and *jōruri* (recitation).[41] Examples of *debayashi* that derive from such genres include Hayashiya Somemaru IV's *debayashi* 'Shōfudatsuki' (*nagauta*), Katsura Jakujaku's (b. 1960) *debayashi* 'Kajiya' (*nagauta*), Katsura Yoneza's (b. 1965) *debayashi* 'Kanjinchō - Sono Ichi' (*nagauta*), Katsura Sanjaku's (b. 1970) *debayashi* 'Tatsumi no Hidari Duma' (*kouta*), Katsura Sankin's (b. 1971) *debayashi* 'Kisenkuzushi' (*jiuta*), and Shōfukutei Gakko's (b. 1954) *debayashi* 'Fukagawakuzushi' (*hauta*).

An examination of the list of the approximately 120 *debayashi*[42] currently in use by Kamigata storytellers revealed that while the vast majority of theme songs do derive from fragments of traditional Japanese music genres, a number of tunes derive from foreign songs, popular songs, children's songs and animation songs.[43] Noteworthy examples include Shōfukutei Jinchi's (b. 1952) *debayashi* 'Okurahoma Mikusā', which derives from the American folk dance music 'Oklahoma Mixer'; Katsura Fukusha's (b. 1961) *debayashi* 'Kusakeiba', deriving from the American minstrel song 'Camptown Races'; Katsura Fukuraku's (b. 1959) *debayashi* 'Zundoko Sansagari', which is an arrangement of the Japanese popular song 'Zundoko Bushi'; Shōfukutei Kakushō's (b. 1960) *debayashi*, which derives from the animation song 'Harisu no Kaze'; and Katsura Bunbuku's (b. 1953) *debayashi* 'Mari no Tonosama', which derives from the children's song 'Mari no Tonosama'.

It is *yose* theatre tradition that the least-experienced storyteller performs first and the most experienced and eminent storyteller performs last. In accordance with this custom, the storyteller who performs first will take the stage to the *debayashi* titled 'Ishidan', literally meaning 'a flight of stone steps'.[44] The function of this tune is to symbolically represent a storyteller making their way step-by-step, flight-by-flight to becoming an eminent performer with a successful career.[45] According to one of the storytellers I interviewed, the sounding of 'Ishidan' before the first storyteller enters the stage also

40 「段々使っている内に…それあわせて、高座に出るまでも歩きかたとか、はい、またその出囃子に慣れると自分のモチベーションっていうのもあがるとか。」

41 Ui, *Kamigata hanashi kō*, pp. 294-295; Ui, *Rakugo no keifu*, pp. 66-68.

42 Shōfukutei, 'Kamigata hanashika debayashi', p. 10; Osaka Furitsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 182.

43 Osaka Furitsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 182.

44 Hayashiya, *Kamigata Rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 129; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 16; Osaka Furitsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 182.

45 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 129.

symbolically indicates that the audience will experience continuous amusement as it hears many renowned performers.

If a storyteller's master dies or otherwise stops performing, they may adopt their master's *debayashi* and their name, even if they have already been initiated as a fully-fledged storyteller and have selected their own *debayashi*. Receiving the name of a very successful and popular storyteller is a very big honour for more junior performers as it proves that one has become a big success. This tradition is also present in Kabuki. In both *rakugo* and Kabuki it is referred to as *shūmei*. At the time of writing, the most recent example of the process of *shūmei* took place on 20 July 2012 when Katsura Sanshi (b. 1943) took on the name Katsura Bunshi from his master Katsura Bunshi V (1930-2005), thus becoming Katsura Bunshi VI. At this stage Katsura Bunshi VI's *debayashi* remains 'Nokisu', just as it was when he was known by his former stage name of Katsura Sanshi. Katsura Bunshi V's *debayashi* was 'Kakutanzen'. Another example of the process of *shūmei* is the adoption of the *debayashi* 'Shōfudatsuki' by Hayashiya Somemaru IV, which had been used by his former master, Sanyūtei Enshō VI (1900-1979). In turn, Hayashiya Somemaru IV's apprentice storyteller Hayashiya Someji III (b. 1961) subsequently adopted Hayashiya Somemaru IV's former *debayashi*, titled 'Fuji Musume'.

As mentioned, when an apprentice storyteller has completed the *zenza* period of rigorous training involved in becoming a storyteller, (s)he will be told that it is time to select a *debayashi*.[46] There is no fixed process through which a *debayashi* is selected; rather, according to the *ohayashi* musicians interviewed, it is customary for the leader of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble (usually the oldest and most experienced *shamisen* player in the ensemble), the apprentice storyteller's master and the apprentice himself or herself to mutually agree on a tune. The leader of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble has input into deciding a storyteller's *debayashi* for two reasons: they are aware of appropriate repertoire, and they have observed the apprentice storyteller's progress throughout their apprenticeship. The type of *debayashi* selected usually accentuates the personality and character of the storyteller. It can be a preexisting tune or a unique composition. The title of the *debayashi* selected is documented at the *yose* theatre and becomes officially taken: no other storytellers in the region can use the tune.

Ukebayashi

Ukebayashi (withdrawal melody), also referred to as *uke* for short or *sagebayashi*, are melodies similar to *debayashi* and can be applied in two differing contexts as part of a

46 *ibid*., p. 129.

storyteller's *rakugo* performance. First, they may be sounded at the conclusion of the *ochi* (punch line) of a *rakugo* story to signify the end of a storyteller's performance. Second, they can also be used to separate multiple *kobanashi* (short *rakugo* stories) performed by a single storyteller.[47] In both cases, *ukebayashi* are representative of a storyteller telling the audience, 'yes, it is finished, it is finished, there is nothing more'. Today, rather than being a separate piece of music, the *ukebayashi* is often the proceeding storyteller's *debayashi*, [48] meaning that the function of the *debayashi* is essentially two-fold. *Debayashi* introduce one storyteller to the stage, while also signifying the end of the prior performance.

Ukebayashi are only used as part of a storyteller's *rakugo* performance in the Kansai region; thus, they are characteristic of Kamigata *rakugo*. According to Hayashiya Somemaru IV, at the conclusion of the Pacific War when there was a significant shortage of *yose-bayashi* musicians, Yoshimoto Kōgyō[49] were forced to make tape recordings of tunes to ensure that *ukebayashi* could still be heard in *yose* theatre. [50] According to Hayashiya Somemaru IV, *ukebayashi* are not heard at the conclusion of a *rakugo* performance in Edo *rakugo*. As soon as a storyteller from the Edo region concludes their *ochi* (punch line), there is silence. This is used to serve as a lingering memory of the time in Edo *rakugo* when music was not used as part of a performance.[51] In an Edo-centric monograph on *rakugo*, authors Morioka and Sasaki allude to the use of *ukebayashi* as part of a *rakugo* performance. However, they do not provide precise details on the use of *ukebayashi*, so this source does not confirm whether these tunes are only characteristic of Kamigata *rakugo* or are indeed a recent addition to Edo *rakugo* performance.[52]

There are multiple prescribed *ukebayashi* melodies played by the *ohayashi* musicians and those who play the *narimono* instruments. *Ukebayashi* melodies are composed in each of the mainstream tunings of the *shamisen*: *honchōshi* (literally 'original tuning'), *niagari* (literally 'raise the second') and *sansagari* (literally 'lower the third'). Melodies are selected in accordance with the tuning of the proceeding *debayashi*.[53] If the proceeding storyteller's *debayashi* were in the tune of *niagari*, then the *ukebayashi* selected would be one that is also in the tune of *niagari*.

47 Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 198; Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Hayashiya, *Geza-bayashi kenkyū dai nishū*, p. 3; Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, pp. 101, 125, 180.

48 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 125, 180; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 2, 198.

49 Yoshimoto Kōgyō was founded in 1912 as a traditional theatre, and is now a major Japanese entertainment conglomerate.

50 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, pp. 125, 180; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, pp. 2, 198.

51 Hayashiya, *Geza-bayashi kenkyū dai nishū*, p. 14.

52 Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

53 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 180.

Aibayashi

Aibayashi are joining songs.[54] Today, a typical Kamigata *yose* theatre session consists of a number of variety acts including *rakugo* stories performed by storytellers; recitations such as *kōdan* (formally *kōshaku*; a professional narrative art form), performed by narrators; *misemono*[55] (variety acts) such as tricks, acrobatics, special abilities, mimicry and dance; and *manzai* (two-person stand-up comedy),[56] performed by comedians.[57] At the end of a *rakugo* performance and preceding a *kōdan* or *misemono* performance, the ensemble plays an *aibayashi* if the stage needs to be reset or the performers need to change their costumes.[58]

Hamemono

Hamemono (music and musical sound effects), also referred to as *kōka ongaku*, are a unique feature of Kamigata *rakugo*, and do not characteristically occur in Edo *rakugo*.[59] In order to engage fully in a Kamigata *rakugo* performance containing *hamemono*, it is worthwhile understanding the purpose and application of this musical element. *Hamemono* are short melodic or rhythmic phrases that occur during a storyteller's *rakugo* performance to accompany specific stage actions, set moods, establish locations, identify characters or reflect unspoken thoughts.[60] Many of the melodic and rhythmic phrases used as *hamemono* derive from *kabuki geza ongaku* (Kabuki offstage music).[61] Like *debayashi*, *hamemono* are also taken from traditional music genres such as *nagauta*, *jiuta*, *gidayū*, Edo *hauta*, Kamigata *hauta*, *zokkyoku* and *jōruri*.[62] *Hamemono* are characteristically found in *ongyoku banashi* (*rakugo* stories with *shamisen* or *narimono* accompaniment), but these days some storytellers include *hamemono* in stories that do not typically contain music.

Hamemono are played by the *yose-bayashi* ensemble. The *ohayashi* and *narimono* musicians keep *kikkakechō* (cue books) in which they maintain a record of the *rakugo* stories that contain *hamemono*, what melodic or rhythmic phrases are required, and where they are to be inserted.[63] Most *kikkakechō* record the name of the *rakugo* story,

54 *ibid*., p. 125; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu,* p. 2.
55 For further information on *misemono* (variety acts), see Kodera, *Misemono zasshi*; Nobuhiro, 'Yose misemono'; Sekiyama, *Yose misemono zasshi*; Sekiyama, *Yose misemono*.
56 Maeda, *Kamigata engei jiten*, pp. 111-17.
57 Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
58 Hayashiya, *Geza-bayashi kenkyū dai isshu*, p. 14; Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 125; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, pp. 194-196.
59 Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, p. 246; Mita, *Yose-bayashi gaisetsu*, p. 17; Ui, *Rakugo no keifu*, p. 69.
60 Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 1.
61 Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 183.
62 This was also mentioned in discussion on the *debayashi*. Ui, *Kamigata hanashi kō,* pp. 294-295; Ui, *Rakugo no keifu*, pp. 66-68.
63 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen,* p. 93.

the phrase uttered by the storyteller where the *hamemono* is to be inserted, and the title of the melody or rhythmic pattern to follow the utterance. There are discrepancies in the application of *hamemono* between *ichimon* (artistic families) and even between individual performers of the same family.[64] Many *ohayashi* musicians keep multiple entries for a particular *rakugo* story detailing each storyteller's desired variations to the prescribed melodic and rhythmic phrases.[65]

Some storytellers also choose to add melodic or rhythmic phrases to stories that do not typically contain *hamemono* so as to personalise the story, demonstrating the dynamic and fluid nature of this performance art. The *ohayashi* and *narimono* musicians will also keep records of these variations. If an *ohayashi* or *narimono* musician is unaware of a particular storyteller's approach to the application of *hamemono* in their *rakugo* story, they will seek advice from another *ohayashi* musician, their master or the storyteller themselves. In cases where the application of *hamemono* is difficult, the *yose-bayashi* ensemble will practice with a storyteller before they perform. It is currently unclear how much liberty storytellers have to deploy and alter *hamemono* in *rakugo* performances. Many publications detail the types of melodies and rhythms used as *hamemono*,[66] but there is limited documentation on which *hamemono* are inserted into each story. Examples of *rakugo* stories containing *hamemono* are *Tenka Ichi Ukare No Kuzu Yori*,[67] *Atagoyama*,[68] *Tonari No Sakura*,[69] *Keikoya*[70] and *Karajaya*.[71]

Narimono *repertoire*

Ichiban daiko, literally meaning 'number one drum', is a rhythm played on an *ōdaiko* (large barrel drum) with *nagabachi* (long [drum] sticks)[72] outside of a *yose* theatre to announce that a *rakugo* performance will soon begin. The sounding of the *ichiban daiko* rhythm is a convention adopted from Kabuki for use in the *yose* theatre. In the context of the *yose* theatre, this convention occurs thirty minutes before a *rakugo* session and is typically performed by an apprentice storyteller.[73] The structure of an *ichiban daiko* rhythm can be divided into three sections. Initially, the percussionist rubs their *nagabachi* around the edge of the drum. The sound made by the sticks and edge of the drum rubbing together is perceived to sound '*kara-kara-kara* (カラカラカラ)'.

64 Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 183.
65 Hayashiya, *Kikkakechō*.
66 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, pp. 153-179; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, pp. 106-191.
67 Osada, '*Kamigata rakugo hamemono kikkakechō* 3', p. 17.
68 Osada, '*Kamigata rakugo hamemono kikkakechō* 1', p. 19.
69 Osada, '*Kamigata rakugo hamemono kikkakechō* 8', p. 47.
70 Osada, '*Kamigata rakugo hamemono kikkakechō* 3', p. 23.
71 *ibid*., p. 17.
72 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 180.
73 Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 202.

In Japanese, '*kara-kara*' is an onomatopoeic word that represents the sound of a wooden sliding door opening or closing. To those around the *yose* theatre, this sound signifies that the doors of the theatre will soon open. The central component of *ichiban daiko* is a rhythm played on the skin of the drum and is perceived to sound '*don-don-don-to-koi* (どんどん、どんと来い)'. In Japanese, the word '*koi*' is the imperative form of the verb '*kuru*', which means 'to come'.[74] This rhythm symbolically calls people to the theatre. At the conclusion of the rhythm, the percussionist places their sticks in the shape of the character for '*hairu*' (入), which means 'to enter', thus signalling to the audience that they should enter the theatre.[75]

Niban daiko, literally meaning 'number two drum,' is a second rhythm played by the *narimono* instruments *shimedaiko* (small barrel drum), *ōdaiko* (large barrel drum) and *nōkan* (Noh flute) five minutes before the curtain opens. The *niban daiko* rhythm is another convention adopted from Kabuki for use in the *yose* theatre.[76] The rhythm of *niban daiko* is perceived to sound '*o-ta-fuku-koi-koi-kane-motte-koi-koi* (お多福来い来い、金持って来い来い)'. In Japanese, '*ta*' means 'many'; '*fuku*' means 'good fortune'; '*kane*' means 'money'; '*motte*' is the imperative form of the verb '*motsu*', which means 'to bring'; and '*koi*', as mentioned before, means 'to come'. This rhythm symbolically expresses gratitude to the patrons for waiting so patiently and indicates that the performance will begin shortly. It also appeals to the audience to return to the theatre to support them in their career. The theatre will remain open and flourish if there is a large audience because it is the audience who pays to watch them perform.[77]

Nakairi shagiri is a rhythm played to indicate the beginning of the intermission. It is played by the *narimono* instruments and is preceded by the vocalisation *'onakairi'* by a musician from the *yose-bayashi* ensemble.[78]

At the conclusion of a *rakugo* performance, a rhythm referred to as *hane daiko*, *bare daiko* or *oidashi* is played by the *ōdaiko*.[79] In the past the *shimedaiko* was also used.[80] This rhythm is perceived to sound '*deteke-deteke…ten-ten-bara-bara* (出てけ出てけ…てんてんバラバラ)'.[81] In Japanese, '*dete*' is the imperative form of the verb '*deru*', meaning

74 Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 183; Morioka and Sasaki, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 202.
75 Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 202.
76 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 181.
77 Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 183; Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 203; Brau, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
78 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 181.
79 Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, p. 207; Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 182; Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 183.
80 Hayashiya, *Kamigata rakugo yose-bayashi no sekai kaisetsuhen*, p. 182.
81 Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 183.

'to leave', and '*ke*' is the short form of the imperative verb '*ike*', which means 'to go' or 'to proceed'. The performer is symbolically telling patrons to leave the theatre.[82]

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated and documented the centrality of music in Kamigata *rakugo*—specifically the way that the music, which is rich in symbolism, aids a storyteller's performance and is intrinsically bound up in the hierarchical structure of storytellers and *yose-bayashi* ensemble musicians. First, the etymology of the word *hayashi* was shown to clearly reflect the purpose of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble, which is to praise and support the storyteller. This purpose was exemplified through the instrumentation of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble, with its dichotomy of professional (*ohayashi*) and amateur (*narimono*) musicians and the ensuing strict autocratic hierarchical structure among *yose-bayashi* musicians and storytellers. Second, an examination of the central musical components heard during a given *rakugo* performance further exemplified the role of music in the Kamigata *yose* theatre. Current storytellers likened their *debayashi* to a motivational song or theme song, considering it something that 'boosts and confirms their inner spirit'. The sounding of *ukebayashi* succeeding a storyteller's performance and the *aibayashi* preceding a variety act were also seen as a means of ensuring that the jovial atmosphere created by one performer lingers on into the next performance. *Hamemono*, which occur primarily during *ongyoku banashi rakugo* performances, add a multidimensional element to a performance, helping to construct the imaginary world created by a storyteller. The use of *narimono* repertoire (*ichiban daiko*, *niban daiko*, *nakairi shagiri* and *hane daiko*) both inside and outside the *yose* theatre also provides the ceremonial opening and closing to a performance.

Music is a central component of Kamigata *rakugo* performance, creating and maintaining excitement and anticipation throughout the *yose* theatre. Further research on the current application and types of music that a storyteller selects to incorporate into *rakugo* performances will provide additional insights into the music-making process and substantiate evidence for the importance of music in the Kamigata *yose* theatre. It is also inferred that such research will provide valuable information on other aspects of social interaction among *rakugo* storytellers and *yose-bayashi* musicians.

82 Katsura, *Kamigata yose-bayashi daizenshū kaisetsu*, pp. 206-207; Osaka Shiritsu Kamigata Engei Shiryōkan (ed.), *op. cit.,* p. 183

Glossary of Japanese Terms

Aibayashi [合囃子]**:** joining tune

Agari [上がり]**:** entrance music; a storyteller's theme song (also *debayashi*)

Atarigane [あたり鉦]**:** small brass hand gong played with a small bone hammer on the inside of the gong

Bare daiko [バレ太鼓]**:** a rhythm played at the conclusion of a *rakugo* performance (also *hane daiko, oidashi*)

Chanpon [チャンポン]**:** small cymbals (also *chappa*)

Chappa [チャッパ]**:** small cymbals (also *chanpon*)

Chihō yose [地方寄席]**:** provincial *yose* theatre

Chiiki yose [地域寄席]**:** regional *yose* theatre

Chūzao shamisen [中棹三味線]**:** *shamisen* with a neck of middle thickness

Debayashi [出囃子]**:** entrance music; a storyteller's theme song (also *agari*)

Deshi [弟子]**:** pupil; apprentice storyteller

Dora [銅鑼]**:** gong with a knobbed centre

Edo [江戸]**:** the Kantō region of Japan

Ekirei [駅鈴]**:** station bells

Futozao shamisen [太棹三味線]**:** thick-necked *shamisen*

Geza [下座]**:** off-stage musicians' room

Geza-san [下座さん]**:** specifically refers to the women (*shamisen* players) of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble (also *ohayashi-san*)

Gidayū [義太夫]**:** recitation (traditional Japanese music genre)

Hakama [袴]**:** long, pleated culotte-like trousers

Hamemono [ハメモノ・嵌め物]**:** music and musical sound effects incorporated into Kamigata *rakugo* perfomances (also *kōka ongaku*)

Hanashi [噺]**:** stories used in *rakugo*

Hanashika [噺家]**:** *rakugo* storyteller, synonymous with *rakugoka* (*hanashika* is preferred in the Kamigata region)

Hane daiko [ハネ太鼓]**:** a rhythm played at the conclusion of a *rakugo* performance (also *bare daiko*, *oidashi*)

Haori [羽織]**:** formal jacket

Hauta [端唄]**:** short song

Hayashi [囃子]**:** general term for different types of musical ensembles or musical accompaniments in Japan

Honchōshi [本調子]**:** literally 'original tuning'; a tuning of the *shamisen*

Hondai [本題]**:** main story

Hosozao shamisen [細棹三味線]**:** thin-necked *shamisen*

Hyōshigi [拍子木]**:** wooden clappers

Ichiban daiko [一番太鼓]**:** literally 'first drum'; a rhythm played thirty minutes prior to a *rakugo* performance in front of the *yose* theatre to indicate the imminence of a performance

Ichimon [一門]**:** artistic family (for example, Hayashiya *ichimon*, Beichō *ichimon*)

Jiuta [地唄]**:** songs of the country

Jōruri [浄瑠璃]**:** recitation

Kabuki geza ongaku [歌舞伎下座音楽]**:** Kabuki offstage music

Kaidan banashi [怪談話]**:** ghost stories

Kamigata [上方]**:** the Kansai region of Japan

Kikkakechō [きっかけ帳]**:** cue book

Kimono [着物]**:** traditional Japanese garment

Kobanashi [小噺]**:** short *rakugo* stories

Kōdan [講談]**:** a professional narrative art form, often discussed alongside *rakugo* (also *kōshaku*)

Kōka ongaku [効果音楽]**:** music and musical sound effects incorporated into Kamigata *rakugo* perfomances (also *hamemono*)

Kōshaku [講釈]**:** a professional narrative art form, often discussed alongside *rakugo* (also *kōdan*)

Koten rakugo [古典落語]**:** classical rakugo; stories composed prior to the Meiji era (1868-1912)

Kōtō denshō [口頭伝承]**:** passing down a tradition orally

Kotsuzumi [小鼓]**:** hourglass-shaped drum

Kouta [小唄]**:** short song

Kuromisu [黒御簾]**:** literally 'black curtain'; offstage musicians' room in Kabuki theatre

Makura [枕]**:** a prologue to the *rakugo* story proper

Manzai [漫才]**:** two-person stand-up comedy

Misemono [見世物]**:** variety act(s) such as tricks, acrobatics, mimicry, dance

Nagabachi [長バチ]**:** long [drum] sticks

Nagauta [長唄]**:** literally 'long song'; vocal *shamisen* genre

Nakairi [中入り]**:** intermission

Nakairi shagiri [中入りしゃぎり]**:** a rhythm played by the *narimono* instruments to indicate the commencement of intermission.

Narimono [鳴り物]**:** refers to percussion and flutes of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble, and also to the repertoire of music played solely by the aforementioned instruments.

Niagari [二上がり]**:** literally 'raise the second'; a tuning of the *shamisen*

Niban daiko [二番太鼓]**:** literally 'second drum'; a rhythm played by the *narimono* instruments five minutes prior to a *rakugo* performance inside the *yose* theatre to indicate the imminence of a performance

Ninjō banashi [人情話]**:** stories of human compassion

Nōkan [能管]**:** Noh flute

Ochi [落ち]**:** ending punch line

Ōdaiko [大太鼓]**:** large barrel drum

Ohayashi [お囃子]**:** music played during performances at the *yose* theatre (also *geza-san*)

Ohayashi-san [お囃子さん]**:** specifically refers to the women (*shamisen* players) of the *yose-bayashi* ensemble (also *geza-san*)

Oidashi [追出し]**:** a rhythm played at the conclusion of a *rakugo* performance (also *hane daiko*, *bare daiko*)

Ōkawa [大鼓]**:** small drum

Okedō [桶胴]**:** folk drum with two heads lashed together

Ongyoku banashi [音曲話]**:** stories with *shamisen* accompaniment

Otoshi banashi [落とし話]**:** stories ending with a joke or pun

Rakugo [落語]**:** traditional Japanese comic storytelling

Rakugoka [落語家]**:** *rakugo* storyteller, synonymous with *hanashika* (*hanashika* is preferred in Kamigata *rakugo*)

Sagebayashi [下囃子]**:** withdrawal song (also *ukebayashi*)

Sansagari [三下がり]**:** literally 'lower the third'; a tuning of the *shamisen*

Seiza [正座]**:** sitting with ones legs folded under oneself

Sensu [扇子]**:** folding paper fan

Sha-mēru [写メール]**:** a photograph or image sent by mobile phone

Shamisen [三味線]**:** three-stringed plucked lute

Shibai banashi [芝居話]**:** 'theatre' stories; a genre of *rakugo* stories heavily influenced by Kabuki theatre

Shimedaiko [締め太鼓]**:** small barrel drum

Shinobue [篠笛]**:** transverse bamboo flute (also *takebue*)

Shinsaku rakugo [新作落語]**:** literally 'new *rakugo*'; refers to *rakugo* stories composed during or after the Meiji era (1868-1912)

Shishō [師匠]**:** a master of a traditional art such as tea ceremony, flower arranging, Kabuki or *rakugo*.

Shūmei [襲名]**:** receiving another professional performer's name

Sōban [双盤]**:** gong

Takebue [竹笛]**:** transverse bamboo flute (also *shinobue*)

Tēma songu [テーマソング]**:** theme song

Tenugui [手拭い]**:** handkerchief / small cotton hand towel

Tsuke [ツケ]**:** striking wooden clappers on a wooden board

Uke [受け]**:** withdrawal song (also *ukebayashi*)

Ukebayashi [受け囃子]**:** withdrawal song

Yose [寄席]**:** vaudeville-type variety theatre

Yose-bayashi [寄席囃子]**:** *ohayashi* music; ensemble of the *yose* theatre

Zabuton [座布団]**:** a square cushion used for sitting

Zenza [前座]**:** literally 'first seat'; first stage of the training involved in becoming a professional storyteller

Zokkyoku [俗曲]**:** popular song

Kamigata *Rakugo Ichimon* (Artistic Families)

In the Kamigata region, there are 216 storytellers affiliated with the Kamigata Rakugo Kyōkai (Kansai Rakugo Association).[83] Every storyteller is affiliated with an *ichimon* (artistic family). A list of the Kamigata *rakugo* artistic families is provided below.[84] Due to the complexity of the artistic families and the number of current storytellers, only the storytellers mentioned in this paper are listed under their respective artistic families and in order of rank.

Katsura Beichō *ichimon* [桂米朝一門]

Katsura Jakujaku [桂雀々] (b.1960)

Katsura Yoneza [桂米左] (b. 1965)

Tsukitei *ichimon* [月亭一門]

Katsura Bunshi *ichimon* [桂文枝一門]

Katsura Bunshi V [桂文枝 V] (1930-2005)

Katsura Bunshi VI [桂文枝VI] (b. 1943), formerly Katsura Sanshi [桂三枝]

Katsura Bunbuku [桂文福] (b. 1953)

Katsura Bunza V [桂文三] (b. 1967)

Katsura Sanjaku [桂三若] (b. 1970)

Katsura Sankin [桂三金] (b. 1971)

Katsura Harudanji *ichimon* [桂春団治一門]

Katsura Fukuraku [桂福楽] (b. 1959)

Katsura Harusame [桂春雨] (b. 1964)

Katsura Fukusha [桂福車] (b. 1961)

Shōfukutei *ichimon* [笑福亭一門]

Shōfukutei Jinchi [笑福亭仁智] (b. 1952)

Shōfukutei Gakkō [笑福亭学光] (b. 1954)

Shōfukutei Kakushō [笑福亭鶴笑] (b. 1960)

83 Yamada, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
84 For further information on Kamigata *rakugo* storytellers and the artistic families see *ibid.*

Mori no *ichimon* [森乃一門]

Tsuyu no *ichimon* [露の一門]

Hayashiya *ichimon* [林家一門]

Hayashiya Somemaru III [林家染丸 II] (1867-1952)

Hayashiya Somemaru IV [林家染丸 IV] (b. 1949), formerly Hayashiya Someji II [林家染二 II]

Hayashiya Someji [林家染二] (b. 1961)

Hayashiya Kosome V [林家小染 V] (b. 1963)

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Osada, S., 'Kamigata rakugo hamemono kikkakechō 8' [上方落語ハメモノきっかけ帳8], *Geinō Konwa* [芸能懇話], vol. 9 (1995), pp. 47-56.

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Gairaigo in Japanese Foreign Language Learning: A Tool for Native English Speakers?

Niamh Champ
The University of Queensland

Abstract

There is considerable academic literature on the usefulness of loanwords to Foreign Language (FL) learners. This literature, based on empirical studies conducted among learners of various language backgrounds and learning various target languages, indicates that cognates shared by the first language (L1) of the learner and the target language are generally a positive learning resource in Foreign Language Learning (FLL) contexts. This study extends the current literature by its examination of the specific context of English speakers learning Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL). It takes both qualitative and quantitative approaches to the investigation of teaching practices related to the use of loanwords borrowed from English into Japanese, known as *gairaigo*. A quantitative analysis of three series of JFL textbooks reveals that *gairaigo* nouns are used in introductory texts at an unrepresentatively high proportion. While there is currently no empirical basis for this strategy, qualitative interviews with teachers give some support to the strategy of using *gairaigo* in preference to words of Japanese origin in introductory courses to assist learner comprehension and production. This s tudy identifies a number of variables driving teachers' use of *gairaigo* that have so far not been articulated in the literature.

Keywords

JFL classroom; JFL learning; L1; loanwords; native English speakers

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Introduction

It is well established that a learner's first language (L1) is fundamental in determining the course and speed of acquisition of subsequent languages. The role of the L1 is important as it provides a knowledge base upon which Second Language Acquisition (SLA) can occur.[1] Due to considerable linguistic, orthographic and cultural differences between the Japanese language and European languages, Japanese language learning appears to be more difficult than European languages for English speakers. At the introductory stage, Japanese language learning is heavily based upon memorising a large amount of new vocabulary, script and grammatical patterns.

However, due to the recent large-scale borrowings of European loanwords (*gairaigo*) into Japanese, many cognates with English roots are frequently used in the Japanese language. Extensive research across several different languages has demonstrated the effectiveness of cognates as useful tools for assisting vocabulary acquisition in a Foreign Language (FL).[2] As researchers believe that communicative competence is heavily based on the lexicon,[3] the importance of vocabulary learning and acquisition cannot be underestimated. It is clear, therefore, that the vocabulary base of cognates that have originated in the learner's L1 has the potential to be a useful tool for quick and massive vocabulary extension, thus expediting subsequent language acquisition.[4]

Students are highly dependent upon teachers at the beginning levels of language learning; hence, it is important that teachers use a range of strategies to assist learners. Since the use of *gairaigo* in the Japanese Foreign Language (JFL) classroom has this potential for facilitating learning and motivation, it is worthy of investigation. As a result, this study investigates, from a teaching perspective, the use of *gairaigo* by JFL teachers and in Japanese language textbooks. This is done by conducting semi-structured interviews with seven teachers from the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland. In addition to eliciting a range of teacher ideas and views on the use of *gairaigo*, this study also investigates how textbook developers use *gairaigo* in elementary-level and subsequent textbooks in three Japanese language textbook series.

Despite being small-scale in nature, various aspects of the qualitative and quantitative data collected and analysed during this research project support and contribute new findings to the field of SLA and, more specifically, JFL learning.

1 Daulton, *Japan's Built-in Lexicon of English-based Loanwords*; Ringbom, *Cross-Linguistic Similarity in Foreign Language Learning*; Kellerman and Smith, *Crosslinguistic Influence in Second Language Acquisition*.
2 Laufer, 'What's in a Word that Makes it Hard or Easy'.
3 *ibid.*
4 Daulton, *op. cit.*; Uchida, 'The Use of Cognate Inferencing Strategies by Japanese Learners of English'; Kay, 'English Loanwords in Japanese'; Brown and Williams, 'Gairaigo: A Latent English Vocabulary Base?'.

The interviews conducted with experienced JFL teachers provide additional insight into the variables that influence teachers' decisions to use or not to use *gairaigo* in their teaching. The study finds that while some teachers support the potential for *gairaigo* cognates to assist learners to learn, teachers hold a range of views on the efficacy of *gairaigo* and take a strategic contextually based approach to its use. Such findings have so far not been articulated in the literature. Textbook word counts have confirmed previous findings in the field and contributed new findings.

This article will firstly review the literature on English loanwords in Japanese society and language, how they are integrated, and the changes which result during this process. In addition, literature regarding the effects of cognates on SLA is discussed. Next, the methodology of the study is outlined and the use of *gairaigo* in Japanese language textbooks and in JFL classrooms will be examined and discussed.

Loanwords in Japanese Language and Society

Like the lexicons of many other languages, the Japanese lexicon has developed through the borrowing and use of words from different languages throughout the centuries and has undergone several periods of massive borrowing.

A salient feature of modern Japanese is the use of numerous loanwords derived from European languages.[5] Such loanwords, named *gairaigo* (literally 'words coming from outside'),[6] have become such an integral part of the Japanese language that they constitute more than 10% of the total Japanese lexicon nowadays.[7] Furthermore, a large proportion of *gairaigo* (94.1%) are of English origin.[8]

Due to the considerable linguistic distance between English and Japanese, English loanwords often undergo a process of phonological change to facilitate their usage by Japanese native speakers. These processes may include shortening and other morphological, grammatical and semantic transformations.

In order to adapt to the Japanese phonological system, English vowel and consonant sounds which do not exist in Japanese are represented by rough Japanese equivalents. As a result, the word 'taxi' becomes 'タクシー (*takushī*)' and 'bus' becomes 'バス (*basu*)' once transliterated. Although these changes may render such loanwords unrecognisable

5 Tomoda, 'The Impact of Loan-Words on Modern Japanese'.
6 Loveday, *Language Contact in Japan*.
7 *ibid*.; Honna, 'English in Japanese Society'.
8 Stanlaw, *Japanese English*.

to native speakers of the borrowed word, the foreignness of the word is maintained and is clearly indicated to Japanese speakers by the script in which it is written (*katakana*). Many loanwords tend to become rather long and clumsy during the rephonalisation process and as a result, shortening (sometimes called truncation) of the loanword often occurs.[9] For example, the loanword 'ワードプロセッサー (*wādopurosessā*; word processor)', becomes 'ワープロ (*wāpuro*)'.

In addition, many English loanwords are used to create compound words such as hybrids or innovative terms and expressions (coined words). Hybrids, also known as loan blends in English and *konshugo* (混種語) in Japanese, are formed by combining *gairaigo* and *wago* (native/non-borrowed Japanese) or *kango* (Chinese-borrowed) words. Many expressions coined in Japan using English loanwords are known as '*wasei-eigo* (和製英語; English words made in Japan)' and include coinages such as 'サラリーマン (*sararī-man*; 'salary man', or male office worker)' and truncations such as 'オムライス (*omu-raisu*; omelette rice)'.

As previously mentioned, semantic changes also occur during the borrowing process of loanwords. These can be classified into the categories of semantic shift, semantic narrowing and semantic broadening.[10] Quite often there is a natural tendency for English speakers to expect the meaning of loanwords in Japanese to be identical with that of their source words in English. This, however, is not always the case and subtle changes in meaning and use often occur. Generally, *gairaigo* take on a narrower meaning in Japanese than their original form, with their semantic range being restricted to modern, Western-style situations in contrast to already existing Japanese words.[11] The word 'ライス (*raisu*; rice)' is an obvious example. In English, 'rice' is a general term; however, in Japanese it denotes boiled rice served Western-style (i.e., on a plate). This differs from 'ご飯 (*gohan*; rice)', which denotes rice served in a bowl.

Due to rapid borrowing and many nonce borrowings, studies have shown that it is common for new *gairaigo* to be unrecognisable or misunderstood by native Japanese speakers.[12] It is important therefore, to define what is classified as *gairaigo* for the purposes of this study. Here, *gairaigo* are European loanwords which have, to some degree, been restructured—whether it be in a semantic, grammatical or phonological sense—into the Japanese language and, according to Umegaki's definition of *gairaigo*, have been 'socially constitutionalised' or 'accepted by society'.[13] In other words, only

9 Tomoda, *op. cit.*
10 Fromkin, *An Introduction to Language.*
11 Backhouse, *The Japanese Language.*
12 Tomoda, *op. cit.*
13 Umegaki, *Nihon gairaigo no kenkyū*, pp. 7-9.

established *gairaigo* which are recognised and well-known in Japanese society will be considered as *gairaigo* in this study.

Arguments For and Against the Use of Cognates in SLA

As has been mentioned, language teachers have long recognised the importance of cognates and there are several studies on the possible role of the 'potential vocabulary' of second-language words across Western European languages.[14] More recently however, several studies have provided empirical evidence on how the rich source of English loanwords in the Japanese language can assist vocabulary learning and subsequent language acquisition in Japanese students of English.[15]

However, not all researchers have a positive disposition towards the use of cognates and some consider them to be a great pitfall for SLA.[16] This opposing view originates from the fact that cognate pairs are by no means always identical in form or meaning. Consequently, errors can result from the variances between the original word and the loanword. Lexical errors,[17] spelling errors and issues with learners' pronunciation and overuse of cognates have been previously reported in studies.[18]

Despite some of the negative influences cognates can have on second-language learning, cognates are believed to have a positive effect on SLA overall.[19] Daulton tries to resolve the 'paradox of cognates' by explaining that the possible errors which may occur as a result of negative L1 influence should not be regarded as a negative issue, as the use of cognates in SLA still encourages language production. This increased language production creates valuable feedback and internal correction, which impels language learners along the interlanguage continuum.[20] Daulton also bases his arguments for the pre-established bias against cognates on the failings of theoretical foundations to accurately capture the nature of the errors in studies. Examples include the failure to distinguish between true and false cognates in addition to studies that often overlook the individual characteristics of learners (i.e. the students' age, L1, stage of learning and their individual learning styles).

14 Banta, 'Teaching German Vocabulary'; Hammer and Monod, *The Role of English-French Cognates in Listening Comprehension*; Pons-Ridler, 'Oral Comprehension'.

15 Daulton, *op. cit.*; Daulton, *Gairaigo*: *The Built-In Lexicon?*; Uchida, *op. cit.*

16 Frantzen, 'Intrinsic and Extrinsic Factors that Contribute to the Difficulty of Learning of False Cognates'; Granger and Swallow, 'False Friends'; Hasselgren, 'Lexical Teddy Bears and Advanced Learners'.

17 Ringbom, *The Role of the First Language in Foreign Language Learning.*

18 Ellis, *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*; Hasslegren, *op. cit.*; Granger and Swallow, *op. cit.*

19 Brown and Williams, *op. cit.*; Daulton, *Japan's Built-in Lexicon of English-Based Loanwords*; Daulton, *Gairaigo: The Built-in Lexicon?*; Daulton, 'Loanword Cognates and the Acquisition of English Vocabulary'; Kay, *op. cit.*

20 Daulton, *Gairaigo: The Built-in Lexicon?*

Studies by Uchida and Kato,[21] for example, find that the level of the learner is an important factor in students' ability to identify (and therefore use) cognates. Both studies reported that advanced learners could identify and use cognates more accurately than beginner learners. However, despite reports of beginner learners having more difficulties with the identification and correct use of cognates, it is beginner learners who benefit the most from their use. According to Uchida,[22] although these errors are most abundant at beginning levels, it is at this time when cognate identification skills improve the most as well. As a result, the large number of errors is only temporary and the positive effects of cognate familiarity are stronger than the inhibiting effects of these errors. Daulton supports this argument by stating that these errors should be looked upon as developmental errors in the learning process rather than as a source of error, interference or negative transfer.[23]

In addition to the level of the learner, Uchida found that the L1 proficiency of the learner was an important consideration with regard to how well students were able to identify and use cognates.[24] According to Uchida, learners with high L1 proficiency are able to identify more cognates than those with low L1 proficiency. Given this information, this study is aimed towards assisting beginner students whose native language is English in the learning of the Japanese language, rather than English speakers in general.

Studies Investigating the Effects of *Gairaigo* in Japanese Students of EFL Learning

Due to the large linguistic distance between English and Japanese, cognate pairs are seldom identical in several aspects. Consequently, the effect of the resulting transfer is multi-faceted, resulting in different levels of facilitation or interference depending on the degree of similarity of the cognate words.

Despite the extra difficulties which arise from the different writing systems, Japanese students of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) appear to be quite capable of recognising the similarities between their L1 and English. In fact, *gairaigo* have shown largely positive effects in a multitude of areas of English-language acquisition for Japanese language learners.

According to Daulton and Uchida, the 'built-in lexicon' created from English word borrowings is considered a powerful tool for Japanese students of English language

21 Uchida, *op. cit.*, Kato, 'Chūgokugo bogowasha ni yoru nihongo no kango shūtoku'.
22 Uchida, *op. cit.*
23 Daulton, *Gairaigo: The Built-in Lexicon?*
24 Uchida, *op. cit.*

learning and is recommended to be used to their advantage for vocabulary learning and thus communication.[25]

Several studies have shown empirical evidence of the positive effects of this 'built-in lexicon' on English-language learning in Japanese students in many different areas of language acquisition. Improvements in word recognition,[26] listening comprehension,[27] written production,[28] spelling[29] and spoken and written English[30] have been reported.

The Potential Benefits of *Gairaigo* for JFL Learning

Despite the vast depth and number of studies regarding *gairaigo* in assisting EFL learning for Japanese students, very few studies have examined the possible benefits of *gairaigo* for assisting English speakers with Japanese second-language learning and acquisition. In a review of the literature, only one study which investigated the L1 transfer from English to Japanese by Australian JFL learners was found.[31] This report however did not discuss the effects of English loanwords on JFL learning.

As a result, there is a clear gap in the literature regarding the use of English loanwords in the Japanese language as a resource for assisting JFL learning. However, despite this gap in the literature, many authors and researchers in the field of Japanese language studies have suggested the possible benefits of this latent vocabulary base to English students of Japanese.[32] The general statements and suggestions made by these authors regarding the possible benefits of *gairaigo* are side issues to their writings and appear to be based more on beliefs and assumptions than on empirical evidence.

Although language transfer can be asymmetric,[33] these authors suggest that English loanwords in the Japanese language may be of use to English-speaking students of Japanese in the same way they are for Japanese students of EFL.

Brown and Williams state that 'once some of the regular phonological changes are understood it may be relatively easy to make *gairaigo* a passive and active part of one's

25 Daulton, *Japan's Built-in Lexicon of English-Based Loanwords*; Daulton, *Gairaigo: The Built-in Lexicon?*; Daulton, 'Loanword Cognates and the Acquisition of English Vocabulary'; Uchida, *op. cit.*

26 Hashimoto, *English Loanword Interference for Japanese Students of English.*

27 Brown and Williams, *op. cit.*

28 Brown, 'Is Gairaigo English? II'.

29 Hashimoto, *The Influence of English Loanwords on Japanese Natives' Spelling Accuracy of the English Model Words*; Daulton, 'Loanword Cognates and the Acquisition of English Vocabulary'.

30 Brown and Williams, *op. cit.*; Kimura, *The Effect of Japanese Loanwords on the Acquisition of the Correct Range of Meanings of English Words.*

31 Stephens, 'Transfer from English to Japanese by Australian JFL Learners'.

32 Backhouse, *op. cit.*; Brown and Williams, *op. cit.*; Daulton, *Gairaigo: The Built-in Lexicon?*; Neustupný, *Communicating with the Japanese.*

33 Arabski, *Cross-Linguistic Influences in the Second Language Lexicon.*

Japanese vocabulary'.[34] In a similar manner, Neustupný suggests that the presence of an extensive English vocabulary in Japanese creates very favourable conditions for communication for English speakers.[35]

Neustupný also states that 'introductory textbooks of Japanese usually present a simplified neutral form of the standard language'.[36] If this is the case, it is possible that *gairaigo* could be being used as a strategy in Japanese language textbooks. No empirical evidence of the use of *gairaigo* in this way has been presented and thus should be investigated. This study therefore aims to fill the gap in the literature by investigating the use of *gairaigo* in Japanese language textbooks and by Japanese language teachers.

In a study by Uchida, it was found that spoken cognates are easier for Japanese students of EFL to recognise than written cognates.[37] Due to the use of *katakana* and the transliteration process that occurs during borrowing, it is assumed for this study that spoken cognates will be easier to recognise than written cognates for JFL learners, as they are for Japanese EFL learners. It is for this reason that this study focuses on how spoken *gairaigo*, rather than written *gairaigo*, can assist JFL learning.

Issues Involving *Katakana* in JFL Learning

In reviewing the literature, one can expect that the use of English loanwords for JFL learning has the potential to be highly useful for English-speaking students. As previously mentioned, however, the use of *gairaigo* is not entirely without problems, as difficulties in processing and comprehending as well as reading and writing *katakana* have been reported for English-speaking students.[38] The main reason for this is the fact that the rules for transliterating from English to Japanese have not been consistently applied, as only general rules and guidelines are given.[39] Consequently, it is difficult to predict the actual shape of loanwords with certainty as the rules of transfer have changed over time, and established loanwords may have been borrowed under different rules.[40] In addition, as most *katakana* words are English loanwords, many teachers assume that English L1 students will find them easy and little time, if any, is spent educating students on the transliteration process in JFL education.[41]

34 Brown and Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
35 Neustupný, *op. cit.*
36 *ibid.*, p. 163.
37 Uchida, *op. cit.*
38 Kobayashi et al., 'Gairaigo ni mirareru nihongoka kisoku no shūtoku'; Ohso, 'Eigo no otokata no nihongoka'.
39 Backhouse, *op. cit.*
40 *ibid.*
41 Lovely, 'Learners' Strategies for Transliterating English Loanwords into Katakana'.

A study investigating reasons as to why learners have difficulties comprehending *katakana* was conducted by Igarashi.[42] The study measured the number of words using *kanji* (writing script which uses Chinese characters), *hiragana* (writing script used to write native Japanese words for which there is no *kanji* alternative) and *katakana* in beginner- to advanced-level Japanese textbooks. The study revealed that, as the level of the language in the textbooks increased, *kanji* usage increased while *hiragana* and *katakana* usage decreased. In other words, it was found that the lower the level of the learner, the more *kana* was used. Igarashi concludes that one reason learners find it difficult to comprehend *katakana* is that students are unable to familiarise themselves with *katakana* due to its infrequent use in textbooks. However, Igarashi does not explain why the ratio of *katakana* usage (namely, *gairaigo*) decreases as the proficiency level of the student increases. It is possible that the higher ratios of *katakana* in the early stages of learning could be being used as a strategy to reduce the learning burden for beginner students. This study addresses this phenomenon.

In this section of the literature review, it can be seen that words written in *katakana* are treated differently in different Japanese language textbooks. Although English loanwords are a welcome presence in the language for English-speaking students, there are some issues regarding *gairaigo* usage by these and other students. Most of these issues are linked to poor instruction on their use and could be easily resolved by making pedagogical improvements.

Gairaigo and SLA Theories

According to one SLA theory, the main issue for second-language learners is the difficulty they have in paying attention to linguistic form and meaning simultaneously. According to researchers, in order for language acquisition to occur, learners need to consciously notice a certain form in the input in the process of converting input into intake.[43] However, Schmidt explains that due to limited working memory, simultaneous attention to form and meaning is cognitively a dual task for learners and is therefore difficult for learners to successfully accomplish.[44]

According to VanPatten, learners process content words in the input before anything else as they tend to rely on lexical items rather than grammatical form to extract meaning.[45] In order to focus on form, therefore, VanPatten suggests using lexical items which are easier and which have already been incorporated into the students' developing

42 Igarashi, *The Changing Role of Katakana in the Japanese Writing System*.
43 Schmidt, 'The Role of Consciousness in Second Language Learning'.
44 *ibid*.
45 VanPatten, *Processing Instruction*.

linguistic system. In a similar manner, Koyanagi suggests that teaching instruction should be manipulated to allow students to focus on form and meaning simultaneously to promote language acquisition.[46] However, Koyanagi does not provide any suggestions for how this should be done. Given that the majority of *gairaigo* are English loanwords and thus cognates for English students, these lexical items could be easier for students to process, which may allow them to focus on form and meaning simultaneously.

Research Questions and Hypothesis

Furthering research on the role of *gairaigo* in JFL learning is the main purpose of this study. In order to achieve this, an investigation of how *gairaigo* is used by teachers of Japanese and in teaching materials in the Japanese language classroom was carried out. The overarching research question and the subsequent specific questions pertaining to this study are:

1. What is the role and usage of *gairaigo* in the JFL classroom?

2. What is the occurrence of *gairaigo* in teaching materials?

3. How, in general, do teachers consciously use/avoid using *gairaigo* in the classroom?

4. What are teachers' views and practices on the use of *gairaigo* in aiding acquisition through focus on form?

5. Does the use of *gairaigo* change according to the language level of the student?

With regard to the use of *gairaigo* in Japanese language textbooks, based on the findings from Igarashi's study,[47] it is hypothesised that the proportion of *gairaigo* will be higher in beginner-level textbooks than advanced-level textbooks, as *gairaigo* may be being used as a strategy to assist language learning in beginners.

46 Koyanagi, 'Daini gengo shūtoku katei ni okeru ninchi no yakuwari'.
47 Igarashi, *op. cit.*

Methodology

A case study approach was taken for this study. Although largely qualitative in approach, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used in data collection.

In order to address the research questions, three main components were used. These were the measurement of *gairaigo* proportions in three popular Japanese language textbook series, and in the vocabulary lists of Levels 1 to 4 of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (as revealed in the Test Content Specifications).[48] The other component of this study was a set of individual semi-structured interviews with seven teachers from the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland.

As the study focuses on exploring and discovering teaching strategies regarding *gairaigo* usage rather than learning strategies, teacher interviews and textbook word counts were considered the most effective strategy for providing a range of information and views on the use of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language classroom. The small-scale data collection conducted in this research aims to provide insights into the usefulness of *gairaigo* in JFL teaching and learning, and these will become a basis for hypothesis formation and larger-scale empirical research. Further, by contrasting with existing literature on the use of lexical cognates in other FL learning situations, it will also indicate whether the situation of *gairaigo* use in Japanese is comparable.

Measurement of Gairaigo *Proportions in Japanese Textbook Series and JLPT Vocabulary Lists*

To address research questions one, two and five, the relative proportions of *gairaigo* to the total number of nouns were measured in three popular Japanese language textbook series. In each series, the introductory (zero beginner) level text and subsequent to middle beginner or low-intermediate level text were analysed. This quantitative approach was used to answer research question five. The relationship between the proportion of *gairaigo* found in textbooks and the learning level indicated for the text was correlated. These results were further compared with the findings from similar research conducted elsewhere on textbooks and proportions of *gairaigo* used in the JLPT at different levels.[49] The textbook series and JLPT guide used were:

- *Situational Functional Japanese: Drills (Volumes I and III)*[50]

48 The Japan Foundation and Association of International Education, *Japanese Language Proficiency Test: Test Content Specifications.*
49 Igarashi, *op. cit.*; Nakayama, 'Nihongo kyōkasho no gairaigo to shinbun no gairaigo'.
50 Otsubo et al., *Situational Functional Japanese, Volume 1: Drills*; Otsubo et al., *Situational Functional Japanese, Volume 3: Drills.*

- *Japanese for Busy People (Volumes I and II)*[51]
- *Shin Bunka Shokyū Nihongo II* and *Bunka Chukyū Nihongo II*[52]
- Vocabulary lists of Levels 1 to 4 of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, taken from the *Test Content Specification Guide*[53]

In order to measure the proportions of *gairaigo* to total nouns in a consistent and methodological manner, certain rules were applied for the word counts. Firstly, *gairaigo* from the textbook vocabulary lists were chosen according to a definition. According to this definition, *gairaigo* are European loanwords (i.e., loanwords which have generally been borrowed from foreign languages other than Chinese) and have to some degree been restructured in a semantic, grammatical or phonological sense into the Japanese language. As a result, more complex *gairaigo* such as those which have been truncated, and compound loanwords such as hybrids and innovative compounds, were measured in the study.

Interviews

In order to address research questions one, three, four and five, seven individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with Japanese language teachers at the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland. This qualitative research strategy allowed data which is difficult to quantify—such as feelings, beliefs and opinions—to be analysed and explored.

The purpose of these interviews was to elicit teacher beliefs regarding *gairaigo* in the JFL classroom. This was particularly effective in addressing how teachers consciously use or avoid *gairaigo* in the classroom (research question three) and in understanding teachers' views on the use of *gairaigo* to aid acquisition through focus on form (part of research question four). Interviews lasted between 20 to 30 minutes and were a particularly effective method because such views and opinions cannot be directly observed.

Ethical clearance to conduct the interviews was applied for and granted according to guidelines of the ethical review process at the University of Queensland. All participants had around 20-30 years' teaching experience and had experience teaching beginning to

51 Kokusai Nihongo Fukyū Kyokai, *Japanese for Busy People*; Kokusai Nihongo Fukyū Kyokai, *Japanese for Busy People II*.
52 Bunka Gaikokugo Senmon Gakkō, *Bunka Chūkyū Nihongo II*; Bunka Gaikokugo Senmon Gakkō, *Shin Bunka Shokyū Nihongo II*.
53 The Japan Foundation and Association of International Education, *op. cit.*

advanced levels of Japanese. Six of the seven participants were native Japanese speakers and one participant was a native English speaker. All participants were female.

Four of the seven participants had experience teaching in a non-English speaking country, such as Japan (three participants) and Taiwan (one participant). Below is a table of the participants' L1 and teaching experience.

Table 1. Participant Information Profiles

Participant	L1 of the participant	Teaching experience	Levels of teaching	Taught in countries whose L1 is not English
Participant One	English	30 years	Introductory - Advanced levels	N/A
Participant Two	Japanese	30 years	Introductory - Advanced levels	29 years in Australia, 1 year in Taiwan
Participant Three	Japanese	20 years	Introductory - Advanced levels; more experience with Introductory - Pre-Intermediate students	19 years in Australia, 1 year in Japan
Participant Four	Japanese	22 years	Introductory - Advanced levels	N/A
Participant Five	Japanese	27 years	Introductory -Advanced levels	N/A
Participant Six	Japanese	30 years	Introductory - Advanced levels; more experience with advanced learners	27 years in Australia, 3 years in Japan
Participant Seven	Japanese	19 years	Introductory - Advanced levels	13 years in Australia, 4 years in New Zealand, 2 years in Japan

Prior to the interview, teachers were sent a list of sample questions containing open and closed questions. This allowed teachers to prepare themselves prior to the interview if they wished, and acted as a general guide for conducting the interview. Due to the flexibility of the interview, participants had the opportunity to discuss any points they felt were necessary regarding *gairaigo* and/or its usage in the JFL classroom. All interviews were audio recorded and conducted in English.

Data Analysis

Once the ratio of *gairaigo* to total nouns was determined, the *gairaigo* proportions were quantitatively analysed. If the proportions of *gairaigo* were greater at beginner levels than at more advanced levels, it was inferred that the Japanese language textbooks were possibly using *gairaigo* as a strategy to assist learning at the early stages of language development.

Audio recordings of each interview were transcribed in full, which provided accurate transcriptions and consequently ensured data reliability. The analysis of the transcriptions was conducted using a bricolage approach.[54] Commonly used in qualitative research, this eclectic approach identifies common patterns and themes in teachers' use of and beliefs about *gairaigo* in the JFL classroom.

Teacher Beliefs

It is important to mention the role of teacher beliefs and teaching behaviour in SLA. Although suggestions for improvements in second-language teaching practices can be made, teachers' beliefs about what is effective in teaching and learning ultimately drive teaching practice. Practices are formed through teachers' personal experiences of language and teaching. Consequently, if an understanding of teachers' current beliefs is gained, the reasons for the current teaching practices should also be revealed. Once understood, researchers are able to question these beliefs and create new, well-informed practices.

Results and Discussion

In this section, the findings for *gairaigo* proportions in the textbook series and in JLPT vocabulary lists are presented in order to address the research questions. This will be followed by an analysis of the teacher interviews.

54 Taylor and Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*.

Textbook and JLPT Vocabulary Lists: Results and Discussion

The purpose of the analysis of *gairaigo* proportions found in the textbooks and JLPT vocabulary lists was principally to address research questions two and five, and the overarching research question of this article (research question one).

The results for the *gairaigo* proportions for the two books chosen in each of the three textbook series are as follows.

Table 2. *Gairaigo* proportions for Book 1 in the textbook series (Zero-beginner to elementary levels)

Textbook series (in order of highest to lowest *gairaigo* proportions)	***Gairaigo* percentage found in textbook (i.e., number of *gairaigo* nouns divided by total nouns)**
Situational Functional Japanese I	86/369 = 23.3%
Shin Bunka Shokyū Nihongo II	267/1187 = 22.5%
Japanese For Busy People I	80/422 = 19.0%

Table 3. *Gairaigo* proportions for Book 2 in the textbook series (Intermediate - advanced levels)

Textbook series (in order of highest to lowest *gairaigo* proportions)	***Gairaigo* percentage found in textbook (i.e., number of *gairaigo* nouns divided by total nouns)**
Situational Functional Japanese III	248/1114 = 22.3%
Japanese For Busy People II	284/1858 = 15.3%
Bunka Chūkyū Nihongo II	133/881 = 15.1%

Table 4. *Gairaigo* proportions found in the vocabulary lists for Levels 1-4 of Content Specifications for the JLPT

JLPT Level	***Gairaigo* found in level (i.e., number of *gairaigo* nouns divided by total nouns)**
Level 4 (Elementary level)	54/342 = 15.8%
Level 3	20/310 = 6.5%
Level 2	317/2991 = 10.6%
Level 1 (Native-like proficiency is expected)	356/3478 = 10.2%

From the above figures, it can be seen that the proportion of *gairaigo* decreased as the textbooks moved from the zero beginner level to subsequent volumes of the same series. This trend is apparent in all three Japanese language textbook series. A similar trend was found in Igarashi's study which measured the ratio of *katakana* words in textbooks used in Canada.[55] Although Igarashi measured *katakana* words, not *gairaigo* words specifically, the general trend in the data is still meaningful given that the majority of *katakana* words are *gairaigo.*[56] However, Igarashi does not provide evidence to explain why the number of *katakana* words decrease as the learner's level increases.

Based on the textbook results, it appears that there are two factors which determine the proportion of *gairaigo* found in textbooks. The most influential factor determining the proportion of *gairaigo* is the learner level to which the textbook is aimed. The second most influential factor is the teaching approach of the textbook.

Situational Functional Japanese is a textbook series which is communicatively oriented. This is also the textbook series which used the highest proportion of *gairaigo* overall in comparison to the other textbook series. As explained in the literature review, *gairaigo* is useful for communication, and as a result, it would not be surprising to find a higher proportion of *gairaigo* in a textbook using such an approach. *Japanese for Busy People I* was found to contain the lowest number of *gairaigo* proportions in comparison to the introductory texts of the other textbook series. The *Japanese for Busy People* textbook series appears to encourage a teaching style which is based on a behaviourist approach to language teaching. The note to users at the start of the textbook suggests certain behaviours which are characteristic to this approach, such as 'memorisation' and 'repetition of sentence patterns'.[57]

The topic content of a textbook could significantly influence the number of *gairaigo* introduced. However, as it is impossible to control this factor (i.e. to find different textbook series which cover the same topics to the same extent), the results of the textbook analysis conducted in the current study are compared with the proportions of *gairaigo* in the vocabulary lists of the JLPT Test Content Specifications (出題基準; *shutsudai kijun*). By referring to the results in Table 4, one can see that the analysis of the proportions of *gairaigo* to total nouns in the JLPT vocabulary lists confirmed the textbook results. Similar to trends shown in the textbooks, there is a decrease in *gairaigo* proportions with the increasing proficiency of the student between Levels 4 and 3, with *gairaigo* proportions decreasing from 15.8% (Level 4) to 6.5% (Level 3). This is a significant drop which clearly demonstrates different usages of *gairago* according to the learning level of the student.

55 Igarashi, *op. cit.*
56 Backhouse, *op. cit.*
57 Kokusai Nihongo Fukyū Kyōkai, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

The change in *gairaigo* proportions as proficiency increases between Levels 3 and 2 needs explanation. This change is due to the different learning goals of the students and the different sources from which the vocabulary lists of the JLPT tests for these levels are derived. The purpose for Levels 4 and 3 of the JLPT is to measure learning achievement and the vocabulary lists are based upon vocabulary found in 11 different textbooks. Meanwhile, in Levels 2 and 1, the focus of the test is to measure the general proficiency of the learner rather than their level of achievement. Consequently, the vocabulary lists are drawn from the 11 textbooks in addition to outside sources which use everyday Japanese vocabulary. This can change, as the proportions of *gairaigo* for these lists are 10.6% and 10.2%, which is very similar to the average percentage of *gairaigo* found in the Japanese lexicon (10 per cent).[58]

It was hypothesised in this study that deliberate selection and use of *gairaigo* may be a strategy in Japanese language textbooks to assist learner comprehension and production at the introductory level. If the proportion of *gairaigo* is higher in beginner-level textbooks than at more advanced levels, it is inferred that the textbooks could be using *gairaigo* as a strategy to assist language learning in the elementary levels. The trend of decreasing *gairaigo* proportions from introductory volumes to subsequent volumes and levels of the textbooks supports this hypothesis. These results were further confirmed by the findings for the JLPT vocabulary lists. This study indicates that the phenomenon of using an unrepresentatively large proportion of *gairaigo* nouns to assist learners is most prevalent in texts at the introductory (zero-beginner) level.

Further studies are required to validate the trend and the reasons for the decreasing *gairaigo* proportions found in textbooks. However, the opinions expressed by the teachers in the interviews to be discussed below shed light on this issue.

Teacher Interviews: Results and Discussion

The main purpose of the interviews was to elicit teacher ideas on the role of *gairaigo* in the JFL classroom and to gain an understanding of its use in the JFL classroom. By qualitatively examining and categorising the teachers' use of and thoughts about *gairaigo* from the interview transcripts, research questions were answered and an understanding of the role and usage of *gairaigo* in the JFL classroom was developed. As a result, five major themes emerged from the data.

58 Honna, *op. cit.*

The themes are as follows:

- *Gairaigo* and student comprehension
- *Gairaigo* as a teaching strategy
- The relationship between *gairaigo* usage and the proficiency level of the learner
- Teachers' impressions of students' perceptions and use of *gairaigo*
- Pedagogical issues regarding *gairaigo*

The interviews revealed that teacher beliefs and use of *gairaigo* are varied and complex and that the way in which teachers use *gairaigo* in the classroom is influenced by several different factors. These factors will be discussed according to the themes below.

Gairaigo *and Student Comprehension*

A question asked during the interviews was whether or not the teachers thought *gairaigo* was useful for fostering student comprehension of Japanese in the classroom. Out of the seven participants, three thought *gairaigo* was useful, two thought it was sometimes useful and one thought it was largely influenced by factors such as the type of loanword used and the background and learning level of the student. One participant did not think it was useful in fostering comprehension. However, in general, teachers were keen to qualify their responses to this question and the dependant factors are explained below.

In the interviews, six participants explained that *gairaigo* which was phonologically and semantically closer to the original English word was easier for students to understand than those which were not. Similar results were found in a study with Japanese students learning English.[59] However, Participant Six brought up the fact that individual differences between learners also affect *gairaigo* comprehension. These individual differences include learner's background (i.e., whether or not English is the student's L1), and the level of the learner in terms of their Japanese language development.

59 Daulton, *Gairaigo: The Built-in Lexicon?*

Participant Six explained that beginner learners may find comprehension of *gairaigo* difficult if they are not well acquainted with Japanese phonology. Uchida demonstrated this phenomenon in a study which found that more advanced learners were able to identify cognates better than beginner learners.[60] Uchida explains that this is due to the improvement of students' strategies for identifying cognates over time. However, Participant Two explained that this can be overcome by teacher instruction.

Another variable which affected student comprehension according to the teachers is the form in which the *gairaigo* is presented to students. Two participants made special note of the fact that student comprehension varies according to whether students encounter the *gairaigo* in a written or spoken format. Teachers noted that spoken *gairaigo* is more easily understood than written *gairaigo*, which supports the literature.[61]

Gairaigo *as a Teaching Strategy*

The second topic discussed in the interviews was the use of *gairaigo* as a teaching strategy. Out of the seven participants, four teachers thought *gairaigo* was useful in reducing the processing load when introducing new sentences. Of these four participants, three teachers actively used *gairaigo* as a tool for reducing the learners' cognitive load when introducing new sentences. The remaining participants claimed they would not particularly seek out *gairaigo* to use in new sentence patterns but would instead use simple vocabulary which was appropriate to the context. Two participants had never consciously thought about *gairaigo* as being a useful tool for reducing the cognitive load on students.

On the basis of the teachers' answers, it is clear that some teachers have a highly refined approach to using *gairaigo* in the classroom, whereas others do not consciously use it as a strategy to assist Japanese language learning at all.

Participant One uses *gairaigo* as a teaching strategy to reduce cognitive load and motivate students. The participant explained that this helped to make classroom goals achievable and to retain student comprehension in beginner learners:

> Motivationally I think if you introduce to beginners, well, just constantly bombard them with new vocabulary that they don't know, can't remember and need to learn, I think motivationally it's a downer for them. [*Gairaigo*] reduces the drag element of the new language, in a way it's kind of a false thing

60 Uchida, *op. cit.*
61 *ibid.*

> limiting the amount of vocabulary but if learners are exposed to too much, they just drop the baton, get overwhelmed, think that they'll never be able to do it, so you have to make whatever you do in each class achievable and that's a way of doing it.

Participant One explained that she would use *gairaigo* to balance the amount of new vocabulary when introducing a new pattern to reduce the learning burden. For example, the participant explained that she might use a couple of sample sentences to demonstrate the new pattern and of those she would use a mixture of new Japanese words, *gairaigo* words or brand names which the teacher was confident the students would know.

However, Participant Three would have a lexicon-specific approach to using *gairaigo*. Participant Three explained that when introducing new sentence patterns to beginners, words such as 'つくえ (*tsukue*; desk)' and '喫茶店 (*kissaten*; coffee shop or café)' would be replaced by the *gairaigo* words 'テーブル (*tēburu*; table)' and 'カフェー (*kafē*; café)', respectively. The reason for this was because beginner students 'find [the original Japanese words] difficult' (Participant Three), and often become distracted trying to work out the meaning of the word rather than focusing on the sentence pattern.

Participants Four and Five described the issues that can occur due to slight semantic differences between *gairaigo* and the original English word. As a result, these teachers would not actively seek to use *gairaigo* unless the context permitted, as they were concerned that students may begin using the word incorrectly.

The interviews showed teacher limitations to be a factor which affects *gairaigo* usage in the classroom. Factors regarding the length of time they have lived in Australia and how confident teachers are in using English also influenced how much *gairaigo* is used in the classroom. For example, Participant Three described how she '[doesn't] really do well with code-switching [between English and Japanese]' because she 'normally pronounces English words with a Japanese accent to some degree'. The participant explained that 'students can become confused when I use English words as they are not sure if I'm speaking Japanese or English'. Consequently, the teacher explained how this can limit the number of *gairaigo* she uses in class.

Moreover, Participants Two and Five explained that as they have been living in Australia for a long time, they are not confident that they have a grasp on the latest developments in Japan in terms of *gairaigo* and explain that their *gairaigo* usage is becoming 'slightly outdated':

> It's hard because I have been teaching in Australia for a long time, so [I] don't really have a grasp of what's happening now so [my *gairaigo* usage is] slightly outdated. (Participant Two)

The Relationship Between Gairaigo *Usage and the Proficiency Level of the Student*

The third topic that emerged from the interviews was whether or not teachers varied their use of *gairaigo* according to the language proficiency of the students. The way in which the teachers varied their usage differed among four of the teachers. For example, Participant One recounted that in advanced-level classes she gauges learners' comprehension and gradually moves from more complicated Japanese expressions to *gairaigo* if possible, and then to English if students don't understand a particular concept. Similarly, Participants Three and Seven stated that they use *gairaigo* to aid comprehension and to reduce the learning burden for beginner students but do not continue doing this for advanced learners as they should have a larger vocabulary base. Participant Two explained that their use of *gairaigo* changes according to the type of course they are teaching. If the course is a more academically oriented course, they try to use or introduce more *kanji*. However, if it is a discussion-based course where developing oral skills is more important than learning sets of *kanji*, then in this circumstance, *gairaigo* is easier to use and more fun for the students.

Teachers' Impressions of Students' Perceptions and Pedagogical Issues Regarding Gairaigo

It was very common for teachers to refer to students' perceptions of *gairaigo* as being 'fun' (Participants One, Two, Three and Seven), 'interesting' and a source of 'motivation' and 'confidence' for students (Participants One and Two). However, an interesting issue brought up by six of the participants was students' difficulties in correctly writing or pronouncing *gairaigo*. Teacher participants suggested that this may be due to their difficulties in understanding the Japanese phonological system. As previously noted, Participant Two held the view, also articulated by Lovely,[62] that teaching instruction is required for students to understand the Japanese phonological system. Participant One also recommends this, but explained that this is often difficult as it takes up class time that can otherwise be spent on learning the language, rather than learning about the language. Participant Two suggested that a greater volume of established *gairaigo* should be used in textbooks, as they find that *gairaigo* is introduced as if it is 'second-class vocabulary'. Participant One also refers to students' perceptions of *gairaigo* in a similar way, describing students' opinions of it as 'second-rate vocabulary'.

62 Lovely, *op. cit.*

Conclusion

This study extended the current literature on the use of cognates and loanwords in the JFL classroom by its examination of the specific context of English speakers learning Japanese. The data collected supports the findings of existing research into the efficacy of strategic uses of cognate lexical items in the learning of various languages. This was most apparent in the teacher interviews as the research revealed that JFL teachers have similar views on the positive and negative issues surrounding the use of *gairaigo* as a tool for assisting JFL. These findings often mirrored the thoughts and opinions found in the literature; notably, those which are associated with EFL in Japanese students.

The teacher interviews revealed that the majority of teachers had a refined understanding of the uses and effects of *gairaigo* in the JFL classroom. Like cognates in general, most teachers find that *gairaigo* is useful in assisting language comprehension and production by students. However, they also noted that individual learner differences affect the usefulness of cognates. Teachers expressed concern about the difficulties students frequently encounter as a result of the transformation process from English to *gairaigo* and suggested that students should be taught the transliteration process in order to allow students to better comprehend and use *gairaigo*. However, one teacher explained that this is often difficult as classroom contact time is limited, and they questioned whether teaching this system should be a high priority.

Consequently, this study clearly confirms previous studies regarding the benefits of cognates and demonstrates that *gairaigo* has the same effects as cognates do in many other languages. The teachers' views in many areas reflect principles identified elsewhere. However, this study also identified a number of variables driving teachers' use of *gairaigo* that have so far not been articulated in the literature. These issues include those of teachers' personal limitations. Such factors include how confident teachers are in using English and how up-to-date their use of *gairaigo* is.

In order to address such issues, it is suggested that improvements could be made to Japanese language teacher training programs. Adjustments to the syllabus of teacher training programs which aim to create an awareness of the benefits of *gairaigo* usage in the classroom and build teacher confidence regarding *gairaigo* are suggested. More specifically, teacher training programs demonstrating how *gairaigo* can be used in the JFL classroom would be beneficial. It is also recommended that professional development programs and on-line teacher forums should be created to assist practising teachers to keep abreast of new *gairaigo*. Lastly, it would be beneficial if teacher training programs contained explicit instructions on established transliteration rules as this would assist students' comprehension of *gairaigo*. This supports suggestions made in the literature

to assist JFL learning.[63] Findings not previously revealed include issues in the classroom regarding teachers' impressions of students. Teachers described students' perceptions of *gairaigo* as 'second-class vocabulary'.

Furthermore, teachers explained that textbooks did not contain enough *gairaigo.* This is an interesting finding because the study demonstrates a higher proportion of *gairaigo* in earlier stages of learning in textbooks than subsequent stages. However, this disproportionally high level of *gairaigo* usage drops below the average in subsequent levels. Previous literature has also found that the number of *gairaigo* in textbooks is insufficient for everyday communication.[64] This was concluded by Nakayama who identified and compared high-use loanwords in Japanese textbooks and newspapers in a study. Nakayama considered frequently-used words in newspapers as words which are necessary for daily communication. However, in spite of this, it was found that the number of frequently used loan words had low possibilities of being taught in Japanese textbooks, thereby making JFL students loanword-disadvantaged. In order to address this issue, it is suggested that textbooks should contain frequently used *gairaigo* in proportions which parallel the levels of *gairaigo* in general use. Not only would this help to prevent JFL students from being loanword-disadvantaged, but it would also assist in solving issues regarding teacher limitations concerning *gairaigo.*

The word counts in this study confirmed the hypothesis that *gairaigo* is being used as a strategy to assist language learning, particularly in entry level texts. These findings correlated positively with similar studies on other textbooks conducted elsewhere. However, in order to prove that *gairaigo* is deliberately being used in this way to aid English speakers, further research is required. Although the textbooks chosen for the study varied in topics, pedagogical styles and target learners (factors considered to affect the number of *gairaigo*), a comparison of *gairaigo* proportions in Japanese-language textbooks for English speakers and for non-English speakers is required. This is necessary as it is possible that the higher proportion of *gairaigo* may simply be due to textbook authors introducing and practising *katakana* script in the early stages of learning.

The findings from this research provide a springboard for future research in the field. Teachers' beliefs based on their education and individual teaching and learning experiences play an important role in driving the teaching and learning of their students. The current study has shown that, although the use of *gairaigo* is not a prominent issue in JFL teacher training or pedagogical research, teachers are highly articulate on a range of issues related to using it in teaching and learning. This wealth of experience

63 Lovely, *op. cit.*
64 Nakayama, *op. cit.*

by practitioners should be valued and further tested through formal research to benefit other practitioners. Despite the small scale of this study, the data has confirmed findings in the field and contributed new findings. Suggestions for further research include the design of a larger-scale study to further investigate the strategic use of *gairaigo* by teachers in JFL learning. Research addressing the sudden drop in *gairaigo* proportions in post-beginner textbooks should be also be undertaken by comparing *gairaigo* proportions in Japanese-language textbooks for English speakers and for speakers of languages other than English. Where teachers identified that more *gairaigo* in commercial learning resources would be useful, answers to the questions 'How much?', 'What kind?' and 'In what ways could these be introduced to learners?' would be useful. Furthermore, as this study focused on teacher beliefs, future research on learner beliefs would be useful.

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Activating the Zone of Proximal Development of Japanese Language Learners: Language-Exchange Partnerships (LEPs) at an Australian University

Hiromi Nishioka
Monash University

Abstract

This study examines how social interactions in language-exchange partnership sessions can create opportunities for Japanese language learners to use and learn Japanese. The participants in this study were two pairs, consisting of a Japanese native speaker and an Australian studying Japanese at an Australian university. This study, employing Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development and assistance to novices by experts, examined what factors enable participants in language-exchange partnerships to provide or receive language assistance within Japanese language learners' zones of proximal development. As a result of the analysis, this study identified two important factors that had this effect: using shared learning experience in language-exchange partnerships, and actively negotiating the level of assistance. Language-exchange partnerships are a new type of learning experience for many participants. It can be anticipated that some participants may struggle to interact and learn from the interaction in the sessions. Therefore, this paper will provide pedagogical suggestions to improve interactions and learning outcomes from language-exchange partnerships. Moreover, suggestions for future research directions are presented in the conclusion of this paper.

Keywords

language assistance; Language Exchange Partnerships (LEPs); out-of-class learning; sociocultural theory; Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)

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Introduction

Language Exchange Partnerships (LEPs) are a type of out-of-class learning where language learners meet a native speaker partner of their target language on a regular basis to practice and learn their target language and the culture of their target language.[1] LEPs are known by a wide range of terms in different institutes of higher education, including 'Language Exchange Program', 'Language Cultural Exchange Program', 'Conversation Partner Programs', 'Conversation Exchange' and 'Tandem Learning'.[2] Growing numbers of Australian universities, including Monash University, the University of Adelaide and the University of New South Wales, have established LEP programs on university campuses to promote interaction between international and Australian students, to allow both groups of students to practice their target language with native speakers, and to help students to learn the culture of their target language.[3]

Language learning in LEPs is based on two basic principles: learner autonomy and reciprocity.[4] Unlike a classroom learning setting, where teachers plan and control the learning process for learners, LEP participants must take active roles in organising their own learning and deciding their own agenda.[5] Moreover, drawing on the principle of reciprocity, each participant is expected to contribute equally to the learning of their partner.[6] LEP participants are usually recruited by distributing advertisements during campus orientation, displaying advertisements on campus bulletin boards or university websites, and by language teachers encouraging their students to participate.[7] Universities arrange pairs of LEPs based on the participants' target language, their interests and class schedules.[8] As universities usually expect LEP participants to manage their own learning, the participants discuss with their partners about the frequency and length of sessions, discussion topics and methods for conducting LEP sessions. The participants conduct LEP sessions for 1-2 hours per week on average.[9]

Several studies have pointed out that language learners require a significant amount of exposure to their target language and opportunities to communicate with native speakers for their language development.[10] In addition, having successful experiences

1 Horiuchi, 'Gakubu ryūgakusei shien jisshi hōkoku'; Nagami, 'Tomodachi to no kaiwa to daini gengo gakushū wa ryōritsu suru ka'; Nishioka, 'Language Assistance in Japanese-English Language Exchange Partnerships (LEPs)'.
2 Wilson, 'Conversation Partners'; Stoller and Hodges, 'Examining the Values of Conversation Partner Programs'.
3 Monash University, 'Find Out More about the Language Exchange Program'; The University of Adelaide, 'Language and Cultural Exchange Program'; The University of New South Wales, 'Language and Conversation Skills'.
4 Little and Brammerts, 'Tandem Language Learning via the Internet and the International E-Mail Tandem Network'.
5 Woodin, 'Tandem Learning as an Intercultural Activity'.
6 Little and Brammerts, *op. cit.*
7 Masuda, 'Negotiation of Language Selection in Language Exchange Partnerships'.
8 Matsumoto, 'Kaiwa puroguramu'; Matsumoto, 'Kaiwa pātonā handobukku no sakusei to kaitei'.
9 Voller and Pickard, 'Conversation Exchange'.
10 Rubin, 'What the "Good Language Learner" Can Teach Us'; Takeuchi, *Yori yoi gaikokugo gakushūhō wo motomete*.

of interacting with native speakers can further motivate language learners.[11] In spite of these findings, many students studying Japanese as a foreign language cannot adequately access such learning opportunities because of the small size of the Japanese native speakers' population in their countries. LEPs can increase learning opportunities for Japanese language learners in a foreign-language environment to interact with Japanese native speakers on their campuses. Japanese native speaker students can also benefit from having a more personalised learning environment and establishing social networks with local students.

Although several studies have been conducted in the field of LEPs, these studies are descriptive: they report either the structures of LEP programs, problems that participants encounter, learning outcomes of LEPs, or perceptions of LEP participants and researchers.[12] These studies have not examined in depth the interactions that occur between Japanese learners and Japanese native speakers in LEPs. However, the learning process and learning outcomes of LEP sessions can be improved by analysing the perceptions of the participants and interactions in LEPs. Therefore, this study will reveal moment-to-moment interactions and language changes of Japanese language learners and Japanese native speakers who are interacting in LEP sessions by employing a microgenetic approach.[13] A microgenetic approach is a mode of qualitative analysis; it allows researchers to reveal the higher mental functions underlying social interactions by analysing moment-to-moment interactions and behaviour changes of the participants.[14]

This study addresses three questions:

1. How do Japanese native speakers anticipate an appropriate level of assistance for their learner interlocutors?

2. How do LEP participants negotiate to receive or provide an appropriate level of language assistance for the Japanese language learner?

3. What types of language assistance do learners of Japanese find difficult to understand?

11 Yorozu, 'Interaction with Native Speakers of Japanese'.
12 Mimaki et al., 'Nihongo gakushūsha to nihongo kyōryokusha ni yoru sōgo katsudō'; Muraoka and Mimaki, 'Ōsaka daigaku toyonaka kyanpasu ni okeru nihongo pātonā no tokusei to katsudō'.
13 de Guerrero and Villamil, 'Activating the ZPD'.
14 Vygotsky, *Mind in Society;* Wertsch, 'Vygotsky and the Social Formation of Mind'.

Literature Review

Language Learning in LEPs

The purpose of LEP sessions is not only to enjoy chatting with language exchange partners but also to practice and improve target language competency.[15] In other words, interactions in LEPs have two dimensions: social functions and language learning. Therefore, LEPs serve as a different type of learning opportunity for learners of Japanese compared with daily conversation with Japanese friends or interactions in the classroom. Recent research has revealed how participants' interpretations of LEPs can impact on interactions in LEPs. A study by Nagami confirmed that 30% of total errors were corrected by Japanese language learners themselves, and that the number of error corrections by Japanese native speakers in LEPs was very limited.[16] For this reason, Nagami concluded that LEP participants, partly through recognising LEPs as opportunities to have daily conversations with friends, may place more priority on maintaining a smooth flow of conversation than on correcting their interlocutors' errors and thereby disrupting the flow.

Similar to Nagami, a study by Nishioka examines the types of error correction in LEP sessions.[17] Employing Olsson's classification of error gravity,[18] Nishioka's study confirmed that lexical errors and the co-occurrence of semantic and syntactic errors are more frequently corrected by Japanese native speakers than one or two syntactic errors, as the former types of errors significantly interfere with the comprehension of interlocutors. The findings of Nagami and Nishioka highlighted the dual dimensions of interactions in LEPs: LEP participants provide language assistance to their partners for their language development, but they also aim to maintain conversation by selectively correcting errors which negatively impact on their comprehension. Consequently, these studies indicated that errors are less likely to be corrected in LEPs, and the participants selectively correct only those errors that interfere with the comprehension of the interlocutors in order to maintain conversation flow.

A study by Masuda[19] analysing detailed interactions and perceptions of LEP participants examined how they negotiate language use and code-switching in LEP sessions. This study confirmed that LEP participants constantly code-switch languages depending on the immediate communication context or their communication purposes. Listing other

15 Masuda, *op. cit.*
16 Nagami, *op. cit.*
17 Nishioka, *op. cit.*
18 Olsson, 'Intelligibility'.
19 Masuda, *op. cit.*

factors for code-switching, Masuda also identified the language fluency level of the speakers or their interlocutors, the language preference of the speakers or their partners, discourse changes and temporary lack of awareness of their partners' competency as language learners.

What emerged from the above three studies is that interactions in LEPs are different from classroom interactions or daily conversations with friends. Similar to classroom interactions, LEPs provide Japanese language learners with opportunities to receive error corrections from their Japanese native speaker interlocutors or correct their own linguistic errors. However, the frequency of error corrections in LEPs is much lower than in the classroom context because participants prioritise the flow of interactions. In spite of the distinctive discourse characteristics and their role in providing out-of-class learning opportunities, very little research into LEPs has explored how Japanese language learners and Japanese native speakers interact in LEPs to create their own language-learning opportunities. Moreover, second-language researchers have paid little attention to factors such as how Japanese native speakers accurately assess required levels of language assistance for their learner interlocutors, or how LEP participants can negotiate the level of language assistance to provide to learner partners or obtain from Japanese native speakers. To improve the quality of language assistance and learning outcomes in LEPs, more studies should examine these interaction processes.

Language Assistance

The relationships between language assistance and the impact of language development have been explored in several studies of second-language acquisition.[20] These studies have been conducted in the context of tutorial sessions in English composition for learners of English as a second language. For example, employing Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and assistance to novices by experts,[21] Aljaafreh and Lantolf[22] examined the relationships between different stages of language development and the impact on the effectiveness of language assistance to them. Vygotsky[23] defined the ZPD as the difference between the 'actual developmental level' at which a child or a novice can solve a problem individually, and his/her 'level of potential development' that he/she can accomplish through collaboration with an adult or a more capable person. He asserts that collaborative assistance from an expert allows the novice to achieve what he or she cannot accomplish alone. Gradually, a novice becomes able to achieve the

20 Aljaafreh and Lantolf, 'Negative Feedback as Regulation and Second Language Learning in the Zone of Proximal Development'; Nassaji and Swain, 'A Vygotskian Perspective on Corrective Feedback in L2'.

21 Vygotsky, *op. cit.*

22 Aljaafreh and Lantolf, *op. cit*.

23 Vygotsky, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

task with little assistance from an expert as their higher mental functions develop, and finally the novice becomes able to achieve the task by him or herself.[24] Wertsch defined such a transition from interpsychological to intrapsychological functions as transition from 'other-regulation' to 'self-regulation'.[25]

To operationalise the concept of the ZPD and level of required language assistance, Aljaafreh and Lantolf[26] assessed each participant's ZPD by applying scales for different developmental stages proposed by Wertsch[27] and Wertsch and Hickmann.[28] Moreover, to distinguish the explicitness of language assistance from the tutor, Aljaafreh and Lantolf developed regulatory scales from other-regulation to self-regulation based on twelve levels. By employing both scales, Aljaafreh and Lantolf demonstrated that learners in different developmental stages require different levels and amounts of language assistance from an expert; learners in higher developmental stages can easily identify their language errors with less explicit assistance from a tutor and solve problems within shorter interactions, whereas learners at a lower developmental stage require more explicit assistance from the tutor and longer interactions to solve their language problems.

In addition, Aljaafreh and Lantolf confirmed that English language learners begin to easily solve their language problems with less explicit assistance within shorter interactions when they encounter similar language problems, both inter-session and intra-session. Another important contribution of Aljaafreh and Lantolf to second-language research is the identification of three essential conditions for successful assistance: graduated, contingent and dialogic. The authors defined graduated assistance as 'the appropriate level of assistance to encourage the learner to function at his or her potential level of assistance'.[29] The expert is expected to accurately assess the minimum level of assistance required for the novice, and strategically move the assistance from implicit to more explicit in response to the novice's reactions. As the second condition, Aljaafreh and Lantolf[30] assert that language assistance should be contingent: offer it only when the novice needs it, and withdraw it as soon as the novice starts to function independently. As the third condition, Aljaafreh and Lantolf argue that successful assistance is provided in the dialogic activity that unfolds between the expert and novice. The authors stress the important roles of dialogue for successful assistance by saying that dialogic negotiation between expert and novice allows the expert to discover the novice's ZPD. Thus, their study sheds light on the conditions required to provide effective language assistance to language learners.

24 Vygotsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-91.
25 Wertsch, 'From Social Interaction to Higher Psychological Processes', *op. cit.*, p. 17.
26 Aljaafreh and Lantolf, *op. cit.*
27 Wertsch, 'The Zone of Proximal Development'.
28 Wertsch & Hickmann, 'Problem Solving in Social Interaction'.
29 Aljaafreh and Lantolf, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
30 *ibid.*

Drawing upon Aljaafreh and Lantolf,[31] a case study by Nassaji and Swain[32] compared the effectiveness of language assistance within the learner's ZPD and random levels of assistance for article usage in composition conference between two English language learners and a tutor. To operationalise differences of assistance, a tutor gradually increased the explicitness of language assistance to a learner with his or her ZPD treatment based on the regulatory scale by Aljaafreh and Lantolf. Random levels of language assistance were provided to the learner with non-ZPD treatment. Both learners received the treatment for 40 minutes for five weeks in tutorials. Their study confirmed that language assistance within the learner's ZPD is more effective in eliciting appropriate responses from the learner within shorter interactions than randomly providing language assistance. Moreover, their study demonstrated that the learner with his or her ZPD treatment significantly outperformed the learner with non-ZPD treatment in the post-test stage, although the learner with non-ZPD treatment demonstrated a higher score than the learner with their ZPD treatment at the pre-test stage.

Studies by Aljaafreh and Lantolf and Nassaji and Swain have confirmed that language assistance from experts to novices can facilitate language development of English-language learners, both inter-session and intra-session. These studies have also contributed towards demonstrating that learners in different stages of development require different levels of assistance from experts. Moreover, Nassaji and Swain's study revealed that language assistance within the learner's ZPD more significantly impacted on his or her learning outcomes in the long term, compared with assistance that is out of the learner's ZPD. However, these studies were conducted in the context of a writing conference between English language learners and tutors, and very little research has examined how Japanese native speakers and Japanese language learners interact and create learning opportunities for learners of Japanese in LEPs. To improve the quality of interactions and learning outcomes in LEP sessions, it is important to examine how both Japanese-language learners and Japanese native speakers interact in LEP sessions, what factors enable them to provide or receive language assistance within the ZPD of Japanese learners, and what types of communication problems LEP participants encounter during LEP sessions.

31 *ibid.*
32 Nassaji and Swain, *op. cit.*

Methodology

Participants

This study involved two pairs of participants, each consisting of a Japanese native speaker and an Australian learner of Japanese who both study at an Australian university. The details of the participants' demographic data are presented in Table 1. All participants were volunteers recruited through posters displayed on campus for several weeks, or by invitation from the researcher or the researcher's colleagues. The researcher matched the two pairs based on their class schedules. Both pairs consisted of an Australian male undergraduate student enrolled in high intermediate Japanese, which targets students with equivalent to Level 2 (high intermediate) in the pre-2010 version of Japanese Language Proficiency Test,[33] and a Japanese female graduate student who studied at the same Australian university with the Australian participants. Prior to their first LEP session, the participants were informed by the researcher that they could decide how they would conduct their own LEP sessions by selecting the teaching methods, topics and time allocation for each language. However, this study did not provide prior pedagogical training to the participants. Universities only advertise the programmes and help to match pairs. The participants were expected to explore and negotiate how they interact in LEP sessions through trial and error, as seen in Nagami[34] and Masuda.[35]

LEPs are based on the reciprocal principle: participants are expected to devote the same amount of time and energy to each participant's target language.[36] However, there is some group variation in how the participants allocate their language uses in LEP sessions, depending on their language preferences and their perceived reasons for participation in LEP sessions. One pair of participants, Sutono and Eri, chose to distribute one language to one half of the session, and automatically code-switched whenever their communication broke down.[37] On the other hand, the other pair, Paul and Hiroko, chose to use Japanese as their dominant language during LEP sessions. As to the reasons, Hiroko explained in a semi-structured interview that she gave away her opportunities to practice her target language because she has plenty of opportunities to speak in English outside LEP sessions since she lives in Australia. She also added that she thus recognises LEPs as opportunities to learn about Australian culture rather than

33 The Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) is sponsored by The Japan Foundation and the Japan Educational Exchanges and Service. The format of the JLPT was modified to assess communicative skills in 2010. In addition, to assess fluency levels more precisely, the level divisions were also modified from 4 levels (from Level 1 to Level 4, where Level 1 is the highest level) to 5 levels (from N1 to N5, where N1 is the highest level). The details of format changes and the current test format can be seen on the Japan Foundation website (http://www.jpf.go.jp/j/japanese/new/1010/10-02.html) and the Japan Educational Exchanges Service website (http://info.jees-jlpt.jp/?lang=english).

34 Nagami, *op. cit.*

35 Masuda, *op. cit.*

36 Little and Brammerts, *op. cit.*

37 Pseudonyms are used to protect participants' privacy.

to practice her English. In the LEP sessions, each pair interacted for approximately one hour, either in a chatting space in a university library or a coffee shop on campus. LEP sessions were conducted approximately seven to eight times over two months so that participants could familiarise themselves with their partners and LEP sessions.

Table 1. Demographic Data of the LEP Participants

	Pair 1		**Pair 2**	
	Paul	**Hiroko**	**Sutono**	**Eri**
First language	English	Japanese	English	Japanese
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age	19 years old	25 years old	20 years old	27 years old
Education	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	Undergraduate	Postgraduate
Fluency level	Enrolled in high-intermediate Japanese	IELTS 7.5	Enrolled in high-intermediate Japanese and Chinese	IELTS 6.5
Length of English/ Japanese learning	Studied Japanese for eight years.	Studied English for thirteen years. Graduated from an Australian university.	Studied Japanese for fourteen years, since third year at primary school.	Studied English for fourteen years.
Length of staying in Japan/Australia	Stayed for four weeks in Japan on a school trip.	Lived in Australia for six years.	Stayed in Japan for one year as an exchange student during high school.	Stayed for ten months in 2004. Stayed for one and a half years from 2007 to 2008.
Opportunities to speak outside the classroom	Spoke Japanese for one hour per week in LEPs.	Spoke English with flatmates and friends almost every day.	Spoke Japanese four hours per week with four exchange partners in LEPs.	Spoke English with friends every day.
Reason to participate in LEP	To know about Japanese culture. To practice listening and speaking outside the classroom.	To get to know more about Australian culture.	To speak more Japanese.	To have more chance to talk to native speakers and brush up her speaking ability.

Data Collection

Three types of data collection methodology were employed in this study: a semi-structured interview, audio-recordings of naturally occurring interactions during LEP sessions, and stimulated recall. Prior to commencement of the study, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect the participants' background information and their motives for participating in LEPs. Semi-structured interviews were also employed to obtain further perceptions from the participants. Audio-recordings were taken to gather data of naturally occurring interactions in LEP sessions. To analyse LEP interactions in detail, all recorded data were transcribed by the researcher adhering to transcription conventions outlined by Markee.[38] The focus of this study was to examine the process of negotiating language assistance for Australian learners of Japanese with Japanese native speakers in LEP sessions; therefore, only interactions conducted primarily in Japanese were extracted for analysis. This study collected recording data of the last three sessions out of a total of seven to eight sessions from each pair. As Eri and Sutono equally allocated their time for each target language, approximately 90 minutes in total of recorded data from their last three sessions were extracted for data analysis. As Hiroko and Paul conducted their LEP sessions primarily in Japanese in all of their sessions, all recorded data from their last three sessions – lasting approximately 3 hours in total – were included for analysis.

Shortly after each LEP session, stimulated recall sessions were conducted with both the Japanese language learner and Japanese native-speaker participants. Stimulated recall is a methodology which encourages participants to recall their thoughts at the moment of a specific event through stimulus such as video or audio recordings of the interaction or their own written work.[39] During data collection by stimulated recall, the participants were encouraged to pause the tape at any moment they wished to articulate their thoughts about a specific point. The researcher could also pause the tape whenever they wished to elicit a participant's perceptions of a specific learning event.[40] Mackey et al.,[41] for example, employed stimulated recall to confirm to what extent English-language learners accurately recognised the nature of given corrective feedback while they were engaged in a task. Morris and Tarone[42] demonstrated by using stimulated recall how learners' perception of their classmates can impact on their interpretation of the corrective feedback given by their peers. Thus, these studies demonstrate that stimulated recall can serve as a valuable data collection tool in second-language acquisition research. Stimulated recall allows researchers to access the perceptions of

38 Markee, *Conversation Analysis*, pp. 167-168.
39 Mackey et al., 'How Do Learners Perceive Interactional Feedback?'.
40 Gass and Mackey, *Stimulated Recall Methodology in Second Language Research*, p. 28.
41 Mackey et al., *op. cit*.
42 Morris and Tarone, 'Impact of Classroom Dynamics on the Effectiveness of Recasts in Second Language Acquisition'.

the participants, which are difficult to obtain otherwise.[43] This study employed stimulated recall sessions to elicit the participants' perceptions of interactions during LEP sessions, as well as other underlying factors impacting on interactions in LEP sessions.

Data Analysis

To analyse interactions during LEP sessions, this study employed microgenetic analysis, which was proposed by Vygotsky.[44] Microgenetic analysis is 'a qualitative, interpretive, case-study perspective on L2 instruction that allows the observation of language development at the very moment it is thought to occur'.[45] As to relationships between psychological development and microgenetic analysis, Vygotsky states that any psychological development is 'a process undergoing changes right before one's eye'.[46] He also asserts that psychological development can be traceable under certain conditions. By qualitatively analysing moment-to-moment interactions and the changes to the participants' behaviour during a learning event, researchers can reveal how higher mental functions develop in social interactions.[47] This study, by employing microgenetic analysis, examines language developments of Japanese language learners in LEPs, how Japanese native speakers and Japanese learners interact in LEP sessions, and how their Japanese language changes and develops in moment-to-moment interactions in LEP sessions.

Findings

The analysis indicated that the Japanese native speaker participants in this study can provide language assistance within the ZPD of their Japanese learner interlocutors in LEP sessions, and also confirmed that several factors allowed these native speakers to identify and provide the required level of language assistance to their learner interlocutors.

Shared Learning Experiences

The first extract was recorded while Hiroko was explaining the matriculation examination system in Japan to Paul. This extract demonstrates how a Japanese native speaker uses shared learning experiences with her partner in LEPs to assess the needs for assistance of her Japanese learner partner.

43 Nunan, *Research Methods in Language Learning*, pp. 94-96.
44 Vygotsky, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
45 de Guerrero and Villamil, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
46 Vygotsky, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
47 *ibid.*, p. 61; Wertsch, 'Vygotsky and the Social Formation of Mind', pp. 54-57; de Guerrero and Villamil, *op. cit.*

Extract 1.

1 Paul: みんなの高校三年生は(+)英語を-やら-やらなければなりません.

Every third-year high school student has to study English

2 Hiroko: うん(+) ですね:::

Yes, that's right

日本(の高校のカリキュラム)は::: そ:::んなにflexibleじゃない-かな?

The Japanese (high school curriculum) is not so flexible, I think

ビジネスはまずありません(+++)

Needless to say, we do not have subjects about business

うん-でえっと::: (+) 私が高校三年生のとき-は

Yes, and, well, when I was a third year student

えっと::: 英語? 日本語? あとはえっと::: 日本の歴史-か世界の歴史-を選べます(++)

Well, we could choose from English, Japanese subjects (for Japanese high school students) and well, Japanese history or world history

で-日本語もたくさんありますね:::

And, we had different types of Japanese subjects (for Japanese high school students)

えっと::: (+) 古典(+) 分かりますか? (++)

Well, do you know classical Japanese?

クラッシックなジャパニーズ(hhh)

Classical Japanese ((laughter))

3 P: 古典 //難しい//

Classical Japanese, difficult

4 H: //難しいですね//

Difficult

古典があって-あと漢文(+) Chineseですね (+) 漢文があって漢字オンリー(hhh)

We have classical Japanese, and classical Chinese poems which are written only in Chinese characters ((laughter))

全部漢字です

Everything is written using only Chinese characters

What is important to notice in Extract 1 is Hiroko's strategic code-switching and paraphrasing into high frequency words. Academic subject names, which are frequently used in a wide range of contexts, such as '英語 (*eigo*; English)' and '歴史 (*rekishi*; history)', are introduced in Japanese, whereas low-frequency words such as '古典 (*koten*; classical Japanese)' and '漢文 (*kanbun*; classical Chinese poem)' are introduced in English. In addition, another low-frequency word, '国語 (*kokugo*; a Japanese language subject for Japanese native speakers)' is paraphrased as a high-frequency word, '日本語 (*nihongo*; Japanese language)'. Interestingly, Hiroko switches back to Japanese immediately after these code-switches and paraphrases. To examine correlations between Hiroko's vocabulary assistance and the vocabulary level, this study used the text, *Reading Chūta,* to ascertain the vocabulary level according to the pre-2010 version of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test.[48] According to *Reading Chūta,* '英語 (English)' and '歴史 (history)', which Hiroko introduced in Japanese, are identified as Levels 4 and 3 respectively. On the other hand, '古典 (classical Japanese)' and '漢文 (classical Chinese poem)', which Hiroko code-switched into English, were indicated to be Level 2. '国語 (a Japanese-language subject for Japanese native speakers)', which Hiroko paraphrased with a high-frequency word, was indicated as being beyond Level 1.

Regarding her selective code-switching, Hiroko explains in a stimulated recall session that she had anticipated that Paul might not know the meanings of '古典 (classical Japanese)' and '漢文 (classical Chinese poem)' and therefore translated them into English. Paul admits in stimulated recall that he could not spontaneously recall both words for the academic subjects in Japanese. What these examples indicate is that Hiroko accurately anticipates the words Paul has yet to learn, and provides minimum translation for challenging lexical items. In other words, Hiroko's assistance is graduated because she accurately assesses the minimum level of assistance Paul needs. In addition to being graduated, her assistance is contingent because she withdraws her assistance and switches back to Japanese from English immediately after translating low-frequency lexical items such as '古典 (classical Japanese)' and '漢文 (classical Chinese poem)'. In a stimulated recall session, Paul expresses appreciation for her English translations of challenging vocabulary and paraphrasing into high-frequency words. Hiroko also asserts in stimulated recall that she thought Paul would have been overwhelmed by unfamiliar words and fallen into a panic if she did not code-switch, and as a result, would not have been able to understand the general meaning of their dialogue.

48 Kawamura, 'Goi chekkā wo mochiita dokkai tekisuto no bunseki'; Kawamura, 'Intānetto jō de riyō kanōna bunshō no nan'ido sokutei shisutemu no kaihatsu'.

Given that Hiroko accurately anticipates the words Paul has yet to learn, code-switches or paraphrases only these words, and immediately switches back to his target language afterwards, it can be said that her language assistance to Paul is within his ZPD. As to the reasons for her accurate sense of Paul's ZPD, Hiroko explains in stimulated recall that she has recognised his competency level and vocabulary size through dialogue with him over several LEP sessions. Besides opportunities to converse with him, she adds that looking at his course assignments and textbook also help her to assess his current language level. In other words, opportunities to have conversation with Japanese language learner partners and use their shared learning experiences in LEPs allowed Hiroko to assess Paul's vocabulary size accurately. Consequently, Japanese native speakers can provide Japanese-language learners with a minimum level of assistance to maintain ongoing interactions, and then withdraw assistance when Japanese language learners show 'signs of self-control and ability to function independently'.[49]

Negotiating the Level of Assistance

Negotiating the level of assistance with interlocutors is another essential condition of providing or obtaining language assistance within the ZPD of Japanese language learners in LEPs. The following conversation was recorded when Eri was asking Sutono if he felt he had reached his limit while he was studying Japanese.

Extract 2.

1	Eri:	でもな(+)あの::: え-日本語でな::: 何か限界感じた(*genkai kanjita*)ことがある？何か
		But well, have you ever felt you have reached your limit while you were studying Japanese?
2	Sutono:	限界感？(*genkaikan*)
		Feel (that I have reached my) limit?
3	E:	うんまだないか
		Yes, you haven't felt that yet, have you?
4	S:	かんは(+) あの:::ビルでしょ？
		(The last Chinese character of '限界感 (*genkaikan*)'), '感 (kan)', represents a building, doesn't it?

49 Aljaafreh and Lantolf, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

5 E: ビル？
Building?
6 S: 限界感 (*genkaikan*) //あの::://
Feel (that I have reached my) limit?, well
7 E: //違う違う// (hhh)
No, no ((laughter))
8 S: 水族館 (*suizokkan*)
Aquarium?
9 E: 違う違う (hhhh)
No, no ((laughter))
10 S: あそう？
Oh, really?
11 E: そうそうとか (hhh)
Yeah, yeah ((laughter))
12 S: (hhh) そうそうビルですよ,ビルじゃない？
((Laughter)) Yeah, yeah, (The last Chinese character of '限界感 (*genkaikan*)' (limit) represents a building, doesn't it ?
13 E: (hhh) 限界 (+) 限界わかる？
((Laughter)) Limit, do you understand limit?
14 S: 階段の階？
(Is '界 (*kai*)' in '限界 (*genkai*; limit)' the same Chinese character as) '階 (*kai*)' in '階段 (*kaidan*; steps)'?
15 E: No
No
16 S: No? 調べとこうか
No? Shall I consult a dictionary?
17 E: おっしゃ(+) 調べる？ふふ限界限界
Yes, do you want to consult a dictionary? Haha limit, limit
18 S: 限界感(++) たぶん見て::: なんとなく見たこと
//あるかな:://
Feel (that I have reached my) limit, Maybe I have seen (the word before) ((The expression is grammatically inaccurate, so Sutono stopped in the middle of his utterance to reorganise the sentence), I think that I have seen it somewhere.

19 E: //うんうん// あるたぶんある
Yes, yes, you have probably seen it before
((辞書で調べているストノを見ながら)) 限界 (+) 限界
((While looking at Sutono consulting a dictionary)) Limit, limit
20 S: 限界
Limit
((辞書にある「 限界」を意味する漢字を指しながら))
((by pointing out the correct Chinese character for '限界 (*genkai*; limit)'))
あの::: (++) この限界？
Well, is this Chinese character '限界 (*genkai*; limit)'?
21 E: ピンポーン
That's correct

Eri's question in Turn 1 of Extract 2 can be translated literally into English as 'In Japanese, have you ever felt your limit?'. An equivalent English expression would be 'Have you ever felt you have reached your limit, or have you ever felt you have reached your personal best while you were studying Japanese?'. Sutono's unfamiliarity with the lexicon is made obvious by his misunderstanding '限界を感じる (*genkai wo kanjiru*; feel oneself have reached one's limit)' in Turn 1 as '限界感 (*genkaikan*; feeling that one had reached one's limit)', and by repeating the wrong word in Turn 2. However, Eri wrongly interprets Sutono's repetition in Turn 2 as a sign that he is trying to express that he has never felt he has reached his limit while studying Japanese, and continues to say 'うんまだないか (Yes, you haven't felt that yet, have you?)'. Eri admits in stimulated recall that she finally realised Sutono had not understood the meaning of '限界 (*genkai*; limit)' when Sutono asked her, 'かんは (+) あの:::ビルでしょ？' ((The last Chinese character of '限界感 (*genkaikan*)'), '感 (*kan*)', represents a building, doesn't it?) in Turn 4.

Having advance knowledge of Chinese characters as a learner of Japanese and Chinese, Sutono employs several communication or learning strategies to retrieve vocabulary or understand vocabulary in ongoing interactions. His strategy repertoires which he listed in a stimulated recall interview were: ask a native speaker how to write the word in Chinese characters; brainstorm words which have the same or similar sounds; and look at Chinese characters and guess the meaning from them. Taking interactions from Turns 8 to 14 as an example, Sutono brainstorms words that he has learned already and attempts to use the sound of *kan* to understand the meaning of '限界感 (*genkaikan*)'. Sutono recalls that '水族館 (*suizokkan*; aquarium)' also shares the same sound of *kan* with 限界感 (*genkaikan*). He is hypothesising that the last Chinese character of '限界感

(*genkaikan*)' is the same as the last Chinese character in '水族館 (*suizokkan*)'. To confirm his hypothesis, Sutono poses the question to Eri by saying, '水族館 (*suizokkan*)?' in Turn 8. To Sutono's question, Eri replies by saying, '違う違う(No, no)', and maintains her assistance to Sutono at a minimum level. Her minimum assistance encourages him to keep generating hypotheses for the meaning of '限界 (*genkai*; limit)', and testing the hypotheses. Finally, Sutono, who cannot hypothesise anymore, asks Eri if he can consult a dictionary in Turn 16, saying, '調べとこうか (Shall I consult a dictionary?)'. If she provides the English translation, it would be much quicker for Sutono to know the meaning. However, Eri surmises that Sutono can learn more by thinking by himself or consulting a dictionary by himself. It can be said that her intentional minimum intervention reflects her determined belief that language assistance should be graduated and contingent.[50]

Inexplicit language assistance may move towards being more explicit when Japanese-language learners seek a more explicit form of language assistance from Japanese native speakers. The extract below was taken when Eri was asking Sutono to make a model sentence using '限界を感じる (*genkai wo kanjiru*)' in English.

Extract 3.

1	Eri:	それsentenceにして私が限界を感じる
		Can you make it into a sentence? I feel I have reached my limit
2	Sutono:	ああ:: たぶん ((考える))
		Oh, probably ((thinks))
3	E:	がんばれがんばれがんばれ (hhh)
		You can do it, you can do it, you can do it ((laughter))
4	S:	((考え込む))
		((Thinks for a while))
		我慢の限界だったみたいな
		(Do you mean) the end of my patience?
5	E:	(+) 我慢の限界だった? 我慢の限界だったちょっと違うな::: (hhh)
		End of my patience? end of my patience, it sounds different ((laughter))
		I could not endure anymore みたいな:::
		(Could you make a sentence) such as I could not endure anymore

50 *ibid.*

6 S: 限界効用?
Effect of limit
7 E: 限界効用? 何じゃそら?聞いたことない:::
Effect of limit, what is it? I have never heard of it
8 S: あ-そう?
Oh, really?
9 E: 効用?
Effect?
10 S: たぶん(+) //限界感って::://
Probably, limit is
11 E: //限界感 // (+) 限界を感じた
Feel (that I have reached my) limit, I felt I had reached my limit
12 S: 何かもう:::何か意味はあまりよく分からない(+) //あの::://
Well, I cannot understand the meaning clearly, well
13 E: //あ::://
Oh
14 S: 分かるけどどう言うあの日本語でどういう例文?
I understand, but how (do you) say? Well, how (can you make) the model sentences in Japanese?
15 E: 例文? 例えば(++) えっと::: (+++) 例えば(++) 例えば (+) 一生懸命テスト //勉強しました//
Model sentences? For example, well, for example, for example, I studied really hard
16 S: //あ::://
Oh
17 E: でも::: テストがあまりにも難しかったので-限界を感じました
But, the test was so difficult, I felt I had reached my limit
18 S: あ:::
Oh
19 E: もう難しすぎたから(+) 自分の限界は(+) もう//超えていた//
(The test was) so difficult, I felt I had already surpassed my limit
20 S: //あ::://
Oh

Although Sutono has already consulted a dictionary, it is obvious that his understanding of the phrase remains at the surface level because of his struggle to make model sentences with the expression. Finally, Sutono reveals his difficulties in making the model sentence by saying, '何かもう::: 何か意味はあまりよく分からない (Well, I cannot understand the meaning clearly)' in Turn 12, and explicitly seeks Eri's help by saying, '分かるけどどう言うあの日本語でどういう例文？ (I understand, but how do you say? Well, how can you make the model sentence in Japanese?)' in Turn 14. With Sutono's request for more explicit assistance, Eri, who has maintained minimal assistance so far, contextualises the expression in Turns 15 and 17, and demonstrates how to use the phrase in a real-life context in Japanese. Moreover, she adds a similar expression to '限界を感じる (feel one has reached one's limit)', '自分の限界は (+) もう//超えていた// (I felt I had already surpassed my limit)', in Turn 19. The interactions in Extract 3 revealed the processes by which a Japanese native speaker and a Japanese language learner negotiate what degree of language assistance to seek or provide through their dialogue in LEPs. As Aljaafreh and Lantolf[51] claim, such dialogic negotiation between Japanese native speakers and Japanese language learners forces the Japanese native speaker to discover their learner partner's ZPD, and provide language assistance to activate the ZPD of their learner interlocutors in LEPs.

Scaffolding, which Cannot Activate the Japanese Language Learner's ZPD

The above three extracts demonstrate how the Japanese native-speaker participants in this study are capable of assessing the required level of assistance for their learner interlocutors and providing language assistance which activates their ZPD in LEP sessions. On the contrary, careful investigation of the interactions in LEPs also revealed that some given language assistance was much beyond the learner's ZPD level and was not understood by Japanese language learners. The following example was collected when Hiroko and Paul were talking about the entrance examination system in Japan.

Extract 4.

1 Paul: (推薦入学の人は) 試験-しなくてもいい？
(Students entering university with a school recommendation) do not have to take entrance examinations?

2 Hiroko: 試験はときどきあります-が試験はありますが大体全員パス (++)
Sometimes they have to take examinations, but usually everyone passes

51 *ibid.*

うん高校の成績がいいので大体パス

Well, their grades in high school are good, most applicants pass the examination

面接-があります-が形だけ? (++) just only do that for whatever (hhh)

There is an interview, but it is only pro forma ((laughter))

形だけ-で意味はありません

(The interview) is only pro forma, it does not have any evaluation function

3 P: (推薦入学で)T大学((有名国立大学)) もW大学((有名私立大学))も (++) 入れますか

Can (students) enter T university ((a prestigious national university in Japan)) and W university ((a prestigious private university in Japan)) only with a school recommendation?

4 H: 入れません

(They) cannot enter (these universities only with a school recommendation)

5 P: 入れません

(They) cannot enter (these universities only with a school recommendation)

6 H: えっと:::私立-の学校 only

Well, (they can) only (enter) private schools (with a school recommendation)

国立はだめですね::: (++)

(There is) no national university (which accepts students only with a school recommendation)

でもえっとT大学はだめです-が (+)

But, well, although (they) cannot (enter) T university

W大学-はあります

(they can enter) W university (only with a school recommendation)

私の友達はえっと::: 先生の- recommendation (+) 推薦で-

My friend, well, with a teacher's recommendation letter

W大学-に入りました (++)

Entered W university

で-高校の成績がよかったすごくよかったです(++)

And her grade in high school was good, so great

で-先生が- W大学-にこの子はどうですか-と言って

And her teacher asked W university to allow her (to enter W university)

W大学- がじゃ::: 簡単なテストをして (+) 面接をして
And W university had conducted a very simple test and an interview (with my friend)
(+) で入りました
And (she) entered (W university)

In Turn 2 in Extract 4, Hiroko is explaining that Japanese students who aim to enter a university with a school recommendation sometimes have to take an examination. Hiroko, by saying '面接-がありま す-が形だけ?' in Turn 2, is attempting to explain that the entrance examination for the recommended students is only a matter of form and it does not have an evaluative function. Hiroko anticipated that Paul may not understand the expression, and she provides a Japanese translation by saying 'just only do that for whatever'. However, Paul admits in the stimulated recall session that her English translation in Turn 2 did not help him to understand the meaning of the phrase. To understand '面接-がありま す-が形だけ?', Japanese learners would need to be familiar with low-frequency words and to understand that '形だけ' means 'pro forma'. In addition, learners are expected to be familiar with the Japanese entrance examination system. Given the complexity of the expression, Hiroko should have more explicitly defined the meaning and have provided concrete examples in the subsequent turn. The assistance Hiroko provided in Turn 2 could be contingent, because she immediately switched back to English, but it is not graduated because her explanation is not explicit enough for Paul's fluency level.

At the end of Turn 6, Hiroko indeed briefly paraphrases the phrase of '形だけ' as 'W大学がじゃ::: 簡単なテストをして (+) 面接をして (+) で入りました (W university had conducted a very simple test and an interview with my friend (and she) entered (W university))'. However, the stimulated recall session with Paul indicated that Paul did not understand the meaning of the paraphrase in Turn 6, either. This example provides an important pedagogical insight that more concrete and explicit explanation should be provided if the expressions are beyond the ZPD of the Japanese language learner. Extract 4 also indicated that language assistance given after a long interval from the original interaction is less likely to be recognised as language assistance by Japanese-language learners. Thus, it is important for Japanese native speaker participants to carefully adjust the level of language assistance according to their learner interlocutors. In cases where Japanese native speaker participants identify that intervening pedagogically is more valuable than maintaining the flow of their interactions, they should provide language assistance within a shorter interval from the original interaction. Such language assistance allows Japanese language learners to easily relate the given language assistance to the original interaction and learn effectively from the assistance.

Conclusions

Employing Vygotsky's concept of the ZPD and assistance from experts to novices in LEPs,[52] this study examined how interactions in LEP sessions between Japanese native speakers and Japanese language learners can create learning opportunities for Australian learners of Japanese. Aljaafreh and Lantolf[53] assert that assistance to learners should be graduated, contingent and dialogic. Consistent with Aljaafreh and Lantolf's conditions, this study also established that Japanese native speaker participants can tactically provide language assistance within the ZPD of Japanese language learners by accurately assessing the level of their interlocutors' ZPD. They can do so by starting from minimum assistance and negotiating the level of assistance with their learner partners, and by withdrawing assistance as soon as Japanese language learners show signs of self-regulation. As to factors that Japanese native speakers use to accurately evaluate the level of Japanese language learners' ZPD, this study identified that the unique learning contexts in LEPs contribute to the accuracy. In one-on-one learning environments, Japanese native speakers can carefully observe and analyse their interlocutors' fluency levels. In addition, the informality of LEPs enables the participants to flexibly negotiate their topic of conversation and share their course assignments and learning materials. Consequently, such unique learning contexts as LEPs allow Japanese native speakers to accurately assess the ZPD of Japanese learners, and provide the appropriate level of language assistance. In addition, this study also revealed an important skill that LEP participants should develop to provide or receive language assistance to activate the ZPD of the Japanese-language learner: negotiation. As seen in Turn 3 of Extract 2, Japanese native speakers may wrongly assume that Japanese language learners understand an ongoing interaction. Therefore, it is important for Japanese language learners to honestly and overtly indicate their need for language assistance to their native speaker interlocutors, and actively negotiate the level of assistance they wish to obtain from their Japanese native speaker partners.

The findings of this study suggest significant pedagogical implications for improving learning processes and learning outcomes in LEPs. Although this study demonstrates that LEPs serve as opportunities for Japanese language learners to practice Japanese and receive language assistance in their ZPD from Japanese native speakers, not all interactions benefit Japanese language learners, as seen in Extract 4. In particular, some LEP participants have no prior experience of participating in LEPs; consequently, they may struggle to find topics, have difficulties sustaining their ongoing interactions, or be

52 Vygotsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-91.
53 Aljaafreh and Lantolf, *op. cit.*

unsatisfied with their learning experiences in LEPs[54]. Given the fact that LEPs are new learning experiences for some participants, universities should pedagogically intervene to enhance the quality of interactions and learning processes in LEPs.

With regard to pedagogical intervention, Voller and Pickard[55] provide useful insights for improving interactions in LEPs. Voller and Pickard identified lack of learning organisation as a cause of unsuccessful learning experiences in LEPs, quoting their participants' complaints that their interlocutor did not teach, but just chatted with them. Such dissatisfaction may emerge from the learners' strong belief that error correction is evidence of teaching, or from their high expectation of corrective feedback from their partners in LEP sessions. However, given the social aspects of LEPs, it can be difficult for Japanese native speakers to provide a large degree of error correction[56]. As for solutions, universities can explain to new participants in LEP orientation sessions the dual functions of LEPs, and encourage them to practice selective correction for serious errors. Moreover, problems with the learning organisation can be attributed to the participants' limited learning experiences in LEPs. As seen in Extract 4, the explanation skills of Japanese native speakers significantly impact on the comprehension of their learner interlocutors. Therefore, universities should provide prior and ongoing training so that new participants can continuously develop their interaction skills. They should encourage them to analyse how experienced participants interact tactically, share problems they encounter in LEPs, and discuss what they wish their partners to gain from the LEP sessions. Finally, Voller and Pickard[57] assert that participants should provide feedback to their partners about the extent to which their language has improved. In their research, participants were not satisfied with their mastery of the target language. Given that LEPs are an informal learning context with no formal lesson structure and examination, participants may not be able to easily confirm their learning progress in LEPs. Therefore, universities can set up systems so that LEP participants can reflect on their learning experiences in LEPs, share them with other participants, and provide feedback about language development to their partners on a regular basis.

This study was a two-month case study conducted at an Australian university. The author conducted the study as a partial requirement for a four-month research subject in a Masters course. The limitations of the study are the small size of the research sample and the short research period; therefore, it is ill-advised to generalise the findings of this study to other learning contexts. However, this study clearly highlights that LEPs have the potential to increase learning opportunities for Japanese language learners studying

54 Voller and Pickard, *op. cit.*; Matsumoto, 'Kaiwa pātonā handobukku no sakusei to kaitei'.
55 Voller and Pickard, *op. cit.*
56 Nagami, *op. cit.*; Nishioka, *op. cit.*
57 Voller and Pickard, *op. cit.*

in foreign language environments to practice and learn Japanese from Japanese native speakers. Given the fact that the participants had not experienced LEP sessions prior to this study (except for Sutono), and that the participants conducted LEPs with the same partner for only two months, their interactions in LEPs and perceptions of their learning experiences are likely to change in the long term. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to conduct longitudinal studies that trace how participants' language fluency, interactions in LEPs and perceptions of their learning experiences change over time.

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Newspaper Reporting of Whaling in Australia and Japan: A Comparative Content Analysis

Tets Kimura
Flinders University

Abstract

The ongoing dispute over whaling is a significant issue of conflict between Australia and Japan. It appears that the print media in each country supports the dominant opinion: anti-whaling in Australia, and pro-whaling in Japan. To investigate media perspectives, this study reviews newspaper coverage throughout a whaling season (15 December 2007 – 24 March 2008), analysing 48 articles from Australian newspapers (in English) and 51 articles from Japanese newspapers (in Japanese). Content analysis was employed to identify the characteristics of the newspaper articles. It is believed that reporting can contribute to cultural and political transparency by providing comprehensive views on the whaling issue. However, the findings here indicate that the current state of whaling reporting tends to be one-sided. This study assesses how the whaling issue is reported in both Australia and Japan, and what influences that reporting. It also focuses on Japan's *kisha* club (reporters' club) system to shed some light on why Japanese journalists report pro-whaling perspectives given international criticism from Australia.

Keywords

Australia-Japan relations; bilingual analysis; *kisha* club; media analysis; newspapers; whaling

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Introduction

Australia and Japan have established good bilateral relationships based on mutually complementary economic relations. In recent years, the two countries have also strengthened political and security cooperation, which has made them strategic partners in the Asia-Pacific region. For example, in September 2012, a weapons technology swap plan was announced between Australia and Japan, whereby Japan agreed to export its high-standard submarine technologies for use by the Australian military.[1] Furthermore, when Kevin Rudd made his first visit to Japan as Prime Minister, he emphasised that 'Australia's relationship with Japan is longstanding, close and broad-based'.[2] Even though Australia and Japan might be considered an odd couple given the historical, cultural and economic background to their relationship,[3] the two countries have managed to share many of the same political and economic values, such as parliamentary democracy, advanced capitalism and pro-US international policies.

However, there are also significant differences: namely, conflicting approaches towards whaling in the two countries. Australia stopped whaling in the 1970s due to ethical and environmental reasons, whereas Japan continues the practice in the name of science.

A cursory inspection of news reporting on the issue indicates that these public opinions are definitely reflected in the media, both in Australia and in Japan. In Australia, public discourse often perpetuates the images of 'good Australia' and 'bad Japan' when it comes to the whaling issue, just as occurred during World War II.[4] The national psyche in Japan is similarly reflected in the media. Thus, guiding questions to be answered by content analysis in this paper are as follows:

1. How do newspapers in Australia and Japan report on the issue of whaling in the Southern Ocean?

2. What accounts for similarities/differences in reporting?

The simple depiction of the whaling issue in polarised terms underrates the complexity of the cultural and linguistic frameworks operating behind the reportage of the whaling issue, particularly in relation to the reasons why Japanese newspaper articles are published as they are. The examination of Japanese reporting practice, including the *kisha* club (reporters' club) system, to be conducted in this study will shed light on this

1 Wallace, 'Japan Tech Deal Could Help Power Our Subs'.
2 Rudd, 'Media Release: Visit to Japan and Indonesia'.
3 Meaney, *Towards a New Vision*, p. 140.
4 *ibid*.

particular aspect of the issue. It should be noted that Japanese government documents issued on the whaling controversy are published in both Japanese and English. However, the problem for Australian reporters accessing Japanese information is not one of language but of access to additional privileged information provided to Japanese reporters by the government via the *kisha* club system.

Japanese Whaling: A Review of the Literature

In Australia, it is widely believed that Japan conducts illegal whaling in the Southern Ocean. While it is fair to say that whaling is illegal in accordance with Australia's domestic regulations, Australia's territorial claim over Antarctic waters is not universally recognised.[5] Rather, it is rejected by the international agreement outlined in The Antarctic Treaty (1961), which states that the agreement 'does not recognize, dispute, or establish territorial claims and no new claims shall be asserted while the treaty is in force.'[6] Australia has been a member of the agreement since it became effective. Australia can still claim that it has a right to a part of Antarctica since it made its claim over Antarctica before the agreement was made and ratified. However, saying that is as far as Australia can go.

Japan has a much stronger legal justification to support its whaling in the Southern Ocean. The International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (1948) allows Japan to conduct whaling for research, and this activity may include killing whales so long as the whaling contains a degree of scientific research. Furthermore, Japan is also legally permitted to use by-products from its research, such as whale meat, provided this is carried out under supervision. This is even permitted under the current Southern Ocean moratorium that started in the 1980s, and is clearly stated in Article 8 of The International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (1946).

However, critics argue that Japan's motivation for whaling is not purely scientific. Mike Danaher claims there are four reasons why Japan wants to continue whaling in spite of international criticism: whaling is a cultural tradition, internationally legal, sustainable under an open science and harvest plan, and does not attract 'any significant domestic anti-whaling movement.'[7] Thus, international voices do not have a significant impact on Japanese policy-makers.

5 Davis, 'Taking on Japanese Whalers', p. 82.
6 'Antarctica Law & Government'.
7 Danaher, 'Why Japan Will Not Give Up Whaling', pp. 119-120.

Atsushi Ishii and Ayako Okubo criticise Danaher's views, stating that 'he overemphasizes … the cultural aspects of the whaling issue,'[8] which they suggest has often been mobilised for political ends. The notion of 'whale meat culture' is constructed to justify the current practice of 'scientific' whaling, since it helps the discourse appear 'depoliticized'.[9] Ishii and Okubo suggest that Anny Wong's book, *The Roots of Japan's Environmental Policies*,[10] offers explanations that avoid reifying cultural aspects of Japanese whaling.[11] Wong notes that the basis of Japan's whaling policy has remained 'unchanged in the last several decades',[12] whereas the international community has shifted from a pro-whaling to an anti-whaling stance over this period. Wong emphasises that 'Japan's policy on whaling has been most strongly determined by the perspective of the Fisheries Agency' which acts as 'its chief policy maker.'[13] Wong concludes that the Fisheries Agency's view on whaling is made 'bigger' and 'more inclusive' than economics, as its discourse on whaling expands the issue into 'one of national culture, pride, and sovereignty.'[14]

Keiko Hirata similarly considers the culture of Japan's domestic civil and political structures in order to explain why Japan does not adjust its whaling policy for the sake of better international relations. Because Japan's whaling policy has been formed through a structure that 'is highly centralised with strong bureaucratic leadership,' the government 'has allowed virtually no room for citizens' groups to affect Japan's whaling policy.' Japanese NGOs have had some impact on other environmental issues, but anti-whaling NGOs are relatively powerless because 'the Fisheries Agency and Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) have no interest in working with them.'[15]

Supporting Hirata's view, the well-known Australian ethicist Peter Singer also noted that the voices of environmentalists, including those from anti-whaling movements, do not penetrate through to the general public.[16] Therefore, the activists in Japan are 'clearly much more isolated than comparable groups in Western nations.'[17] Singer claims this is because Japanese people are identified as a member of a group, rather than in terms of their individuality. Peter Cave similarly argues that Japanese 'children first learn to be "part of the group"' through 'educational trajectory',[18] and the sense of group identity which shapes them will remain as they enter adulthood.[19] Furthermore, Singer maintains that due to their strong sense of 'us-ness' or *uchi* (such as a strong sense of

8 Ishii and Okubo, 'An Alternative Explanation of Japan's Whaling Diplomacy in the Post-Moratorium Era', p. 65.
9 *ibid*., p. 85.
10 Wong, *The Roots of Japan's Environmental Policies*, p. 130.
11 Ishii and Okubo, *op. cit*., p. 65.
12 Wong, *op. cit*., p. 130.
13 *ibid*., p. 126.
14 *ibid*., p. 130.
15 Hirata, 'Why Japan Supports Whaling', pp. 145, 147-148.
16 Singer, *How Are We To Live?*, p. 150.
17 *ibid*., p. 150.
18 Cave, '"Bukatsudo": The Education Role of Japanese School Clubs', p. 384.
19 *ibid*., p. 414.

belonging to their school or company community), Japanese people are less likely to care about more abstract, global public issues such as environmental issues. After the author of this paper published an article as a freelance journalist in *The Age*,[20] an ESL teacher who lived in Japan commented that one of his adult Japanese students said 'Japan shouldnt/couldnt [*sic*] do anything about the worlds [*sic*] environmental problems because it doesn't have resources like oil, uranium etc.'[21] Singer says that in some cases, Japanese people are 'both angry and embarrassed' when a family member is involved in activism around environmental issues.[22] Consequently, the Japanese environmentalist perspective has a minimal effect upon Japanese society, and the Fisheries Agency (along with other officials) continues to be the main player in influencing decision-making and policy formation on the whaling issue.

Clearly, the whaling issue is not as simple as it may appear in the Australian media. To understand the problem, a comprehensive understanding of Japanese society and culture, in addition to the facts about whaling, is required. The following section shifts focus, in order to consider the background to Australia's position on whaling and the main reasons cited against Japan's whaling.

Australian Anti-Whaling: A Review of the Literature

In Australia, whaling (combined with sealing) was an important part of the colonial economy, being the biggest industry until gold mining overtook it in the 1850s. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the whaling industry, which produced whale oil predominantly for lamp lighting, began declining after the discovery of kerosene as a cheaper fuel source for lighting. Whale oil was no longer required as a source of fuel for lighting by the middle of the nineteenth century as it was replaced first by kerosene, and later by electricity.

By the 1970s, economic reasons were not the only factor that contributed to this decline; there were also ethical and environmental reasons. Shortly before Australia adopted an anti-whaling policy in 1979, Peter Singer made a submission to the Australian Government's Inquiry into Whaling, arguing that whaling is ethically wrong from a utilitarian perspective.[23] His views have not changed since then[24] and have long been used as the basis of ethical reasoning in anti-whaling perspectives. Singer has claimed that since animals are capable of suffering, there is no justification to 'draw

20 Kimura, 'Getting to Know the Japanese'.
21 'A Whaling State of Mind'.
22 Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
23 Singer, 'Why the Whale Should Live', pp. 8-9.
24 Singer, 'Hypocrisy Weakens West's Whaling Protests'.

the boundary of our concern for the interests of others at the boundary of our own species.'[25] Singer calls this kind of limited moral perspective '"speciesist"—a term which is intended to suggest an analogy with racism.'[26] Singer's ethical framework on whaling provides a compelling anti-whaling argument: if we accept the principle that animals should not be killed or made to suffer significant pain, except when there is no other way of satisfying important human needs, it follows that whaling should stop.

Singer admitted that the end of whaling could create other social problems, such as increased unemployment as a result of the demise of the whaling industry. However, he rejected this as a justifiable reason for the continuation of whaling, noting that '[m]oral progress has frequently required economic adjustment.'[27] In support of this line of argument, he cited the example of the slave trade, which was required to find other goods to ship.[28]

The idea of whale rights is supported not only by consequentialists such as Singer. Tom Regan develops some of Singer's ideas from a neo-Kantian perspective, arguing that whaling is universally wrong from a standpoint of absolute morality.[29] Furthermore, some scientists also criticise the scientific justification used by Japan. For example, Australian scientist Nick Gales and his colleagues criticise Japan's whaling research on the basis that it is not scientific enough: 'The strongest scientific argument in favour of lethal sampling—the collection of genetic samples for determining population structure—could be conducted far more efficiently using non-lethal biopsy techniques'.[30] The scientists also maintain that the publication record is poor and limited for a research endeavour of this size. For these reasons, Japan's scientific whaling is regarded as 'inhumane and lacking scientific justification.'[31]

Both ethical and scientific theories have been adopted by environmentalist organisations such as Greenpeace, which has strong public support in Australia and other developed countries, to justify their anti-whaling activities. Ishii and Okubo note, 'the Japanese policymakers underestimated the growing political power of environmental NGOs.'[32] The Australian government is somewhat subdued in voicing criticism, but clearly states: 'There is no scientific justification for Japan's whale hunt in the Southern Ocean… The Government will continue to work to bring an end to whaling.'[33]

25 Singer, 'Why the Whale Should Live', p. 8
26 *ibid*., p. 8
27 *ibid*., p. 9
28 Singer, 'Why the Whale Should Live', pp. 8-9; Singer, 'Hypocrisy Weakens West's Whaling Protests'.
29 Regan, *All That Dwell Therein*, pp. 102-112.
30 Gales et al., 'Japan's Whaling Plan under Scrutiny', p. 883.
31 Hirata, *op. cit*., p. 135.
32 Ishii and Okubo, *op. cit*., p. 58.
33 Smith and Garrett, 'Return of Japanese Whaling Fleet to Port'.

In response to continued Japanese whaling in the Southern Ocean, the Australian government launched an international legal case against scientific whaling in May 2010. The Australian situation is quite different from the political situation in Japan, where the government-oriented whaling camp sits at the centre of the debate, deploying policies for its citizens to accept virtually without question.[34] Australia's justifications are based on totally different principles from those adopted by the proponents of Japanese pro-whaling perspectives. This situation is said to make it very difficult for the two countries to find common ground for reasoned debate. This explains why it is difficult for Australians to understand Japan's pro-whaling position, and vice versa.

In the field of academia, a team led by Paul Cunningham recently argued that whaling and whale conservation can coexist.[35] They point out that a whaling country such as Japan can offer multiple whale-watching sites and that the industry is growing. However, this information has not influenced the views of the general public. A fundamental task of the media is to provide information to enable citizens to understand and contextualise issues that affect them. The primary purpose of this content analysis is to assess how the whaling issue is reported in both Australia and Japan, and what influences that reporting, particularly looking at the influences of Japan's *kisha* club on Japanese newspapers.

Methodology

In order to examine the nature of reporting on Japan's whaling in the Southern Ocean, the technique of content analysis was employed to examine sample articles drawn from Australian and Japanese newspapers. Content analysis was used to identify and analyse themes in the sample, providing an insight into differential patterns of tone, balance and news framing that tend to be employed by each country's journalists.

The analysis presented in this paper covers the whaling season in the summer of 2007-2008. A convoy of whaling ships left Japan on 18 November 2007 and returned on 15 April 2008, a period of 150 days. However, the whaling activity in the Southern Ocean itself only started on 15 December 2007 and ended on 24 March 2008, a period of 101 days.[36] This shorter period was set as the time frame for the study.

34 Ishii and Okubo, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
35 Cunningham et al., 'From Whaling to Whale Watching'.
36 'Dai ni ki nankyokukai geirui hokaku chōsa (JARPAII)'.

Source Newspapers

To maximise the validity and generalisability of the analysis, newspapers that best reflect the current landscape of both Australian and Japanese trends were chosen.

For Australian newspapers, *The Australian*, a slightly right-of-centre national newspaper with headquarters in Sydney; *The Age*, a slightly left-of-centre daily newspaper from Melbourne; and *The Advertiser*, Adelaide's only daily (tabloid) were selected. *The Australian* and *The Advertiser* are owned by News Corp Australia, Australia's largest print-media conglomerate, whereas *The Age* is owned by Fairfax Media.

A sample of Australian articles was gathered using NewsBank. While the database does not archive all articles published, it was possible to collect a broadly representative sample of the newspaper reporting, and thus was useful for the purpose of this study.

For the Japanese counterparts, the two largest Japanese national newspapers, *Asahi* (slightly left-of-centre) and *Yomiuri* (slightly right-of-centre) were chosen. In Japan, regional newspapers similar to *The Age* and *The Advertiser* are seen as 'minor' newspapers and therefore have not been sampled.

Analysing Japanese-language articles, instead of English-language newspapers such as *The Japan Times,* is extremely important as Japanese is the dominant language of Japan. Analysing Japan's English-language newspapers would have produced an insufficient and inaccurate result, since the study aims to compare how dominant newspapers report whaling news in each country.

The Process of Sample Collection

It was important to ensure that search terms were consistently employed across the different language search engines. Therefore the terms were kept as simple as possible. Since the study also comprised bilingual research, care was taken to find search terms that were effectively translatable and that corresponded with an equivalent English/Japanese word in terms of meaning and frequency of use in common discourse.[37]

NewsBank was used to collect Australian samples, and the search term 'whaling in the lead/first paragraph' as well as the phrase 'Southern Ocean in all text' was used to

37 Various techniques to overcome the problems on translation are argued by Eco in *Mouse or Rat?*.

define the sampling strategy. Using the first term, the engine only picked up articles that had the main theme of whaling. Using the second term, the engine found articles that targeted Japan's whaling in the Southern Ocean. Non-related articles on travelling, gourmet cuisine and other general political and environmental news items were removed from the sample so that the focus related specifically to Japan's whaling activities. Letters from readers were also removed from the sample. Only first editions of articles were selected for analysis. As a result, 20 articles remained from *The Australian*, 13 from *The Age* and 15 from *The Advertiser*, making a total of 48 Australian articles.

An identical method was used to collect Japanese samples.[38] Articles were selected for the sample if they had the word '*hogei* (whaling)' in the lead/first paragraph as well as the word '*nankyoku* (Antarctica or Antarctic)' in the entire article.[39] Non-related articles and letters from readers were eliminated. In the Japanese sample, only first editions came up in the search. To ensure consistency of analysis across the entire sample with respect to the style of journalism under scrutiny, some extra reduction techniques were employed. For *Asahi* articles, non-newspaper articles were excluded because their search engine attracts items from magazines such as *AERA* and *Shūkan Asahi*. These are not supplement magazines but external publications which do not belong to the newspaper itself. Additionally, all *Asahi* articles that appeared in local (*chiiki*) pages were excluded, since those articles only appear in a limited area of Japan, usually within a particular prefecture. The focus of these articles is not concerned with Japan's whaling in the Southern Ocean, but rather with regional news stories about local whaling communities. In addition, two articles only showing the results of surveys were excluded from the analysis because they do not constitute news articles.

For *Yomiuri* articles, photo captions that were automatically classified as articles were excluded. To maintain consistency with the reduction process used for *Asahi* articles, articles that were published in regional (non-Tokyo) editions were also excluded. Lastly, articles from both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* that are specially written for children for the purpose of education were removed. These kinds of articles do not appear in Australian newspapers, and are not a part of the Australian print media news culture. Articles aimed at children were considered beyond the scope of analysis in this study, which sought to maintain focus on mainstream media and its journalistic impact upon the awareness of the general public. In total, 25 articles remained from *Asahi*, and 26 from *Yomiuri*, making a total of 51 articles. Thus, the total number of articles drawn from Australia and Japan for analysis was 99.

38 The author acknowledges the contribution of Ms Tomomi Kimura and Associate Professor Jiro Morioka in gathering Japanese newspaper articles.

39 The direct translation of 'Southern Ocean' is '*nanpyōyō*'; however, the word '*nankyoku-kai* (Antarctic Sea)' is more common, being the term officially designated by Japan's Geographical Survey Institute (GSI), under the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT). Major Japanese media including *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* use '*nankyoku-kai*' rather than '*nanpyōyō*'.

Coding

The data were examined using the following four codes: objectivity, balance, angle and overall tone.[40]

Firstly, it was important to identify the degree of objectivity: whether the reporting in the articles provided fact-based 'hard news,' or 'soft news' such as opinion or editorial pieces. Hard news stories carry only factual information, and thus the tone of the language is neutral and the information is objectively presented. On the other hand, soft news items tend to offer more description and context, and often also carry subjective opinions, including moral judgements. Thus, emotive language is sometimes used to express those opinions.

The articles were coded as 'hard' or 'soft' according to whether the journalist used techniques of subjective expression. Firstly, articles that were automatically classified as 'opinion' or 'editorial' by NewsBank were classified as soft. Similarly, Japanese-language articles that were classified in databases as opinion articles by the use of words such as '*shasetsu* (editorial comment)', '*kaisetsu* (exposition)', and '*shiten* (perspective)' were also identified as soft. The remaining articles were then examined by hand and coded as soft or hard according to the language used in the reporting.

Following the initial coding, the hard news articles were examined for evidence of manifest content corresponding to the analytic category of journalistic balance. Soft articles were excluded from this analysis, as opinion pieces were not necessarily expected to be balanced. To determine the balance of relative perspective in each hard news article, every individual or organisation quoted or cited in the article was counted. For the purpose of this study, quotations and citations were each counted individually rather than categorised by organisation. For example, if three people from Greenpeace and one person from the Japanese government were quoted, by counting each individual the analysis here would show that there was more weight given to the Greenpeace perspective than there was to the Japanese government.[41]

References to people in general, such as 'Australians say no to Japan's whaling,' were not counted. This is because 'Australians' were not quoted or cited in a factual way by journalists. Rather, this represents a general assumption of the dominant view. However, phrases such as 'Australia claims' were included, since this phrase was commonly used to indicate the perspective or views of the Australian government. Similarly, when

40 An appendix to this paper showing the schedule of analysis is available at http://www.flinders.edu.au/sabs/sis/research/tetskimura.cfm.

41 If only organisations were counted, the result would indicate two sources overall (Greenpeace and the Japanese government), thus the article would seem more balanced than it might actually be.

statements were attributed to an organisation (for example, a government or Greenpeace), they were counted even though a particular individual was not mentioned.[42]

Another exclusion from counting was when newspapers used information from another media source, such as when Japanese media reported that the Australian Broadcasting Corporation quoted a source in Australia. In such cases, the initial source of information was counted. Subsequently, sources of information were labelled with respect to their alignment in the whaling debate, allowing the identification of material sourced from a pro- or anti-whaling individual, group or organisation, or from a neutral body such as police or customs officials who might not have an opinion about whether or not whaling was justified. Thus, an additional investigation relating to journalistic balance was undertaken in order to decide whether the article incorporated 'the voice of the adversary'—that is, whether evidence of a Japanese pro-whaling perspective was noted in an Australian article, and vice versa.

Thirdly, within the broad topic of Japan's Southern Ocean whaling, a range of specific 'angles' which indicate topic emphasis were identified. Each article was categorised with respect to the topic that was emphasised in the article, which in turn suggested what triggered the journalist to write that article. The 'angle' defines the readers' first impression of why the article was written. The following codes were used:

- *Australian politics*: Australian domestic political issues, such as policy and ideas existing within the government, or related claims made by the opposition.
- *Japanese politics*: The same as above (in the Australian case) but in Japanese politics.
- *NZ politics*: The same as above but in New Zealand politics.[43]
- *International politics*: The emphasis was related to international political issues such as a talk, debate or political negotiation between the Australian and Japanese governments.
- *Court case*: The benchmark court case that claimed Japan's whaling in the Southern Ocean was illegal.[44]

42 If an individual was subsequently identified then the source was not counted twice.

43 The (anti-)whaling issue in New Zealand is not a relevant topic to this study, but since some Australian newspapers reported political stories from New Zealand (which is also a strong anti-whaling country), this category was created.

44 The claim was made by the Humane Society International (HSI) according to Australian domestic law, and a Federal Court judge announced the decision on 15 January 2008 in favour of HSI. However, the decision had no practical effects on Japan's whaling activities because Australia's territorial claim on the Southern Ocean is not internationally recognised.

- *Protests*: The emphasis was primarily related to anti-whaling protest movements—activities usually conducted by Greenpeace and/or Sea Shepherd.

- *Other*: None of the above, or when plural topic emphases were given equal weight in a story with mixed topics.

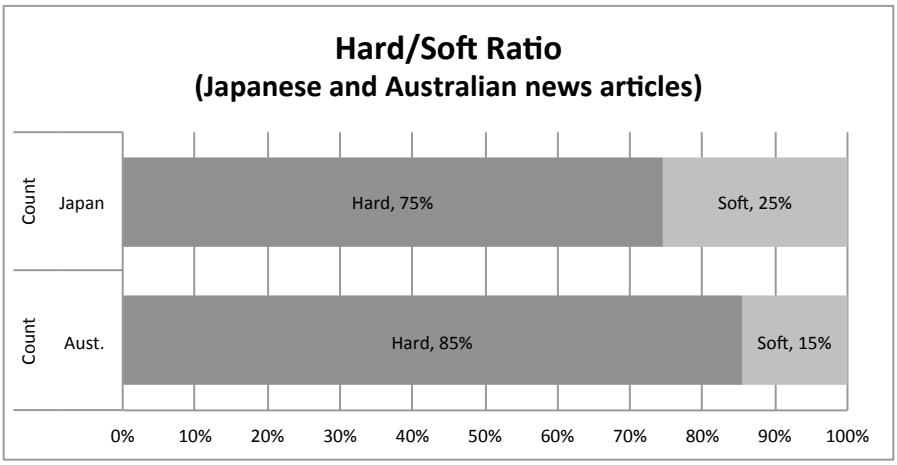
Finally, a latent coding technique was employed to determine the overall tone of the article and the underlying opinions expressed. Firstly, articles were judged to be anti-whaling if they predominantly contained content such as an emphasis on animal rights, environmental issues, criticism of unnecessary slaughter, criticism of scientific research, and heavy emphasis on anti-whaling activists' opinions. Secondly, articles were judged to be pro-whaling if they predominantly contained content such as an emphasis on the value of the scientific research, the idea that scientific whaling is legal, and claims about the cultural value of whaling. Thirdly, articles were judged to be neutral if they contained a balance of both perspectives more or less evenly.

Findings

Content Coding 1: Objectivity

The vast majority of articles from both Australia (85%) and Japan (75%) were classified as hard, and the remaining were classified as soft (see Chart 1).

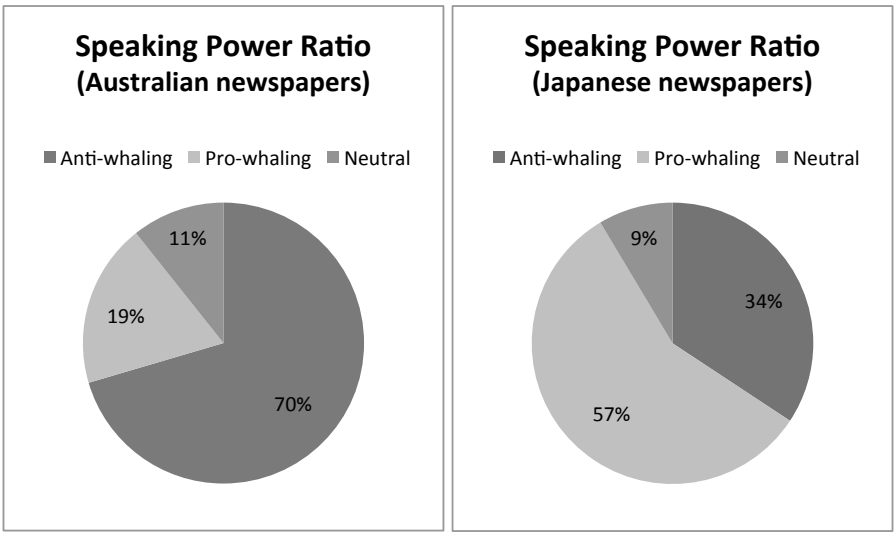
Chart 1.



Content Coding 2: Balance

The difference between Australian and Japanese newspapers was clear (see Chart 2). Seventy percent of the speaking power found in Australian newspapers constituted voices from an anti-whaling perspective, whereas only 19% of the voices expressed a pro-whaling perspective. On the other hand, a different trend was found in the Japanese newspaper articles. Fifty-seven percent of the speaking power found in Japanese newspapers constituted voices expressing a pro-whaling perspective, whereas 34% of the voices gave an anti-whaling perspective.

Chart 2.

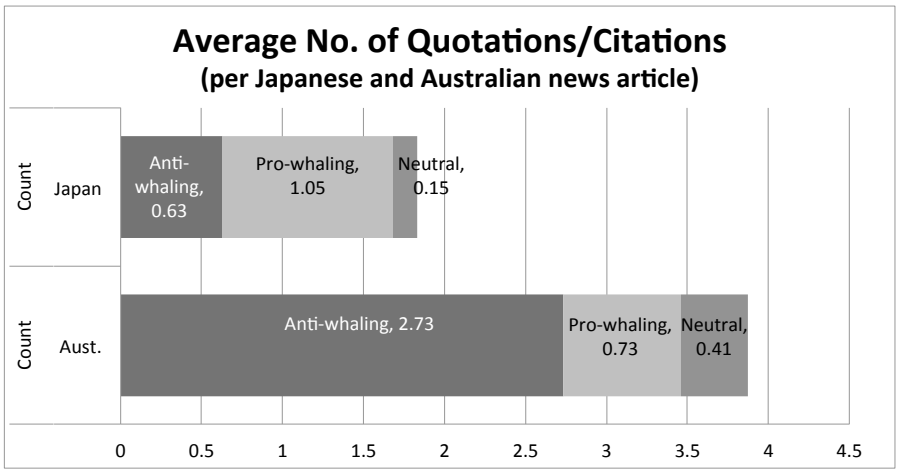


This might be an indication that Japanese journalists are slightly more willing to broadcast the voice of the 'adversary'. It is interesting to note that as much as Japanese officials strongly believe in their strong pro-whaling stance, the media in Japan does not necessarily have a narrow point of view. The results of this analysis suggest that Australian journalists are more conservative in aligning their views with the dominant beliefs of their society than Japanese journalists. Indeed, Ian McArthur, in 'Media Portrayal of the Cultural Relationship between Australia and Japan', says 'Little of Japan's cultural and historical justification for its intention to resume whaling is mentioned in the Australian reports which have focused on emotional demands that Japanese vessels leave "our" ocean.'[45]

45 McArthur, 'Media Portrayal of the Cultural Relationship between Australia and Japan', p. 585.

Another notable indication from this analysis is that the number of quotations and citations that appear per article were quite different between the two countries. On average, 3.88 quotations/citations were found per Australian newspaper article (2.73 anti-whaling, 0.73 pro-whaling and 0.41 neutral), whereas only 1.83 quotations/citations were found in Japanese articles (0.63 anti-whaling, 1.05 pro-whaling and 0.15 neutral; see Chart 3).

Chart 3.



This is likely to be because the style of journalistic writing is different between Australia and Japan. In Australia, an article can be written more comprehensively, often combining plural viewpoints in the one article. On the other hand, in Japan, two separate articles with different viewpoints were found to be written about one event. For example, after the court decision against the Japanese whalers was made by the Australian federal judge on 15 January 2008, *Yomiuri* published two separate articles the following day. In one article by the *Yomiuri*'s Sydney correspondent, the journalist included the viewpoints of the Court, HSI, and the Japanese government.[46] In the other article that was published later on the same day, only the voice of Machimura Nobutaka, the Chief Cabinet Secretary, was included (the journalist was unspecified, but it is assumed that the article was written in Tokyo where the Chief Cabinet Secretary has regular press conferences).[47] This finding could be due to the fact that major Japanese newspaper companies publish two editions in a day—the main morning edition (*chōkan*) and the smaller evening edition (*yūkan*).

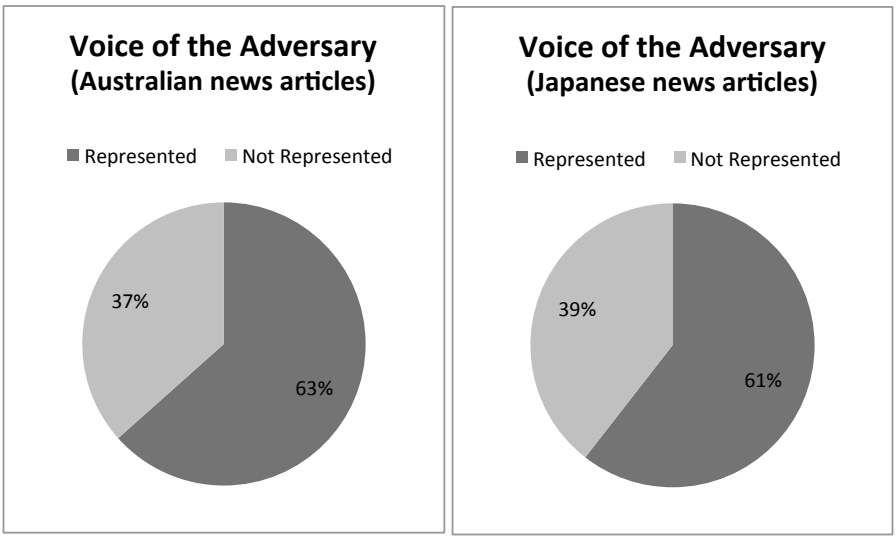
46 Arai, 'Nihon no chōsa hogeisen ni sōgyō teishi meirei'.
47 'Gō no hogeisen sōgyō teishi meirei'.

However, in Australia, these articles would most likely be combined into one longer and more comprehensive piece, a point supported by the fact that among the selected articles for study, no Australian paper had a second or additional article on this issue, preferring to contain all the information in single, more complex and multi-faceted articles.

Voice of the Adversary

Just over 60% of hard articles from Australia (63%) and Japan (61%) carried a voice from the adversary that opposed the main viewpoint. The remaining articles did not (see Chart 4).

Chart 4.

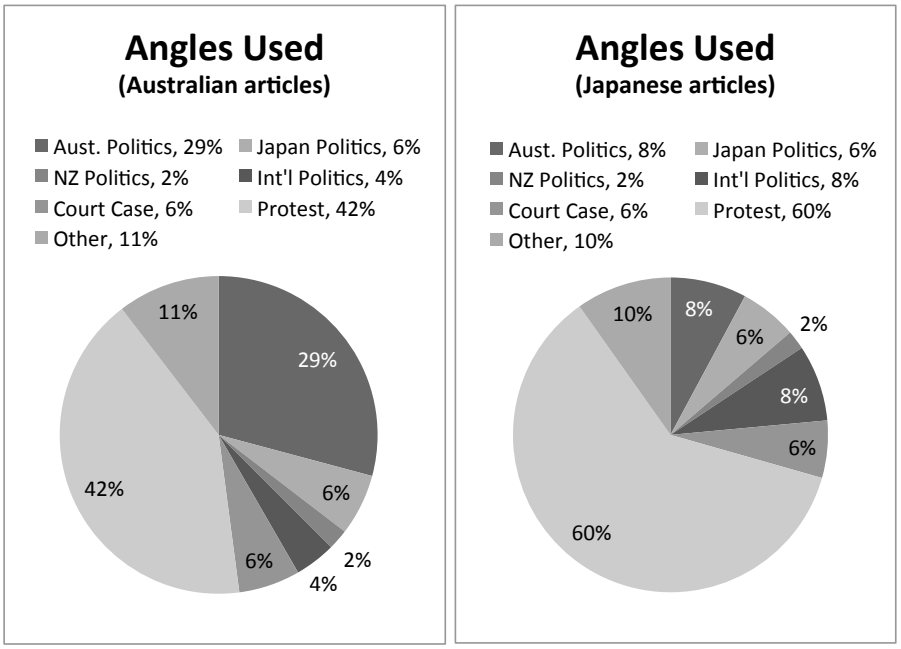


As the difference between Australia and Japan was only 2%, it could be said that both Australian and Japanese journalists equally record a voice from their respective national adversary. This could indicate that, as much as Australian journalists tend to use a higher proportion of quotations/citations representing dominant views from the Australian side, or as much as Japanese journalists are reluctant to gather more information, journalists both in Australia and Japan are equally serious about acknowledging the voice of the adversary in their articles.

Content Coding 3: Angle

The angles, which suggest topic emphasis of articles (thus suggesting what triggered the journalist to report), were examined. The results show that 42% of articles from Australia and 60% of articles from Japan carried an angle related to protests by environmentalist groups such as Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd (see Chart 5).

Chart 5.



The second-biggest angle in all articles in Australia was Australian domestic politics (29%), whereas in Japan, the second-biggest angle was not Japanese domestic politics but Australian politics and international politics (8% each). In Japanese newspapers, Japanese politics was only the fourth-biggest angle (6%). This reinforces the aforementioned claim that whaling is not seen as a major issue in Japan.[48]

Among the Australian soft articles, the biggest angle was 'other' (observed in 67% of the soft *The Age* articles and 75% of *The Advertiser*). This was due to the fact that they all carried more than one angle. Australian soft articles are written more comprehensively in comparison to Japanese soft articles. On the other hand, the

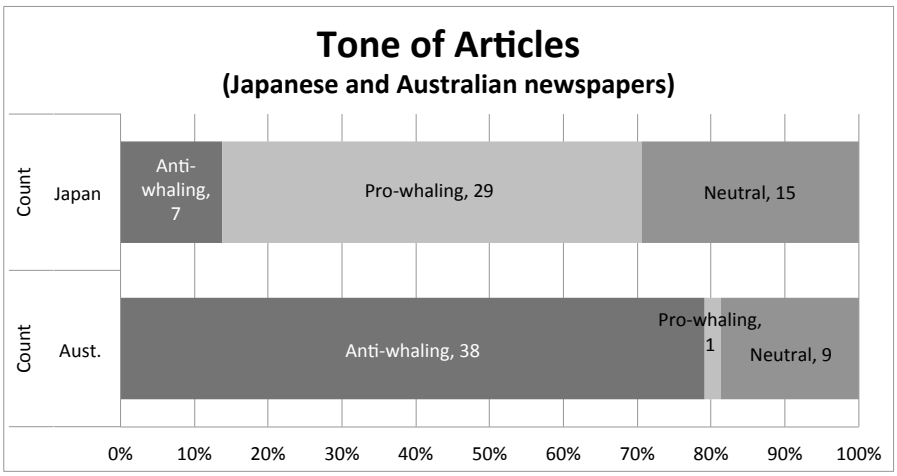
48 Kimura, 'Lost in Translation'; Kimura, 'Why Japan is Deaf to Whaling Protests'.

biggest angle among the Japanese soft articles was still protest (37% of all *Asahi* soft articles and 80% of *Yomiuri* soft articles had a protest angle). Only 38% of all 'soft' articles in *Asahi* and 20% of *Yomiuri* had multiple angles, in comparison to 67% in *The Age* and 75% in *The Advertiser.* This shows that writing opinion-style articles with comprehensive view points is an uncommon practice in Japan.

Content Coding 4: Tone

Of the entire 99 articles, irrespective of whether the article was hard or soft, Australian articles were most likely to carry an anti-whaling tone, and Japanese articles tended to carry the opposite tone (see Chart 6).

Chart 6.



Japanese newspapers seem comparatively more supportive of, or receptive towards, international perspectives. This suggests that Japanese journalists may realise the importance of the international voice of anti-whaling. From Japan, six hard articles (three each from *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*) were classified as having an overall anti-whaling tone.[49] A noticeable point is that one soft article from *Asahi* was written with an overall anti-whaling tone, while no other soft articles from other newspapers were written from their adversary's viewpoint. The *Asahi* article, dated 31 January 2008, was written by Jun Hoshikawa, the head of Greenpeace Japan.[50] This indicates that some Japanese journalists

49 Arai, 'Hogei no shōko shūshū'; Arai, 'Nankyokukai deno nihon no hogei'; Arai, 'Nihon no hogei'; Sugii, 'Chōsa hogei shūgeki niwa hinan; Sugii, 'Hogeisen, NZ kinkai e'; Sugii, 'Gō, nihon no chōsa hogei kanshi'.

50 Hoshikawa, '(Watashi no shiten waido) Chōsa hogei'.

or editors, especially at *Asahi*, may realise the significance of the international anti-whaling stance. In addition to findings about overall tone, findings on representation of the voice of the adversary shows that *Asahi* had a higher percentage (65%) in comparison with *Yomiuri* (57%). In Japan, *Asahi* is regarded as a liberal newspaper, whereas *Yomiuri* is regarded as conservative. These findings support this.

In Australia, on the other hand, only one article (a 'hard' article from *The Advertiser*[51]) was classified as having an overall pro-whaling tone. However, this does not necessarily mean that Australian journalists did not record the voice of the adversary, as findings related to the balance of sources clearly demonstrate. This is evidence for a selective writing style employed in Australian journalism. Even though news stories in Australian papers are often more comprehensively written, carrying viewpoints of both anti- and pro-whaling voices, their overall tone may remain in favour of anti-whaling perspectives because this is the dominant belief in Australia. Australian journalists appear to be acknowledging the position of the adversary, but still downplay its validity. John Hartley argues that conflict is 'the bread and butter of news', but for that to be a worthy news item, 'a prior assumption of the "underlying" consensus to which they are a threat must be at work.'[52] In the whaling debate, Australians holds this prior assumption.

Discussion

Although Australia and Japan have stood at different positions in the whaling debate, and despite the differences in newspaper articles, the findings show that many similarities exist. For example, looking at the balance of articles both in Australia and Japan, the speaking power ratio for each country (summarised in Chart 2) was found to be in line with the two governments' positions and public opinion. Additionally, the majority of articles from both countries were found to be written from the angle of protest activities. Furthermore, the overall tone of the articles reflects the dominant belief in each country with respect to whaling. This trend is particularly strong in 'soft' articles—only one *Asahi* article stood against the dominant belief.

Thus, it is fair to conclude that newspapers in both Australia and Japan are conformist about the whaling issue, in that they report in a manner aligned with their national perspective. This could escalate the whaling dispute. As discussed in the literature review, the two countries continue to go head-to-head on the whaling issue, with no sign of this abating.

51 'Whalers guarded'.
52 Hartley, *Understanding News*, p. 83.

In the same way that justifications for and moral beliefs on the whaling issue in Australia and Japan are in contrast,[53] the style of newspaper writing on the issue appears to be different in each country. Considering language and cultural differences, it is not difficult to imagine that different countries have different journalistic traditions and practices. For example, on average more than twice as many quotations/citations were found in Australian newspapers in comparison to those of Japan (see Chart 3). One reason for this could be that Australian articles are generally longer.

However, in Australia, even though articles are physically longer than their Japanese counterparts, the results of this study from Codings 2 (balance) and 4 (tone) reveal that Japanese reporting tends to contain more viewpoints in comparison to that of Australia. As a result, one could conclude that the Australian general public might have less chance to be informed of a range of cultural and political views through newspapers. In Japan, there is a strong connection between the media and government. According to Roberto Herrscher, Japanese journalists 'treat their authorities with reverence… not by the imposition of a Western-style universal code.'[54]

Japan is said to be unique in that it is the most developed country in Asia but belongs to neither the West nor its neighbour Asia. Samuel Huntington states that Japan is the only country that does not share a civilisation with any other country.[55] The uniqueness may be described as the 'Japan System' according to Karel van Wolferen:

> It is crucial to distinguish Japan from other nations with governments that are besieged by special interest groups or that cannot make up their minds because of interdepartmental disputes. We are not dealing with lobbies but with a structural phenomenon not encompassed by the categories of accepted political theory. A hierarchy, or rather a complex of overlapping hierarchies, is maintained, but it has no top. There is no supreme institution with ultimate jurisdiction over the others.[56]

Van Wolferen also says, 'it is not only impossible to locate a center, it is also not possible to separate the realms of public and private business.'[57] Ishii and Okubo use Van Wolferen's 'Japanese System' model to explain that Japan is 'a state with central organs of government which can both recognize what is good for the country and bear ultimate

53 For discussion of justifications and beliefs, see Kimura, 'Gōshūjin wa naze hogei ni hantai suruka'; Kimura, 'Seifu ga hogei haishi motome ICJ ni teiso'; Kimura, 'No Legal Enforcement Can Stop Japan's Whaling'; Kimura, 'New Strategy Needed for Elusive Quarry'; Kimura, 'A Cool Head Required to Save the World's Whales'; Kimura, 'Getting to Know the Japanese'.

54 Herrscher, 'A Universal Code of Journalism Ethics', pp. 286-287.

55 Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.*

56 van Wolferen, 'The Japan Problem', p. 289.

57 *ibid*., p. 294.

responsibility for national decision-making.'[58] This explains why Kumiko Murata has also acknowledged that Japanese editorials on the whaling issue are written 'as if the writer is reporting an official statement on behalf of the Japanese government.'[59] Thus, in the current environment, Japanese media only have limited options, and act as if they are public relations agencies for their government.

Another point to consider is that the lack of freedom in Japanese media is a reflection of Japanese society in general, in comparison to Western countries. Ben Hills, former Tokyo correspondent for *The Age* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*, referred to the 'press restraints' and 'restriction of freedom of speech' that exist within Japan, after his book criticising the Japanese monarchy system was once refused publication in Japan.[60]

Furthermore, Japan offers journalists access to the *kisha* club (reporters' club), where they receive news information from official authorities, but access to the club is typically limited to Japanese journalists and corporate media. What can be called the 'elite press'[61] are the only ones who have access to the *kisha* club. Ivan Hall claims, 'Foreign correspondents are held to be unfit for club participation because they are said to lack the requisite language skills.'[62] It is also said that 'Western (and other Asian) news-people cannot be trusted to maintain club confidences,'[63] especially at *kondan* (unofficial gatherings). Hall implies that Japanese reporters occasionally admit that they simply do not feel comfortable with foreigners.

In May 2009, The Japanese Supreme Court rejected a final appeal for access to the club by a freelance journalist, Hajime Imai.[64] The Japanese government at the time of writing, led by the Democratic Party of Japan, has only made minor changes to the *kisha* club since it gained power in 2009, even though it 'came to power pledging to abolish the *kisha* club system and open up press conferences to foreigners, freelancers and new media.'[65]

According to Greenpeace Japan, a non-*kisha* journalist was refused entry to the media room provided by the Japanese government at the annual meetings for the International Whaling Commission in Morocco in June 2010. Apart from club members, only one Japanese freelance journalist was permitted (but only on the final day) to enter the media room after relentless pressure. A similar incident was reported by Reporters Without Borders in June 2012. In a visit to the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant (which was

58 Ishii and Okubo, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
59 Murata, 'Pro- and Anti-whaling Discourses in British and Japanese Newspaper Reports in Comparison', p. 752.
60 Kimura, 'Nihon seifu no atsuryoku ni Kōdansha wa kusshita'.
61 Hall, *Cartels of the Mind*, p. 49.
62 *ibid.*, p. 54.
63 *ibid.*, p. 54.
64 'Jānarisuto haiso kakutei'.
65 McCargo and Lee, 'Japan's Political Tsunami', p. 242.

damaged by the earthquake and tsunami in March 2011), freelance journalists were not allowed to use camera equipment, even though cameras were allowed for corporate media.[66]

Unfortunately, 'The most important news normally originates in the relaxed, homey setting of the *kondan* background sessions.'[67] Furthermore, McArthur argues, 'There is very little attempt to discuss the controversy in terms other than those supplied to the press at government and industry briefings, a phenomenon symptomatic of the close relationship between [the] reporters' club and the bureaucracy.'[68]

While Japanese officials claim that all information and handouts are given to non-members upon request, this process takes time. On the other hand, regular club members automatically receive information that can be delivered to the public directly. Japanese corporate newspaper journalists have a huge fear of missing out on a story, and feel safe and comfortable when their articles are just the same as others.[69] This further helps explain why most Japanese whaling articles are a reflection of the government's voice.

The *kisha* club system raises questions about whether it is possible to have independent reporting within the Japanese media environment. However, making a moral judgement is fraught with difficulty, and according to the well-known philosopher James Rachels and his son Stuart Rachels, when people begin to develop theories of right and wrong, 'the protection of their own interests has a kind of ultimate and objective value.'[70] This could explain why both Australian and Japanese journalists produce biased articles, as this study reveals. However, ethicists including Rachels and Rachels maintain that respect should not be limited to a particular race, nationality, gender or even species.[71] Media ethics specialist Ian Richards says, '"telling the truth" means reporting diverse opinions rather than just one.'[72] He also says, 'journalists strongly emphasise the need for the highest degree of accuracy to keep faith with their audience.'[73]

Journalism ethics is a relatively new field of study, especially in Japan. In the article *Social Responsibility Theory and the Study of Journalism Ethics in Japan*, Seijiro Tsukamoto explains that journalism ethics is rarely discussed in academic journals.[74] Additionally, even though 199 Japanese universities and colleges have courses related to mass communications, only 21 of those offer courses in ethics.[75] However,

66 Segawa, 'Reporters Without Borders on Discrimination Against Freelance Journalists in Japan'.
67 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
68 McArthur, *op. cit.*, p. 585.
69 Tsujii, 'Ima, seiken kōtai no imi wo aratamete tou', p. 79; Aiba, '"Kiji copi" wa nichijōsahanji'.
70 Rachels and Rachels, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, p. 174.
71 *ibid.*, p. 181.
72 Richards, *Quagmires and Quandaries*, p. 21.
73 *ibid.*, p. 5.
74 Tsukamoto, 'Social Responsibility Theory and the Study of Journalism Ethics in Japan', p. 56.
75 *ibid.*, p. 57.

universities and colleges should not be seen as solely responsible. He also says, 'mass media companies do not have high expectations of journalism ethics education.'[76]

The ethical problem in journalism is not unique to Japan. Richards says that in Australia, 'Journalism ethics has been largely ignored'.[77] In Australia, as recently as the 1980s, major journalism textbooks had little to say about ethics.[78] Journalism ethics as studied by journalists has produced insufficient outcomes, and Richards states that no philosopher has conducted a serious study on the subject.[79]

However, this is no excuse for journalists to rest on their laurels. Media is not just a source of information, but also plays an important role as an educator. On international events such as whaling, journalists need to expand their views beyond the domestic situation, otherwise people are not given the information they require in order to understand their civic duties in today's global village. People ought to learn something new from media, but unfortunately, the current reports on whaling both in Australia and Japan are too nationally biased to convey quality information, thus threatening to worsen this international conflict.

Media services should not be limited to one's own community or country; instead, journalists ideally should work to meet the 'needs of world citizens.'[80] With the development of communication technologies, the emotional and informational distance between any two countries is getting shorter. More and more people across the planet are identifying with the concept of cosmopolitan world citizens. As these global movements continue, journalism too needs to become more globalised in order to reflect the common interests of this world citizenry, which at a most fundamental level includes an interest in promoting peace and conflict resolution. To this end, reporting should offer comprehensive views that develop mutual understanding, rather than reinforcing simplistic domestic positions.

Conclusion

This study has identified that both Australian and Japanese journalists produce nationally biased news stories. In particular, corporate Japanese journalists are tied to the *kisha* club, where they are provided with privileged information by the Japanese government

76 *ibid*., p. 58.
77 Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
78 *ibid*., p. 15.
79 *ibid*., p. 2.
80 Ward, 'Philosophical Foundations for Global Journalism Ethics', p. 16.

which justifies Japanese whaling as scientific according to international regulations. This paper has not included a comparative explanation of Australian reporting. This matter is outside of the scope of this paper, but selected articles have already been used for discourse analysis following the content analysis. The discourse analysis is modelled upon Murata's earlier study,[81] and its findings revealed the shortcomings of Australian reporting. The discourse findings will be addressed later in a forthcoming publication. Nevertheless, the content findings in this study have revealed how both Australian and Japanese journalists misrepresent the intricacies of the whaling issue. In this sense, their reporting does not provide sufficient cultural and political transparency to contribute to international and cross-cultural understanding.

81 Murata, *op. cit.*

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Note: All Japanese newspaper articles in the reference list are from the main morning editions unless otherwise stated.

Notes on Contributors

Niamh Champ was born and raised in Queensland and has had a keen interest in second language learning and culture from a young age. At the University of Queensland, she pursued her interest in second language learning and teaching, completing a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Japanese and French (Honours in Japanese), and a graduate Diploma in Education (secondary). She is a registered teacher with the Queensland College of Teachers and a qualified ESL teacher who would like to further her research in the domain of SLA.

Sally Chan has demonstrated a great interest in Japan and Japanese since she was young. This interest manifested as she studied Japanese throughout her secondary studies, and carried over to her tertiary studies. She is also interested in the study of psychology in relation to language, and how cognitive processes affect language construction. Integrating her language abilities of Japanese, Chinese and English, and her research knowledge acquired from her undergraduate studies in Psychology, she completed an Honours thesis with outstanding results.

Claudia Craig graduated from University of London, Birkbeck College in 2008 with a Master of Arts, Japanese Cultural Studies, earning a distinction. She completed her undergraduate degree in Japanese language at the University of Western Australia where she also studied law. In 1991, Claudia was awarded a Japanese Government Monbusho Scholarship to undertake legal research at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto. Her interests are now centred in Japanese society, design and literature.

Adam Eldridge completed an Arts/Law degree at Monash University in 2005. Following this, he lived and worked in Japan for three years. Adam returned to Australia and Monash University in 2009 where he obtained First Class Honours. This paper is an abridged version of his 18,000 word thesis completed as a part of those studies. Adam is currently working for the Australian government as a legal officer and also manages a Japanese language school in Canberra. He is currently undertaking a Masters of Law at the Australian National University but is seeking to pursue further studies and research into Japan and international relations.

Catherine Hallett is a doctoral candidate at the Australian National University. Her current research is on the role and significance of music in *rakugo*. She spent three months in Osaka in 2011 as an *azukari deshi* (temporary *shamisen* apprentice) of master storyteller Hayashiya Somemaru IV. She holds a Bachelor of Music and Bachelor of Arts (Honours, First Class; University Medal) from the University of New South Wales.

Tets Kimura has been reporting on the whaling conflict as a journalist since 2005 and has published articles both in Australian and Japanese print media in their respective languages. He realised himself opportunely positioned to observe cross-cultural issues between the two countries, and thus decided to conduct academic research. His contribution to *New Voices* is based on research for his MA degree, which was awarded from the University of South Australia. He is continuing to explore the Australia-Japan relationship as a doctoral candidate at Flinders University, supported by an Australian Postgraduate Award and with co-supervision from the University of Tokyo.

Hiromi Nishioka is a lecturer at Busan Institute of Science and Technology. She has taught Japanese as a foreign language at universities and language schools in Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Australia. She holds an MA in Applied Japanese Linguistics from Monash University, awarded in 2008, and an MA in Applied Linguistics from Macquarie University, awarded in 2011. This paper is a part of a research project she conducted while studying at Monash University. Currently, she is working towards her PhD degree at Pusan National University. Her current research interest is computer-mediated communication (CMC), especially digital storytelling and language learning with technology.

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