

Semogenesis of a Nation

An iconography of Japanese identity

Ken Tann

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to model the discursive construction of identity in a way that retains its multifaceted dynamics within a coherent framework. It focuses on a key aspect of the linguistic construction of collective identity known as identity icons, and proposes a model of iconography for the study of the mechanisms underlying the discursive tropes in identity discourses. The study seeks to map out the potential space of this iconography, drawing on both the identity theories in social sciences and the analytical tools developed in linguistic frameworks.

The data is drawn from a well established tradition of discourse on Japanese identity known as *Nihonjinron*, and four representative texts from different phases of its development are selected for analysis in this exploratory study. The thesis takes the social construction of national identity (Anderson 2006 [1983]; Hall 1997) as its point of departure, and is informed by critical readings of *Nihonjinron* (Dale 1986; Yoshino 1992; Befu 1992; Aoki 1999). The present study contributes to the current debates in identity research by providing a detailed, empirical account of the process of identity construction in actual texts, to make a case for bringing concepts even as seemingly slippery and intractable as identity into a rational and systematic linguistic inquiry.

The present study draws on the framework of discourse analysis developed within Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin 1992; Martina and Rose 2003; Martin and White 2005) and the methodology of Membership Categorization Analysis (Jayyusi 1984; Antaki and Widdicombe 1998) for the analysis of the data. It is part of the growing interest in identity and bonding icons within SFL, and has been developed to bring these two current threads of research together. The proposed iconography therefore represents an initial step in mapping out this space, by building on some of the latest research in SFL, including bonding icons (Martin and Stenglin 2006; Maton 2008), legitimation (van Leeuwen 2007) and commitment theory (Hood 2008), and provides an integrated model for further linguistic research into identity.

This thesis also addresses the methodological problems that discourse analysis must face to engage responsibly with identity as an object of study, and provides a rigorous linguistic approach that both acknowledges and is informed by the insights gained from the debates within identity studies. It thereby contributes to the development of the Systemic theory by engaging it in dialogue with the current understanding in the field of identity research.

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Chapter 1 Imagining the Nation

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. – Benedict Anderson

Ethnicity is largely mythic and symbolic in character, and because myths, symbols, memories and values are 'carried' in and by forms and genres of artifacts and activities which change very slowly, so ethnies, once formed, tend to be very exceptionally durable under 'normal' vicissitudes and to persist over many generations, even centuries, forming 'moulds' within which all kinds of social and cultural processes can unfold and upon which all kinds of circumstances and pressures can exert an impact. – Anthony D. Smith

There is nothing quite as arbitrary and vague as national identity. Unlike age or gender, contemporary understanding recognizes that it has no biological basis, and unlike social class, it has no material basis insofar that it claims to include everyone within its borders. Yet it is in no way regarded any less universal and natural – everyone must belong to a nation. The modern nation-state and national consciousness goes no further back than the 19th century (Gellner 1964, 1983; Anderson 2006 [1983]), but it has in the span of two centuries become an inalienable part of identity, and national divisions are widely taken for granted. Everyone in the modern world should have a nationality, and indeed the lack of one can be seen as pathological. That race or nationality figures invariably within the first five words or phrases in our self-descriptions stands testament to its all pervasive influence in our daily lives (Scott and Spencer 1998:428ff); its far reaching effects can be felt in the social sciences where it persists as a socio-cultural concept despite the futility of a scientific or systematic definition of the nation (Seton-Watson 1977:5). Paradoxically, as one of the vaguest notions, it is also one of the most dominant ones in determining the way we relate to the world. It influences immigration policies and polices the borders (Riaño and Wastl-Walter 2006); it determines ownership of languages and informs our attitudes towards pedagogy (Piller 2001). Identification with the nation also relates to action when one is called for, and few sentiments have as many people died in their name. With regards to the last point,

one needs look no further than the second world war, fought in the name of nationalism, that has claimed anywhere between 50 and 100 million people, depending on the source we consult. What is clear however is the enormity of our stakes in it.

For a concept that is so prevalent and central to every aspect of our lives, any attempt to understand national identity is no easy task. It is a multifaceted phenomenon that involves the concepts of 'nationhood' and 'identity', both of which are notoriously difficult to pin down, and in any case the study of either one spans many disciplines. The nation itself as an entity is a vague notion that includes political and normative concepts of social rights and legitimacy on the one hand, and romantic ideals of traditions and cultural practices on the other; it is as much a biological notion as it is a geographical one, and it is as much a social role as it is a sentiment. Theorists of nationalism are consequently divided over whether the nation emerged as a product of the modern industrial society or deeply rooted in the histories of preexisting communities. The concept of 'identity' is just as problematic, and is regarded from two very different perspectives with adherents of a 'referential' approach that treats identity representation as a revelation of pre-existing identities on one hand, and proponents of a 'performative' approach that sees identities as being created through dialogic negotiations (Swan and Linehan 2000:404). Following the 'linguistic turn' in the social sciences, emphasis has also shifted to the act of 'identification' itself as a dynamic social and political process (Hall 1996, 1997; Bucholtz and Hall 2004).

All these debates are fiercely played out in the controversial and highly polemical discussions surrounding the Japanese identity. The Japanese nation-state itself did not exist until the mid 19th century, and yet its traditions can supposedly be traced back to a primordial past; the borders of Japan meanwhile have also not been consistent – Hokkaido and Okinawa were independent kingdoms historically, having been annexed fairly recently – and yet Japan is supposedly a homogenous society with a common ancestry, language and culture, as many scholars are apt to pronounce. These discussions on 'Japaneseness' grew into a major consumer market in the 1970s with shelves devoted to the subject in local bookstores, while the publications are also widely disseminated overseas by the government (Befu 1993). The relatively recent modernization of Japan as a nation-state and the public emphasis on identity therefore makes Japanese national identity an excellent candidate for the present study. The very controversy and conspicuity of the interest in national identity raises a host of questions that lead to the very heart of our inquiry. If Japanese identity is so evidently primordial,

why is there a constant and feverish need to assert it? Considering the massive market for such publications, why do Japanese consumers need to be told about what is so assuredly in their essence? Putting this in another way, we may ask: what social function does such an identity serve?

There have been a number of critiques written on these publications on Japanese identity since the 1980s (e.g. Mouer and Sugimoto 1980a, 1980b, Sugimoto and Mouer 1995; Dale 1986; Yoshino 1992, 1999; Befu 1993, 2001; Aoki 1999; Burgess 2010) that examine the discourses from a number of different perspectives, addressing a range of issues from their reliability as sociological data and methodologies to changes in the description of identity over time. As the field of study matures and the implications of these publications become clearer, the focus of critics has also shifted over time, from the veracity of their contents to the ideological function of these discourses for both their producers and consumers.

Following this line of inquiry I shall approach the writings on national identity first and foremost as a discourse, in the sense that it provides a means for understanding the social world and organizing it in specific ways that allow us to act meaningfully in it. Identity in this sense is a meaning-making resource, and this study will attempt to demonstrate that a socially oriented model of language is useful for understanding its processes and mechanisms. I shall begin with a review of the insights offered by critics of nationalism and national identity in this chapter to locate our study, before proposing a way to describe their observations in linguistic detail in subsequent chapters, through a close examination of some identity texts.

1.1 Japanese national identity

Ernest Gellner (1964) describes the nation as an ‘invention’ to meet the modern need for the impersonal communication of an industrial society. He argues that the literacy and generic training necessitated by industrialization homogenized culture. The form of nationalism espoused by Japan after the end of the Shogunate in 1868 has been generally regarded by scholars as this kind of ‘invention’ par excellence. The tradition of the emperor system founded on State Shinto and familism was promoted and enforced by the state through formal education until the end of the war in 1945 when it came to an abrupt end. While the invention of the nation by the state may explain this

initial wave of nationalism, it fails to account for its reemergence and popularity in post industrial Japan from 1970s or its emotional content.

The second wave is a form of popular nationalism based on what Yoshino (1992) calls a form of 'race thinking' that assumes an immutable communion between Japanese people based on innate 'phenotypical and genotypical characteristics' (Yoshino 1992:24). He argues that since the biological verification of such a notion is impossible, this sense of communion is an imaginary one, not unlike Benedict Anderson's description of nationalism. Anderson (2006) characterizes nations as 'imagined communities' in his account to address the religious rigor with which the people identify themselves with the nation-state. A nation is 'imagined', he argues, because the communion of members is based on a concept of membership rather than on actual personal contact between them, and it is imagined as a deep, horizontal comradeship regardless of any actual inequalities and exploitations within it. He emphasizes the role of printed literature and its dissemination that enabled members of a nation to imagine their coexistence as a community moving through a homogenous collective history. Anderson (2000) argues that the Japanese nation similarly came into being through the sharing of a vernacular language and the geometry of maps brought about by the market of print technology.

The second wave of Japanese nationalism thrives as a consumer market for publications produced specifically to clarify and instruct the nature of Japanese identity, and in this sense these publications serve as the literature for facilitating the shared imagining of the Japanese nation. If the nation is imaginary, it is also a limited one. Anderson (2006) emphasizes that no nation ever imagines itself coterminous with mankind (Anderson 2006:7), and points out that all nations are defined through boundaries. Yoshino similarly suggests that without any scientific foundation, the notion of 'Japanese blood' is 'first and foremost, a case of social difference' (Yoshino 1992:24). In order to understand national identity, we have to understand this production of difference.

Benhabib (1996) points out that 'since every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference' (Benhabib: 1996:3f). The difference has to be created and imagined into existence because it does not simply present itself as a fact of the world, and reality is simply not as neatly differentiated. The claim of a Japanese community that embodies a single 'Japanese culture', speaks the language exclusively and exists conterminously

with the Japanese archipelago (but not any further) ignores the existence of third or fourth generation American-born Japanese without any Japanese proficiency, or foreigners with full competence in Japanese (Befu 1993:116). It also ignores more than three-quarters of a million foreigners living in Japan, or the systemic discrimination of Japanese-born Koreans, Okinawans and Ainu (Human Rights Features 2001, 2002), and despite assurances of social homogeneity from the popular publications on Japanese identity, actual sociological surveys indicate that Japan is similarly stratified to the United States in terms of sex, age and occupation, each with their varied interests and concerns (Sugimoto and Mouer 1986:372-3).

Kawamura (1982) argues that the notion of social homogeneity serves as legitimation for the values of the dominant class, to incorporate the subordinate class into its social arrangements. In this way, the assertion of a collective identity operates through the exclusion of marginalized subjects, in what Iwabuchi (1994) describes as a 'battleground where various social groups compete with each other to define the meaning of the "national"' (Iwabuchi 1994:52). If the nation is imagined, it is an imagination with very real consequences.

This normative discourse of national identity is double-edged. Internally, it serves to suppress heterogeneity (Iwabuchi 1994:52), while externally, the insistence on national stereotypes and difference only serves to justify denigrating behavior in the treatment of and references to foreigners, increases trade friction and presents obstacles to language learning and communication (Sugimoto and Mouer 1986:396-400). The boundaries of 'national identity' becomes what Butler (1993) describes as a 'site of contest', producing the relations of 'similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy' (Bucholtz and Hall 2004:382).

Identity as a political act is clearly articulated by Stuart Hall (1997) who describes it as a system of classification and power (Hall 1997:2-3). He argues that the systematic exclusion and denigration of the Other and the suppression of difference within the group is a way of maintaining the social order. It is therefore useful to shift our focus to the process of 'identification' itself as meaning making practices (Hall 1997:2-3). There are two ways in which this approach may prove fruitful. The first is suggested by Wallman (1986) who argues that 'differences observed and the way they are interpreted say as much about the classifier as about the classified (Wallman 1986:229). The difference underlying the establishment of a collective identity has to be imagined and

articulated in relation to individual interests, and identities in this sense are arbitrary. They are contingent on the situatedness of those interests. Secondly, the systems of power are not necessarily fixed, and they shift in relation to those historical contingencies.

Anthony Smith (1986, 1999, 2004) argues that the fate of nations is dependent as much on their inherent properties as historical contingency. The nation, for Smith, draws on the pre-existing history of the group through their kinship, religious and belief systems, built around shared myths, symbols, memories and values that are persistent. These histories and symbols must be derived from the existing memories and beliefs of the people to ensure their popular resonance and acceptance (Smith 2004:89). In this way, he theorizes a historical continuity of shared meanings that account for the peculiarities of the forms of nationalism. However, Smith converges with Anderson in their opinion that these national histories are not necessarily accurate, and they can be adapted to changing circumstances and accorded new meanings. The shared myths, symbols, memories and values are signs that constitute the language of national identity, and language, as Saussure (1986) famously argues, is simultaneously variable and invariable. The historicity and arbitrariness of these signs that ensure their continuity also open the very possibility for change. One way to understanding the discourse of national identity is to understand the uses to which these symbols and values are put, their persistence and contingencies.

1.1.1 Nihonjinron: national identity discourses

This thesis deals with the discourses on Japanese national identity that have been collectively known as Nihonjinron. While Nihonjinron is a well-recognized collection of texts, it has generally presented difficulties to attempts at defining it as a genre. Dale (1986) for instance informs us that ‘in a sense the *nihonjinron* do not constitute a specific genre of scholarship,’ because they are ‘concentrated expressions of an intense tradition of intellectual nationalism’ and an ‘extensive network of ideas’. Yet in the very next chapter, he describes it as a ‘distinctive genre’ that ‘exemplifies and intensifies the focus of a mode of thinking’ (Dale 1986:15).

It is difficult to pin Nihonjinron down as a genre partly because it cuts across a wide range of fields, covering topics from sociology (e.g. Nakane 1967, Hamaguchi 1980), linguistics (e.g. Haga 1979) and agriculture (e.g. Watsuji 1935, Ishida 1969) to

psychology (e.g. Doi 1971, Minami 1983), neurology (e.g. Tsunoda 1978) and even hematology (e.g. Suzuki 1973). Furthermore, the key concepts they introduce depend on individual authors, espousing a variety of different and competing ideological bases (Sugimoto 1999:83). Furthermore, the arguments in Nihonjinron are illustrated through examples from everyday episodes, contemporary news, travelogues, folklore materials (Yoshino 1992: 3).

While studies generally refer to Nihonjinron in the form of printed publications, Dale (1986) also reports that as it has become a force conditioning society's perception, and that 'we cannot draw a neat distinction between the nihonjinron and other media' (Dale 1986:15). Befu (1993) refers to both books and magazines in his study, while some scholars also include political speeches (e.g. Rusell 2004:422) and language instruction manuals (Yoshino 2001:155). There is also considerable permeability across modes, for instance, the Nihonjinron book by Fujiwara (2005) was rewritten from a lecture, and Yoshino's (1992) study suggests that elements of Nihonjinron are reproduced in the consumers' own interactions.

It is equally difficult to identify Nihonjinron as a specific area of expertise, as it is produced by writers across different fields, including philosophers, anthropologists, historians, economists, political scientists, linguists and literary scholars, diplomats, social critics, and journalists, psychologists (Nomura Research Institute 1978) as well as businessmen (Yoshino 1992:9). Most studies similarly describe it as a vast array of literature, but at the same time they recognize it as a distinct type of texts that share a common 'set of assumptions' and 'mode of thinking'. Some critics characterize it as myths (e.g. Miller 1982, Dale 1990) and political ideologies (e.g. Befu 1993), while others describe it as a form of methodology that relies heavily on anecdotal illustrations, linguistic analogies and intuitive insights (Sugimoto and Mouer 1989:3).

Nihonjinron is also not by any means restricted to the Japanese language. A large number of Nihonjinron texts were translated into English such as Nakamura Hajime's *The Way of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, Watsuji Tetsuro's *A Climate*, Doi Takeo's *The Anatomy of Dependence* and Nakane Chie's *The Japanese Society and Human Relations in Japan*, owing in no small part to the aggressive promotion by the government as mentioned in 1.1.2. Paradoxically, an equally large number of canonical Nihonjinron texts were written originally in English, and were subsequently translated into Japanese for local consumption, including Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*,

Lafcadio Hearn's *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, Edwin Reischauer's *The Japanese*, Gregory Clark's *Japanese Tribe: Origins of a Nation's Uniqueness* and Lee O-Young's *Smaller is Better: Japan's Mastery of the Miniature* just to name a few. What is clear from this is that Nihonjinron is not the sole propriety of the Japanese language, and Japanese speakers are not the sole participants in the discourse, producers and consumers alike.

Moreover, the mutual consumption of material between English and Japanese readers suggest that the link between Japanese and non-Japanese sources of Nihonjinron is one that is more than mere 'translation'. Ohnuki-Tierney (2002) details how some of the influential Japanese Romantics of the 1930s responsible for the formulation of Japanese nationalism combined aspects of European Romanticism with their ultra-nationalism, while the common soldiers on the receiving end of the state ideology were influenced by intellectual traditions such as those of Greco-Roman, Christianity, Marxism and Romanticism alongside Chinese and Japanese ones. Japanese nationalism and patriotism, she argues, 'are born at the vibrant intersection of the global and the local, rather than being the xenophobic expressions of a hermetically sealed people (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:2).

Other scholars similarly point to Ruth Benedict's book as the central influence in the postwar social scientific discourse on Japan by Japanese and non-Japanese in terms of both methodology and contents (Yoshino 1992; Aoki 1999; Ryang 2004). They argue that in a sense, the Nihonjinron produced after 1945 can be seen as a series of responses to the book on either side of its arguments. The effect of the text can be felt till now, as Ryang (2002) notes that despite the seemingly harsh criticisms that subsequent scholars dispense albeit in retrospection, it continues to be widely read, reproduced and debated (Ryang 2002:88). Indeed, Dale goes so far as to argue that the concepts used in Nihonjinron to distinguish between the 'Japanese' and the 'West' are themselves derived from western sources (Dale 1986:41-9).

This is not to suggest that the English and Japanese texts are identical. Rather, Nihonjinron cannot be simply divided on the basis of language, and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1998) notion of 'Communities of Practice' may prove more useful in this case. From this perspective, Nihonjinron can be defined in terms of social engagement rather than a notion of population based on geographical location or a formalist criterion of linguistic difference. Nihonjinron therefore is a dialogue across

geographical boundaries, involving both English and Japanese participants in its practice. What may be distinguished meaningfully between texts perhaps are the political stances of the individuals, and the differences between languages may be no greater than that within. Through Nihonjinron as the site of negotiation, producers and consumers are locked into a conversation, each bringing their individual interest into the discourse.

While Nihonjinron cannot be defined in terms of expertise or field, the rhetoric of the discourse may prove useful for identifying it. It is generally agreed that Nihonjinron is a form of cultural reductionism and determinism that places an emphasis on difference, and identity is at the core of its argument (Befu 2001:119). In contrast to the Orientalism and colonialism elaborated by Said (1979) and Bhabha (1994) however, Nihonjinron conceives of 'Japanese identity' as the exception and the periphery in relation to 'the West' as the universal norm in a form of what may be considered 'Occidentalism' (e.g. Carrier 1995). The national identity in Nihonjinron is therefore always articulated against 'the West' in what Dale (1986) describes as 'a game of one-upmanship played with an invisible opponent' and 'a kind of oedipal "shadow-boxing"' (Dale 1986:39). The reflexive nature of the discourse is reflected in its rhetoric, which provides a way to determine the scope and nature of the present study. We shall therefore begin with a review of the argumentative tropes observed by its critics.

1.1.2 Criticisms of Nihonjinron

Nihonjinron has a vast influence in both popular consciousness and academic endeavors, and it has caught the attention of anthropologists (e.g. Aoki 1989; Befu 1993, 2001; Ryang 2002, etc.), sociologists (e.g. Sugimoto and Mouer 1995; Yoshino 1992, 1999, etc.), ESL educators (e.g. Kubota 1998, 1999, etc.) alike and even musicologists (e.g. Shepherd 1991), prompting critiques from varied fields in the human sciences over the past three decades. While each of these critics may be concerned with a different aspect of the social function of Nihonjinron, they all touch on the central place of language in the discourse. Dale (1986), for instance, observes that 'in the search for the sui generis characteristics of Japan, the Japanese language plays a central role, not only as a medium of discussion but also as the primary object of analysis,' and it is necessary to analyze the sociohistorical, intertextual and linguistic aspects of the discourse. Befu (1993) explains that 'the importance of language in creating a national identity stems

not only from the fact of speaking a common tongue, but also... from the unique connotations, meanings, and values implied in its expressions' (Befu 1993:128). The primacy of language in the rhetoric of *Nihonjinron* therefore warrants a close study of the linguistic mechanisms underlying it to yield a fuller understanding of the discourse, and the present study will focus on the linguistic aspect of these texts.

The critics do not consider all forms of writing on Japanese society to be *Nihonjinron* however, and they generally distinguish between what they consider to be *Nihonjinron* and legitimate scholarly works. Befu (2008) for instance argues strongly for a distinction between rigorous research and 'consumer *Nihonjinron*' writings, arguing that the latter is not particularly concerned with seeking the 'truth', but are economically driven to offer readers a 'subjectively pleasing collective portraiture of themselves' (Befu 2008:354). Yoshino (1992) similarly argues that *Nihonjinron* should be distinguished from rigorous academic research, while Dale (1986) addresses specifically the 'commercialized expression of modern Japanese nationalism' (Dale 1986:14). The present study will also make a distinction between rigorous academic research and the popular works that cater to the nationalist orientation of consumers that these scholars recognize as *Nihonjinron*, confining the scope of this study to the latter.

One way of identifying this nationalist literature is offered by the early critiques of *Nihonjinron* that were particularly concerned with its methodological flaws and ideological nature. Sugimoto and Mouer (1986) argue that the methodology in its sociological arguments are tautological and they go quite far to demonstrate with extensive surveys that the data presented in *Nihonjinron* publications are not representative of Japanese population. They also point out that the reliance on anecdotes and intuitive insights do not reflect the paradigm in anthropological and sociological research (Sugimoto and Mouer 1989:3). Dale (1986) similarly argues that its semantic arguments are illogical because they are not grounded in the philological sciences but nationalism. Without making the assumption that all aspects in the *Nihonjinron* texts contribute to the rhetoric that the critics are addressing, we shall focus primarily on the mechanisms underlying these 'anecdotes', 'intuitive insights' and 'semantic arguments' that are central to the criticisms in our analysis.

As it is mentioned in 1.1, the construction of a collective identity is bound to the political interests of social agents, and as such, the discourse of national identity has to be adapted to historical contingencies. It is therefore necessary to understand the

individual productions of the discourse within the context of its social functions. Befu (1993) makes a convincing argument that Nihonjinron is sanctioned by the government as a hegemonic ideology and endorsed by corporate establishments to exhort cooperation, diligence and loyalty. He details the role of politicians in the promotion of Nihonjinron both locally and overseas directly through commissioning institutions devoted to its propagation and indirectly through funding. As such, Nihonjinron has a significant stake in politics and the policymaking process.

The political implications of Nihonjinron are well documented in Iwabuchi (1994), in which he describes the ‘complicity’ between Orientalism and self-Orientalism that serves the interest of both domestic and overseas governments. It was used by Japan to support the local status quo, and presented by America as a positive model of capitalist development in opposition to the Communist bloc, and following the decline in America’s economic power during the 1990s, finger pointing from both sides led to Nihonjinron being used by both as a weapon in the economic war between Japan and the United States. It can also be seen from his study that the political interests in Nihonjinron are sensitive to the different historical moments, and vary within the context in which it is used. Regardless of the political intents that motivated the primary production of Nihonjinron, the reproduction of the discourse in society produced a large number of unintended consequences.

A number of scholars are particularly critical of the social inequities that are perpetuated by the discourse. Iwabuchi (1994) points out the role of Nihonjinron in suppressing heterogeneity in the Japanese population, echoing Befu’s (1993) concerns that the hegemonic interpretation of national identity leads to the denial of civil rights to ethnic minorities. Kawamura (1982) argues that it promotes the values of the dominant class as to the subordinate class so as to make them accept the status quo. Dale (1986) also criticizes this totalizing trope of Nihonjinron, arguing that ‘when culture is seen as infrastructural, as determining all of the forms of social and economic life, history is made irrelevant, and social praxis is emptied of any element of liberating force and illuminative power, since everything is seen as a symptom of the higher spirit, that enduring, omnipresent yet ineffable entity which is called ‘the Japanese spirit’ (Dale 1986:20-1). Much of these social and political consequences result from the reification of a collective ‘Japanese identity’ and an insistence on its immutability that insulates the status quo from effective critique.

While these accounts are very enlightening with regards to the political contexts in the production of *Nihonjinron*, they do not account for why *Nihonjinron* remains highly popular among the consumers, and critics in the 90s and 2000s began turning their attention to the social function of *Nihonjinron* and the historical currents underlying its development. Yoshino (1992, 1999) emphasizes the role of readers in sustaining the 'marketplace' of such discourses, pointing out that *Nihonjinron* owes its popularity to its use as a pragmatic tool in the lives of consumers. He argues that aside from those responsible for producing *Nihonjinron* as intellectual works, business elites play an important role in reproducing them through their writings, talks and cross-cultural guides and manuals. These secondary works, he argues, popularize the theories by adapting them to the practical communicative concerns of consumers. Significantly, he reports that consumers of *Nihonjinron* do not turn to the texts for new information, but rely on them for the validation of what they have 'always known'. The social function of the texts as is therefore first and foremost an interpersonal one as far as the consumers are concerned. It can be seen from this account that it is necessary to distinguish between the institutional level and the individual level. While the state and corporate institutions may be responsible for the production of *Nihonjinron* discourse, individuals produce their readings of the discourse and perpetuate them in their daily interactions. Their consumption is related to their situated interests in legitimizing specific forms of behavior in these interactions.

From a wider perspective of general social trends, Aoki (1999) observes that these practical concerns evolve collectively in relation to historical changes, and he sees *Nihonjinron* as an attempt to reconcile culture and identity. He explains that the moral imperatives and fluctuating evaluation of Japanese identity in *Nihonjinron* are attempts to revise the social system as Japan adapts itself to changes in the global trends. *Nihonjinron* therefore has a regulatory function, and the way in which it achieves this is contingent upon the greater discourse of what constitutes legitimate ways of reasoning in the world. As I shall argue in this thesis, these forms of reasoning are part of the shared language that the community uses to imagine itself, and they provide the linguistic resources for the production of these texts. I shall also select my data from a range of time periods to contrast between the *Nihonjinron* produced in different historical moments.

1.2 Four models of Nihonjinron

Various methods of data collection have been used in the study of Nihonjinron and its dissemination, including the use of sales figures (e.g. Befu 1993), extensive book reviews (e.g. Aoki 1999) and interviews (e.g. Yoshino 1992). Due to the size of the data and the nature of their field, most of the critics describe the rhetorical tropes of the Nihonjinron arguments without a close investigation of the linguistic mechanisms that underlie them. The present study will complement their work through a systematic analysis on those linguistic structures, informed by the readings of these critics. Such an approach allows us to observe the moment-to-moment construction of Japanese identity, and examine their localized adaptation of identity constructs to the situated contexts.

Critics have repeatedly and emphatically pointed to political and socioeconomic conditions as an important factor in the production of Nihonjinron texts. Prominent studies such as Dale (1986), Yoshino (1992), Befu (1993) and Aoki (1999) traced the Nihonjinron publications through the course of their historical development, corresponding to changes in the sociopolitical climate. Each of them may have framed the duration of the historical moments slightly differently, but there are general agreements in their identification of the significant events motivating the texts. This thesis draws on the broad historical perimeters in their work, selecting three canonical Nihonjinron texts as data for analysis, corresponding to three distinct phases of Nihonjinron: ultranationalism in the 1930s, critical introspection in the 1940s and positive self affirmation in the 1960s. This is not to suggest that the attitude towards national identity within each of these periods is the only one espoused by the whole of the population, and there are dissenting voices even in the most oppressive of conditions. Nihonjinron has also been challenged by alternative intellectual movements such as the Marxist and radical-liberal accounts in the early 50s, the student movement in the late 60s and anti-establishmentarianism in the 70s (Sugimoto and Mouer 1989:3-4). However, my selection of data reflects the dominant paradigm in those periods, and the social significance of the texts selected can be inferred from the extent of their distribution and influence in other texts.

While the critiques were mostly written prior to the turn of the century, and globalization was thought to herald the demise of Nihonjinron, it is very much alive during the writing of this thesis. A new wave of Japanese nationalism was decidedly on the rise in the 2000s (see for example Marquardt 2005; Wiseman 2007), growing

alongside a general disillusionment with globalization and anti-Americanism. The recent development is accompanied by the publication of new *Nihonjinron* titles, possibly constituting a new phase of *Nihonjinron* beyond the studies of critics listed earlier. A fourth canonical text from this period is therefore included in the data as a possible indication on the subsequent direction of the identity discourse. The different forms of *Nihonjinron* are presented with their sociopolitical contexts in table 1.1.

<i>Timeline</i>	<i>Sociopolitical context</i>	<i>Nihonjinron phases</i>
1930-1945	Second World War	ultranationalism/ militarism
1945-1960	defeat in war	critical introspection
1960-1980	economic recovery	positive self affirmation
1980-2000s	globalization	universalism
2005-	neonationalism	positive self reaffirmation

Table 1.1 Historical context of Japanese identity discourse

The most politically repressive period in Japan was arguably during the Second World War, when the ultranationalist Japanese government sought to control discourse at all levels (see Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:14; Asahi Shimbunsha 1966: 495-6). The nationalistic doctrine of unqualified ethnocentrism was used as a hegemonic ideology of the state imposed upon the subjects during the war (Befu 1993:124)

The nation fell into abject disillusion as the gap began to grow between the wartime ideologies and the harsh realities of life in the 1940s Japan. After its defeat in the Second World War, millions lost their homes in the aftermath, and people were driven to the brink of starvation. The Occupational government's project to dismantle and condemn wartime institutions and beliefs left a vacuum in the Japanese ideological base. Dale (1986) observes that Japanese identity at this point is articulated through a dominance of the Western model, accompanied by a climate of self-critical introspection (Yoshino 1992). The same Japanese character that was once touted during the war was despised and negatively evaluated upon defeat. (Befu 1993)

Japan's economy began to pick up rapidly by the mid fifties, and between 1964 and 1973, Japan's economic growth was more than twice that of America, Britain Germany and France. At this point, Japan had cast off its shadows of defeat and was once again regarded as a superpower (Aoki 1999:86-7). Industrial growth during this time is accompanied by a wave of what some scholars term an 'economic nationalism' (Yoshino 1992). The economic growth of the 60s is accompanied by an increasing popularity of 'modernization theories' that conceive of social systems as holistic entities in terms of unidirectional evolution (Sugimoto and Mouer 1989:3). The structure of Japanese 'society' and 'culture' was credited as the reason for its success, triggering off a renewed fervor for discourses of 'culture' and 'identity', while *Nihonjinron*, as the site for the establishment of a new sense of 'selfhood', began to thrive as a market for popular consumption (Aoki 1999:87-8). Befu (1993) has similarly argued that *Nihonjinron* is propagated abroad precisely because self-definition can only serve as self-definition when it is accepted by others (Befu 1993:120).

Four different works of *Nihonjinron* are selected for the present study, corresponding to the phases outlined above. *Kokutai no Hongi* is an ultranationalist propaganda published by the wartime government to foster national identity, while *Darakuron* is an iconoclastic text written to dismantle wartime conceptions of national identity after the war. *Tate-shakai* is produced as an explanation of Japan's economic success, and *Kokka no Hinkaku* is published as a call for a return to Japanese indigenous values in the face of globalization. All four texts are widely distributed and cited, and their rhetorical tropes are highly representative of each period. They therefore present us with four distinct models of *Nihonjinron* writing that may be compared for commonalities and differences across the discourse, shown in table 1.2.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Trope</i>
1937	<i>Kokutai no Hongi</i>	Ministry of Education	ultranationalism
1946	<i>Darakuron</i>	Sakaguchi Ango	self criticism
1967	<i>Tateshakai no Ningenkankei</i>	Nakane Chie	self affirmation
2005	<i>Kokka no Hinkaku</i>	Fujiwara Masahiko	self affirmation

Table 1.2. Context of data

Aside from *Kokutai no Hongi* that was distributed nationwide as a school reader by the Ministry of Education, the rest are bestsellers. The work of Sakaguchi and Nakane are situated at two major turning points of Japanese economic history. The recent bestseller by Fujiwara is also included to provide some indications on the potential direction in contemporary Nihonjinron.

1.2.1 Ultra-nationalism: Cardinal Principles of the National Polity of Japan

Kokutai no Hongi (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan) is a 156 page propaganda published by the Japanese Ministry of Education during the Second World War. The way *Kokutai no Hongi* propounds the superiority of the Japanese ‘national character’ is representative of the war fervor at its peak, and the significance of this text is apparent in its treatment by the Occupational Authorities at the end of the war. It was perceived as such a threat that it was the only publication ever suppressed by name in a directive from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (Hall 1949:6-7).

Kokutai no Hongi does not have a clear authorship, nor was it produced in a single event. It was first written by Hisanatsu Sen-ichi, then professor at the rightwing Tokyo Imperial University, before it underwent an extensive revision by a committee of 14 officials who were dubbed ‘technical experts’, including Watsuji Tetsuro who is renowned for his Nihonjinron publications. The book was finally revised again by Itō Enkichi, the Chief of the Bureau of Thought Control in the Ministry of Education. It was first printed in 1937, and 2 million copies were sold by 1943 (Tansman 2007:59).

Its widespread dissemination indicates that a considerable part of the population (the literate and therefore likely the most influential at that) has engaged with it at some point, and the fact that it was also constantly referred to in public speeches made during that time also attests to the extent to which it has penetrated public discourses. It was reproduced in part for some 51,200 times in other publications (Hall 1949:10-11). Furthermore, its enforcement in education also presents a far-reaching influence. 300,000 were distributed to schools from elementary to university levels to be used as textbooks and supplementary readers, while teaching staffs were made to form discussion groups and actively engage with the text. Keeping in mind the extent to which discourses in public spheres were sanctioned by the government with the pain of

death (Dorsey 2001:363), it is safe to assume the utterly totalizing interpretation of the text disseminated within the pedagogic environment.

This is not to suggest that there were no dissenting voices to the state ideology (see for example Keene 1978). On the contrary, *Kokutai no Hongi* was written precisely in response to leftist thinkers of the time (Tansman 2007:59). The text opens with a lamentation that ‘Western concepts’ such as individualism and rationalism have caused a confusion in the nation, arguing that Japan must remove the foreign influence for the establishment of a new and beautiful Japan through establishment of the nature and characteristics of Japanese ethnicity based on bushido.

...as far as it concerns our country, we must return to the standpoint peculiar to our country, clarify our immortal national entity, sweep aside everything in the way of adulation, bring into being our original condition, and at the same time rid ourselves of bigotry, and strive all the more to take in and sublimate Occidental culture; for we should give to basic things their proper place, giving due weight to minor things, and should build up a sagacious and worthy Japan. (Gauntlett *trans.* 1949:54)

It serves to establish the duties of the nation as subjects to the Emperor, and traces the Imperial family to its mythical origins.

...to trace clearly the genesis of the nation’s foundation, to define its great spirit, to set forth clearly at the same time the features the national entity has manifested in history, and to provide the present generation with an elucidation of the matter, and thus to awaken the people’s consciousness and their efforts. (Gauntlett *trans.* 1949:55)

The language of the text invokes an aesthetic of the sublime, and as Tansman (2007) describes, the book is composed of ‘passages of lucidity and logic... interrupted by language that communicates more through form than content, replacing or bolstering conclusions to arguments with citations of opaque classical texts, declarations of truths rather than explications, set phrases, recitals of Imperial lineages, or images of sublime light’ (Tansman 2007:61).

The text consists of two books, comprising 12 chapters altogether. As I am only able to locate this text as an electronic document, and the page numbers of the original text are

not available, I shall cite the text according to the book and chapter number assigned in the original text, with the book number followed by chapter. For example, Ministry (1937:1/2) refers to the Kokutai no Hongi, book 1, chapter 2.

1.2.2 Self-critical nationalism: *Discourse on Decadence*

Darakuron is exemplary as an influential iconoclastic text written after the war. The disillusionment after the war and the dismantling of wartime institutions and beliefs left a vacuum in Japan's ideological base. It was at this point in time that the publication of the eight-page essay *Darakuron* in 1946 propelled the novelist Sakaguchi Ango to fame, making him a household name in the early postwar period (Dorsey 2001:349).

Rubin (1985) reports that the essay made 'the greatest impact in its time' (p.77), and it has been variously compared to the Emperor's declaration of surrender (e.g. Okuno 1972:11; Dorsey 2000:32), a sentiment shared by much of the reading public during that time (Dorsey 2001:358). He subsequently became one of the first Japanese writers to achieve celebrity status (Dorsey 2000:32), and a monument was erected in his memory in his hometown. According to Dorsey (2001), Okuno's (1972) comment is representative of the generation's reading when he describes that 'in one stroke it freed me, then only 19 years old, from the wartime ethics, ideology, and taboos that had until that point kept me in chains; it was a thunderbolt that showed me a new way of life... for me it was undoubtedly Ango's "Darakuron" that declared the spiritual end of the war' (Okuno 1972, cited in Dorsey 2001: 358)

Darakuron is described as a 'ruthlessly' iconoclastic text (Dorsey 2001:376), attacking wartime icons such as the kamikaze, bushido and even the sanctity of the Emperor. It criticizes them as scheming constructs produced for political manipulation, and appeals for a more primal human nature that can only be redeemed through Japan's fall to the very bottom.

I see the emperor system as another creation of politics, and one that is both quintessentially Japanese and quite original. It certainly didn't come into being because of the emperors themselves, who have as a rule done nothing...There's absolutely no reason that they have to settle on the imperial house; they could very well have gone for the descendents of Confucius, Gautama Buddha, or even Lenin. It's just pure coincidence that they didn't go that route (Dorsey 2009:167).

Six months pass, and nothing seems the same... It's not people that have changed; they've been like this from the very start. What has changed is just the surface of things, the world's outer skin (Dorsey 2009:165).

By framing devastation as a necessary human condition for salvation, it provided inspiration for the millions rebuilding their lives following the defeat.

“Die rather than suffer the shame of being taken prisoner” was the rule during the war. Without precepts like these it would have been impossible to spur the Japanese on to war. We're submissive to these sort of rules but our true emotional make-up points us in exactly the opposite direction (Dorsey 2009:166).

Dorsey (2001) suggests that there is no radical break between the nationalism before and after the war; the concept of the nation serves as a consistent framework for promoting war measures during the war, and embrace defeat after the war, and describes the rhetoric in *Darakuron* as ‘an ideological trope that not only survived both the war and its aftermath, but actually serve as an integral component of the revolutionary dimensions of both’ (Dorsey 2001:378). Even though *Darakuron* is commonly read as a radical voice of resistance to the wartime ideologies, Dorsey suggests that the trope of his vision of self and nation was paradoxically ‘consistent with an ideology promoting the desperate measures taken in Japan’s “holy war”.’ It is this rhetoric that provides the framework for the population to embrace defeat and execute revolutionary changes (Dorsey 2001:350).

1.2.3 Economic-nationalism: *Japanese Society*

Tate-shakai no Ningen Kankei is one of the top 10 bestseller of all time, published during the time when Nihonjinron began to thrive as a market for popular consumption. It is part of the wave of ‘modernization theories’ that credits the essence of Japanese ‘culture’ as the reason for its success during the economic boom.

In 1964, social anthropologist Nakane Chie presented her thesis *Nihonteki Shakai-kōzō no Hakken* (The discovery of a Japanese type of social structure), contrasting Japanese society against Indian society, establishing the unique characteristics of Japanese society. The paper was warmly received by the audience (cf. Aoki 1999:89), and it was

reworked and published as the bestseller *Tate-shakai no Ningen Kankei: Tan'itsu-shakai no Riron* (Personal relations in a vertical society: a theory of homogeneous society, henceforth *Tate-shakai*) for the general public in 1967 (cf. Aoki 1999:89). Nakane was subsequently appointed Professor at the institute of Oriental Culture at the University of Tokyo.

A guide published by the Japan Culture Institute in 1977 reports that '[t]he term "vertical society" (*tateshakai*) has now become thoroughly familiar to the general Japanese public' and that '[h]er observations constitute one of the most talked-about theories for the study of Japanese society.' (Japan Culture Institute 1977:84). Cited in 153 works between 1973 and 1981 (Mouer and Sugimoto 1986:144-5), and the influence of Nakane's concepts such as *ie* is evident in subsequent bestsellers such as *Bummei to shite no Ie Shakai*.

Unlike the first two texts introduced earlier, *Tate-shakai* has an additional far-reaching influence on the perception of Japan overseas. It was reworked by Nakane as *Japanese Society* in 1970, to cater specifically to an English market. Thousands of copies of a summary translation accompanied by a foreword by the Director-General of the Public Information Bureau is subsequently published by the Japanese ministry of Foreign Affairs under the title of *Human Relations in Japan* in 1972, as part of the government policy during the Tanaka administration to aggressively disseminate Nihonjinron overseas (Befu 1993:120; see also 1.1.2 on government sanctions). Sales of the Japanese book have since exceeded 1 million copies in Japan alone, and it has been translated into 13 languages, securing its place in Kodansha as one of the top 10 bestseller of all time.

...former theories on modernization were governed by the view that Japanese society would become the same as that of the West if industrialization reached Western level. Because of this, they had a tendency to lump together any social phenomena not found in the West, and to explain them as Japan's backward or feudal elements. (Nakane 1972:3)

Nakane (1967) introduces her thesis of cultural relativism by her famous example of the 'kujirajaku', a metric system used in traditional clothing industry, as more suitable for the tailoring of Japanese clothes than the centimeter.

When we use the centimeter as the standard of measurement for kimono (lit. Japanese clothes), we always end up with fractions. We get unreasonable units such as 8.35 or 22.7cm. What happens if we then make kimono by cutting off 1cm or 5mm because they don't fit? We may get something that appears vaguely similar to a kimono, but it will be way off from what is traditionally considered the ideal form of a kimono. It loses its essential shape, and I believe no respectable person will wear it. It goes without saying that the most suitable standard of measurement for the kimono in contrast is the *kujirajaku* (Nakane 1967:12, my translation).

Japanese society, she argues, must likewise be understood on its indigenous terms as opposed to a foreign one (Nakane 1967:13). *Tate-shakai* has been described as 'the standard bearer for the holistic view of Japanese society' (Mouer and Sugimoto 1980b:1).

In this sense it would not be proper to regard the Japanese system as simply backward; on the contrary, given the conditions of the modern world, it may be said to be very efficient, and may, in fact, be one of the reasons why Japanese industry has been successful in developing to a point where it is well able to compete with the advanced countries of the West. (Nakane 1970:109)

It tries to distinguish Japanese society as being uniquely structured through a so called 'vertical principle' as opposed to the 'horizontal' societies in the West. Characterizing Japanese society as a homogenous whole, *Tate-shakai* attributes the organization of Japanese society to Japanese thinking, arguing that it takes precedence to considerations of gender and social class. It then goes on to describe the life and social traits of the stereotypical Japanese man that result from such a way of thinking, before attempting to give an historical explanation that shaped the behavior.

1.2.4 Cultural-nationalism: *The Dignity of the Nation*

Kokka no Hinkaku is touted as an 'epoch making' work of Nihonjinron, urging the Japanese nation to return to 'indigenous' values, arguing that Japan must preserve its dignity and save the world through bushido and emotions. It remained an instant bestseller for 2 consecutive years, coinciding with the cabinet's expansion of the Japanese military.

Against the background of a new wave of nationalism in East Asia from the late 90s (Rosenbluth et al. 2007; Matthews 2003; Gries 2005), mathematician Fujiwara Masahiko published his book *Kokka no Hinkaku* in 2005 that became an instant bestseller, remaining on the list of bestsellers for 5 consecutive years. Touted as an ‘epoch making’ work of *Nihonjinron*, 2.5 million copies have been sold within a year, making it the second bestseller of 2006 in Japan after Harry Potter (Frederick 2006). The sales figure has since surpassed 2.65 million at the point of the completion of this thesis. The book warranted a special write-up in *The Japan Times* (Rankin 2007) and was cited in the mayor’s address on the Nagoya city official website (Matsubara 2007). It was the most talked about book in the World Economic Forum held in Tokyo (Frederick 2006), and prompted a survey by the NTTResonant Inc. and Mitsubishi Research Institute on public awareness of Japanese national traits in (Goo Research 2006).

Overseas too, it caused a considerable stir, having been cited in *Asia Times Online* (Spengler 2007) and dedicated special write-ups in *Time.com* (Frederick 2006) and *Financial Times* (Piling 2007). Spurred on by the attention it attracted internationally, a bilingual edition of the book entitled *The Dignity of the Nation* was subsequently released in 2007. Despite the fame – or perhaps infamy – generated overseas, its reception has been ambivalent. This owes at least in part to the shadow of militarism from memories of the Second World War (see for example Spengler 2007; James 2007), while other commentators criticize it for poor arguments. Rankin (2007) for instance, criticizes it for its weak grasp of literary history, lack of originality and groundlessness.

It may be however, the very controversial nature of the work that gives it the publicity it enjoys. Interestingly, one comment left on a weblog discussing the book blames the outcry on sensationalism, and defends the book by exclaiming that ‘*Kokka no Hinkaku* ain’t not *Kokutai no Hongi* either’ (Overthinker 2007). The comment leaves one wondering what prompted the comparison in the first place, and if there is in fact an echo of the latter to be heard in the former. Amidst the rise of nationalism, Shinzo Abe who became Prime Minister in 2006 upgraded the Defense Agency to a full ministry in 2006, and called for a review of the constitution to remove restrictions on the Japanese military in 2007 (The Associated Press 2007). Piling (2007) observes that Abe echoes *Kokka no Hinkaku* in declaring his agenda ‘to restore pride in his “beautiful country”’ and ‘recovering the national dignity,’ and it is perhaps the echoes of the wartime Japanese discourses in the work coupled with its immense popularity in the light of the

current political situation that makes *Kokka no Hinkaku* compelling for anyone with an interest in the region to engage with it.

The current process of globalization is nothing more than a process of worldwide homogenization. The Japanese must find the courage to resolutely resist this trend. Japan must not become just an ordinary country that is, a country that has nothing unique about it. As a nation, it behooves us to stand proudly apart precisely because we find ourselves in an uncivilized world dominated by the West (Murray *trans.* 2007:13).

Kokka no Hinkaku is a treatise denouncing what is perceived as ‘Western’ values such as logic and equality, arguing that those values are the very cause for the decline of Western nations. Behooving the Japanese nation to turn instead to ‘indigenous’ values, it promotes ‘feeling’ over ‘reason’, the ‘national language’ over ‘English’, and ‘bushido’ over ‘democracy’. It argues that only returning to bushido and emotions can Japan preserve its dignity and save the world.

The doctrines of the West, which have dominated the world for the last four centuries, have finally started to crumble. The whole world, clueless in the face of multitudinous problems, has lost its bearings and flails about in darkness. It may take time, but I believe that it is the Japanese, and no one else, who are now capable of saving the world (Murray *trans.* 2007:279).

1.3 Towards a linguistic study of national identity discourses

The critiques of *Nihonjinron* reviewed in this chapter have shown that identity discourses are located in a complex and multifaceted space, and while this thesis attempts to ‘tame’ this space to allow for productive engagement with the discourse, it will avoid reducing the complexity to an overly simplistic interpretation to the best of my ability. Some interpretive frameworks and delimitations, however tentative, are therefore necessary to produce a coherent and constructive account. In order to avoid an oversimplification, it is also necessary to approach them from both a top-down and bottom-up perspective, and this involves an ambitious attempt to reconcile between the actual wording of the discourses and their contexts. This places a constraint on the size of the data and the method of analysis. A qualitative analysis is used in this exploratory study on a small number of texts to maintain a multiperspectival focus and contextual sensitivity,

informed by established linguistic models on both language use and identity construction.

Four different works of *Nihonjinron* have been selected for this study to provide a basis for comparisons and contrasts. *Kokutai no Hongi* and *Tate-shakai* are sanctioned and disseminated by the government. The way these two texts are disseminated by the government also differs vastly between them: while *Kokutai no Hongi* is meant for local consumption as part of the war effort, *Tate-shakai* is disseminated overseas as a bid for international recognition. *Tate-shakai* and *Kokka no Hinkaku* are bestsellers. *Darakuron* on the other hand is an iconoclastic writing.

The critiques suggest that two primary dimensions have to be taken into account for any attempt to interpret the contextual factors behind identity discourses. These are sociological dimensions, and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to present a systematic account of these contextual factors behind the discourses. However, they present us with the socially significant differences between texts which correspondences in linguistic features are to be sought.

It is mentioned in 1.1.2 that it is necessary to distinguish between the institutional level and the individual level. This dimension is associated with power and the control of production and dissemination of identity discourse. The institutions may include the state that is responsible for sanctioning the discourses and providing state funds for their dissemination, and non-governmental corporations that are involved in perpetuating the discourses through their publications and activities. Individuals on the other hand introduce the discourses into their interactions in their reading of the discourses and their daily conversations that are informed by the texts they consume. Explorations into this dimension therefore involve accounting for the management and interplay between individual and collective voices to legitimize the construction of identities in situated arguments.

It is also pointed out that it is necessary to distinguish between the production and the reception of identity discourses. This dimension is associated with the establishment of solidarity and alignment between interlocutors. While the production of identity discourses are necessarily individual events carried out by specific individuals, they draw on preexisting beliefs and norms to solicit complicity from the readers who draw on the language to produce new texts in turn. Explorations into this dimension therefore

involve accounting for the selective instantiation of cultural and historical resources from the perspective of production, and the possibilities of compliant and resistant readings from the perspective of reception.

Furthermore, the contextual variation across time reviewed in 1.2 has shown that the account must include a third dimension of time. We do not expect the ultranationalistic texts in wartime Japan to be identical to the postwar iconoclastic writings or the economic models of the 1960s. However, the texts do not exhibit radical breaks from their predecessors, and there remain elements that are carried forward amidst the changes, albeit adapted to the new conditions. Explorations into this dimension therefore involve accounting for semogenesis in terms of both persisting features and changing ones, as well as a description of the factors involved in shaping changes and retentions.

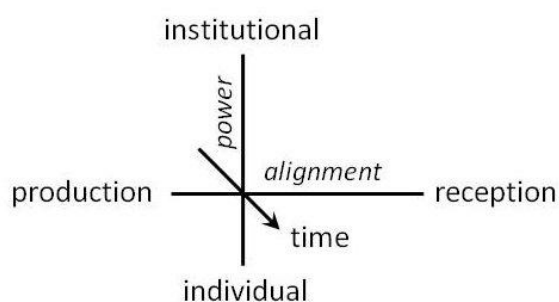


Fig. 1.1. Social context of nihonjinron texts

The dimensions shown in figure 1.3 describe complex spaces because the relationships between the poles are not to be assumed as unilinear correlations. Just as there are individuals with different political inclinations within each institution, the same text is received in different ways. The variations in reading that result from the differences do not mean that they do not engage with dominant readings however, and it is necessary to explore these readings in relation to the naturalized reading of the texts, to investigate the constraints and potential afforded to the reader by language.

1.3.1 Research questions

This thesis sets out to model the construction of identity in Nihonjinron through language use in a way that retains its multifaceted dynamics within a coherent framework. It is therefore the primary objective of this study to map out the potential space of such a model that enables a productive dialogue between the social critiques of Nihonjinron and a detailed analysis of the linguistic mechanisms underlying its discursive tropes.

The model proposed in this thesis seeks to address three main aspects of Nihonjinron rhetoric:

- 1) How does Nihonjinron produce concepts of identity for readers?
 - a) How does Nihonjinron reify community, values, people and things as tangible concepts for readers?
 - b) How are the identities of these cultural icons established through the use of language?
 - c) How do these identity concepts change over time?

- 2) How is identity used to legitimize the social order in Nihonjinron?
 - a) How are hierarchies and axiology of social actors constructed through Nihonjinron?
 - b) How does Nihonjinron align readers with these forms of social order?
 - c) How is the social order naturalized through identity concepts?

- 3) What is the nature of the individual's engagement in their reading of Nihonjinron?
 - a) How are readers socialized into the identity concepts?
 - b) What constitutes a compliant or resistant reading of Nihonjinron?

1.3.2 A note on translations and terminology

It has been pointed out in 1.1.1 that both English and Japanese speakers have been engaged in Nihonjinron as a dialogue across geographical boundaries, and there is no reason to posit any kind of incommensurability between the English and Japanese languages as far as the discourse is concerned. In terms of my data presentation therefore I shall assume that there is sufficient equivalence at the level of discourse for

hermeneutic purposes, and the Japanese text will only be glossed or broken down at word level where it pertains to the discussion.

In fact, this is my preferred practice as the translated text is more coherent in its complete form, and the discursive feature would be arguably more accessible. The English translations of my Japanese data will be provided in the form in which it has been published by their translators. I shall avoid presenting my own translation as much as possible to prevent my personal bias in the presentation of the data, but they will be provided where the difference between the source text and the translation poses a substantial problem to the reader with regards to specific points being made about the linguistic structure.

Even though it is not necessary for my readers to be familiar with Japanese, , I shall assume a working knowledge of the terminology used in Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) and discourse analysis (Martin 1992) on the part of my reader, and I may not go into details with every term due to the constraints of this thesis. I shall also draw primarily on Teruya (2007) for my functional analysis of Japanese text at the grammatical level. His conventions will be used wherever a morphological gloss is provided to highlight and illustrate the Japanese grammatical structure in my discussion. Readers who are not familiar with the terminology are advised to refer to the relevant work.

1.3.3 Significance of the thesis

The concept of national identity is a vague one. It is however, prevalent and central to our lives and our place in the world, implicated in the issues surrounding social rights and inequities, legitimacy and social action, pedagogy and social change. It is therefore also a highly charged one, which does not help to clarify its role in these social functions, where much is at stake. This thesis proposes a linguistic model for understanding the underlying mechanisms behind the rhetoric of its discourse, so that we may question the social organization projected by it, and unsettle the assumptions behind identity. The thesis contributes to this objective in three aspects.

The thesis seeks to reconcile linguistic description with identity theory. Identity concepts constitute a meaning-making resource that provides the language for articulating our social relationships. It has an ascriptive and regulatory function

predicated upon the linguistic system that shapes legitimacy and reasoning in these interactions. The modeling of identity discourse as a meaning making resource also constitutes the linguistic modeling of these legitimating and reasoning processes. The thesis draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics as its framework for a socially oriented account of language, and this study will enrich the framework in return, by extending its application to the analysis of identity construction. There has been a growing interest within Systemic Functional Linguistics in the relationship between identity and language use. However, research in this area is still in its infancy, and there has been little work on collective identity to date. The present study aims to pave the way in modeling identity construction by drawing on the insights from current identity theories.

Nihonjinron has a vast influence in both popular consciousness and academic endeavors, and there has been a great deal of interest in the social sciences to understand its discourse, including anthropology, sociology and language pedagogy. For these fields, the nature of this discourse lies at the heart of the debate on what constitutes legitimacy in scholarly works. While it is not the role of this thesis to determine the criteria and values in these fields, it provides some means to distinguish what they consider to be Nihonjinron from legitimate research. In the context of the social sciences, this thesis constitutes a detailed linguistic description of cultural reductionism and determinism that contributes to an effective critique on these approaches.

The political dimension of identity is an alienable aspect of its construction. National identity has a significant stake in the policymaking process, and is involved in the maintenance of the social structure. Different interests are involved in the determination of this structure, and national identity constitutes a site of contest between different social agents. Identification in this sense is a political process, and a large part of its political force lies in the interpellation of its subject (Althusser 1971). The naturalization of identity insulates the structure from effective critique and the adaptation of these particular forms of construction into the consumers' repertoire simultaneously internalizes these discourses in the subject and hails the subject into the discourse. The careful linguistic examination of identity discourse produces a reading pedagogy that sensitizes the reader to the naturalized assumptions, allowing the reader to challenge the power of the discourse from within, empowering the individual to subvert and oppose the discourse by involving it in new social practices. The thesis facilitates this by providing the comparisons and contrasts between the semiotic

resources exposing the nature of their historicity and arbitrariness, and by providing an account for their functions, persistence and contingencies.

1.3.4 Organization of the thesis

This chapter has introduced some theories of national identity and identified Nihonjinron as a rich source of data for analysis. The chapter has explored its socioeconomic context, and reviewed the critiques on these publications for their insights into the characteristics of the discourse. This allows us to locate the field and scope of the present study.

Chapter 2 will lay down the theoretical and analytic foundations for our investigation, and it will introduce and review Membership Categorization Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. Membership Categorization Analysis has a long tradition of research into identity construction, and this thesis will draw on its insights, adapting the methodologies developed in this tradition for the present study. The chapter will also explore the potential of the framework developed in Systemic Functional Linguistics for understanding identity construction, by drawing parallels between the understanding of language in this framework and observations of identity theories. A model for analyzing identity construction in Nihonjinron based on the framework will then be proposed.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will expand on the model, exploring the linguistic resources for constructing communities, values and individuals respectively. The linguistic structures of these constructs will be described in each of these chapters, divided into the organization of meaning in different metafunctions, before demonstrating how the different strand of meanings culminate collaboratively to produce the rhetorical trope of the discourse, providing legitimation to particular forms of social organization.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis with a discussion on how the three distinct kinds of resources described in this thesis serve to construct identities through their interrelationship, and the way the resources serve to interpellate readers into these identities. It will discuss the nature of this interrelationship as a dynamic one in terms of shifts in meaning. Finally, the chapter will locate the model within the Systemic Functional theory, and identify some potential areas for further research. Some suggestions will also be offered as to how the model proposed in this thesis may contribute to other fields of study in identity research.

Chapter 2 Methodology and Framework

Every time I utter the word Messieurs, I renew its material being: it is a new act of phonation and a new psychological act. The link between two uses of the same word is not based upon material identity, nor upon exact similarity of meaning, but upon factors the linguist must discover, if he is to come anywhere near to revealing the true nature of linguistic units. — Ferdinand de Saussure

The word ‘identity’ has its roots in the Latin term *idem*, meaning ‘the same’ and *entitas*, meaning ‘entity’, suggesting that the notion of a ‘consistent’ entity lies at the heart of identity. The word *identidem*, which is derived from the phrase *idem et idem*, or ‘over and over’ indicates that the concept of consistency is associated with a notion of ‘repeatability’ or ‘continuity’. There are two aspects to the notion of ‘identity’, and as Ricœur (1992) notes, they involve the question of qualitative identity, i.e. if there is such a resemblance between an entity and the one it is substituted with that there is no noticeable difference, and that of numerical identity, i.e. if two occurrences constitute not a plurality but the same thing twice (Ricœur 1992:116). The first relationship is that of token and value, and the second is that of replication. Any attempt to understand identity must therefore address how these two aspects of consistency and continuity is established.

This may seem to be a commonsensical task at first blush, but as Saussure suggests, it may not be as easy to locate the basis for this consistency as it first seems. The notion of identity has in fact been a difficult one that has plagued philosophers and linguists alike. Like the planks on Plutarch’s ship of Theseus that are continually replaced by new timber thus raising the question of whether it remains essentially the same ship, each instance of language use constitutes ‘a new act of phonation’ and ‘a new psychological act’. Insofar as social identities are constructed through instances of language use, the same problem surrounds the individual and collective identities of social persons. This constitutes a very real methodological problem to the analysis of language use in terms of identity. As it is mentioned earlier, two related but distinct issues must be addressed in our approach to identity discourse: how do interlocutors establish a person or a group as a meaningful entity in discourse? And how do they recognize each repeated instance of representation as the same person or group?

One possible answer to the first question is to assume that language is a reflection of a physical world, and that the multiple 'acts of phonation' merely correspond to a prediscursive entity. This was the solution in 'variationist' approach that attempts to identify correlations between taken-for-granted social categories and observations in linguistic forms. Such an approach does not account for the a priori assumption of categories and obscures the role of the interpreter, reifying the discourses that are studied (Widdicombe 1998: 204). It therefore carves the world into 'a series of finite categories into which their object of study is then moulded and shaped' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006:27). It is after all possible to categorize persons according to race, gender, class or any number of ways, and there are no convincing grounds for privileging one over the rest other than the a priori presumption on the part of the observer. Furthermore, correspondence between categories and observations does not necessarily mean there are causal relationships between them (Cameron 1997a). Consequently, a naïve attempt to impose identities on the discourse observed results in a reductive and deterministic account of social actors that is biased by identity stereotypes. For instance, the numerous linguistic discussions in *Nihonjinron* texts that assume language as a vehicle of national thought do little more than produce polemical discourses that serve national sentiments (Dale 1986:61).

A more promising alternative solution is to treat identities as something that is constructed in and through language itself. This line of approach is also more suitable for the present study as it is comparable with the understanding of the nation as an imagined community, as discussed in chapter 1. However, this approach raises its own set of questions. What should be used as the basis for determining which identity out of the potentially large number of possible categories applies to the data? It would be tempting to suggest that since Japanese identity is under consideration, any observation in the data should be unproblematically interpreted as the performance of an underlying Japanese identity. As Cameron (1997b) has pointed out however, when identity is evoked to explain data, the metadiscourse is itself read through an identity discourse. If the analysis makes an assumption that *Nihonjinron* is motivated by Japanese identity, it takes as its assumption the very discourse that is under examination. Hence Dale (1986) laments that one 'cannot argue against one *nihonjinron* stereotype by using *nihonjinron*-type approaches...without being captured by their logic (Dale 1986:60).

He suggests that if we investigate the function of the identity arguments in *Nihonjinron* instead, we uncover ‘a rich field for the analysis, not so much of cultural uniqueness, as much as the nature of those processes of mystification which subsist in the construction of the image and ideology of Japanese “culture”’ (Dale 1986:61), which in turn opens the way to an analysis of how and why the nation is imagined as such. It requires a shift in focus from investigating a supposedly underlying ‘identity’ behind the discourse to the process of ‘identification’ itself. In other words, we take the interactants’ identity categories as the point of departure, and examine how these categories are produced and maintained. This line of inquiry has been productively pursued in Membership Categorization Analysis, and the methodology that has been developed in this tradition and the insights gained from this approach will be introduced in 2.2.

The second issue that must be addressed in a framework for understanding identity is the establishment of temporal continuity. This sense of temporal continuity, or what Linde (1993) describes as an ‘identity of the self through time’ is essential for the creation of coherence as social persons (Linde 1993:107), which she argues is a social norm, a tacit agreement between interactants that renders self narratives coherent. Nonetheless, the construction of identity is done through language, and language use is necessarily located in the unfolding of time. 2.4 argues that the moment-to-moment requirements of the text produce inconsistencies that result in the identities being continually differed and deferred, and it falls on the normative agreement between interactants, instantiated in the act of communication, that enables what is essentially fractured to be perceived as consistent and continuous. In the case of the consumer *Nihonjinron* texts in this study, such normalized readings are produced through exploiting forms of discourse structures, and the role of language in facilitating this agreement is explored in 2.3 through the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

2.1 Identité and valeur

Saussure (1986) provides an alternative to the realist position on consistency raised earlier with his famous structuralist formulation by arguing that the identity (*identité*) of the word lies in its value (*valeur*) within the linguistic system (Saussure 1986:106-7). He illustrates this concept with his famous example of two 8.45 trains from Geneva to Paris, and points out that we still treat them as essentially the same train even if their locomotives, carriages and staff were different (Saussure 1986:107). This is because the identity of the 8.45 train does not lie in its material structure, but in its departure time,

route and other features that distinguish it from other trains. For Saussure, the link between two uses of the same word, i.e. its identity, is similarly dependent not on their material identity (such as pronunciation, or writing in the case of this study) nor on having an exact similarity of meaning (such as a mental concept or a corresponding referent). It lies in the word's relationship to other words in the same way that the value of a chess piece lies in its relation to the other pieces in a game (Saussure 1986:108).

In this formulation of identity as semiotic relationships, there are two necessary aspects to any value, i.e. they involve 'something *dissimilar* which can be exchanged for the item whose value is under consideration', and '*similar* things which can be *compared* with the item whose value is under consideration' (Saussure 1986:113, original emphasis). Consequently, the identity of a word is determined not on its own but by its relationship to what it is differentiated from (Saussure 1986:114), and it is this insight that informs much of modern linguistics including the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics discussed in 2.3.

By the same token, the value of the word's denotation such as 'Japanese' or 'Western' in the case of Nihonjinron is not determined merely by its referent, but by its contrast against what is contrasted against it, i.e. that which is deemed to be 'non-Japanese' or 'non-Western'. Dale (1986) for instance, observes that 'as the anti-image of foreignness, Japanese identity can only be affirmed by stipulating a systematic, if Borgesian, taxonomy of the Other' (Dale 1986:39). In Saussurian terms, the identity designation of 'Japanese' is similar to that which is 'Western' because one can equally be substituted for the other in the linguistic environment (both serve to describe and categorize people, things, practices, values, etc.). Yet they are simultaneously dissimilar because one exists 'in absentia' of the other (something is either 'Japanese' or 'Western'; it cannot be both). In this sense, the identities 'Japanese' and 'Western' share the same proportions within a common frame of *valeur*.

However, this differential construction of identity is not simply a matter of a noun or adjective. It involves a systematic extension of its differential relations to other aspects of the discourse implicated by the identity designation. Dale (1986) points out that 'the adumbration of putatively unique traits distinctive to the Japanese negatively engages by contrast foreign societies as the dumb accomplices of endogenous uniqueness,' and this differential construction is categorical in the sense that 'what they attribute to themselves they must deny to "outsiders", and conversely what is ascribed to others is

disclaimed within the indigenous patrimony' (Dale 1986:39). It suffices to say that the differential relationship between identities extends beyond labels to the structuring of the discourse such that aspects of the discourse predicated on the categories are themselves affected, suggesting that the 'unit' of identity, if it is to be determined by its differential relations, has to be radically broadened beyond the word to encompass the range of discursive features entailed by it. How then can we envision such a unit? Fortunately, the relationship between the ascription of identity and its effects on discourse has been extensively studied in the approach to identity management in discourse known as Membership Categorization Analysis and the insights and methodology developed in this area of research offers a useful perspective on identity construction, which we shall review in 2.2.

2.2 Identity as a participant's resource

The commonsense organization of the social world as categories has been on the agenda of Sacks' research in the mid-1960s to the early 1970s. Influenced by ethnomethodology, he investigates categorization as a social phenomenon where participants ascribe 'identities' to themselves and others in their interactions. He reasons that each individual may potentially be categorized in a limitless number of ways, and different 'identities' may also be 'operative' in different stretches of the text (Sacks 1992:327-8). It is therefore the responsibility of the researcher to establish demonstrably which of them is relevant to the specific instance. Built on Sack's work on categorization, the methodology of Membership Categorization Analysis (e.g. Jayuusi 1984, Hester and Eglin 1997, Antaki and Widdicombe 1998, etc.) focuses on what interactants actually do in specific situations, in which the notion of identity emerges as a relevant social phenomenon only when it is used by the interactants themselves, rather than categories imposed on the data by researchers (Widdicombe 1998b).

Such an approach is useful in revealing commonsense social organization, because it prevents the researcher from imposing unwarranted categories on the interaction that may not be relevant to the interactants themselves (Schegloff 1991). Furthermore, Stokoe (2005) also argues strongly that the imposition of identity categories by researchers arbitrarily preclude the possibility of other categories from the analysis. Tempted as we may be to suggest that *Nihonjinron* written by a Japanese is motivated by their Japanese identity, the same observation can equally be motivated by the author's gender, age or social class, not to mention that the definition of 'Japaneseness'

is highly problematic (see 1.1.2). The present study will therefore adopt the approach to 'identity' as a participants' resource in their (re)production of discourse, rather than an essential social variable of the participants. Along this line of inquiry, we may begin to question why the notion of 'Japaneseness' is brought into the discourse by the Nihonjinron author in terms of how it affects the text; we may discover the function that a notion of identity serves in the development of the text, and how this notion is constructed in language.

2.2.1 Relevance and Consequentiality

Sacks' approach to the study of identity construction in language use was subsequently developed in the tradition of Membership Categorization Analysis (henceforth MCA), and central to its methodology is the concept of 'relevance' and 'consequentiality' (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998:4) that are crucial for establishing the categories as something that are meaningful to the interactants themselves.

The concept of relevance requires that the identity in question must be brought into the text by an interactant rather than one brought in by the researcher. While Nihonjinron is presented as a self narrative on Japanese identity, the use of 'Japanese identity' to explain every observable feature is unwarranted, and instead of positing the relevance of a 'Japanese identity' unquestioningly in the analysis, it has to be established as a relevant notion to the text. This relevance is always situational, in the sense that the relevance of any category does not precede the interaction, but is brought into the text contingently to address the moment-to-moment matter at hand. This methodology therefore reveals the dynamic aspect of the text without the premature assumption of a consistent and stagnant identity category within which the entirety of the text is to be interpreted. It opens up the possibility of different formulations of identity that come into play at different junctures in the text, and each reformulation of identity in the unfolding of the text can be pursued as part of its semogenetic development.

The concept of consequentiality requires that the identity has an observable effect on the nature of the interaction. That is to say, the applicability of an identity is defined in terms of the structural difference it makes to the text. Conversely, the structural difference that defines an 'identity' gives it its *valeur* within a system of similar entities, thus providing a basis for determining it as a linguistic unit. This linguistic unit will be determined in 2.6. Before such a linguistic unit can be established however, it is worth

exploring the features associated with identity construction that makes it consequential in discourse. We shall take the observations in MCA as a starting point.

2.2.2 Categorization and the moral order

Sacks describes the ascription of identity in social interactions in terms of Membership Categorization Devices (or MCDs) that are organized in sets according to principles specified by particular contexts, such as ‘members of a family’ or ‘types of occupations’. These MCDs are relational to the extent that they are articulated as the relationship between elements of each set. This parallels Saussure’s formulation of language as differential (see 2.1), as the individual items in such a set are related vis-à-vis one another through the valeur they occupy within the set.

An important aspect of Sacks’ research is his work on ‘category-bound features’ that allow interlocutors to establish categories as well as infer values associated with the categories (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998:3-4). They provide the crucial link between the MCDs and the structural consequentiality in the text by allowing the MCDs to enter into a syntagmatic relation (see 2.1) with other linguistic elements in the form of ‘category bound activities’ (Sacks 2005:333, Schegloff 2007:470). These ‘category-bound features’ simultaneously place a constraint on the selection of the elements that are syntagmatically related.

Just as it’s not the case that the use of either ‘we’ or ‘they’ for actions done singularly is random, so, too, combinations of some categorial with some verb like ‘kids race cars,’ ‘kids drive fast,’ are not random either. The range of possibilities is huge since, given that one is dealing with verbs that take human nouns in the first place, one can put in any or many human categories if one can put in one of them, and get perfectly grammatical utterances. It is nonetheless the case that you do not get *any* pairs uttered. And each such pair is then something to be considered (Sacks 2005:575, original emphasis).

In this sense, the production of ‘identity’ in text may be understood as a structurally related collection of features, otherwise known in Systemic Functional Linguistics as a syndrome of meaning (Zappavigna et al. 2008). This notion of identity as a syndrome of meaning will be developed more fully in 2.6.

One of the effects of the mutual constraints between MCDs and their ‘category-bound features’ is their normative effect on the development of the discourse. Jayyusi (1984) observes that:

...for some categories X, not only does the displayed lack of certain competences provide grounds for saying that a person is either not an X or not a good X (competences already formulated with respect to a standard of performance), *but further that some categorizations are usable in explicitly moral ways, so that the fulfillment of moral duties and commitments is basic for the assessment of the performance of the category tasks* and thus for a person’s being constituted as a *good X*, which is itself central to the notion of being a *genuine X*... (Jayyusi 1984:44, original italics)

The use of MCDs are therefore inherently evaluative, and ‘categorizations can be made to function at once as inferences, descriptions and judgments’ (Jayyusi 1984:45). In terms of the appraisal theory developed by Martin and White (2005), the relationship between ‘inferences, descriptions and judgments’ can be conceptualized as the structural coupling between ideational and interpersonal meanings, such that one entails the other in discourse. As the work in MCA reveals, the construction of identity involves the co-articulation of both ideational and interpersonal meanings in specific ways, an argument will be further developed in 2.3.4.

Befu (1993) similarly observes that Nihonjinron arguments, involving the invocation of Japanese identity, often carry normative implications, behooving Japanese ‘to act and think as described... to treat the descriptive model as a prescriptive one’ (Befu 1993:116). Consumers of Nihonjinron who identify with the category ‘Japanese’ are obliged to fulfill specific duties and commitments asserted by the discourse as what ‘Japanese’ people do, in order to count as a good or genuine Japanese. While this moral obligation is usually implied, it is occasionally made explicit, such as in Fujiwara (2005, translated by Murray):

A violin sounding the way a violin should sound is what gives a violin value as an instrument. By the same token, it is when Japanese people feel like Japanese, think like Japanese and act like Japanese that they have value in the international community. (Murray trans. 2007:213)

It can be seen from this that identity formulations, while presented as descriptions, are in fact shot through with moralistic overtones, and the ideational construal of identity as categories are coupled with activities and evaluations as a cluster of meanings. These activities and evaluations are nonetheless constructed through language, and Nekpavil (2002) also argues that while the development of categories is contingent on situation, it draws on language as a cultural resource (cited from Leudar *et al.* 2004:263).

What is required to examine the role of language in the reproduction and development of the categories and their predicates therefore is a way to pick each of these different strands of linguistic meaning apart, and provide a detailed account of the way they work together in synthesis to produce what we recognize as an 'identity'. This thesis will therefore turn to a multiperspectival framework of language developed within Systemic Functional Linguistics to examine the discursive structures that enable the reformulation of such identity constructs.

2.3 A multiperspectival approach to language

Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL), developed by Halliday and his colleagues (Halliday 1979, Martin 1992, Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, Martin and White 2005, etc) is a socially oriented framework of language that has been developed to take into account the complexity of the social phenomena it models, relating the 'micro' aspects of grammar to the 'macro' levels of discourse and social context. It is thus well equipped to handle the multiple dimensions of the text that come into play in the process of categorization and positioning.

There have been various lines of inquiry into role of language in the production of social actors within SFL in terms of 'coding orientation' (Hasan 2005), 'codal variation' (Matthiessen 2007), 'positioning' (Martin and White 2005), 'individuation' (Martin 2006) and 'affiliation' (Knight 2010). While these approaches have proven useful for shedding light on the aspects of social phenomena to which they have been put to use, the present study focuses on the concept of 'identity' as it is used in interactants' discursive organization of the social world as described in 2.2, and these approaches will not be pursued. Instead, the model proposed in this thesis seeks to account for the way different strands of meaning come together as it was suggested in 2.2.2, to formulate what we recognize as collective identities.

The Systemic Functional account of language is comparable with the social constructivist understanding of identity adopted in this thesis. For Halliday, there is no distinction between relations between symbols and relations between the things they symbolize insofar that ‘both the things and the symbols are meanings’ (Halliday 1978:139). The relations between things and between symbols in his conception of language refer to the Saussurian notion of *valeur*:

...instead of ideas given in advance, are values emanating from a linguistic system. If we say that these values correspond to certain concepts, it must be understood that the concepts in question are purely differential. That is to say they are concepts defined not positively, in terms of their content, but negatively by contrast with other items in the same system. What characterizes each most exactly is being whatever the others are not. (Saussure 1986:115)

By the same token, any representation of identity has to be understood in terms of its *valeur* in the sense that ‘what matters more than any idea or sound associated with [a sign] is what other signs surround it’ (Saussure 1986:118). Saussure distinguishes between two aspects of such differential relationships, namely the associative relations that hold between alternative linguistic units ‘in *absentia*’, and the syntagmatic relations that hold between linguistic units in a linear sequence ‘in *praesentia*’ (Saussure 1986:122). These two aspects of language are reworked as the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes of language in the Hallidayan framework.

Paradigmatic oppositions are formalized as system networks to model language as options in meaning. In this perspective, language use involves selections from a set of potential options available to the interlocutors, and the significance of each element in language has to be understood within the overall context of these interlocking options. The reference system for instance allows us to keep track of who’s who in the following stretch of discourse (see Martin 1992:98-140 for a detailed discussion on phoricity).

I heard a similar story from a Japanese man who worked for one of the big trading companies... The British, he explained, have a sneaky side to them that likes putting people to the test. If you prove unable to answer their questions, then they won’t ask you around again. (Murray trans. 2007: 71)

The nominal group ‘a Japanese man’ in this example is introduced into the discourse for the first time, signaled by ‘a’, and it does not require the reader to retrieve its identity from an earlier stretch of text. In other words, when we encounter the language construction ‘a Japanese man’, we do not question ‘which Japanese man?’ as readers. In contrast, the pronouns ‘them’, ‘their’ and ‘they’ presume the information from a preceding part of the text, which we recognize as the nominal group ‘the British’. The fact that these references are encoded as pronouns indicates that we need to figure out that it is ‘the British’ putting people to the test, asking the questions and doing the inviting in order to make sense of the text. A more detailed analysis of the full text is provided in 2.3.4, but this simplified account illustrates that the language has a mechanism for signaling where to look for information in the text, and that the contrast between the two distinct forms of information retrieval is meaningful as shown in figure 2.1.

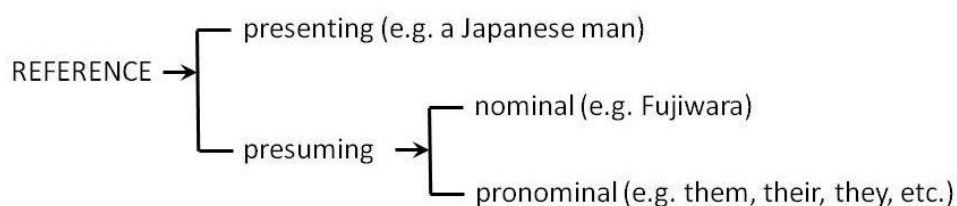


Fig. 2.1. Options in resources for reference

This way of modeling paradigmatic relations calls our attention as analysts to choices made by the author in the text. In this account of hearsay for instance, we may notice that the source of the story is given as ‘a Japanese man’, instead of a specific identifiable individual whose identity can be traced further back in the text in the case of a pronoun, or beyond the text, as in the case of a proper name such as ‘Fujiwara’. It is precisely the use of a presenting reference here, blocking off the possibility for recovering the identity of the source beyond this instance, that characterizes it as ‘hearsay’. When the representation and organization of social actors are seen against the other possible ways in which they can be represented or organized, it becomes immediately obvious to us how the meaningful choices in language that Halliday emphasizes as meaning making resources play an important role in the management of identities in discourse.

Generally, the contrastive relationship between two choices, b and c, can therefore be modeled as follows. In this representation, b or c is selected whenever a is selected, where b and c are proportional as paradigmatic options, as illustrated in figure 2.2.

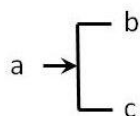


Fig. 2.2. The basic network

Martin (1992) proposes the modeling of syntagmatic relations in discourse as ‘covariate structures’ (Martin 1992:331). Elements in covariate structures are related through series of codependency, whereby each unit depends on the preceding one and predicts the subsequent one in the form of semantic relations. In contrast to the relations at clause level constituted as multivariate structures, covariate structural relations play an important role in intertextuality because they connect elements across stretches of text. The chain structures in discourse semantics relate the global meanings across the text while clause internal syntagmatic relations specify the meaning in a localized context. Hence Lemke (1985) argues that the union between multivariate and covariate structures constitute the ‘thematic tie’ within and across texts, and that ‘relations of covariate and multivariate structuring in a text are crucial to a unified inter/intratextual analysis’ (Lemke 1985:289). This unified approach to grammar and discourse is one that this study endeavors to undertake, to understand ‘identity’ as such an intertextual ‘thematic system’.

Going back to the example above, the pronouns ‘them’, ‘their’ and ‘they’ can be temporally traced back to ‘the British’ as shown in figure 2.3. This perspective allows us as analysts to keep track of changes that occur in the course of the text. At the same time, they reveal the assumptions that readers have to make in order for the text to sound coherent. For instance, we are required by this text to treat the social actor responsible for putting people to the test, asking the questions and making the invitation as the essentially the same as the preceding one, and any refusal on the part of the reader to read the text it in this way results in an unintelligible rambling of non-sequitur pronouncements.

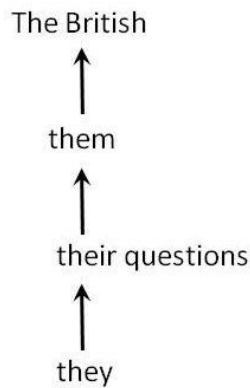


Fig. 2.3. *Semantic relations in the construction of the British*

Generally, the relationships *a* and *b* that holds between the elements *x*, *y* and *z* can therefore be modeled in the form of a semantic chain as follows. This is a dynamic perspective of *valeur*, where the value of each of these linguistic units is determined by the preceding and subsequent ones, as illustrated in figure 2.4.



Fig. 2.4. *The basic discourse structure*

Together, the paradigmatic systems and syntagmatic structures comprise two complementary perspectives on language as a meaning potential. The system perspective foregrounds language as a resource from which the text draws, while the structure perspective foregrounds the temporal nature of language as processes (Martin and White 2005:17). The systems provide a synoptic perspective on the consistencies in discourse, associated with the establishment of qualitative identity mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, while the structures provide a dynamic perspective on the continuities in discourse, and is associated with numerical identity.

These two aspects of language are crucial to the coherence of the text: the systems allow the reader to establish the meaningful choices made in the text, while the structures

allow the reader to establish the temporal contingency along which these choices can be read. It has been argued in 2.2.1 that the notion of an ‘identity’ has to be established as a relevant one to the text rather than something imposed haphazardly on the data, and if the systems and structures associated with the notion of a specific identity affect the coherence and intelligibility of a text then, the ‘identity’ in question can be clearly established as a meaningful feature of the text.

One of the conditions in which the concept of *valeur* can be successfully applied is when the options modeled are proportional in the sense that they are similar things for the purpose of comparison (see 2.1). It has also been suggested in 2.2.2 that different strands of meaning contribute to the construction of identity. If identity constructions are to be modeled as meaningful contrasts, each of these strands of meaning have to be accounted for. The multifunctional approach to language in SFL recognizes three different strands of meaning in language known as metafunctions, and it also provides a suitable framework for our analysis in this respect.

These three kinds of meanings are structured differently, but they map simultaneously across the same stretch of text (Martin 1992, 1996). Drawing on Pike’s (1982) work on particle wave and field, Halliday (1978, 1979) proposes the conception of the structural realization of the three metafunctions as particulate, prosodic and periodic structures, shown in figure 2.5.



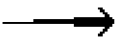

Type of structure		Type of meaning
particulate		ideational meaning
- orbital [mono-nuclear]		- experiential
- serial [multi-nuclear]		- logical
prosodic		interpersonal meaning
periodic		textual meaning

Fig. 2.5. Metafunctions and structures (cited from Martin and White 2005)

Ideational meanings construe experience and are realized as particulate structures. Interpersonal meanings enact social relations and are realized as prosodic structures. Textual meanings organize information flow in texts and are realized as periodic structures.

Martin (1992) extends this conception to the modeling of discourse structures, and the following sections will investigate how the construction of identity observed by critics of *Nihonjinron* corresponds to the three metafunctions at the level of discourse semantics, and explore the potential of using the SFL modeling of meaning making resources as a framework for explaining identity construction.

2.3.1 Construing identities ideationally

National identity entails the division of people along the boundaries of national categories. The establishment of these categories is therefore understandably one of the primary concerns of discourses of national identity. This is observed in *Nihonjinron*, where the notion of race is regarded as a distinctive, immutable and natural category (Yoshino 1992:18). Yoshino (1992) argues that since it is impossible to determine racial categories on any scientific basis, racial classification is first and foremost a social construction of difference. How then is this classification produced in language?

In an argument that echoes that of Sacks with respect to categorizations (see 2.2), Halliday observes that ‘there are no natural classes; or (what amounts to the same thing) there are indefinitely many of them: that is, indefinitely many ways in which the phenomena of our experience can be seen to be related to one another (Halliday 1998:187). He points out that language construes our experience of these relations by imposing categories, treating certain clusters of phenomena as similar in certain respects, and to set it apart from others that it treats as different, to produce a theory of experience. In other words, language does not merely refer to preexistent entities in the representation of people, but carves the social world into meaningful parts. This is done through the ideational metafunction, whereby the writer ‘embodies in language his experience of the phenomena of the real world’ (Halliday 1973:106). At the level of discourse, the system of ideation (Martin 1992:271) deals with the kinds of activities undertaken, and the way participants in these activities are described and classified.

Categories of people, such as national and racial categories are primarily construed through taxonomies. Dale (1986) for instance points out that the uniqueness of Japanese identity in *Nihonjinron* is affirmed by stipulating a systematic taxonomy of an Other (Dale 1986:39). This involves the production of a system of oppositions not unlike that of *valeur* discussed in 2.3. As with linguistic value, the significance of these categories does not lie so much in their ‘content’ or external referent, but in the systematic differences against other categories. The category of ‘Japanese’ in *Nihonjinron* is usually established in this way vis-à-vis the category of ‘Western’ as its Other, and as Dale (1986) points out, these images of the West do not necessarily correspond with reality, as they are the projections from the discourse to establish a sense of difference through which Japanese identity can be defined (Dale 1986:39).

The way in which these categories are set up is useful for understanding the context of their use because as Wignell *et al.* (1993) argue, ‘different fields will name, reorder or reclassify similar things differently according to what is “emic” (meaningful or relevant) to the field’ (Wignell *et al.* 1993:139), and an examination of the taxonomy produced in *Nihonjinron* will therefore yield insights into the world order constructed for its consumers. This may be demonstrated through an analysis of the following passage.

最近、欧米の歴史学者の間で江戸時代を見直す動きが高まっております。彼らの興味は、江戸の高い文化水準やエコロジーだけではありません。ヨーロッパの貴族が支配者として権力、教養、富の三つをほぼ独占して尊敬されていたのに比べ、同じく庶民から尊敬された江戸の武士は、権力と教養はほぼ独占したものの、まるっきり金がなかったということに一様に驚いているのです。
武士は武士道精神という美德を最も忠実に実践しているという一点で、人々に尊敬されたのです。金銭よりも道徳を上に見るといふ日本人の精神性の高さの現れです。
(Fujiwara 2005:89-90)

Western historians have recently embarked on a reevaluation of the Edo period. They are no longer exclusively interested in the high levels it achieved in culture and ecology; what they now find extraordinary is the contrast between the Japanese samurai and the dominant aristocratic class in Europe. The European aristocracy achieved respect through an almost complete monopoly on power, education, and wealth. The Japanese samurai class, despite having a monopoly in power and education, were penniless – yet they were respected by the commoners of the Edo period.

The samurai were respected by the common people because they were scrupulous in putting the virtues of the samurai spirit into practice. Their way of life expresses the elevated spirituality of the Japanese, who regard morality as more important than money. (Murray trans. 2007:165-7)

To begin with, we can observe three major chains of participants in the text, namely the ‘historians’ (歴史学者) who are the source of information, and the ‘aristocrats’ who are contrasted against the ‘samurai’ (武士). Against this, there is also in the background a lexical string consisting of the Classifier ‘Western’ (欧米の) and its hyponym ‘European’ (ヨーロッパの). Its counterpart, although left implicit in the Japanese text, shows up in the translation as ‘Japanese’. This is because it is assumed that to the Japanese reader, ‘samurai’ (武士) is inherently classified as ‘Japanese’. It may also be argued that the classification ‘Japanese’ is evoked reflexively through the explicit contrast to ‘European’. Following the conventions of Martin (1992), the experiential relations of ideation between these elements can be represented as shown in figures 2.6 and 2.7.

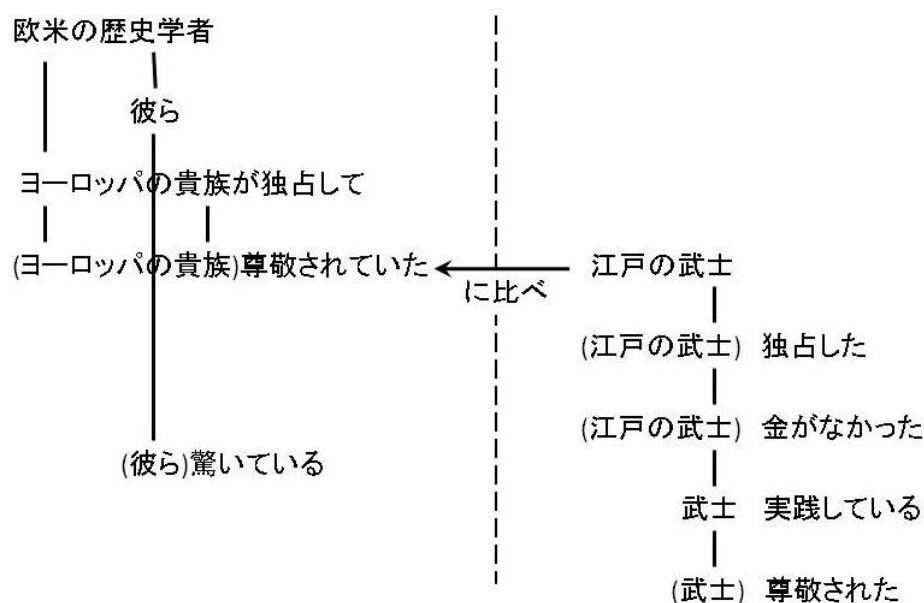


Fig. 2.6. Ideational structures in Fujiwara (2005:89-90)

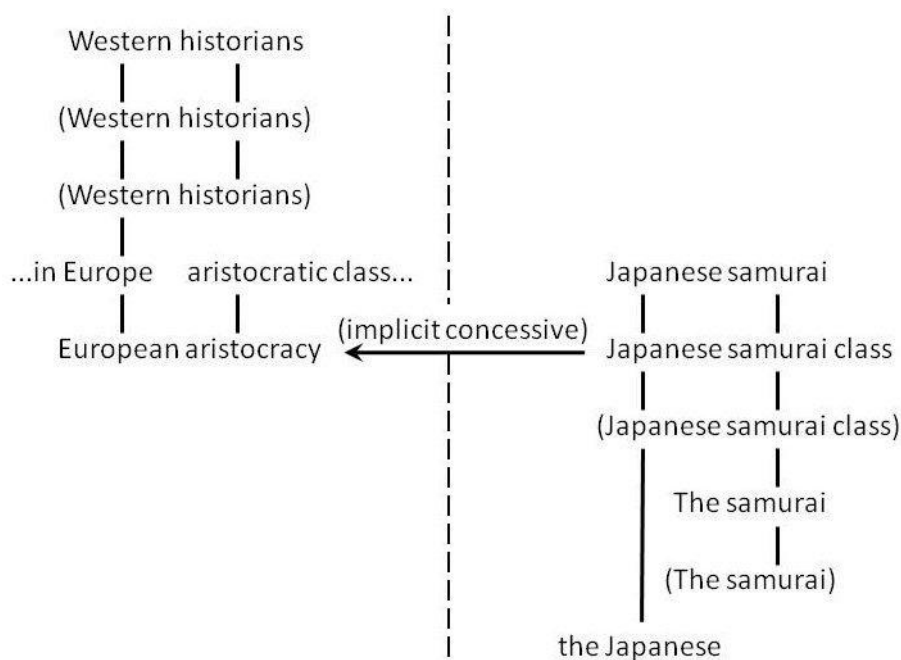


Fig. 2.7. Ideational structures in Murray (trans. 2007:165-7)

The use of pronominal reference, substitution and ellipsis are analyzed in terms of identification (see 2.3.3) in this model, and ideation is concerned with the construal of participants in the text. They are therefore filled in through ‘lexical rendering’ (Martin 1992:329). Experiential resources construe a model of human experience; they segment the continuous spectrum of the universe into recognizable entities, and in so doing, they determine the way entities are perceived and classified. In the universe of this extract, the historians and aristocracy on the one hand, and the samurai on the other, are classified through the lexical strings of ‘Western’ and ‘Japanese’ respectively. The two sets of participants are then differentiated from each other by the use of the contrastive conjunction ‘に比べ’. This is handled in the English version by an implicit conjunction, signaled by the preceding clause ‘what they now find extraordinary is the contrast.’ The discourse thereby produces the differential relationships between the various social actors presented in this text as shown in figure 2.8.

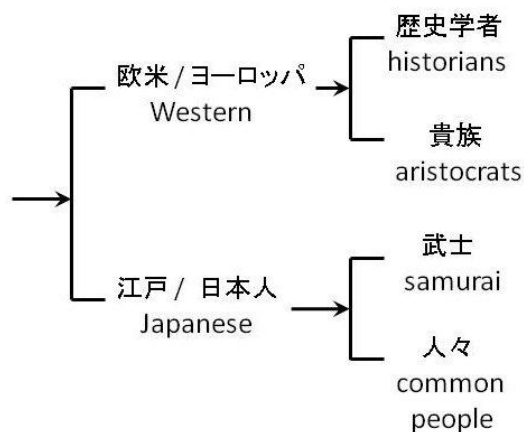


Fig. 2.8. Taxonomy of identities in Fujiwara (2005:89-90)

This analysis exposes the fact that the taxonomy of identities produced by the text is not based on any systematic principle as it is contingent on the demands of the discourse. It is nonetheless revealing of the dichotomous division in this text of the world into two main ‘kinds’ of people whose actions are interpreted through the positions they occupy in the scheme of things. As Halliday & Matthiessen (1999) explain, there are indefinitely many ways of construing analogies in the total flux of experience, and the categories constructed in the language of a community resonate with that which carries material and symbolic value for members of a particular community (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 68). In order to understand why *Nihonjinron* carves the social world up in this particular way, it is necessary to investigate the interpersonal metafunction, as we shall do in the following section.

2.3.2 Enacting identities interpersonally

In his study of why readers consume *Nihonjinron*, Yoshino (1992) reports that ‘they did not respond to the *nihonjinron* in order to be taught about their own society uni-directionally by the elite, but rather to *endorse* what they had already known and felt’ (Yoshino 1992:103, my italics). In that sense, *Nihonjinron* does not serve so much to convey new information as it does to provide vindication of feelings. The discourse is built on a structure of interpersonal positions to construct ‘a cosmos unshared by others and serves as a basis for Japanese ethnocentrism’ (Befu 1992:128). It is to this structure of feelings and positions that we shall now turn.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) also point out that alongside segmenting experiences of the world into sequences and entities, language also simultaneously enacts personal and social relationships with other participants (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29). Users of language enacts their relationships through ‘the expression of his comments, his attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship he sets up between himself and the listener – in particular, the communication role he adopts, of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading and the like’ (Halliday 1973:106). This aspect of language is associated with the interpersonal metafunction, described by Halliday (1985) as the ‘intruder function’ because it allows the interlocutor to play a role in the text as social reality.

Built on Halliday’s concept of the interpersonal metafunction, Martin and White (2005) describe three types of appraisal resources in discourse through which authors can ‘present themselves as recognizing, answering, ignoring, challenging, rejecting, fending off, anticipating or accommodating actual or potential interlocutors and the value positions they represent’ (Martin and White 2005: 2), shown in figure 2.9. Firstly, attitudes construct intersubjective positions as feelings and values, and they may be used to express feelings such as love for one’s country, judge human character such as loyalty and patriotism, and appreciate the value of things such as the beauty of one’s homeland or quality of the national character. These attitudes may be expressed either positively or negatively, and they may also be explicitly inscribed or implicitly invoked through descriptions of events and things that serve as tokens for evaluation. Secondly, these attitudes may be intensified and turned up, or suppressed and turned down through options in graduation. Finally, the framework also acknowledges interplay of voices in evaluation, modeling the management of sources in terms of options in engagement.

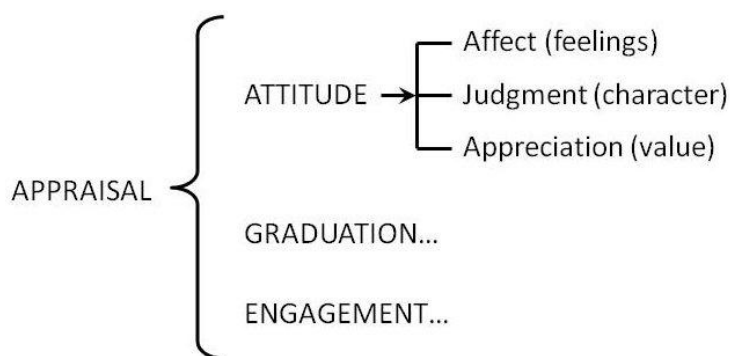


Fig. 2.9. The basic system for appraisal (adapted from Martin and Rose 2003:25)

These comprise the basic appraisal resources that provide language users with the linguistic options for expressing their evaluation of people, things and situations related to identities, and finer distinctions in each set of options will be introduced later in the thesis where necessary. Through these resources, language provides the means by which writers overtly encode their own attitudes, and also indirectly activate interpersonal stances and position readers to supply their own assessments (Martin and White 2005:1), thereby constructing the cosmos of values and feelings in *Nihonjinron*. As Befu (1992) observes, *Nihonjinron* is formulated on the basis of comparison that serves to define Japanese identity, and this comparison is accompanied by judgment that asserts its superiority (Befu 1992:113).

The passage on samurai values introduced in 2.3.1 positions the samurai class as morally exemplary through the inscriptions of positive judgment ‘scrupulous’ and ‘virtues’.

武士は武士道精神という美德 (propriety) を最も忠実に (veracity) 実践しているという一点で、人々に尊敬されたのです。

The samurai were respected by the common people because they were scrupulous (veracity) in putting the virtues (propriety) of the samurai spirit into practice.

By way of contrast, this is seen to be deficient in the Western counterpart.

ヨーロッパの貴族が支配者として権力、教養、富の三つをほぼ独占して尊敬されていたのに比べ...

The European aristocracy achieved respect through an almost complete monopoly on power, education, and wealth.

The interpersonal meaning in this text in the form of appraisal is therefore mapped onto the ideational meaning in terms of taxonomy, as shown in figure 2.10.

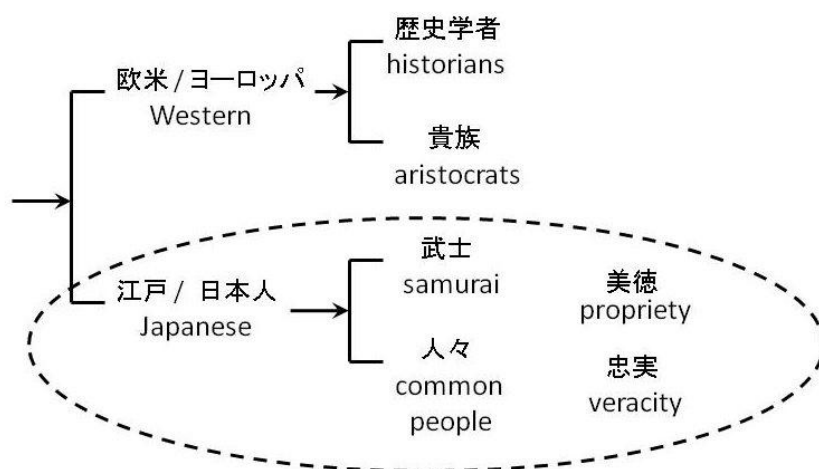


Fig. 2.10. *Interpersonal meaning in Fujiwara (2005:89-90)/ Murray (2007:165-7)*

The text thus offers two positions for the readers: we can choose to identify ourselves with the ‘samurai’ as scrupulous and virtuous Japanese, or with the morally bankrupt ‘Westerners’. There is no available third alternative in such a universe.

As we have observed in this analysis, meanings of this type are suprasegmental in nature. The inscriptions of judgment go beyond their immediate environment, and color other parts of the text. Their effects on the text constitute ‘motifs strung throughout a message or phase’ (Macken-Horarik 2003:313), a ‘continuous coloring’ and a ‘cumulative effect’ (Halliday 1979:66-7), and Martin and White (2005) suggest three different ways to model such a structure, as saturating, intensifying and dominating prosodies.

Saturating prosodies are realized opportunistically through a stretch of text, as illustrated in figure 2.11. Positive judgment is used to evaluate the samurai in the passage wherever it is possible to do so (scrupulous execution, virtuous values, well respected), to establish their position as morally superior to the Western aristocrats.

武士は武士道精神という美德を最も忠実に実践しているという一点で、人々に尊敬されたのです。

The samurai were respected by the common people because they were scrupulous in putting the virtues of the samurai spirit into practice.

Saturating prosody

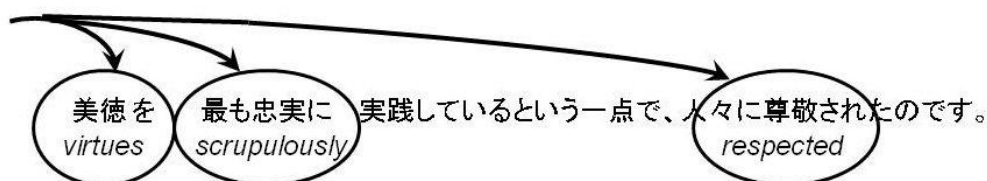


Fig. 2.11. Saturating prosody

A different form of structure can be observed in the following abstract describing the Japanese spirit. In this case the positive evaluation is built up by repetition, thus amplifying the force of the evaluation. This is a strategy for making a bigger splash that reverberates through the stretch of text in the form of an intensifying prosody, as illustrated in figure 2.12.

清き明き正しき直き心 (Ministry 1937:2/3)

A genuine heart that is pure, cloudless and righteous. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:131)

Intensifying prosody



Figure 2.12. Intensifying prosody

This can also be achieved by a single instance of evaluation presented in the superlative such as the following.

これ、我が**万古不易**の国体である。(Ministry 1937:1/1)

This is our **eternal and immutable** national entity. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:59)

Dominating prosody occurs when the evaluation is realized in a textually prominent position, and the evaluation in a domain dominates over another, and this may progress in either direction in the text, as illustrated in figure 2.13. In the following example, the emotion ‘country I love’ in the initial position is presented as the hyperTheme of the text, and we are required to understand the text as predicated on this evaluation.

Similarly, the expression ‘what a shame’ concludes the text as its hyperNew, providing an emotionally charged interpretation for the text.

もしも私の愛する日本が世界を征服していたら、今ごろ世界中の子供たちが泣きながら日本語を勉強していたはずです。まことに残念です。(Fujiwara 2005:13)

If Japan, the country I love, had conquered the world, then children everywhere would now be moaning about having to learn Japanese. What a shame it isn't so! (Murray trans. 2007:19)

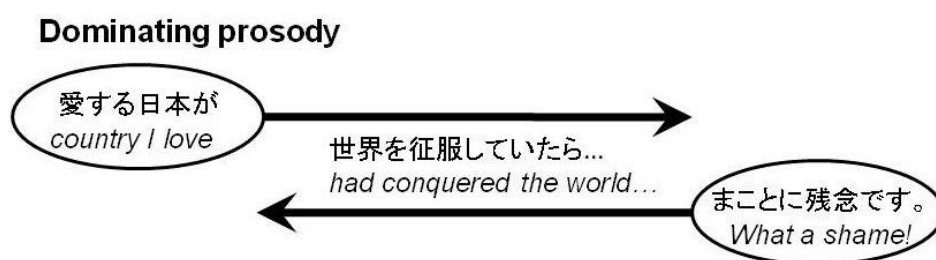


Fig. 2.13. Dominating prosody

These three examples show the different structuring principles of the linguistic resources that allow the author to present their positions with respect to the things that they value as part of their Japanese identity (samurai virtues, loyalty, love for country, etc.). These positions are associated with identity categories (Japan, Japanese, samurai, etc.), and the taxonomy of categories is consequently overlaid with a moral framework within which they are positioned.

2.3.3 Organizing identities textually

These two simultaneous strands of meaning are complemented by a third, known as the textual metafunction. The textual metafunction is an innovation in SFL to acknowledge the role of language in organizing meaning as text. It is ‘a function internal to language’ through which ‘language makes links with itself and with the situation; and discourse becomes possible, because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one’ (Halliday 1973:107). Identities that are construed and positioned in discourse nonetheless have to be introduced into the text and organized as semiotic reality.

This is done through the identification system (Martin 1992:93) that keeps track of participants so that the discourse makes sense to the reader. Structurally, the text does this through identity chains built from the cohesive ties provided by the link between presupposing and presupposed information. In order to understand the identity of each element in the unfolding of the text, it is necessary to presume the preceding information as indicated by the arrows as shown in the figure 2.14. Cataphoric references within the nominal group, or esphora, are indicated by dotted lines, and elided elements in the identity chain are retrieved from the Processes associated with them.

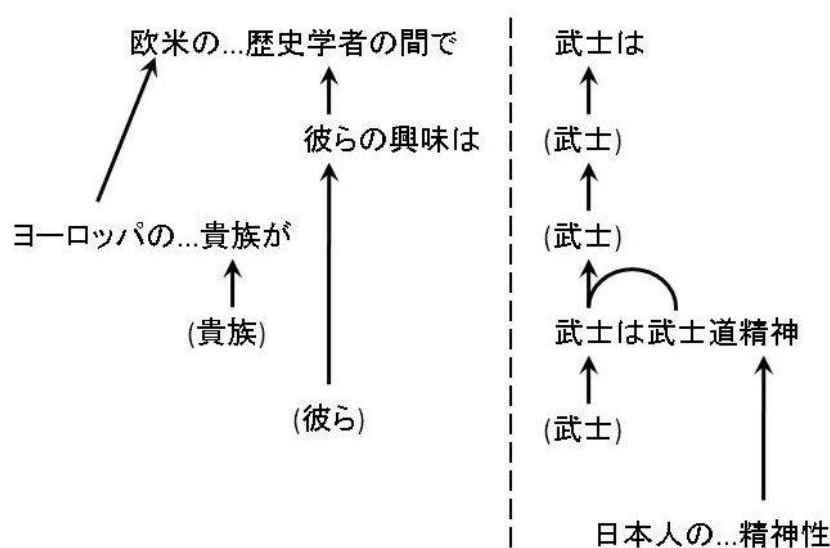


Fig. 2.14. Textual structures in Fujiwara (2005:89-90)

These semantic relations as shown in figure 2.14 are necessary for the text to be coherent. For instance, to understand who is the actor of the Process ‘独占した’ or the Possessor in ‘金がなかった’, it is necessary to presume the elided element ‘武士’ as shown in the column on the right. In the case of the English translation analyzed in figure 2.15, the identity of the pronoun ‘they’ on the right-hand side, it is necessary to recover the element ‘samurai’. Furthermore, the two sets of reference chains are contrasted against each other by the concessive conjunctions that act as a form of relevance phoricity.

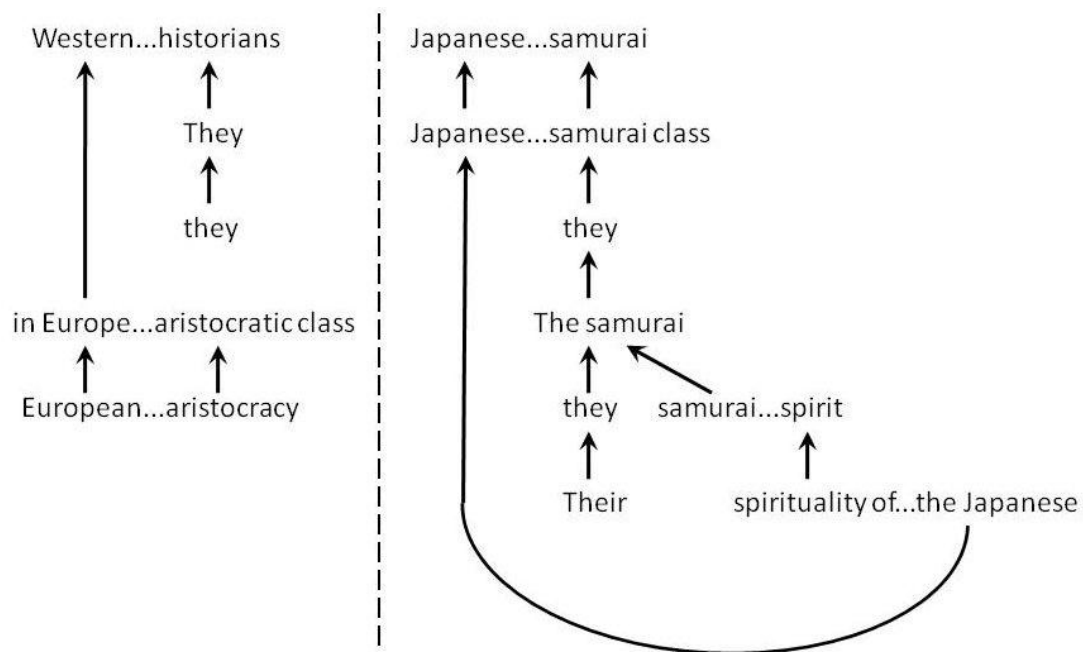


Fig. 2.15. Textual structures in Murray (trans. 2007:165-7)

This effectively produces reference chains that on the one hand allow us to track the participants in the text, they also require us to identify those elements as being linked, and those very assumptions form a requisite for understanding the text. These identity chains can be conceptualized as a periodic structure, with identities foregrounded by presenting reference and backgrounded by presuming reference. This organization of identities involves the selective backgrounding of identities that naturalize the presumption of their continuity over the course of stretch of text.

2.3.4 Co-articulating Identities

The preceding sections have demonstrated that the three simultaneous strands of meaning can be productively pursued in terms of identity. It is important to note that they are complementary perspectives on language, and are therefore simultaneously present in any stretch of text. Moreover, studies in MCA also suggest that each of these meanings do not work by themselves. Jayyusi (1984) argues that:

moral matters – standards, criteria, judgments, implications, etc. – are bound up with various other practical matters – categorizations, descriptions, inferences, etc. It is not the case that this relationship is between something called a description or a fact on the one hand and a moral notion, or a value, on the other. Rather, as we have seen,

description (and ‘fact’) rests for its character and specifics on moral and other normative standards; for members it is routinely and unproblematically constituted that way. Action ascriptions, action projections, inferences, competences, expectations, judgments, descriptions of ‘what happened’, etc. are organized through and through in a moral way, and with respect to moral or other normative standards. (Jayyusi 1984:181)

The identity constructs observed by Nihonjinron critics have been shown to be associated with meanings that are construed ideationally (2.3.1) and enacted interpersonally (2.3.2), and since these two strands of meaning are presented in unfolding text, they are organized textually (2.3.3). It has also been shown that these three strands of meanings are simultaneously realized as observable structures in the text. Furthermore, it can be established that the structures realizing these three strands of meaning are crucial to the coherence of the text. This suggests that the notion of identity is consequential to a text such as this insofar that it comprises observable structural consequences in its language use (see 2.2.1 on consequentiality). What remains to be determined then is how the metafunctions work in tandem in identity construction, and it is the aim of this thesis to model the coupling between these three types of structures that correspond to the identity constructs observed in Nihonjinron.

Martin and Rose (2003) use the term ‘co-articulation’ to refer to ‘systems working together to produce a particular effect’ (Martin and Rose 2003: 214). Identity, defined as an effect of language in our model, is therefore a co-articulation between the three metafunctions. The metafunctions have different structuring principles, and Martin (1992) illustrates the co-articulation of the three different types of structures in discourse with a diagram from Pike (1982), shown here in figure 2.16.

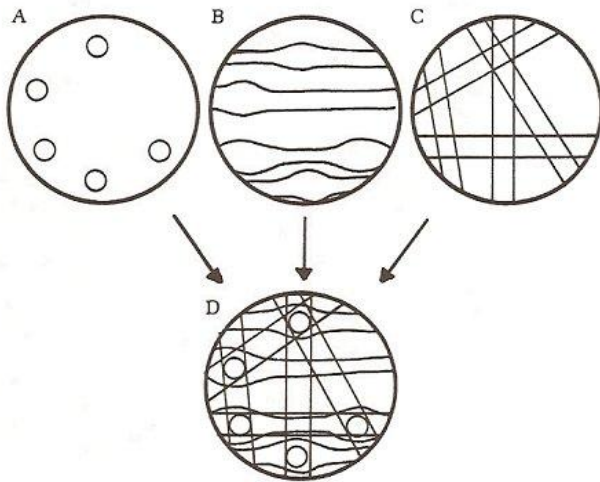


Fig. 2.16. Co-articulation of identity (adapted from Martin 1992: 548)

Using his analogy, we may think of identities as being categorized and segmented into particulate forms as in A (e.g. semantic strings), positioned in relation to the interlocutors and one another as in B (e.g. splashes of evaluation) and organized as meaningfully linked concepts as in C (e.g. reference chains). The co-articulation between the different systems allows categories to project moral obligations and positions to bundle as collections of attributes around categories. The interactions between these two aspects are managed through the constant foregrounding and backgrounding of information. Identities, from this perspective, are an emergent feature of a text resulting from the coupling of meaning across systems. What distinguishes the central role of such identity constructs in *Nihonjinron* however, is the systematic way in which the different metafunctions interact in the text to make a specific point in its argument, as can be seen in the following abstract.

欧米のトップ・エリートには教養人が多い。日本のトップ・エリートは正直言って見劣りします。彼らは、そういうことをいきなり訊いてくるのです。イギリスの歴史やシェイクスピアについては決して訊いてこない。日本の文学や歴史についての、非常に具体的な質問をぶつけてくる。だから、日本人として、会話がはずまない。日本のある商社マンからこんな話を聞きました。ロンドン駐在の商社マンが、あるお得意さんの家に夕食に呼ばれた。そこでいきなり、こう訊かれたそうです。「縄文式土器と弥生土器はどう違うんだ」唾然としていると、「元寇というのは二度あった。最初のと後のとでは、何がどう違ったんだ？」そう訊かれたそうです。その人が言うには、イギリス人には人を試すという陰険なところがあって、こういう質問

に答えられないと、もう次から呼んでくれないそうです。「この人は文化の分からないつまらない人だ」となる。すると商談も進まなくなってしまうらしい。(Fujiwara 2005:41)

The top-flight elite in the West consists mostly of cultivated people. Their Japanese counterparts are, to be blunt, lacking by comparison. Western elite suddenly come out with questions like the one just mentioned. They will never ask you about English history or Shakespeare. Instead they come at you with extremely detailed questions on Japanese culture and history. The conversation will never really take off if you have not acquired the knowledge appropriate to a Japanese.

I heard a similar story from a Japanese man who worked for one of the big trading companies. Another trading-company man posted in London was invited out to dinner at the house of an important client. There, out of the blue, he was asked: “What is the stylistic difference between Jōmon and Yayoi pottery?” The man was dumbstruck. “There were two Mongolian invasions. What was the difference between the first and the second?” These were the questions that were put to him. The British, he explained, have a sneaky side to them that likes putting people to the test. If you prove unable to answer their questions, then they won’t ask you around again. “That fellow is an uncultured bore,” they conclude. And, from then on, business is likely to bog down, too. (Murray trans. 2007:69-71)

This is a typical example of the kind of arguments used in popular discourses to advise language students and business exchanges through hearsays and stereotypes as mentioned in 1.1.2. The discourse here is framed as a cautionary tale, warning Japanese businessmen and those aspiring to be in the workforce to focus their time on acquiring ‘indigenous’ knowledge rather than learning about ‘foreign’ history and literature.

The text begins by setting up a taxonomy of ‘identity types’, relating ‘Western elites’ and ‘Japanese elites’ as co-hyponyms of the superordinate ‘elites’. This serves to carve the social world types of people, differentiated by the use of the categories ‘Western’ and ‘Japanese’. The text then develops ‘Western elites’ as an identity chain, shown in figure 2.17, whereby the category is engaged in a series of processes.

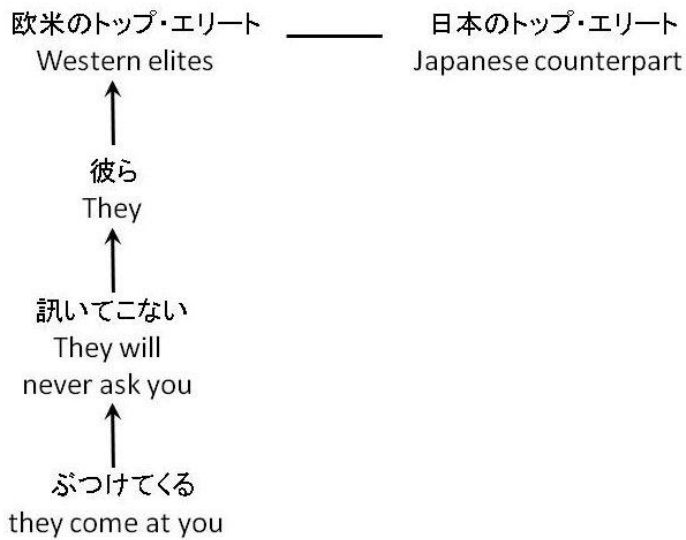


Fig. 2.17. Identity chain of Western elites

The distinction produced by the taxonomy provides two distinct targets for differential appraisal, and ‘Western elites’ are evaluated ‘cultivated’ (教養人), while ‘Japanese elites’ are ‘lacking in comparison’ (見劣りします).

The second part of the text then introduces another identity chain involving ‘a Japanese man’ and ‘another Japanese man’, as shown in figure 2.18. This chain is ideationally related to a newly presented participant ‘an important client’ that is subsequently backgrounded in the text and maintained in discourse through ideation as implicit actor of the processes ‘ask’ and ‘put to him’.

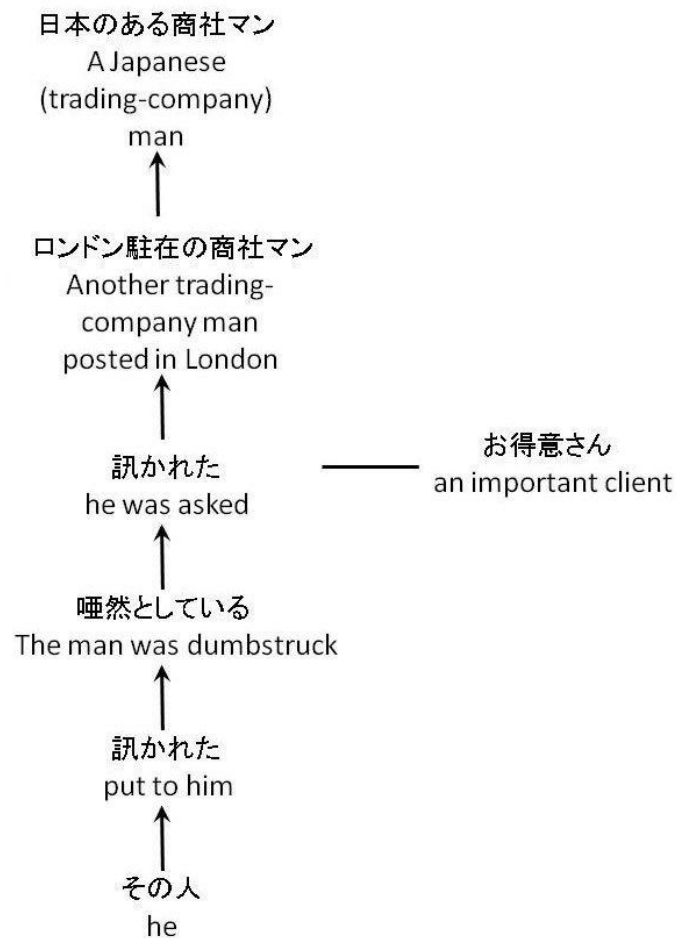


Fig. 2.18. Identity chain of Japanese trading-company man

Finally the text brings in ‘the British’ that it presumes homophorically, before it is established as another identity chain, as shown in figure 2.19.

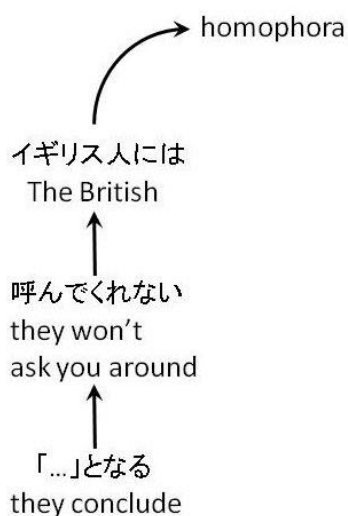


Fig. 2.19. Identity chain of the British

This phase provides an interpretation to the hearsay account, where the hypothetical and generic person who fails to answer questions posed by ‘the British’ are evaluated as ‘uncultured bore’ (文化の分からないつまらない人). ‘the British’ are not spared from evaluation either, and in a twist, the British are evaluated as ‘sneaky’ (陰険な).

Crucially, all three strands of meaning have to be taken into account to understand the whole point of this text. Ideationally, we have to understand that there are two distinct categories of people, ‘Japanese’ and ‘Western’. Textually, we have to understand that they are responsible for a number of different processes in the course of the text. Interpersonally, we are warned that those who are ignorant of ‘knowledge appropriate to a Japanese’ are perceived as ‘bores’ who are incapable of doing business. A failure to establish the categories, trace the processes or share the values results in the text not fulfilling its social function, i.e. to issue its warning and regulate social behavior.

Beyond this primary analysis, there still seems to be some crucial assumptions we make as readers, without which the text consists of nothing more than three somewhat separate identity chains and a number of unrelated actors. For instance, how is the story of the ‘important client’ relevant to ‘the British’, or how is any of it relevant to the prior discussion on ‘Western elites for that matter’? There must be a social mechanism that obliges us to make a link between ‘client’, ‘British’ and ‘Western’, and a linguistic mechanism that demands us to read it that way. This thesis proposes that this social and linguistic motivation is a notion of ‘identity’.

Part of this is accomplished by the way the elements in different identity chains share ideational meanings in the form of similar processes such as the asking of questions. Part of this is accomplished by the hitherto unexplained inclusion of a handful of seemingly tangential information scattered about the text, including locations such as ‘in London’ and things such as ‘Shakespeare’ and ‘Jōmon pottery’. These are specific grammatical and lexical choices, and far from the superficial purpose of simply providing details to the story, this thesis argues that these details are an important part of the construction of identity.

This section has shown that ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings contribute simultaneously and collaboratively to the construction of identity. However, different elements and semantic strings located in different parts of a developing text have to be brought together into a coherent whole. The following sections will attempt to determine if these seemingly separate and tangential developments observed in identity construction are related in a systematic way, and if so, how we may theorize and model their synthesis with respect to their reformulative nature.

2.4 Differing and deferring identities

The preceding sections have demonstrated that the discourse of identity texts is amenable to detailed linguistic analysis. However, it is argued in 2.3.4 that these partial analyses, while providing a microscopic view of different aspects of the discourse, do not account satisfactorily for identity construction, and furthermore have little to offer in terms of how they work together to produce the effects central to the discussions in the critiques of *Nihonjinron* (see 1.1.2), and more generally, in sociology (e.g. Maton 2008) and identity theory (e.g. Hall 1996; Bhabha 1994; Derrida 1974; Althusser 1971). This thesis attempts to fill the gap by proposing a model of the way these strands of meaning combine in the discourse to produce our commonsense understanding of communities.

One way to approach the task is by reviewing the insights of these theorists, and exploring how their observations come to bear on the texts. Assuming that these discourses are produced and sustained primarily through language use since they are instantiated in published texts, we shall attempt in this section to build on the existing analytical tools of MCA (see 2.2) SFL (see 2.3) to establish new ones that are informed by these observations.

2.4.1 Anxieties and stereotypes

It is a striking characteristic of identity discourses to obsessively differentiate identities oppositionally to an alterity, and national identity discourses locates this division along national boundaries. However, just as there are only differences in language, there are only differences in the identities produced through language. The distinctions that ground this division have to be established in discourse, and are hence articulated against the situational demands of the developing text. As a result, immutable distinctions cannot be secured, and their borders must be constantly and anxiously patrolled. This anxious reproduction of identity motivates the production of text that demands in turn further clarifications and dis/avowals of an identity that cannot be fixed.

We may observe this dynamic at work in the discourse of Fujiwara (2005), where he attempts to define the Japanese identity in terms of its difference from ‘the West’ that is characterized by an obsession with ‘logic’.

In contrast to Japan, where unspoken understanding, instinctively sensing what other people are thinking, personality projection, respect for one’s seniors, and a sense of duty and mutual obligation count for so much, I found American society – where everything is decided by logic – wonderfully refreshing. (Murray trans. 2007:7)

The author then went to live in the UK for a year, where he discovered that ‘logic’ was not a dominant aspect of the practices there, and had an epiphany that what he calls the ‘emotions’ and ‘forms’ inherent in the Japanese national character were more important than ‘logic’ that is ultimately responsible for all the social ills in the world. He then laments the Japanese were enslaved by the ‘logic’ of ‘the West’ as a result of the ‘Americanization’ of Japan through the postwar education system, and calls for a return to indigenous values, so the story goes. This conclusion seems fairly coherent and straightforward.

However, if we take a closer look at the process through which he arrives at this conclusion, we note that he was inspired to question ‘logic’ in the first place because of his visit to the UK, where he observed that:

The British may be Anglo-Saxons like the Americans, but their national character is entirely different. (Murray trans. 2007:9)

At which point we may wonder if ‘the British’ do not count as ‘the West’, but we recall being told in another account explored in 2.3.4 about the ‘sneaky’ British client in London who demonstrates the typical behavior of ‘elites in the West’. It seems somewhat contradictory that America is a champion of a ‘Western’ value that is not practiced by those in the ‘West’. Alternatively, we may conclude that ‘logic’ is not a very effective criterion for establishing what qualifies as ‘the West’ in his account. Moreover, the list of Japanese values – we were told are opposed to the ‘logic’ in America – is not truly exclusive to the Japanese either.

I even witnessed Japanese-style unspoken communication and personality projection at work. (Murray trans. 2007:9)

This was brought up of course to remind the reader that the supposedly ‘American logic’ is not universally applicable, and that on the contrary, Japanese practices can be just as valid. Therein lays the conundrum: logic is a Western value because it is practiced in the West and Japanese values are Japanese because they are practiced in Japan; Western values are not superior to Japanese values, because people in the West do not practice Western values but Japanese values. Each of the two propositions is coherent within its individual context, but the argument in its entirety depends on both, and the contradiction between them is glossed over by the shift in context as the text unfolds.

It was the industrial revolution that enabled the West to dominate the world... Thus it was that the world came to be lorded over first by Europe, and then by the United States, which inherited Europe’s mantle in the twentieth century. (Murray trans. 2007:17)

The conception of identities is fragmented because as Dale (1986) reminds us, ‘the features of contrast function as polemical units in a schizoid dialogue’ (Dale 1986:40). Thus the definitions of who the ‘West’ is, the Westernness of ‘logic’ and even the Japaneseness of ‘Japanese-style communication’ are indeterminate to the extent that they have to be established each time within the immediate context in which the concept is applied. At times, ‘logic’ and its Westernness may even be extended to the whole world, where the ‘Western’ functions as the binary opposite of the ‘Japanese’.

As a nation, it behooves us to stand proudly apart precisely because we find ourselves in an uncivilized world dominated by the West. (Murray trans. 2007:13)

Fujiwara also asserts that his criticism of 'logic' is something that 'Western people find very hard to understand' (Murray trans. 2007:93), stressing the relationship between membership and thought. The distinction between the Japanese and the Western is based on a presumption of equivalence between place, people, practice and thought, despite the irony that he himself formulated his comparisons through participating in both sides of the difference. His 'mania for American ways' described earlier persisted for several years, during which time he did things the American way after his return from the United States, and it was later that he decided to switch to the Japanese way.

After I came back to Japan from England, logic had become much less important to me, while, conversely, emotions and forms of behavior had become much more important. (Murray trans. 2007:9)

The author thus slips freely between the boundaries of both societies with the privilege of a panoptic view over both Self and Other that allows him to transcend the very distinction between Japanese and Western that his discourse set out to establish and maintain. This is because that which is foreign is not simply exterior to his articulation of Japanese-ness but is always part of it, such that the foreign is entirely knowable and visible.

Just as the equivalence between Western values and Western identity is not fixed, that which is between Japanese values and identity similarly cannot be secured. His rant was provoked by what he perceived as the process of 'Americanization' of Japan after the war, where:

They simply forgot the country's traditional emotions and forms of behavior – the very things that should make us proud to be Japanese. Instead we have made ourselves slaves to the logic and reason of the West, as symbolized by the free market economy. (Murray trans. 2007:11)

The distinction between Japanese and American society that he began the argument with is therefore based on a distinction in the practice of 'logic' and Japanese values

that has already been ‘forgotten’ and lost to Japan. Hence Dale (1986) points out that ‘just as the “West” is a contrived fiction indispensable for the reflected appreciation of Japanese diversity, so “Japan” too partakes of the same imaginary quality’ as ‘the idealized past and the scathed present are posed in adversarial contrast under the aliases of “Japan” and the “West”,’ locked in a game of ‘oedipal shadow-boxing’ (Dale 1986:39-40). Japanese and Western identity alike, must be articulated against that which it excludes, its constitutive Other, at each juncture as the text unfolds.

This relation of contrasts in unfolding text is important for understanding its development because, as Saussure points out, ‘the value of a sign may change without affecting either meaning or sound, simply because some neighboring sign has undergone a change’ (Saussure 1986:118). In other words, we cannot simply assume that what is supposedly ‘Western’ or ‘Japanese’ remains consistent throughout the entire text because the significance of a sign such as ‘Japanese’ or ‘Western’ – along with their predicates – can change by virtue of their relation to their counterpart, even if their graphological realizations as the labels ‘Japanese’ or ‘Western’ do not. Identity is therefore constructed dynamically as a series of change in relationship, and a model of identity has to account for this change.

This ‘game of shadow-boxing’ that articulates Japanese land, people and values relationally to foreign land, people and values is what motivates the subsequent production of text, as Bhabha (1994) explains:

The anxious desire to ground social structure in the certitude of national identity in turn implicates it in another form of play, one that attempts to ground identity itself in a handful of concepts, thus reducing it to those concepts that are therefore ‘at stake’ in such discourses. However, due to the constant play of meanings in unfolding text, the certitude of these concepts is not guaranteed in its communication, and these reductive and ‘immobilized’ concepts that function as ‘stereotypes’ ‘a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always ‘in place’, already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated (Bhabha 1994:66).

The anxious repetition of stereotypical concepts in language results in the syntagmatic and paradigmatic ‘recurrent co-selection of features’ in the text that Zappavigna, Dwyer and Martin (2008) call ‘syndromes of meaning’ (Zappavigna, Dwyer and Martin 2008). Each one of these syndromes functions as the means for interpreting identity, and hence

a center for the discourse at a given point in time. The attempt to pursue the essence of identity, to fix identity around a reassuring certitude hence results in a series of substitutions of center for center, founded on a system of differences, Derrida (1974) similarly argues, are ‘not more in time than in space’, and these differences ‘appear among the elements or rather produce them, make them emerge as such and constitute the texts, the chains, and the systems of traces. These chains and systems cannot be outlined except in the fabric of this trace or imprint’ (Derrida 1974:65). Identities are simultaneously established by differing from one another paradigmatically in space as systems and by being constantly deferred syntagmatically in time as structures, in the fabric of their combinations in the text.

In other words, this relationship is a reformulative one, and each element has to be interpreted in the light of another as a process of unfolding text. In this way, identity ascription is ‘part of the dynamically emerging trajectory’ as MCA argues (Antaki 1998:85), and the establishment of identities from a synoptic perspective and their management from a dynamic perspective are therefore interrelated in language use. The elements contrast systematically against others, and they consist of clusters of meanings belonging in different metafunctions at different points in this trajectory that can be likened to Calder’s mobile, where numerous pieces in motion play off against one another in a delicate balance as we have seen in this chapter. We can therefore model the transition of each of these elements as it enters into a new set of contrasts as a change in meaning with respect to all three metafunctions in the SFL framework (see 2.3.4). These transitions are located in the text, and before the study can proceed, it is necessary to review the relationship between the system and the text.

2.4.2 Commitment and instantiation

Saussure (1986) distinguished *langue* (language system) from *parole* (individual acts of speech) to establish *langue* as an object of study. The relationship between *langue* and *parole* is interpreted in SFL as a difference in perspective on the same phenomenon, which Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) liken to the relationship between climate and weather. We refer to climate as the general principles and tendencies that we use to explain the day to day fluctuations experienced as weather. The relationship between the system and instances of language use is similarly theorized as a cline of instantiation, shown in figure 2.20, where the linguistic system provides the means for producing and interpreting individual texts. Importantly, the relationship interpreted in this way is a

dialectic one. It constitutes a continuum, such that changes in weather may accrue over time as climatic variations, and changes in the instances of language use collectively amounts to changes in the system.

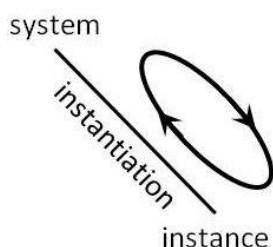


Fig. 2.20. *Instantiation and semogenesis*

Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) introduce different timeframes in which changes in text can be observed. The logogenetic timeframe is associated with the moment-to-moment variations at the ‘weather’ end of language, conceptualized as instantiations of the system in the text. The phylogenetic timeframe that is associated with changes at the ‘climate’ end of language, conceptualized as an evolution of the system. These two timeframes provide two different temporal contexts in which identity as reformulation, or its semogenesis can be understood.

Hood (2008) proposes the concept of ‘commitment’ to understand such changes in meaning in a logogenetic timeframe. Drawing on Martin’s (2006) description of the use of meaning potential further up the instantiation cline in the production of new texts, she theorizes the multiple instances of language use she observes as different selections in the instantiation of related meaning. Importantly, the notion of commitment is introduced by Hood to describe the reformulation of elements in similar texts as they are being rewritten. It therefore serves as a way to analyze the continuity and discontinuity of those elements in their subsequent reproduction. In other words, commitment can be understood as a shift in generalization/specification from one instance to another over time as shown in figure 2.21.

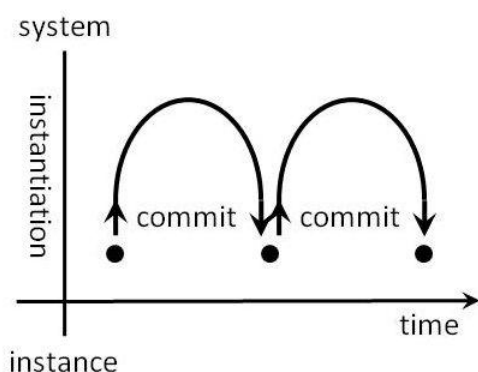


Fig. 2.21. Process of commitment

Using this conceptualization of the relationship across texts, she observes a relative difference in degrees of generalization and specificity between comparable elements that she calls ‘commitment’. Each instance of language use may therefore vary in terms of the way and extent to which they are committed. The relationship between Nitobe and the various ways in which he is construed in the following extract is an example of the reformulation of his identity in different degrees of commitment.

新渡戸稲造 (一八六二～一九三三) は南部藩 (現岩手県) の下級武士の息子として生まれ... 以後、札幌農学校教授、台湾総督府技師、京都帝国大学教授、第一高等学校校長、東京女子大初代学長などを歴任し、農学者・教育者として活躍しました。国際連盟事務局次長も務めた、戦前でも屈指の国際人です。(Fujiwara 2005:122)

Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) was the son of a low-ranking samurai of the Nambu clan in what is now Iwate prefecture.... He was subsequently active as an agricultural specialist and an educator, holding a range of important posts as a professor at Sapporo Agricultural College, a technical advisor to the colonial government in Taiwan, a professor at Kyoto Imperial University, the principal of the first Higher School, and founding president of Tokyo Women’s Christian University. He also worked as an undersecretary at the League of Nations, so was an outstanding international figure in pre-World War II Japan. (Murray trans. 2007:175)

The son of a samurai, the agricultural specialist and the educator are the same person, Nitobe, construed in different ways, as shown in figure 2.22. The relationship of ‘Nitobe’ to the various categories ‘son of a samurai’, ‘advisor’, ‘professor’, ‘undersecretary’, etc. is a generalization of the ‘incumbent/role’ type (Hood 2008:358) where the categories constitute roles taken up by ‘Nitobe’ as the incumbent. While each of these presents his

identity in a different capacity, they are also clearly related as the ‘same’ social actor, and there are two things that can be observed here.

Firstly, there is potentially no limit to the number of times identity (X) can be instantiated in this way, and hence the number of roles (A) that an incumbent can take. Secondly, the selection of roles (A) is dependent on their co-instantiations with other meanings (B), and they therefore enter into the different relationships entailed by these other meanings, e.g. taxonomies, etc. It is the relationship with elements in B that makes elements in A situationally relevant to the discourse (see 2.2.1).

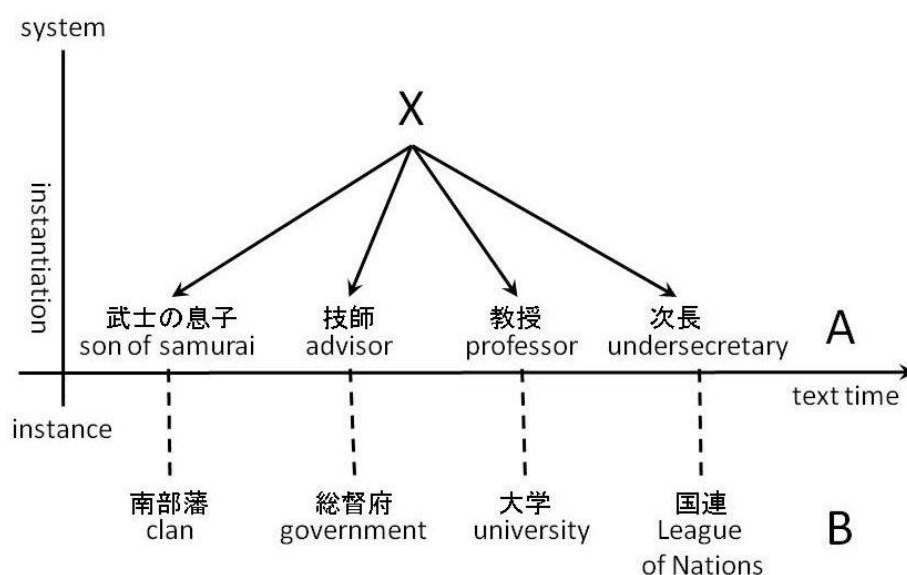


Fig. 2.22. Generalization of Nitobe

We can therefore conclude that these instances of ‘identities’ including both ‘roles’ and ‘incumbents’ are not the mere exchange in nomenclature, but clusters of meaning including other participants, processes and circumstances. Here, we find a productive complementarity between the understanding of language in MCA and SFL. While MCA is interested in the clustering of categories and features as a social preference, SFL provides a framework for the way these elements relate to one another as options. From this perspective, identities as interactants’ resources constitute preferences in selections in the language potential. Following Hood (2008), we can theorize the these ‘roles’ and ‘incumbents’ (A) as being related at a point higher up the instantiation cline (X) where they cluster as a set of preferences, and the instances (A) are ways in which this meaning potential (X) is committed.

Hood (2008) observes changes in meaning in terms of both ideational and interpersonal meaning, and the generalization of incumbents in terms of their roles discussed above presents only part of the picture however, as it is an example of commitment in terms of ideational meaning. In terms of interpersonal meaning, she suggests that inscribed attitudes are more committed than invoked attitudes, and argues that they rely on their strategic placement in textually prominent positions of the text where they may exert a stronger influence over the text (Hood 2008:362). The commitment of meaning in terms of interpersonal meaning conceptualized in this way plays a crucial role in the development of the following passage.

『平家物語』の中に、武士道の典型として新渡戸稲造の『武士道』の中でも引用される有名な場面があります。一の谷の合戦の際、熊谷直実が敵の平家の武将を捕まえた。殺そうと思って顔をみると、まだ若い。歳の平敦盛だった。

自分の息子ぐらいの歳である若者を殺していいものかどうか。熊谷直実は思わず逡巡するわけですが、さすが平敦盛は「首を討て」と直実に命令します。直実はしかたなく首を討つ。その後、手にかけてしまった若者を悼んで、直実は出家してしまう。

このような敗者、弱者への共感の涙。これが日本の無常観にはある。お能の「敦盛」が今でも延々と演じられているのは、こういう無常観、武士道でいう惻隠に近いものが今も日本人の心の中に流れていて、心を揺さぶられるからでしょう。(Fujiwara 2005:100-1)

The *Heike Monogatari* includes a famous episode which Nitobe Inazō mentions in his *Bushido*. At the Battle of Ichi no Tani, Kumagai Naozane has captured the general of the enemy Heike clan. Kumagai intends to kill him, but when he comes face to face with the general, he discovers that he is just a young man, the fifteen-year-old Taira no Atsumori.

Can Kumagai properly kill a young man of around the same age as his own son? When he hesitates, it is Taira no Atsumori who earnestly instructs him to behead him. Reluctantly Kumagai does so, but afterward, grieving for the young man he has killed, he becomes a priest.

Tearful empathy for the loser and for the weak: these are the emotions that the Japanese sense of impermanence incorporates. The Noh play *Atsumori* continues to be popular after all this time because the Japanese still have feelings akin to this sense of impermanence and to the compassionate empathy of the samurai, and are still moved by the same emotions. (Murray trans. 2007:143-5)

This account of the famous episode in *Heike Monogatari* constitutes an exemplum (see Martin and Rose 2006) that consists of three parts. The first paragraph provides an Orientation by introducing the story in terms of its source (*Bushido*), historical settings (Battle of Ichi no Tani) and characters (Kumagai and Atsumori). The second paragraph develops the story by describing an Incident in which Kumagai faces a dilemma, leading to a series of events. Finally, the third paragraph provides an Interpretation of the story in terms of a ‘Japanese sense of impermanence’ (無常観) and ‘compassionate empathy’ (惻隠), concluding that these are values shared by the Japanese community.

The actions of Kumagai and Atsumori are not explicitly inscribed through the use of evaluative language at the Incident stage of the story, but the series of events described in the Incident stage serve as ideational tokens to invoke an evaluative response from the reader. This moral evaluation is subsequently inscribed explicitly as ‘無常観’ (sense of impermanence) and ‘惻隠’ (compassionate empathy) in the Interpretation stage. They are realized in a textually prominent position of the text as hyperNew, and their prosody ranges back the stretch of text to color the interpretation of the story. Hood’s (2008) concept of ‘interpersonal commitment’ allows us to theorize this shift from invoked to inscribed appraisal as a form of reinstantiation. From the perspective of appraisal theory, the series of actions and events that serve as ideational tokens in the Incident stage offer more room for subjective interpretation. The interpersonal positions offered by the inscriptions ‘sense of impermanence’ and ‘compassionate empathy’ are more specific and charged in the sense that they offer less space for interpretation. They state the position expected of the reader in relation to those events, and constrain their interpretation in such a way that the reader is required to respond in relation to the author’s explicit formulation.

It is important to note that the positions offered through this process of commitment is implicated in identity construction because they are associated with the notion of community and the differential relations pointed out in 2.4. The sense of impermanence is not universal, but rather a ‘Japanese sense of impermanence’ (日本の無常観). In the same way, compassionate empathy refers specifically to the ‘compassionate empathy of the samurai’ (武士道でいう惻隠). It is particularly revealing that these very values serve as the explanation for the particular behavior of a specific community.

お能の「敦盛」が今でも延々と演じられているのは、こういう無常観、武士道でいう惻隠に近いものが今も日本人の心の中に流れていて、心を揺さぶられるからでしょう。

The Noh play *Atsumori* continues to be popular after all this time because the Japanese still have feelings akin to this sense of impermanence and to the compassionate empathy of the samurai, and are still moved by the same emotions.

In terms of the ideational meaning in this text, the episode between Naozane and Atsumori has been generalized as the practice of the ‘Japanese community’. Characters in the story and viewers of the play are treated as incumbents of Japanese as their role, in the same way that Nitobe is treated as the incumbent of his roles. The relationship between the various construals of the incumbents and their roles can be theorized in terms of ideational commitment, as shown in figure 2.23.



Fig. 2.23. Ideational commitment

Alongside this, we also observe the condensation of the people and stories of the ‘Japanese community’ as a specific set of moral values. The relationship between the construction of identity as a community and the construction of identity as a value system can be theorized in terms of interpersonal commitment, as shown in figure 2.24.

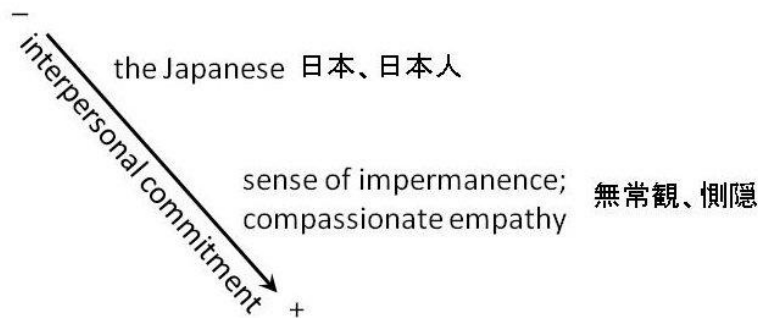


Fig. 2.24. *Interpersonal commitment*

These comparisons capture the contrast in meaning between different instances of identity construction as Fujiwara (2005) unfolds, comprising the intratextual relationships within a single text. However, the model proposed in this thesis will extend this method of comparisons across texts to include the intertextual relationships between different texts. While commitment is a useful concept for the modeling of change in texts, it has been pointed out in 2.3 that for contrasts including those to be studied in terms of commitment to be meaningful, comparisons must be made between similar units, and the task therefore remains as to how such a ‘unit of identity’ may be determined. This is a crucial methodological consideration that will be addressed in 2.4.4. However, before we proceed to do so, we shall briefly visit the sociological dimension of identity, which is related to the other important aspect of Saussure’s theorizing about language.

2.4.3 Axiology and gaze

For Saussure, *langue* exists in virtue as a social contract between speakers, and comprises a ‘fund accumulated by the members of the community through the practice of speech’ (Saussure 1986:13). In that sense there are two aspects to *langue*: it is a repository of resources shared by a speech community, and it has a temporal aspect as it precedes the individual speaker and act. These two conditions provide the means through which language as a social institution is transmitted from generation to generation. By the same token, resources for identity construction that are shared by a community are institutionalized through the ways of talking and writing about identity, and generations of individual speakers and writers are in turn socialized into these ways of talking and writing as a form of social contract within the community.

It has been shown in 2.3.2 that the division of social actors in *Nihonjinron* into national categories is overlaid with a structure of feelings and positions formulated on the basis of communal values. This resembles what Maton (2008) observes in his work on ‘axiological cosmologies’, described as ‘a process of association whereby ideas, practices and beliefs are grouped together and contrasted to other groups’. The associations of ideas, practices and beliefs in *Nihonjinron* form ‘a cosmos unshared by others and serves as a basis for Japanese ethnocentrism’ (Befu 1992:128), one that Dale (1990) condemns as ‘a densely woven network of assumptions which... are both alien and hostile to common principles of logic’ (Dale 1990:12).

The various associations collectively constitute a ‘cosmology’ of moral, political and social values, forming what Maton (2008) describes as a ‘constellation’ of values with an affective charge that binds the community. In his work on axiological knowledge structures, Maton argues that such constellations are realized as a ‘cultivated gaze’ in individuals, ‘gained through immersion in the norms of the field and displayed through the appropriate choice of stances.’ In this sense, authors of *nihonjinron* texts draw on these constellations that precede their writing as resources to locate themselves in a ‘Japanese’ identity by performing ‘Japanese-ness’, and where readers draw upon a similar ‘network of assumptions’ to comprehend the texts, they are positioned by the text as a member of the community, and socialized into the ‘cultivated gaze’ of the identity discourse as a complicit participant. Alternatively, the reader who does not draw on the same network of assumptions is alienated by the discourse, and effectively cast by the discourse as ‘non-Japanese’, to read the text through the gaze of ‘the Other’. In either case, readers are strongly compelled to construe and organize the social world in specific ways, and to position themselves in relation to it, in order to render the text coherent (see 2.3.4), and the texts therefore serve to socialize readers into a particular understanding of identity.

Maton argues that these constellations are differentially valorized, in the sense that the features of each constellation function contrastively against other features, as observed earlier in the way ‘Japanese’ identity is differentially constructed in discourse. The analysis also shows that these constellations can be observed in language use as contrastive configurations of meaning, and the reader has to ‘recognize’ (i.e. draw on) these configurations of meaning through cultivating the necessary ‘gaze’ for the discourse to function as such. It is important not to reify these constellations of concepts and their accompanying configurations of meaning in texts, as Maton suggests:

In astronomy a constellation is a grouping of stars that make an imaginary picture in the sky. Though they appear to viewers to have an ontological basis to their coherence, all stars in a constellation need not be gravitationally bound to one another... Similarly, constellations are understood here as social and symbolic groupings that *appear* to have coherence from a particular point in space and time to actors with a particular cosmology or way of viewing the social world. Thus which actors and stances are included in a constellation, and relations between constellations, may vary according to the viewers as well as change over time. (Maton 2008, original emphasis)

The configurations of meaning that inform the constellations are similarly subject to the situational contingency of social actors, and hence to changes over time. The text invites readers to invest in the positions that are sustained by the relatively stable configurations of meaning from which they draw in the act of reading. The readers may then ascribe or reject, avow or disavow these positions situationally (cf. Antaki and Widdicombe 1998), as they co-opt these configurations of meaning as their resource in subsequent reproductions of the discourse to explain, persuade and legitimize their beliefs and practices. The historical contingency of social actors thus acts as an impetus to sustain or transform these constellations, and it is important to question not only the nature of these identities in themselves, but the process of 'identification' (see 2.2.2), or as Hall (1996) argues, the 'articulation' between the identifier and the identified.

The identity texts scaffold the reading experience for readers through linguistic cues (see 2.3), and socialize readers into particular kinds of social order by cultivating these particular gazes. In this way, the tacit agreement between the producer and consumer of the text presents a way in which readers are 'interpellated' (Althusser 1971) by the text. These texts as such present an important link between identity as social obligation on the one hand, and agentic performance on the other. It is therefore a crucial part of the study of identity to focus our critical lens on these linguistic cues to investigate how writers and readers recognize and retrieve these configurations of meaning, and conversely how these configurations constrain the range of meanings available to them as social actors.

2.4.4 Identity icons

We observed in 2.3.4 that the coarticulation of meaning across metafunctions constructs the social world in particular ways. These linguistic features produce stereotypical and differential images of social actors that are repeated across texts as syndromes of meaning, as described in 2.4.1. I have also argued in 2.4.2 that these sets of associations are committed in different ways as they enter different situational contexts, and in 2.4.3 that they require the texts to be read through particular cultivated gazes that inform our understanding of ‘identity’, creating subject positions into which readers are socialized. This section is concerned with formulating a productive way to describe these ‘images’ or ‘syndromes’ in linguistic detail, to elucidate the subtle mechanisms that enable and constrain their persistence and development, within and between texts. A useful way to approach such a description is to begin by establishing some analytical units that allow us to map continuity and change.

Saussure points out that there are no immediately perceptible entities in language, and that they have to be delimited in relation one another in the mechanism of language (Saussure 1986:102). What then may possibly qualify as a ‘unit of identity’? Saussure argues that a unit is a segment of a sequence that corresponds to a certain concept that is ‘purely differential’ (Saussure 1986:119). It has been established in 2.3.4 that the construction of identity involves three distinct strands of meanings mapped across a stretch of discourse. The use of orthographic markings of word breaks as the means of delimitation for identity is therefore partial and misleading to say the least, and it is all the more problematic for any analysis of the Japanese language since the delimitation of ‘word’ as a linguistic unit is itself controversial (Teruya 2007:32). Drawing on Saussure’s insights on language, identity as a linguistic sign is comprised of a signified and a signifier, and the linguistic system that informs the construction of identity as a sign is a series of differences in signified that corresponds to a series of differences in the signifier. It is pointed out in 2.4 that identity can only be meaningful as sets of relationships (e.g. Japanese and Western). These sets of relationships construe and position social actors in relation to one another through different selections from different linguistic systems, and the unit of identity adopted here is therefore a second order sign that emerges as the sum of selections in discourse systems and structures, and one that we shall now proceed to delimit.

Let us model the coupling of selections from different systems a_1 , b_1 , c_1 (and so on) as shown in figure 2.25, such that they are related structurally in specific configurations. a_1 , b_1 and c_1 may be for example a series of clauses that describe and contrast different aspects of a certain identity, such as ‘the Japanese are...’ and ‘they do...’, ‘Westerners are...’ and ‘they do...’. The status of a_1 , b_1 , c_1 , etc. as linguistic units (e.g. clauses) can be determined paradigmatically as selections from various systems (e.g. TRANSITIVITY, MOOD etc.) within the linguistic system (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 for a discussion on lexicogrammatical systems). Within the instance however, the elements accumulate syntagmatically to construct a picture of what that particular identity entails. These covariate relations that hold between the elements such as X_1 and X_1' work together as a configuration of ideas to distinguish one identity (e.g. the Japanese) from another (e.g. Westerners). We shall therefore designate as our unit of identity the sum of these relations X_1 and X_1' and so on, represented by α as shown in figure 2.25. Modeling identity in this way allows us to move beyond the nominal groups such as ‘the Japanese’ or ‘Westerners’, to consider entire configurations of meaning that account for the relational nature of these construals, for example through their cooccurrence in the same clause.

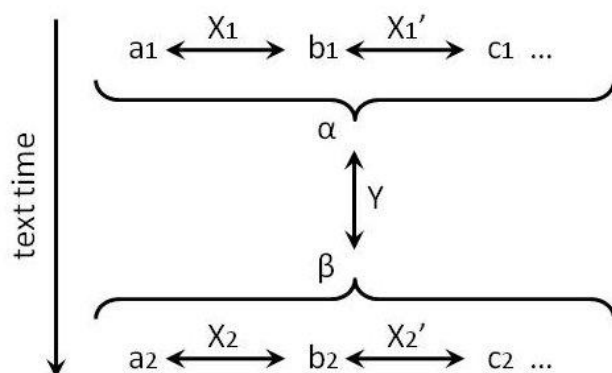


Fig. 2.25. Modeling identities as difference

In fact, this reasoning is similar to that in Halliday and Matthiessen’s (1999) description of the construal of ‘cat’ as a meaningful category in language learning. They suggest taxonomic elaboration, meronymic extension and participant roles as three different types of possible relations, represented here as X_n , to model the concept of a ‘cat’ ideationally as a ‘network of relations,’ that emerges from ‘everyday dialogic construals’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 80-1). While all these relationships inform our description of identity in this study (as we have reviewed in 2.3.1), we shall not limit the model to the ideational metafunction.

As sequential statements like these may be serialized indeterminately through the text, the next question then is how do we delimit the scope of α as a meaningful unit of analysis? Following Saussure's reasoning mentioned at the beginning of this section (see also 2.1 for a more detailed discussion), a meaningful unit has to be contrasted against comparable units of meaning such as β in figure 2.25. α and β can therefore be mutually determined from the text as a meaningful change Y in the configurations from a_1 , b_1 and c_1 to a_2 , b_2 and c_2 . The unit of identity α and β delimited this way is therefore a second order sign, derived from the structural relations X and X' that hold between the first order signs a, b and c, and the unit has to be determined both internally from the relationships between the elements a, b and c as a view 'from below' the unit, and externally from the reformulative relationship between α and β as the text unfolds, as the view 'from around' the unit as part of what may be called a 'trinocular perspective' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:31). The change Y proposed in this thesis will be investigated in terms of commitment (see 2.5) to establish α and β as related instances in the text, whereby α and β differ in terms of their specificity in meaning.

The view from 'below' and 'around' the unit will be pursued in greater detail in the coming chapters, but they must be complemented by a view 'from above', where the unit is informed by our contextual understanding of their significance as meaning making resources. We shall tentatively approach them first from this top-down perspective by considering our commonsense recognition of identities in the text (as per MCA approach, see 2.2).

As we have discussed in 2.4.3, the 'configurations of meaning' that constitute our understanding of identity should not be reified as essential social entities or phenomena. Instead, the present study is concerned with the relatively stable 'network of assumptions' and 'mode of thinking' that critics describe that serve to distinguish between communities (see 1.1.1) through the establishment of communal 'meanings' and 'values' (see 1.1.2). Martin and Stenglin (2006) describe museum displays as 'symbolic icons' in the sense that they serve to rally viewers around 'communal ideals' into groups with 'shared dispositions' (Martin and Stenglin 2006:216). Inspired by this notion of 'icons', I shall refer to the linguistic unit for identity in the present study as an **identity icon**, to distinguish it from other concepts in SFL that have been related to the notion of identity including 'positioning' (e.g. Martin and White 2005) and 'affiliation' (e.g. Knight 2010), etc. The identity icons described in the present study similarly

present discursive constructs that rally readers around communal ideals and dispositions (see 2.2.2), and in the context of nationalism, they share the revered status of religious icons as objects of veneration and adoration, and are invested with a high degree of intersubjective significance. However, the notion of the icon as it is used here departs from previous studies that regard the icon in terms of physical objects (e.g. Martin and Stenglin 2006) or sociological concepts (e.g. Maton 2008), in the sense that it is a functional unit of language located at the level of discourse semantics.

Iconicity is understood here as an economy of signs with which we identify socially. In this sense, icons are semiotic phenomena that are only meaningful within such an economy that constitutes a commonsense theory of social persons as collectives. They are metastable syndromes of meaning located higher up the instantiation cline as resources for producing and interpreting individual instances of identity construction (see 2.4.2). The identity icons are instantiated through a recurrent motif across texts as couplings of features (see 2.4.1), as a result of reconfigurations in the selection of meanings through the course of the text or in subsequent reproductions of the text that require de/commitment of the icons in different ways, to maintain their relevance by adapting them to the immediate textual environment.

The following abstract is an example of what is commonly described as the polemical rhetoric of ‘cultural reductionism’ in Nihonjinron arguments (see 1.1.2), in which we can observe the commitment of communal identities in different ways as the ‘objects of veneration’ around which readers are positioned and rallied.

この無常観はさらに抽象化されて、「もののあわれ」という情緒になりました。日本の中世文学の多くが、これに貫かれています。すなわち人間の儂さや、悠久の自然の中で移ろいゆくものに美を発見してしまう感性です。これは大変に独特な感性です。物が朽ち果ていく姿を目にすれば、誰でもこれを嘆きます。無論、欧米人でもそうです。しかし、日本人の場合、その儂いものに美を感じず。日本文学者のドナルド・キーン氏によると、これは日本人特有の感性だそうです。儂く消えゆくものの中にすら、美的情緒を見いだしてしまう。(Fujiwara 2005:101-2)

As the sense of impermanence became more abstract, it evolved into the emotion that we call *mono no aware*, or the sense of the pathos of things. Running through much of the Japanese literature of the Middle Ages, this emotion is best defined as the sensibility that finds beauty in the fragility of mankind and in things that change amidst the permanence of nature. Everyone grieves at the sight of things in decay.

Western people do, too. But the Japanese sense the beauty that is inherent in that fragility. Donald Keene, the Japanese literature scholar, sees this as a sensibility that is unique to the Japanese. We are able to discover emotional beauty even in fragile, fleeting things. (Murray trans. 2007:145-7)

We notice a number of things are at play in this text to collaboratively produce an interwoven network of related concepts and establish a ‘Japanese identity’. First of all, the text constructs social actors as communities, such as ‘Japanese’ and ‘Western’ people. These communities are associated with values such as ‘*mono no aware*’ and ‘bushido’ that distinguish between them. Finally, these communities are exemplified by specific people and things such as Donald Keene and literary works, or the Jōmon and Yayoi pottery.

We can therefore distinguish between three main kinds of icons in such a discourse (labeled with initial capitals). **Gemeinschaft** constructs communities as syndromes involving categories, oppositions and locations such as ‘Japanese’ and ‘Japan’. **Doxas** construct communal values in terms of concepts such as ‘*mono no aware*’ that serve as emblems around which communities rally and sayings such as ‘the husband leads and the wife obeys’ that represent the communal voice. **Oracles** construct identities as specific people and things that exemplify the community as cultural heroes and documents. From a typological perspective, the three kinds of icons comprise three distinct ways in which we talk about our communal identity that shape our discourses as patterns of meanings. The relationship between them interpreted this way from a paradigmatic perspective may therefore be modeled as a set of paradigmatic choices (see 2.3) as shown in figure 2.26.

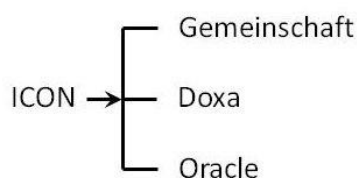


Fig. 2.26. The basic typology of identity icons

Gemeinschaft is the construction of identity at a more general order than the Doxa and the Oracle, and it may be committed interpersonally as Doxas in terms of shared feelings and values, and ideationally as Oracles in terms of people and things as shown

in figure 2.27. This perspective of the relationship between the kinds of icons is also a syntagmatic one as they are interrelated by the potential of exchange in the flow of the text (see 2.5), through which one icon can be reformulated as another in the instance. It has been shown in 2.5 that the construction of identity as communities is less committed interpersonally in relation to values, and ideationally in relation to specific people and things, as shown in figure 2.27.

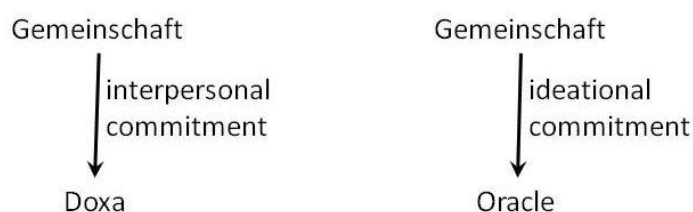


Fig. 2.27. Commitment of identity icons

Both ideational and interpersonal meanings are present in all three forms of icons however, and they differ only in terms of generality and specificity in meaning. The commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings by degree opens up a topological space within which communal identity is articulated and revised, as shown in figure 2.28.

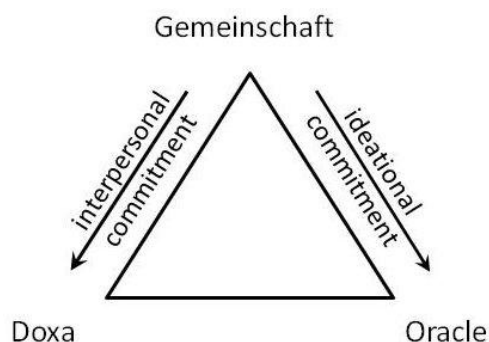


Fig. 2.28. Topology of identity icons

This topological perspective, as the following chapters will demonstrate, is useful for mapping out the movement of the icon as it is reformulated in the unfolding of the text. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will describe each of the three kinds of icons respectively in terms of the differences between their structural couplings and their reformulative relationships.

The typological and topological models of identity presented above form the primary hypothesis of this study that we shall apply to the data defined in 1.2 and examine against the criteria of relevance and consequentiality set out in 2.2.1, to determine if they are useful for analyzing identity discourses. We shall explore the icons ‘from below’ through a description of the lexicogrammatical and discourse semantic syndromes that comprise the icon, and ‘from around’ through the contrast between the different icons in terms of logogenesis, and finally, ‘from above’ in terms of their context of use, such as the legitimation of polemic arguments and the rhetoric of the text as a whole to provide a trinocular perspective of the economy that constitutes their iconicity. This study will also seek to establish, as far as possible, the link between linguistic analysis and the insights of scholars examining discourses from other perspectives to demonstrate the application of the models.

Chapter 3 Identifying with Gemeinschaft: our sense of belonging

The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself with mankind. – Benedict Anderson

National identity discourses often construct collective identities in terms of a timeless and homogenous community. These communities are formed on the basis of an immutable communion, a deep, horizontal comradeship in the form of what sociologist Tönnies (e.g. 2001) calls Gemeinschaft in opposition to the notion of Gesellschaft comprised of individuals acting on self interest such as corporate organizations. Gemeinschaft is an association based on a unity of will, bound by a sense of belonging, common values and beliefs on behavior, exemplified by kinship and religious organizations, both of which were mentioned by Anderson (2006) as analogies for nationalism, and both of which incidentally have been incorporated in Nihonjinron.

In fact, the emphasis on Japanese identity as such a communion can be observed in Nihonjinron, where Nakane (1970) describes Japanese organizations as ‘Gemeinschaft entities’ in which the group is ‘everyone’s group’ and the members’ affinity lasts a lifetime, as opposed to the European organizations that are supposedly ‘Gesellschaft units’, where the members merely play their assigned roles (Nakane 1970:97). This conception of Japanese identity as a collectivity has a long history, and Tansman (2007) similarly that in Kokutai no Hongi, ‘there is no “self” in the passage apart from a self that belongs to an entity; and this is true for the entire book. There is only a “we” (*ga*) connected to a nation, a history, a spirit, a people. There is a concrete “I” submerged in a “we” that has assimilated the “I”’ (Tansman 2007:69). As Befu argues, Nihonjinron functions as ‘an ideology that serves to celebrate and emphasize the nation as the preeminent collective identity of a people’ (Befu 1992).

Yoshino (1992) observes that race, on which the Japanese identity is based, is similarly imagined ‘as a community having a common and unified sense of comradeship,’ formed around the notion of a ‘uni-racial and homogenous composition’ (Yoshino 1992:24).

Conflated in this way, the Japanese term for the community, ‘民族’ (minzoku), refers simultaneously to a racial, ethnic and national category (Yoshino 1992:25).

However, this *Gemeinschaft*, along Anderson’s line of argument, is ‘imagined’ as the members do not come into direct contact with all of its members, and it has to be constructed through meaning-making resources (see 1.1). As Anderson suggests in the quote above, this imagination of the *Gemeinschaft* also has to be established through boundaries (see 2.4). This chapter addresses the linguistic resources that are concerned with the establishment and maintenance of boundaries between communities, used to construct the *Gemeinschaft* in *Nihonjinron*. Such resources are what inform our reading of nationalist sentiments, such as those in the following passage.

ものあわれ

この無常観はさらに抽象化されて、「ものあわれ」という情緒になりました。日本の中世文学の多くが、これに貫かれています。すなわち人間の儂さや、悠久の自然の中で移ろいゆくものに美を発見してしまう感性です。これは大変に独特な感性です。

物が朽ち果ていく姿を目にすれば、誰でもこれを嘆きます。無論、欧米人でもそうです。しかし、日本人の場合、その儂いものに美を感じる。日本文学者のドナルド・キーン氏によると、これは日本人特有の感性だそうです。儂く消えゆくものの中にすら、美的情緒を見いだしてしまう。

十年ほど前に、スタンフォード大学の教授が私の家に遊びにきました。秋だったので、夕方ご飯を食べていると、網戸の向こうから虫の音が聞こえてきました。その時この教授は、「あのノイズは何だ」と言いました。スタンフォードの教授にとっては虫の音はノイズ、つまり雑音であったのです。

その言葉を聞いた時、私は信州の田舎に住んでいたおばあちゃんが、秋になって虫の音が聞こえ、枯葉が舞い散り始めると、「ああ、もう秋だねえ」と言って、目に涙を浮かべていたのを思い出しました。

「なんでこんな奴らに戦争で負けたんだろう」と思ったのをよく覚えています。
(Fujiwara 2005:101-2)

The unique sensibility of the Japanese

As the sense of impermanence became more abstract, it evolved into the emotion that we call *mono no aware*, or the sense of the pathos of things. Running through much of the Japanese literature of the Middle Ages, this emotion is best

defined as the sensibility that finds beauty in the fragility of mankind and in things that change amidst the permanence of nature.

Everyone grieves at the sight of things in decay. Western people do, too. But the Japanese sense the beauty that is inherent in that fragility. Donald Keene, the Japanese literature scholar, sees this as a sensibility that is unique to the Japanese. We are able to discover emotional beauty even in fragile, fleeting things.

About ten years ago, a professor from Stanford University came round to my house for a social visit. It was fall, so as we had our dinner, we could hear the sound of insects from outside. “What is that noise?” my guest inquired. For a Stanford professor no less, the sound of the insects was only so much noise.

His comment reminded me of my grandmother who used to live in the countryside of Shinshū. When the fall came with the sound of the insects and the falling leaves blowing hither and thither, she would grow misty-eyed. “Ah, autumn is here,” she would say.

I remember thinking to myself: “How on earth did we lose the war to characters like this?” (Murray trans. 2007:145-7)

One of the ways in which the text identifies participants is by constructing categories of people through the use of **Categorization Devices**, such as ‘the Japanese’, as opposed to ‘Western people’, etc. Furthermore, these categories form part of a taxonomy that classifies and sub-classifies people into ever narrower categories. One may therefore be a ‘Westerner’ who is a ‘Japanese literature scholar’ or a ‘professor’, etc. These categories are not simply descriptions of identities however, they are simultaneously ascriptions that are evaluative and morally normative (see 2.2.1). Being labeled a ‘Japanese literature scholar’ in this passage for instance, establishes one as an expert authority over ‘Japanese literature of the Middle Ages’, and as a source of opinion consequently lends a legitimate voice to the evaluation of ‘the Japanese’. The Categorization Device is therefore in Hall’s (1996) terms, a ‘tool to think with’, that ‘sets a certain structure of thought and knowledge in motion’ (Hall 1996:186).

Secondly, communities can be observed to form binary oppositions, an ‘us’ versus a ‘them’, e.g. ‘How on earth did **we** lose the war to **characters like this**?’ The author and the reader are no longer neutral observers outside the discourse. They have been summoned by the discourse to be part of a collective through **Collectivization Devices**. ‘an activity of inclusion and exclusion’ (Watson 1987:282)

Finally, the notion of ‘place’ plays an important role in the construction of these identities. The professor ‘from Stanford University’ and the grandmother ‘who used to live in the countryside of Shinshū’. Far from being simply a peripheral circumstance to the characters, this ‘background’ information is a crucial aspect of their ‘identity’ within the text. It is what enables us as readers to perceive them as oppositionally positioned and their behavior as contrastive. The **Spatialization Devices** produces a coherent and differential interpretive framework of discursive space that constructs the two characters as tokens of distinct communities. The Spatialization Device is therefore not simply a detail attached as a contextual footnote. As Dixon (2005) argues, these spaces are ‘both socially constituted and constitutive of the social’ (cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006:211). Specialization Devices in this study refers to the ‘symbolic environments’ (Dixon 2005) constructed in texts, and we shall investigate the discursive syndromes that allow readers to identify such spaces and their delineation. Wallwork and Dixon (2004) argue that ‘it is precisely the ability of national places and landscapes to unite “us” as a national group that gives national categories their rhetorical power and resilience’ (Wallwork and Dixon 2004:23). While these spaces delineated by Spatialization Devices may be discursively constructed, they are important resources in the production of national identity.

The *Gemeinschaft* is not merely a choice of a noun to realize a Participant at the instance, but a cluster of features that collectively produce a procedural consequence in the unfolding of the text. It will therefore be identified as syndromes of meaning higher up the instantiation cline (see 2.4.4). Three kinds of *Gemeinschaft* will be discussed in this chapter, as shown in figure 3.1, namely the Categorization Device that is used in discourse to distinguish between identities, the Collectivization Device that are used to assimilate identities and the Spatialization Device that is used to separate identities.

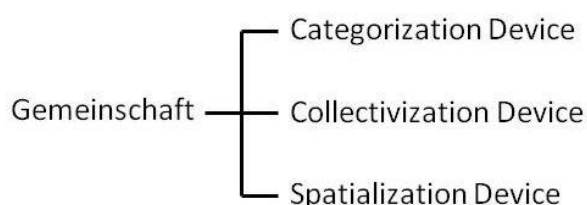


Fig. 3.1. The Gemeinschaft network

Both Categorization and Collectivization Devices construct identities in terms of social actors, and are typically instantiated through either Participant or Circumstance of angle

coupled with appraisal, but unlike the Categorization Device, the Collectivization Device construes identities oppositionally. The Spacialization Device constructs identities in terms of spaces within which the actions of the social actors unfold, and is typically instantiated through Circumstance of location, coupled with polarized pairs of appraisal.

Dale (1986) observes that ‘as with most systems of cultural nationalism, the Nihonjinron hypostatize traits, qualities, characteristics and values. Everything within the sphere of indigenous culture, and its foreign contrast, is seen to exemplify or betray traces of an underlying entity or substance, in this case of “Japaneseness” or “Westernness”’ (Dale 1986:49), and it is to this ‘underlying entity’ that we now turn. The ‘underlying entity’ on which Nihonjinron hinges is constructed in language through the identity icons that I shall term *Gemeinschaft*. Structurally, *Gemeinschaft* form a semantic chain that provides axiological discourses such as Nihonjinron with a point of anchorage for the realization of both ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. They are highly abstract means of representing identity in discourse, and as such, a key characteristic of *Gemeinschaft* is its high degree of underspecification, relative to *Doxas* and *Oracles*. In other words, they are highly undercommitted, opening up the potential for their instantiation within a wide range of contextual environments, and hence their coupling with other features. It is this lack of ideational and interpersonal commitment in the construction of *Gemeinschaft* that give them the sense of hypostasis scholars have observed.

3.1 Categorization Devices

Categorization Devices refer generally to the language feature known as membership categories in the MCA tradition (see 2.2). It serves to distinguish between identities by entering into taxonomic relations, and is bound in discourse to certain social actions as a moral obligation, such that the fulfillment of certain moral duties and commitments is fundamentally bound to the Categorization Device.

The analysis of membership categories in MCA is concerned with the use of language to ‘arrange objects of the world into collections of things’ (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998:3). MCA considers the features of language as doing category work only when they are made relevant to the interaction by the interlocutors (Schegloff 1991, 1992). From the perspective of analysis, this means that there must be procedural

consequentiality, that is to say, the use of categories must have an effect on the discourse. In other words, the analysis on membership categories has been done in light of their logogenetic potential. A significant aspect of the logogenesis is the concept of category bound activities, where the categories are bound to certain social actions as a moral obligation. In *Nihonjinron*, nationality has an effect on discourse in the same way as the categories Jayyusi (1984) describes as ‘usable in explicitly moral ways, so that the fulfillment of moral duties and commitments is basic for the assessment of the performance of category tasks and thus for a person’s being constituted as a good X, which is itself central to the notion of a genuine X’ (Jayyusi 1984:44).

Instead of an emphasis on formal analysis of categorization procedures that has been carried out in MCA however, this section deals with the function of Categorization Devices in discourse, in terms of their structures as I have introduced in 2.3. The analysis will take a multiperspectival approach that examines the co-articulation between the metafunctions that structure the surrounding text. Categorization Devices are used to legitimize axiology (see 2.4.1) through authority (see 3.4.3) and rationalization (see 3.4.2). Assumption of the existence of distinct racial groups, ‘predicated upon the assumption of breeding isolation’ (Yoshino 1992:27).

3.1.1 Particulate syndromes

Categorization Devices are usually realized as a Thing, where the Participant in a stretch of text is instantiated in terms of role. As such, they can be more committed in terms of meaning potential (see 2.5), generating taxonomies in the logogenesis of the text. Categorization Devices are therefore sensitive to the field of discourse.

3.1.1.1 Serial organization

The simplest form of ideational meaning instantiating Categorization Device is through the nominal group made up of just a Thing, construing a single entity. In the field of nationalism, such a lexical item is realized as the name of a country, functioning as a Participant.

パリ講和会議の時に、日本が本気で提案した「人種平等法案」が否決されています。
(Fujiwara 2005:103-4)

During the Paris Peace Conference, **Japan** tried to get a clause on racial equality inserted in the covenant, but it was turned down. (Murray trans. 2007:37)

The construal of the country as a Participant results in a trope of metonymy (Wodak *et al.* 2009:43) that simultaneously personifies the country, where the country stands in for persons in the country. Consequently, the actions doubtlessly undertaken by a number of social actors, as in the case of political actions such as the one in this example, are extended to the rest of the nation, and anyone who identifies with the Categorization Device is rendered complicit in the actions.

‘日本’ (Japan) may alternatively be construed experientially as Classifier, such that the Thing is realized by another noun such as ‘家’ (household) in the following example.

日本の「家」にあらわれている集団としての特色は、また大企業を社会集団としてみた場合にもみられるのである。(Nakane 1967:42)

Another group characteristic portrayed in the **Japanese** household can be seen when a business enterprise is viewed as a social group. (Nakane 1970:29)

In terms of the logical metafunction, this construes the nominal group ‘日本の「家」’ (Japanese household) serially, where ‘Japanese’ functions as Modifier to the Head ‘household’. The nominal group ‘Japanese household’ is a word complex that is derived from the potential for logical expansion built into the noun ‘household’ as Head, and any noun taking the position as Head can potentially be expanded this way, as shown in table 3.1.

Logical	Modifier	Head
Experiential	Classifier	Thing
	日本の	「家」
	Japan NO	household

Table 3.1. Nominal group analysis of categorization

Serial structures such as these link Categorization Devices, instantiated in this case through ‘Japanese’ logically to other icons such as the Doxa (see chapter 4) in this example, instantiated through Nakane’s use of the term ‘*ie*’. These syndromes,

organized serially, constitute a coupling that coalesces in culture as part of both icons, as shown in figure 3.2.

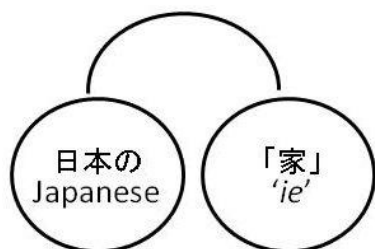


Fig. 3.2. Categorization Device as serial organization

One of the characteristics of the Categorization Device is its taxonomic relations, and the Doxa, bound to the Categorization Device in this way, is placed in a differential relationship against other Categorization Devices, e.g. ‘the West’, etc. In other words, the ‘ie’ or ‘household’ in this example is construed as an inherently ‘Japanese’ phenomenon as opposed to other ‘nationalities’ or ‘cultures’.

Categorization Devices associated with nationality is commonly instantiated through the modification of Heads denoting social persons, such as ‘人’ (person/people). The conjugation of Head and modifier can be realized in the form of a free or bound morpheme. The Head of the nominal group ‘アジアやアフリカの人々’ (peoples of Asia and Africa) in the following example is a free morpheme as it can be pluralized (人々) and elided (from アジアの人やアフリカの人) as shown.

白人の間の平等なら良いが、アジアやアフリカの人々との平等には反対ということです。(Fujiwara 2005:103-4)

It was well and good for **white people** to all be equal, but they were hostile to equality with the **peoples of Asia and Africa**. (Murray trans. 2007:37)

In contrast, the Head of the nominal group ‘白人’ (white people) is realized as a bound morpheme. It cannot be pluralized independently, and its pronunciation is (hakujin) is distinct from its pronunciation in the form of an independent lexical item (hito).

In other words, where the coupling between the elements within the nominal group is lexicalized, i.e. naturalized in culture as taken-for-granted ways of categorizing the world, the possessive marker ‘の’ may be dropped in Japanese language, such as ‘白人’

(white people) in this example. The marker ‘の’ is therefore an indicator of the extent to which the coupling is naturalized in Japanese.

Conversely, realizing the Head as free morpheme allows the conjugation of different Classifiers to the Thing, acting as Modifiers to the Head. Experientially, it involves more than one Categorization Device, while logically, both parts are paratactic expansions β of the same Head α , as illustrated in table 3.2. This allows the construal of similarities between two Categorization Devices ‘アジア’ (Asia) and ‘アフリカ’ (Africa), instantiated as a collective Participant in this clause (see also 3.1.2.3 on taxonomizing identities).

Modifier	Head	Modifier		Head
β	α	$\beta 1$	$\beta 2$	α
Classifier	Thing	Classifier	Classifier	Thing
白	人	アジアや	アフリカの	人々
white	people	Asia YA	Africa NO	people

Table 3.2. Categorizing people

The ideational structures in both forms of the Japanese nominal group are conflated with the periodic structure of their textual meaning, where the Classifier and Modifier consistently precede the Thing and Head.

In English, the nominal group commonly takes the Experiential structure of Thing^Qualifier as shown below on the left, or Deitic^Thing as shown below on the right. These two forms have logical structures with opposite sequences of Head and Modifier. This is because the English nominal group is mapped onto a periodic one, and the distinction between the Premodifier and Postmodifier lies in its information structure (Halliday and Mathiessen 2004:330). In the nominal group ‘people of Africa’, ‘of Africa’ is construed as a Postmodifier that is not included in the logical structure of the Head ‘people’, and the category ‘Africa’ is backgrounded. Where the category has been naturalized and essentialized in culture, such as ‘Japanese’, it is construed as Thing and Head, and the Deitic ‘the’ is added as homophoric reference. This is illustrated in table 3.3.

Head	Modifier
Thing	Qualifier
people	of Africa

Modifier	Head
Classifier	Thing
white	people

Modifier	Head
Deitic	Thing
the	Japanese

Table 3.3. Nominal group analysis of categorization in English

There is a less common form between the two, where ‘people’ functions as the Head, and the category functions as Premodifier. This foregrounds the Classifier in the nominal group, while retaining its dependency on the Head as Modifier. This strategy effectively foregrounds the taxonomic relationships of the Categorization Device, in this case between the ‘white people’ and the ‘non-white people’ (see 3.1.2.3).

The Thematization of the Classifier ‘Japanese’ can also be observed in Nakane’s (1970) description of ‘Japanese men’ in English, as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.4.

Japanese men enjoy such informal talks with friends in bars or restaurants rather than at home. (Nakane 1970:157)

Modifier	Head
Classifier	Thing
Japanese	men

Table 3.4. Categorization Device as Classifier

‘Japanese men’ in this case, is set up within a network of other terms in a taxonomy foregrounded in the chapter, including ‘Japanese employment system’ (p.154), ‘Japanese tradition’ (p.156), ‘Japanese peasant’ (p.158), as well as ‘Japanese husband’, ‘Japanese wives’ and ‘Japanese family’ (p.159).

As the list also shows, the Categorization Device is not necessarily instantiated only through nominal groups construing persons. It can also be instantiated through nominal groups with Head nouns denoting systems of thought such as ‘思想’ (ideologies), or

practices such as ‘流’ (way), as shown in the following examples, analyzed in tables 3.5 and 3.6.

抑々西洋思想は、その源をギリシヤ思想に発してゐる。(Ministry 1937:conclusion)
 Now, Occidental ideologies spring from Greek ideologies. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:175)

Modifier	Head	Modifier	Head
西洋	思想	ギリシヤ	思想
Occidental	ideologies	Greek	ideologies

Table 3.5. Classifying thought

爽快さを知った私は帰国後もアメリカ流を通しました。(Fujiwara 2005:3)
 Having experienced this bracing atmosphere, I decided to do things **the American way** after my return to Japan. (Murray trans. 2007:7)

Modifier	Head
アメリカ	流
American	way

Table 3.6. Classifying practices

While this study is primarily concerned with Categorization Devices associated with nationality, they are by no means limited to national categories. The study of the way categorizations associated with other fields are used to construct legitimacy has been part of the agenda of CA and MCA, and such categorization work in the service of national identity in Nihonjinron texts will also be considered in our study of Categorization Devices. For instance, a social person may be categorized as a ‘日本文学者’ (Japanese literature scholar) to establish his legitimacy for speaking on behalf of ‘日本人’ (the Japanese), as in the following.

日本文学者のドナルド・キーン氏によると、これは日本人特有の感性だそうです。(Fujiwara 2005:146)

Donald Keene, the **Japanese literature scholar**, sees this as a sensibility that is unique to **the Japanese**. (Murray trans. 2007:145-7)

The analysis of the organization of the logical meaning of the Categorization Devices reveals their structural dependency as layers of modifications to the Head. Elements introduced into the text within these layers produce an identity string whereby multiple instantiations of the same Categorization Device, such as ‘Japanese literature scholar’ and ‘the Japanese’ presume one another to create cohesion in the text, as shown in figure 3.3.

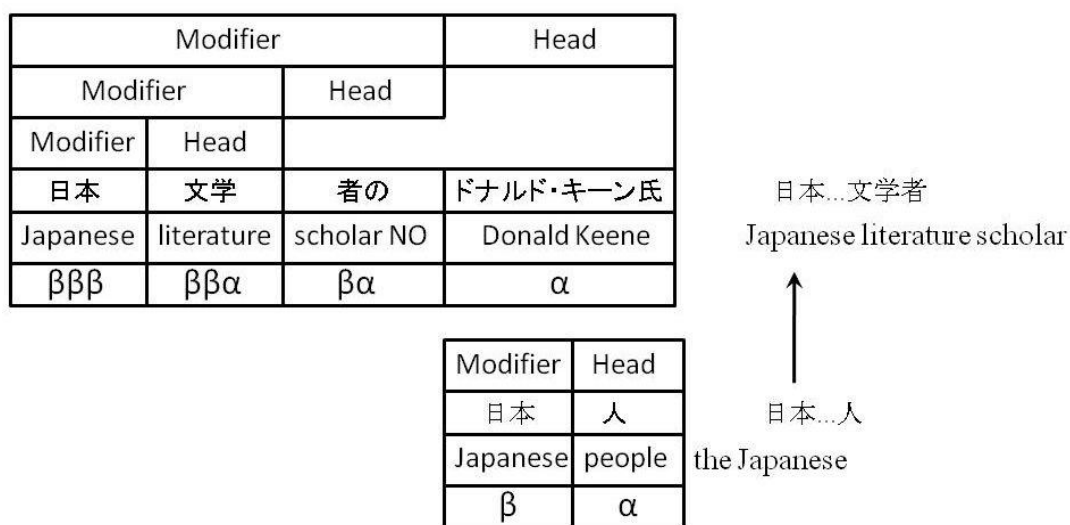


Fig. 3.3. Categorization Device and identification

The potential of the Head for logical expansion also produces a serial structure of Categorization Devices, whereby a Participant can be categorized indefinitely, and each of these Devices has interpersonal consequences, as shown in figure 3.4 (see 3.4.3).

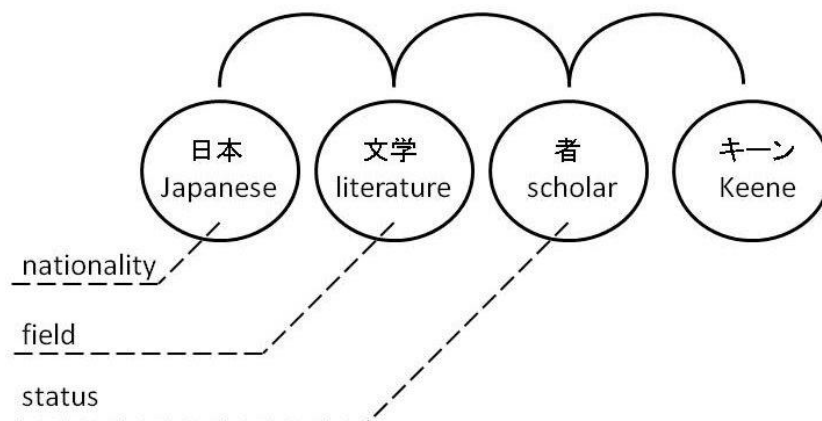


Fig. 3.4. *Compounding Categorization Devices*

Each of the Categorization Devices locates the social actor in a separate field, and they act in concert to construe him as an expert speaking on behalf of anyone who identifies with the Categorization Device ‘Japanese’ (see 3.4.3).

Modification can also take the form of rankshift, and there are two kinds of embeddings associated with Categorization Devices. The first is where classification of the Head is introduced within the embedded clause, and the second kind is where no classifications are introduced within the embedding.

The classification ‘mathematician’ is introduced through the embedded clause in the following example to modify the Head ‘私’ (I) of the nominal group realizing Participant.

数学者のはしくれである私が、論理の力を疑うようになったのです。(Fujiwara 2005:8)

Here I was, **a budding mathematician** who had ended up questioning the value of logic! (Murray trans. 2007:9)

The description of the author as ‘a budding mathematician’ is presented as a descriptive embedded clause (Teruya 2006:445) that acts as a Modifier in the nominal group, shown in table 3.7.

Modifier			Head
Modifier	Head		
数学者の	はしくれ	である	私
mathematician NO	novice	end-inf	I

Table 3.7. Categorizing through embedded modification

The embedded clause is an attributive relational clause, with the nominal group ‘数学者のはしくれ’ (a budding mathematician) realizing Attribute, as shown in table 3.8.

Attribute	Process	Carrier
数学者のはしくれ	である	私
mathematician NO novice	end-inf	I

Table 3.8. Categorizing through attribution

Teruya (2006) argues that adnominal modification such as these constitute a transcategorization from process into quality (Teruya 2006:448). An entire orbital structure is therefore subsumed into the serial structure of the nominal group, expanding its logogenetic potential. As it was shown above, the embedded clause functions as Modifier to the nominal group, which in turn serves as Senser for the mental clause, as illustrated in table 3.9.

Senser	Phenomenon	Process
[[数学者のはしくれである]] 私が	論理の力を	疑うようになったのです。
[[clause]] I GA	logic NO value O	question-YOONI-become-pst-EXP

Table 3.9. Categorization as a mental process

In this example the Categorization Device is, intertextually speaking, normatively instantiated through the coupling between ‘数学者’ (mathematician) and ‘論理’ (logic), such that the Process ‘疑う’ (question) creates a tension between this coupling. At the level of discourse semantics, the tension is presented as the coupling between the Senser as source and the negative appreciation of ‘logic’ invoked by the Process ‘question’.

In other words, the Classifier ‘数学者’ (mathematician) of the nominal group ‘数学者のはしくれ’ (a budding mathematician) realizing Attribute of the embedded clause, nestled within the serial dependency structure, is used to bring in the preexisting coupling between ‘数学者’ (mathematician) and ‘論理’ (logic). Categorization Devices are therefore resources that can be drawn on in texts to produce normative expectations produced by such couplings.

The other form of modification by embedding is where the embedded clause does not contain any classifying elements such as the Classifier or Attribute. Unlike the previous example, the embedded clause in the following example does not classify the Head of the nominal group. Instead, it is a mental clause that serves as an ideational token to the evaluation of ‘societies’.

これは自我を主張する主我的な近代西洋社会のそれと全く異なるものであり...
(Ministry 1937:2/2)

These are things totally different from what we see in the egotistic, modern Western communities which lay emphasis on the ego... (Gauntlett trans. 1949:126)

Ideational classification of the Head ‘社会’ (society) is handled by the Classifiers ‘近代’ (modern) and ‘西洋’ (Western), while the embedded clause together with the Epithet ‘主我的な’ (egotistic) function as interpersonal components to the nominal group, shown in table 3.10.

Modifier				Head
自我を主張する	主我的な	近代	西洋	社会
[[emphasizes the ego]]	egotistic	modern	western	societies
ε	δ	γ	β	α

Table 3.10. Categorizing through serial modification

This form of interpersonal modification is often associated with Categorization Devices as the Categorization Device is undercommitted with respect to interpersonal meaning (see 2.4.5), and is dependent on the interpersonal modification to specify the text’s position with regards to the Categorization Device in question. Consequentially, it is also often used in texts to challenge a dominant reading of the Categorization Device in culture (see 3.1.3.1).

3.1.1.2 Orbital organization

Categorization Devices may be instantiated through the coupling of a Classifier or the Attribute with a Thing that may take the form of a social actor or an abstraction like a way of thought or social practice (see 3.1.2.1), and as such, they may be instantiated through a large range of clause types. Nevertheless, the Process types available are dependent on the form taken by the Thing of the nominal group, and the choice of Thing has a consequence on the resultant discourse. In other words, while *Gemeinschaft* may potentially be instantiated in a large number of ways, the instance is ultimately motivated (and constrained) by the desired syndromes in discourse.

For instance, the instantiation of Categorization Device through social actors in the following example results in the co-selection of material Processes such as ‘力む’ (exert), ‘反抗する’ (resist) and ‘支配する’ (dominate).

いくらアジアが、アフリカが、中南米が、あっちこちで力んで反抗してみたところで、欧米の敵ではなかった。完全に欧米に支配されてしまいました。...これによって、欧米が世界を支配するようになったのです。(Fujiwara 2005:103-4)

Regardless of their sporadic efforts at resistance, Asia, Africa, Central and South America never put up serious opposition to the West. And they ended up completely under its domination... It was the industrial revolution that enabled the West to dominate the world. (Murray trans. 2007:17)

Other than as Participants, the instantiation of Categorization Device through social actors can also be construed as Circumstance of Manner, such as ‘日本人のように’ (like Japanese) in the following example.

日本人は日本人のように思い、考え、行動して初めて国際社会の場で価値を持つ。(Fujiwara 2005:147)

...it is when Japanese people feel like Japanese, think like Japanese, and act like Japanese that they have value in the international community. (Murray trans. 2007:213)

The Categorization Device ‘Japanese’ is instantiated through the coupling of Participant and Circumstance of Manner with a variety of Process types, including mental ‘思う’

(feel), ‘考える’ (think) and behavioral ‘行動する’ (act) Processes, as illustrated in table 3.11.

Actor	Circumstance	Process
日本人は	日本人のように	行動して
Japanese WA	Japanese NO YOONI	act-Ink

Table 3.11. *Categorizing through behavior*

Couplings such as these can have a normative effect in culture whereby the selection of one element presupposes or creates an expectation of another. These couplings are observed in MCA as ‘category-bound’ features, whereby one part of the syndrome can be used as explanation for another (see 2.2.1). As this extract implies, these couplings are also normative, in the sense that a contradiction of the coupling in the instance is seen as aberrational, resulting in negative judgment (see 3.1.3.1).

The coupling between Participants and Processes can also be embedded in another clause, such as the following example. The coupling between ‘イギリス人’ (the British) and ‘人を試す’ (putting people to the test) is presented in the form of a ‘projective embedding’ (Teruya 2006:451), removing the arguability of the assertion.

その人が言うには、イギリス人には人を試すという陰険なところがあって、こういう質問に答えられないと、もう次から呼んでくれないそうです。(Fujiwara 2005:41)
 The British, he explained, have a sneaky side to them that likes putting people to the test. If you prove unable to answer their questions, then they won’t ask you around again. (Murray trans. 2007:71)

Instead, ‘イギリス人’ (the British) is construed as a Circumstance of Location of an Existent threat, looming over the Japanese reader, as shown in table 3.12. Presenting social actors as a location removes any individuality and specificity, reducing the encounter to a generalized experience; ‘the British’ is not the identity label of a person but a category of persons.

Location	Existent: thing	Process
イギリス人には	人を試すという陰険なところが	あつて
The British NIWA	[[people O test]] PROJ say dangerous NOM GA	exist-lnk

Table 3.12. *Categorizing existence*

This generalization of experience is also construed through presenting the information in the present tense. The instantiation of Categorization Devices through the use of present tense constructs a ‘hypostasis’ (Dale 1986:49) of the ‘underlying entity’ embodied by the categories.

こういう質問に答えられないと、もう次から呼んでくれないそうです。

If you prove unable to answer their questions, then they won’t ask you around again.

The hypostasizing and homogenizing quality of Categorization Devices also has discursive consequences in terms of engagement where they are instantiated through Sayer in verbal clauses such as the following.

日本人にとっては、「あいつ、あっちにも通じてやがるんだ」ということになり、それは道徳的な非難を帯びている。この見方を日本人は潔癖だからなどといって得意になるのが、またいかにも日本的である。(Nakane 1967:66)

But a Japanese would say of such a case, “That man is sticking his nose into something else,” and this saying carries with it moral censure. The fact that Japanese pride themselves on this viewpoint and call it fastidiousness is once again very Japanese. (Nakane 1970:36)

At the level of the clause, ‘日本人’ (Japanese people) is simultaneously presented as the Sayer and Assigner of the Projection ‘潔癖だから’ (it is because of fastidiousness) that also functions as Attribute to the Carrier ‘this viewpoint’ (この見方), as shown in table 3.13. The ‘Japanese people’ here is a general class of people, and the clause is presented in a timeless present tense.

Target	Sayer	Projection	Process
この見方を	日本人は	潔癖だからなど	といて
this viewpoint O	Japanese people WA	fastidious-end-inf KARA such	say-lnk

Table 3.13. Categorizing through speech

In terms of engagement at the level of discourse semantics, the Source of the voice is generalized as that of anyone who identifies with the Categorization Device. Alternatively, the Assigner can also be presented as Circumstance of Angle as shown in table 3.14, such that the voice is in a sense ‘disembodied’, rendering the Source irrecoverable. At this point, the voice becomes monologic, and is simply generalized as a taken-for-granted ‘fact’.

Circumstance/ Assigner	Attribute: nominal	Process
日本人にとっては	「あいつ、あっちにも通じてやがるんだ」ということに	なり
Japanese NI TOTTE WA	Projection TO say NOM NI	become

Table 3.14. Categorizing through attribution

Categorization Devices are not restricted to observable phenomena. In the following example, *Gemeinschaft* is instantiated through a mental clause, whereby the mental state can be similarly conceptualized through the metalanguage of a Categorization Device, hypostasized in the eternal present.

[中国人] は、二つ以上（ときには相反するような集団）に属し、いずれがより重要かはきめられない。(Nakane 1967:66)

...the Chinese, for example, find it impossible to decide which group is the most important of several. (Nakane 1970:36)

In this case, the appreciation of ‘groups’ in terms of valuation (i.e. important) is inscribed within the embedded clause that functions as Phenomenon to ‘中国人’ (the Chinese) as the Senser, as shown in table 3.15.

Senser	Phenomenon	Process
中国人は	いずれがより重要かは	きめられない。
Chinese WA	which GA YORI important INT WA	decide-ABLE-neg-inf

Table 3.15. Categorizing through thought

Categorization Devices as a metalanguage thus allows the author to speak on behalf of the Other, presenting the Other as the Source of one's own voice. Furthermore, mental states are construed as Circumstance of Location as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.16, to open up the private realm of the mind as a space for examination.

...中国人の頭の中では、二つ以上に同時に属していることは、少しも矛盾ではなく、当然という考えにたっている。(Nakane 1967:66)

...in the minds of the Chinese, it is not at all contradictory to belong to more than one group at the same time, and they find it perfectly natural. (my translation)

Circumstance/ Assigner	Carrier	Attribute	Process
中国人の頭の中では	[[clause]] ことは	矛盾	ではなく
Chinese NO mind NO within DEWA	[[clause]] NOM WA	contradictory	end-neg-

Table 3.16. Categorizing through circumstance

Categorization Devices can also be instantiated through the construal of very abstract concepts, such as adjectives realizing Attributes in relational clauses such as that in the following example, where the Carrier is a nominalized clause.

この見方を日本人は潔癖だからなどといって得意になるのが、またいかにも日本人的である。(Nakane 1967:66)

The fact that Japanese pride themselves on this viewpoint and call it fastidiousness is once again very Japanese. (Nakane 1970:36)

An event, construed as a clause is nominalized as a fact, such that it can be attributed with a description on another rank, as shown in table 3.17. When classification is carried out in highly abstract terms as an Attribute, the event is completely stripped of any specificity, and recontextualized as a generalized phenomenon.

Carrier: fact clause	Attribute	Process
得意になるのが	いかにも日本的	である。
proud NI become NOM GA	very Japanese	end-inf

Table 3.17. Categories as attributes

Abstractions such as these allow Categorization Devices to serve as a metalanguage for commenting on social phenomena to contrast groups of people.

3.1.1.3 Folksonomic organization

One of the logogenetic potentials of Categorization Devices is in the generation of taxonomies. While Categorization Devices are structured prosodically to align readers in the interpretation of the text, they are instantiated ideationally in particulate structures that allow them to be assembled as elements of a set. MCA distinguishes a number of different categories that can be related to the particulate structures of lexical relations from the Systemic perspective. ‘Duplicatively organized categories’ are those with specifiable obligations to each other such as members of an institution. They comprise a relatively closed set, and can be analysed as comeronyms (comer). ‘Non-duplicative’ categories do not comprise a closed set can be analysed as cohyponyms (cohyp). There is no reason to assume that participants are consistently categorized in the same way throughout the discourse however, and if we adopt a dynamic perspective on categorization, it will also be interesting to observe the dominance of particular categories in terms of repetition and synonymy (syn).

The taxonomizing potential of Categorization Devices is clearly demonstrated in Fujiwara (2005), where they are compared to the taxonomy of instruments in an orchestra.

国際社会というのはオーケストラみたいなものです。オーケストラには、例えば弦楽器ならヴァイオリンとヴィオラとチェロとコントラバスがある。だからといって、ヴァイオリンとヴィオラとチェロとコントラバスと合わせたような音色の楽器を作って、オーケストラに参加しようとしても、必ず断られる。オーケストラはそんな楽器は必要としないからです。ヴァイオリンはヴァイオリンのように鳴ってはじめ

て価値がある。日本人は日本人のように思い、考え、行動して初めて国際社会の場で価値を持つ。(Fujiwara 2005:146-7)

The international community is like an orchestra. The string section in an orchestra has violins, violas, cellos, and the double bass. You could invent an instrument that that combined the sounds of the violin, viola, cello and double bass, but you would be turned away if you tried to join the orchestra with it. An orchestra does not need such an instrument. A violin sounding the way a violin should sound is what gives a violin value as an instrument. By the same token, it is when Japanese people feel like Japanese, think like Japanese, and act like Japanese that they have value in the international community. (Murray trans. 2007:213)

A taxonomy is constructed from the elements of the string section of the orchestra to illustrate the role of Gemeinschaft in nationalist discourse. The orchestra is divided into the string section among others, within which the violin is an element. The relationship between the elements is one of meronymy as shown in the figure 3.5, with the orchestra as the superordinate.

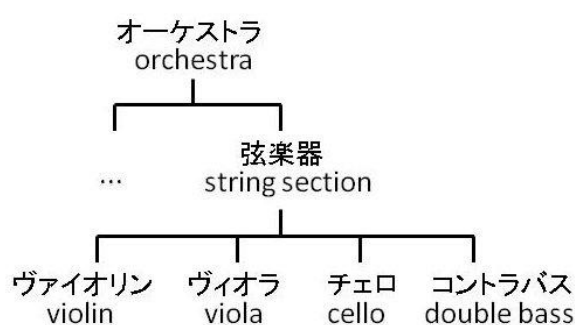


Fig. 3.5. Orchestra as taxonomy

This taxonomy is then transferred to the discussion on Gemeinschaft through juxtaposition, structured around the Categorization Device ‘Japanese’ (日本人), with the implication that the same relationships of meronymy hold between the classification of people, with ‘international community’ (国際社会) as the superordinate, as shown in figure 3.6.

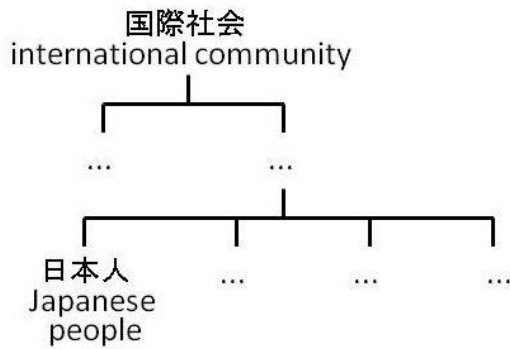


Fig. 3.6. Nationality as taxonomy

いくらアジアが、アフリカが、中南米が、あっちこっちで力んで反抗してみたところで、欧米の敵ではなかった。完全に欧米に支配されてしまいました。...これによって、欧米が世界を支配するようになったのです。(Fujiwara 2005:103-4)

Regardless of their sporadic efforts at resistance, Asia, Africa, Central and South America never put up serious opposition to the West. And they ended up completely under its domination... It was the industrial revolution that enabled the West to dominate the world. (Murray trans. 2007:17)

As is the case with Categorization Devices, the taxonomies generated from Spatialization Devices are provisional and severely reduced. In this example, the world is divided into 4 factions, where 3 of them are contrasted against the ‘West’, as shown in figure 3.7.

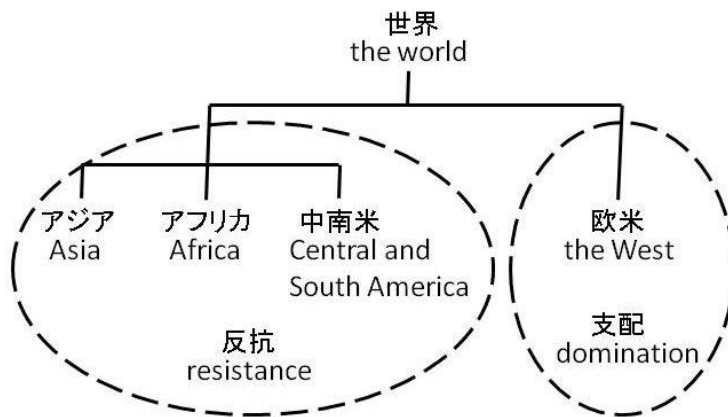


Fig. 3.7. Taxonomic organization of the world

Terms in the taxonomy are not necessarily consistent, as we may notice in this example that 3 of them are continents (i.e. Africa, Central and South America), ‘Asia’ and the ‘West’ on the other hand are based on cultural lines, with ‘Asia’ including Japan, as the remainder of the page elaborates. Such taxonomy selectively reduces the world into only these 5 factions, which can just as easily be re-divided along other lines. What this passage does is to set up ‘the West’ as an icon that readers may bond against. Interpretations are not an intrinsic part of observable phenomena, and as such there are numerous potential ways in which they may be interpreted, and each of them may be situated in different fields, such as gender, age, social class, etc. By using the Categorization Device ‘American’ (アメリカ), the text limits the meaning potential by making a particular field relevant to the discourse, thus preselecting the field for its subsequent unfolding.

Such taxonomies are not systematic or consistent, and are perhaps better described as ‘folksonomies’. The organization of these taxonomies is historically contingent, and they shift when it is politically convenient. The category ‘Japanese’ did not include Ainu and Okinawans until after the Meiji restoration, and during the draft for the Imperial army the category was extended to include Chinese, Koreans and other ethnic groups in the occupied territories of Taiwan, Korea and Sakhalin (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:13-4).

3.1.2 Prosodic syndromes

The ideational meanings that are organized as the particulate syndromes described in 3.1.1 are mapped onto interpersonal meanings that are organized prosodically. The Categorization Device is instantiated through the coupling between nominal groups that construe social actors and a splash of evaluation through the stretch of text.

3.1.2.1 Dominating prosody

The Categorization Device is instantiated through a coupling between a social actor construed as a nominal group and a dominating prosody. The nominal group is located in a Thematic position, and the evaluative meaning in the nominal group dominates over the remainder of the text. This can be observed in the following example, where appraisal resources are used to set up the evaluative stance for the interpretation of the text.

もしも私の愛する日本が世界を征服していたら、今ごろ世界中の子供たちが泣きながら日本語を勉強していたはずです。まことに残念です。(Fujiwara 2005:13)

If Japan, the country I love, had conquered the world, then children everywhere would now be moaning about having to learn Japanese. What a shame it isn't so! (Fujiwara 2007:19)

In this example, there is an inscription of affect ‘愛する’ (love) in the Modifier of the nominal group ‘私の愛する日本が’ (the Japan I love) that functions as the Theme, illustrated in table 3.18.

clause rank	Theme / Given		Rheme / New	
group rank	Modifier	Head		
	私の愛する	日本が	世界を	征服していたら
	[[I love]]	Japan GA	the world O	conquer-ASP-pst-cond

Table 3.18. Categorization through affect

The affect set up in this way dominates over the remainder of the text, and can be observed in the evaluations ‘泣きながら’ (moaning) and ‘残念’ (shame). In this way, the evaluative meaning in the nominal group is not only localized, but provides the basis for evaluation across clause boundaries.

The dominating prosody set up through the nominal group therefore plays an important role in the interpretation of the text where the evaluation in the remainder of the text is left implicit. The negative judgment inscribed as ‘狼狽した’ (confused) in the following example invokes a reading of negative judgment for the descriptions of ‘reform’.

なかなか克服できない不況に狼狽した日本人は、正義を失い、改革イコール改善と勘違いしたまま、それまでの美風をかなぐり捨て、闇雲に改革へ走ったためです。(Fujiwara 2005:5)

Bewildered by a seemingly insuperable recession, the Japanese people seemed to lose all reason. In the deluded belief that any sort of reform would be a change for the better, they jettisoned all their fine customs to embark pell-mell on reform. (Fujiwara 2007:11)

The inscription of negative judgment is realized in the Modifier of the nominal group as shown in table 3.19, taking advantage of the serial organization of the Categorization Device.

Modifier		Head	
Modifier	Head		
なかなか克服できない	不況に	狼狽した	日本人は
[[unable to overcome]]	recession	confused-pst-inf	
[[clause]]			Japanese people WA

Table 3.19. Categorization through judgment

The nominal group functions as the Theme of the clauses, being located in initial position and marked by WA, exerting a dominating prosody of negative judgment over the subsequent clauses, as shown in figure 3.20.



Fig. 3.20. Dominating prosody of categories

It has been shown in 3.1.1.3 that the Categorization Device is instantiated through taxonomic relations between categories of social actors. In the example given in 3.1.1.3, Fujiwara (2005) describes Japanese people as part of the international community in the same way that the violin is part of an orchestra, as illustrated in figure 3.8.

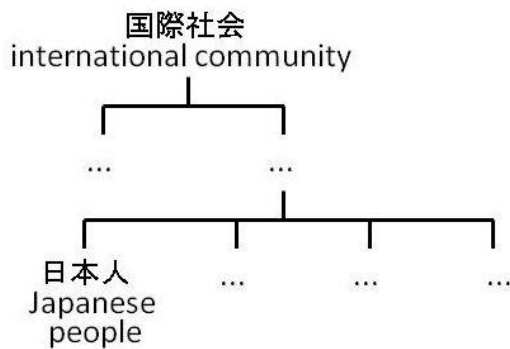


Fig. 3.8. Nationality as taxonomy

The taxonomy generated by a Categorization Device is a socially regulative one, and in this passage, the reader is threatened with negative consequences for violating its social order.

...オーケストラに参加しようとしても、必ず断られる。

...you **would be turned away** if you tried to join the orchestra with it.

The dominating prosody of the Categorization Device structures the interpretation of the taxonomy, such that its violation invokes negative valuation. The ‘instrument’ is considered worthless precisely because it does not fit into the taxonomy.

オーケストラはそんな楽器は必要としないからです。

An orchestra does not need such an instrument.

Conversely, submission to the social order imposed by the taxonomy is positively evaluated in terms of valuation.

...はじめて価値がある。

...a violin begins to have value as an instrument.

...初めて国際社会の場で価値を持つ。

...they have value in the international community.

In this way, the Categorization Device is instantiated through valuation as a dominating prosody through the stretch of text constructing the taxonomy, inscribed in the hyperNew, as shown in figure 3.9.

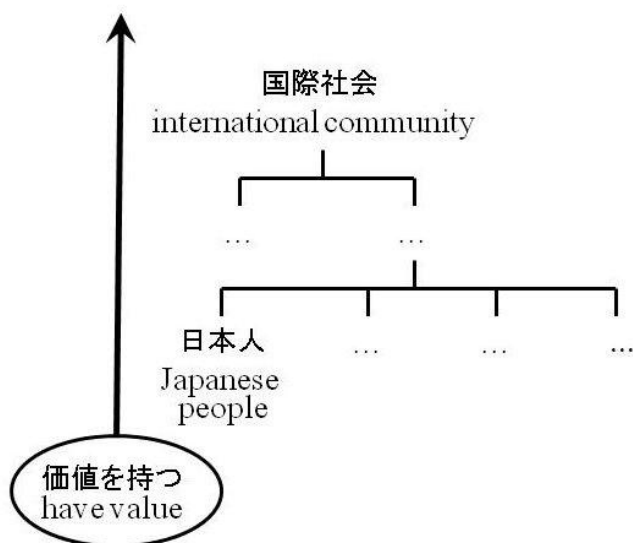


Fig. 3.9. Categorization Device as dominating prosody

It can be seen from this example that other than the hyperTheme, the dominating prosody of the Categorization Device can be equally inscribed in the hyperNew of the stretch of text. The Categorization should therefore be thought of as ranging across clause boundaries, and in this case involves a coupling of elements over a stretch of text, including a number of processes such as ‘feel’, ‘think’ and ‘act’ (思い、考え、行動して), evaluating them such that the reader is exhorted to feel, think and act in the ways the author deems befitting of what he conceptualizes as ‘Japanese’.

3.1.2.2 Saturating prosody

The realization of the interpersonal meaning of the Categorization Device may also be opportunistic. As the following example shows, the socially regulative nature of the Categorization Device may be realized as a motif through a stretch of text.

欧米のトップ・エリートには**教養人**が多い。日本のトップ・エリートは正直言って見劣りします。彼らは、そういうことをいきなり訊いてくるのです。イギリスの歴史やシェイクスピアについては**決して**訊いてこない。日本の文学や歴史についての、非常に具体的な質問をぶつけてくる。だから、日本人としての教養を**きちんと**身につけていないと、会話がはずまない。(Fujiwara 2007:68)

The top-flight elite in the West consists mostly of **cultivated people**. Their Japanese counterparts are, to be blunt, **lacking** by comparison. Western elite suddenly come

out with questions like the one just mentioned. They will **never** ask you about English history or Shakespeare. Instead they come at you with extremely detailed questions on Japanese culture and history. The conversation will **never** really take off if you have not acquired the knowledge **appropriate** to a Japanese. (Murray trans. 2007:69)

The Categorization Device is instantiated through a taxonomy of social actors, and the saturation of appraisal across the text maps a layer of evaluative meaning across the taxonomy. The Categorization device in the following example is instantiated through the relationship between the social actors ‘アメリカ’ (United States), ‘イギリス’ (Britain), ‘フランス’ (France) and ‘オーストラリア’ (Australia).

黒人や日本人からの移民を差別していたアメリカ、植民地を腹一杯抱えこんでいたイギリスとフランス、白豪主義のオーストラリアなどが反対したのです。白人の間の平等なら良いが、アジアやアフリカの人々との平等には反対ということです。(Fujiwara 2005:103-4)

The United States, which discriminated against blacks and Japanese immigrants; Britain and France, both of which had colonies by the armful; Australia with its White Australia policy – all opposed it. It was well and good for white people to all be equal, but they were hostile to equality with the peoples of Asia and Africa. (Murray trans. 2007:37)

It has been described in 3.1.1.1 that the serial structure of the nominal group allows for the embedding of clauses as quality in the modification of the element functioning as Head, as shown in table 3.21. This provides a way for the evaluation of the social actors that are construed by the nominal groups.

Modifier	Head
黒人や日本人からの移民を差別していた	アメリカ
[[discriminated against... immigrants]]	America
β	α

Modifier	Head	
植民地を腹一杯抱えこんでいた	イギリスと	フランス
[[had colonies by the armful]]	Britain TO	France
β	$\alpha1$	$\alpha2$

Modifier	Head
白豪主義の	オーストラリア
White Australia policy NO	Australia
β	α

Table 3.21. Categorizing social actors

Consequently, the negative judgment realized through such modification colors the stretch of text as a saturating prosody, as shown in figure 3.10.

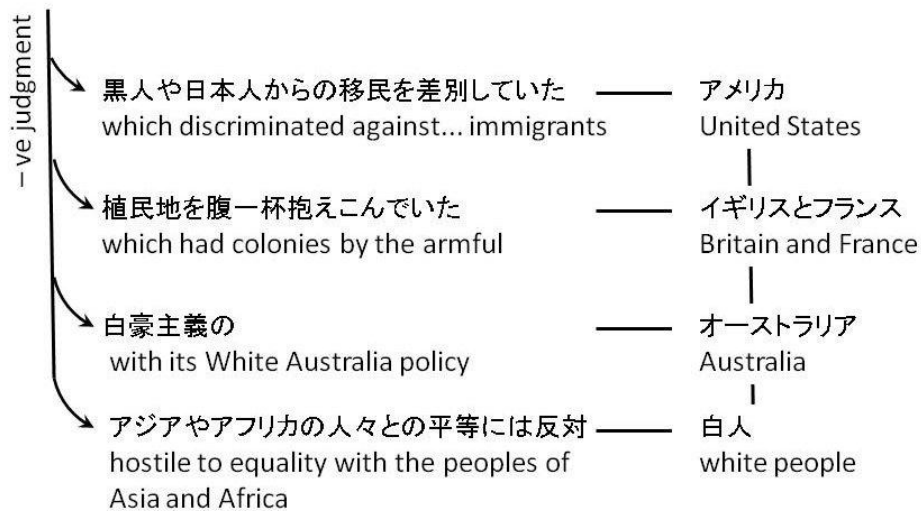


Figure 3.10. Categorization Device as a saturating prosody

3.2 Collectivization Devices

The feature discussed under the category of the Collectivization Device here is commonly analyzed as pro-terms in MCA rather than membership categories because they do not do ‘category work’ (Watson 1987). In their study on George Bush’s rhetoric, Leudar et al. (2004) argue for the inclusion of the categories ‘us’ and ‘them’ to the analysis of membership categories because they act as standardized relational pairs where ‘using one part of the pair in interaction invokes the other’ (Leudar et al. 2004:245), and as Watson (1987) argues, pronouns may be used to ‘signal an activity of inclusion and exclusion’ (Watson 1987:282). This logic of self and Other can also be observed in *Nihonjinron*, where Japanese identity is contrasted against non-Japanese identity as a dichotomizing principle that underlies its use of pro-terms. These terms do not categorize participants in the way Categorization Devices do, but their function as Collectivization Devices affects the structure of the text. Collectivization Devices are therefore distinguished from Categorization Devices in this study, but are included as a category of *Gemeinschaft*. Collectivization Devices construct a perspective of the discourse, limiting the reading potential of the text by including the reader in the *Gemeinschaft*.

Collectivization Devices are most commonly instantiated through nominal groups that construct social actors as collectives. These nominal groups are typically realized as pronouns ‘我々’, ‘我等’ and ‘私たち’ that are translated as ‘we’ in English.

我等は、よく現下内外の真相を把握し、拠つて進むべき道を明らかにすると共に、奮起して難局の打開に任じ、弥々国運の伸展に貢献するところがなければならぬ。
(Ministry 1937:preface)

We must grasp the real situation as it is at this time, in and outside the country, must stir ourselves to find a way out of these difficult times, and must contribute all the more toward the development of our national destiny. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:52)

The Collectivization Device is instantiated through three distinct forms of pronouns in Japanese. They serve to distinguish between the field of discourse. The forms ‘我々’ and ‘我等’ are typically associated with overtly nationalist texts such as Ministry (1937) and Fujiwara (2005/2007) while the form ‘私たち’ is found in the sociological study Nakane (1967).

第一に、**私たちは**序列の意識なしには席に着くこともできない(日本間のしつらえは、特に決定的な作用を果たしている)し、しゃべることもできない(敬語のデリケートな使用、発言の順序・量などに必然的に反映される)。(Nakane 1967:83)

In the first place, **we** cannot even sit down or talk without being conscious of rank; for the traditional arrangement of a Japanese room is a decisive factor in relating seating practices with rank, and when speaking with anyone **we** must observe the subtleties governing the use of honorific expressions, the order of precedence or the time allowed each speaker according to his rank. (Nakane 1970:48)

Conversely, the Collectivization Device is used to construct the identity of the foreign Other, instantiated through the nominal group realized as the pronoun ‘彼ら’ (they). The use of the form ‘彼ら’ is observed in the Japanese text shown in the following example.

欧米のトップ・エリートには教養人が多い。日本のトップ・エリートは正直言ってみ劣りします。彼らは、そういうことをいきなり訊いてくるのです。(Fujiwara 2007:68)

The top-flight elite in the West consists mostly of cultivated people. Their Japanese counterparts are, to be blunt, lacking by comparison. **Western elite** suddenly come out with questions like the one just mentioned. (Murray trans. 2007:69)

However, the nominal group ‘Western elite’ is used in place of ‘they’ in the English translation because the form ‘彼ら’ is understood in Japanese as a reference to the ‘elite in the West’, but the use of pronoun ‘they’ in the English text is understood as an anaphoric reference to the immediate preceding text. The use of the Collectivization Device is therefore sensitive to readership, and the difference between the original text and the translated text in this example lies in a difference between the perceived readers in each case.

While these are the common ways for identifying a collectivization Device, identities are defined in this thesis in terms of the structural consequences of the identities that do not stop at the nominal group. It is therefore necessary to investigate the discursive function of the Collectivization Device in terms of its particulate and prosodic syndromes, as we shall proceed to do in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

3.2.1 Particulate syndromes

The Collectivization is instantiated serially within the nominal group as the coupling between the Head and its modification, where elements within the modification serve as part of an identity chain. These nominal groups in turn function as the Circumstance of angle within the orbital organization of the clause, where they enter into grammatical relations with a range of processes. In this way, the community of social actors may be placed in textually prominent positions where they shape the interpretation of the text as a presentation of oppositional viewpoints.

3.2.1.1 Serial organization

Unlike Categorization Devices, Collectivization Devices include readers in an unspecified bond with the author, and as such they do not generate taxonomies. However, they can be instantiated alongside Categorization Devices to identify readers as part of a taxonomy. The Collectivization Device in the following example is instantiated through the Qualifier ‘us’ (我々) alongside the Categorization Device instantiated through the Thing ‘Japanese’ (日本人). The shared bond is therefore predicated on the category ‘Japanese’, and any reader who does not identify with the category are consequently alienated from the bond.

仏教徒である我々日本人には想像もつかない偏見です。(Fujiwara 2007:22)

To **us Japanese** who are Buddhists this is an unimaginably warped leap of the imagination. (my translation)

In terms of their serial organization, the relationship between the Qualifier ‘us’ and the Thing ‘Japanese’ is one of parataxis, as shown in table 3.22. They function as the Head of the nominal group with equal status.

Qualifier	Qualifier	Thing
β	$\alpha 2$	$\alpha 1$
仏教徒である	我々	日本人
[[Buddhists-end-inf]]	us	Japanese

Table 3.22. Collectivizing through pronouns

However, the Collectivization Device may also be instantiated through a hypothetical relationship between a Modifier and Head of a nominal group, where the Modifier is realized as a possessive pronoun.

生きて捕虜の恥を受けるべからず、というが、こういう規定がないと日本人を戦闘にかりたてるのは不可能なので、我々は規約に従順であるが、**我々の**偽らぬ心情は規約と逆なものである。(Sakaguchi 1968 [1946]:198)

“Die rather than suffer the shame of being taken prisoner” was the rule during the war. Without precepts like these it would have been impossible to spur the Japanese into the war. We’re submissive to these sorts of rules but **our** true emotional make-up points us in exactly the opposite direction. (Dorsey trans. 2009:166)

In this case the possessive pronoun realizes a Deictic of the nominal group as shown in table 3.23.

Deictic	Qualifier	Thing
γ	β	α
我々の	偽らぬ	心情
we NO	disguise-neg-inf	emotional make-up

Table 3.23. *Collectivizing through possessives*

The Deitic can alternatively be realized morphologically as ‘我が-’ (our) as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.24.

これから私は、「国家の品格」ということについて述べたいと思います。**我が国**がこれを取り戻すことは、いかに時間はかかろうと、現在の日本や世界にとって最重要課題と思います。(Fujiwara 2005:11)

I am going to talk about the dignity of **our nation**. I am convinced that, no matter how long it takes, it is extremely important to recover this dignity, both for present-day Japan and for the rest of the world. (Murray trans. 2007:15)

Deictic	Thing
β	α
我が ^g	国
our	nation

Table 3.24. *Collectivizing through morphology*

There are hence two different forms of reference to Japan. The Collectivization device is instantiated through the form ‘我が国’ (our country) while the Categorization Device is instantiated through the form ‘Japan’ (日本). In Ministry (1937) published at the height of nationalism, the form ‘日本’ appears 7 times, while the form ‘我が国’ appears 12 times in the first chapter alone. In contrast, Japan was never once referred to as ‘我が国’ in Sakaguchi (1946) published when nationalism was at an all-time low, with 日本 being the preferred term. The distinction between Categorization and Collectivization Devices is therefore phylogenetically significant. The Categorization Device constructs identities as taxonomies, thus acknowledging the relationship between Japan and other nations, while the Collectivization Device constructs identities as oppositions, hence setting it up in a binary relationship to the Other.

In a more limited case, the hypothetic relationship between Head and Modifier instantiating a Collectivization Device is mapped onto Classifier and Thing, where the Classifier is realized morphologically as ‘国-’ (national) as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.25.

ともに日本人を特徴づけるもので、**国柄**ともいふべきものでした。(Fujiwara 2005:5)
Taken together, these are the things that make the Japanese different, and comprise what we might call **our** national character. (Murray trans. 2007:11)

Classifier	Thing
β	α
国	柄
national	character

Table 3.25. *Collectivizing through classifying*

As the following example shows, the morpheme ‘国’ is productive, and can be used to modify a number of different words as a running motif through a nationalist text that saturates the text in terms of interpersonal meaning.

かくて**国土**は、国民の生命を育て、国民の生活を維持進展せしめ、その精神を養ふ上に欠くべからざるものであつて、**国土・風土**と国民との親しく深き関係は、よく我が**国柄**を現してをり、到るところ**国史**にその跡を見ることが出来る。(Ministry 1937:2/2)

Thus the **homeland** is an essential in nurturing the life of the people, in maintaining and developing their livelihood, and in cultivating their spirit; and the intimate and profound relationship between the **homeland**, her natural features, and the people, amply manifests our **national** characteristics, and their traces are everywhere to be seen throughout **our** history. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:124)

The distinction between Collectivization Devices and Categorization Devices can also be observed in the two separate forms of the word for ‘Japanese language’ that correspond to the two different types of Gemeinschaft. The Categorization Device is instantiated through the form ‘日本語’, and is translated as ‘Japanese’. The focus in the following passage is on the contrast between children in Japan and children in other places in the world (世界中の子供たち). In this case, it constructs a taxonomy within which the language is located.

もしも私の愛する日本が世界を征服していたら、今ごろ世界中の子供たちが泣きながら**日本語**を勉強していたはずです。まことに残念です。(Fujiwara 2005:13)

If Japan, the country I love, had conquered the world, then children everywhere would now be moaning about having to learn **Japanese**. What a shame it isn’t so! (Murray trans. 2007:19)

The Collectivization Device however, is instantiated through the form ‘国語’. In this case, there is no relationship established between nationalities. The emphasis in the following passage is on the children’s inclusion in the community, and the word is translated as ‘their native language’ in the English text.

そんな暇があつたら**国語**をきちんと学び、足し算、引き算、掛け算、割り算、分数、小数をきちんと学ぶことです。(Fujiwara 2005:38-9)

If Japanese children have the time to waste on stuff like that, they would be better off mastering **their native** language, their addition, their subtraction, their multiplication and division, their fractions and their decimals. (Murray trans. 2007:65)

The Collectivization Device may also be instantiated through other such morphological conjugations of ‘国-’ including 国体 ‘national entity’, 国史 ‘national history’, 国土 ‘national land’, 国民 ‘citizens’ and 国運 ‘national fortunes’.

3.2.1.2 Orbital organization

In terms of the orbital organization of the clause, the Collectivization Device is instantiated through the Participant of the clause that is mapped onto the Thematic position as shown in the following example.

しかし、もし日本があのまま鎖国を続けていたら、残念ながら未だ我々は天文学を持っていなかったと思うのです。(Fujiwara 2007:24)

However, if Japan had continued maintaining its isolationist policy, the unfortunate but probable truth is that **we** would not now possess the science of mathematical astronomy. (my translation)

The nominal group construing the social actor is located at clause initial position and marked by WA, as shown in table 3.26.

Theme	New	
Possessor	Possessed	Process
我々は	天文学を	持っていなかった
We WA	astronomy O	have-ASP-pst-inf

Table 3.26. *Collectivizing through possessing*

There is a wide range of Process types for such a clause, including the possessive clause in the previous example. Other Process types observed in the texts include mental and material ones shown in the following example. Where the nominal group is set up as the Theme of the clause, the Collectivization device is likewise instantiated through the stretch of text as the co-articulation between the Theme and the Participant in the clauses.

我等は、よく現下内外の真相を把握し、扱つて進むべき道を明らかにすると共に、奮起して難局の打開に任じ、弥々国運の伸展に貢献するところがなければならぬ。(Ministry 1937:preface)

We must grasp the real situation as it is at this time, in and outside the country, must stir ourselves to find a way out of these difficult times, and must contribute all the more toward the development of our national destiny. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:52)

Alternatively, the Collectivization Device may be instantiated through Circumstance of angle that is similarly thematized in the clause, such as the following example, shown in table 3.27.

仏教徒である我々日本人には想像もつかない偏見です。(Fujiwara 2007:22)

To **us Japanese** who are Buddhists this is an unimaginably warped leap of the imagination. (my translation)

Theme	New
Circumstance	Attribute
仏教徒である我々日本人には	想像もつかない偏見です。
Buddhists-end-inf we Japanese NIWA	unimaginable prejudice-end-fml

Table 3.27. *Collectivizing through attribution*

The co-articulation between Theme and Circumstance of angle in this way is realized as a nominal group in clause initial position, marked by NIWA (には) and NI TOTTE WA (にとっては) as shown in the following example.

我々にとっては実際馬鹿げたことだ。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:199)

This all seems absolutely ludicrous to **us** today. (Dorsey trans. 2009:168)

3.2.1.3 Oppositional organization

While the Categorization Device constructs identities in terms of taxonomies, the Collectivization Device constructs identities in terms of oppositional relations, and it is

introduced into the text where the taxonomy presented before is dichotomized. The dichotomization of identities can be observed in the following passage.

戦後、祖国への誇りや自信を失うように教育され、すっかり足腰の弱っていた日本人は、世界に誇るべき我が国古来の「情緒と形」をあっさり忘れ、市場経済に代表される、欧米の「論理と合理」に身を売ってしまったのです。(Fujiwara 2005:6)

In the postwar period, the Japanese were ruined by an education system that gave them no pride or confidence in their native land. They simply forgot the country's traditional emotions and forms of behavior – the very things that should make us proud to be Japanese. Instead we have made ourselves slaves to the logic and reason of the West, as symbolized by the free market economy. (Murray trans. 2007:11)

The identities presented in this text may be represented dynamically in terms of ideation as shown in figure 3.11.



Fig. 3.11. Identities as semantic strings

The terms ‘祖国’ (native land), ‘日本’ (Japan) and ‘我が国’ (our country) refer to the same entities. While the Categorization Device instantiated through the nominal group ‘日本人’ (Japanese) constructs the taxonomy of Japanese among other people of the world (世界), the Categorization Device is reformulated as a Collectivization Device, instantiated through the nominal group ‘我が国’ (our country), constructing an

oppositional relationship between ‘我が国’ (our country) and ‘欧米’ (the West), as shown in figure 3.12.

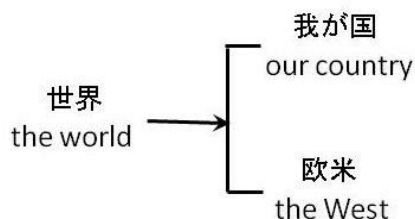


Fig. 3.12. *Oppositional organization of Collectivization Device*

It is also this oppositional relation that informs our reading of the passage introduced at the beginning of this chapter, where the Collectivization Device is used in the conclusion to interpret the anecdote.

「なんでこんな奴らに戦争で負けたんだろう」と思ったのをよく覚えています。
(Fujiwara 2005:102)

I remember thinking to myself: “How on earth did we lose the war to characters like this?” (Murray trans. 2007:147)

The Collectivization Device in this case is instantiated through the nominal group ‘奴ら’ (they) that carries a dysphemistic meaning.

3.2.2 Prosodic syndromes

The Collectivization Device is instantiated through the mapping of textual prominence onto nominal groups that construe communities of social actors. The interpersonal meanings associated with these nominal groups dominate the stretch of text and saturate it with evaluation. At the level of discourse, the evaluative meanings are coupled with the oppositional relation between the construal of communities such that the communities organized in this way are also evaluated oppositionally.

3.2.2.1 Saturating prosody

As part of a prosodic structure, Collectivization Devices are typically located in highly evaluative stretches of text. Collectivization Devices are structured prosodically with evaluative meanings. The presence of Collectivization Devices is therefore historically

contingent on couplings between appraisal and their targets in the cultural context. For instance, the use of Collectivization Devices in Nihonjinron increase correspondingly with positive appreciation in the texts produced during periods of ultranationalism such as the following.

我が国は、今や国運頗る盛んに、海外発展のいきほひ著しく、前途弥々多望な時に際会してゐる。 (Ministry 1937:preface)

Our country faces a very bright future, blessed with a well-being that is indeed magnificent and with a very lively development abroad. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:51)

As Aoki (1999) observes, the evaluation of Japanese identity fluctuated in the course of history (see 1.2), and whereas self-evaluation was overwhelming positive during the war as we have seen in the previous example, the Collectivization Device is instantiated through the coupling between the nominal group ‘我々’ (we) and negative evaluation in the text written after the war as shown in the following.

我々にとっては実際馬鹿げたことだ。我々は靖国神社の下を電車が曲るたびに頭を下げさせられる馬鹿らしさには閉口したが、或種の人々にとっては、そうすることによってしか自分を感じる事が出来ないので... (Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:199)

This all seems absolutely ludicrous to us today. We were left speechless by the absurdity of being forced to bow our heads each time the streetcars took the turn below Yasukuni Shrine but, for certain types of people, performing such acts is the only way they are able to confirm their own worth. (Dorsey trans. 2009:168)

As Collectivization Devices are instantiated through oppositions described in 3.1.2.3, the evaluative meanings are similarly organized in binary opposites, and are consequently comparative. This can be observed in the following passage, where ‘we’ are contrasted against ‘Westerners’.

もちろん差別ほど醜悪で恥すべきものではありません。この差別に対して、「平等」という対抗軸を無理矢理立て、力でねじ伏せようというのが、闘争好きな欧米人の流儀なのです。...我が国では差別に対して対抗軸を立てるのではなく、惻隠をもって応じました。(Fujiwara 2005:90)

There is nothing more odious or shameful than discrimination, but to press-gang equality into serving as the opposite axis to discrimination is typical behavior of conflict-loving Westerners... In Japan, we do not respond to discrimination by

setting up something else in opposition to it, but with *sokuin*. (Murray trans. 2007:127-9)

3.2.2.2 Dominating prosody

The Collectivization Device is often evaluative because it functions to summon preexisting bonds that are assumed to be shared between the author and the reader. The bonds supply premises for interpreting the text, instantiated as couplings between ideational and interpersonal meanings. Conversely such a strategy excludes any reader who does not share those premises, and hence does not share the bond.

As such, the Collectivization Device is instantiated through the coupling between a nominal group located in Thematic position, and an evaluative meaning that dominates over the text as a proposal. This may be in the form of a command realized grammatically in the Predicator as a modulation of necessity, as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.28.

我等国民はこの宏大にして無窮なる国体の体現のために、弥々忠に弥々孝に努め励まなければならぬ。(Ministry 1937:1/3)

We subjects must strive all the more in loyalty and filial piety for the real manifestation of the immense and endless national entity. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:92)

Theme	New		
Subject	Adjunct	Predicator	Predicator
我等国民は	弥々忠に弥々孝に	努め	励まなければならぬ。
We subjects WA	more loyalty NI more piety NI	endeavor-SUSP	strife-MUST

Table 3.28 Collectivizing through necessity

3.3 Spatialization Devices

Spatial concepts are intricately linked to identity in discourse in ways that are highly naturalized. The construction of spatial concepts through identity icons plays an important role in national identity texts because geographical locations are often conflated with nationality and state. In such a formulation, the notion of a ‘state’, which is an instrumental administrative infrastructure is ambiguously identified with the

‘nation’ that is a *gemeinschaft*-type relationship, grounded in a sense of space as physical reality.

The equivalence between nation and geography can be observed in language use, and Wallwork and Dixon (2004) note that nations are ‘*par excellence*, discursively located categories; indeed, the very term ‘nation’ straddles an ambiguity between the social and the spatial, denoting both a people (bound together by imagined relations of similarity) and a place (the imagined country or homeland)’ (Wallwork and Dixon 2004:23).

As Taylor (2003) explains, ‘a positioning as someone who is of a place can connect a speaker to the multiple established meanings and identities of that place. This can work as a claim to an identity as, for example, the kind of person who belongs there’ (Taylor 2003:193). The concept of space therefore bears a systematic relation to Categorization Devices. The link between ‘place’ and ‘multiple meanings of that place’ can be observed in the following abstract.

新渡戸稲造 (一八六二～一九三三) は南部藩 (現岩手県) の下級武士の息子として生まれ、札幌農学校 (現北海道大学) で農学を学んだ後、アメリカに留学してキリスト教クエーカー一派の影響を受けました。以後、札幌農学校教授、台湾総督府技師、京都帝国大学教授、第一高等学校校長、東京女子大初代学長などを歴任し、農学者・教育者として活躍しました。国際連盟事務局次長も務めた、戦前でも屈指の国際人です。(Fujiwara 2005:122-3)

Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) was the son of a low-ranking samurai of the Nambu clan in what is now Iwate prefecture. After studying agriculture at Sapporo Agricultural College (present-day Hokkaido University), he traveled to the United States for further study and there came under the influence of the Quakers. He was subsequently active as an agricultural specialist and an educator, holding a range of important posts as a professor at Sapporo Agricultural College, a technical advisor to the colonial government in Taiwan, a professor at Kyoto Imperial University, the principal of the first Higher School, and founding president of Tokyo Women’s Christian University. He also worked as an undersecretary at the League of Nations, so was an outstanding international figure in pre-World War II Japan. (Murray trans. 2007:175)

To begin with, many of the places are constitutive of the roles introduced in this passage to characterize Nitobe’s identity as shown in table 3.29. Those of ‘professor’, ‘advisor’,

‘principal’, ‘founding president’ and ‘undersecretary’ are meaningless apart from the sense of location that serves to contextualize those roles. Moreover, some of these such as ‘founding principal’ are normatively bound to the location in the text, such that it is crucial for the comprehension of the role and hence the coherence of the text. In this way, the locations constitute part of the ideational construal of the roles that serve in turn as ideational tokens for the positive evaluation of Nitobe interpersonally as a person of status.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Role</i>
南部藩 Nambu clan	武士の息子 son of samurai
農学校 agricultural college	教授 professor
総督府 colonial government	技師 advisor
大学 university	教授 professor
高等学校 higher school	校長 principal
女子大 women's university	初代学長 founding president
国際連盟事務局 League of nations	次長 undersecretary

Table 3.29. Codependency of roles and locations

It is this combination between location and role that qualifies the author’s classification of Nitobe. His role as professor at an agricultural college and a technical advisor to the colonial government allows him to be categorized as an ‘agricultural specialist’, his role as a professor at the universities and colleges allows him to be categorized as an ‘educator’, while his role as undersecretary at the League of Nations allows him to be categorized as an ‘international figure’. The various construction of location can therefore be reformulated as Categorization Devices.

Furthermore, the specific lexical meaning in the construal of location also contributes to the amplification of the positive evaluation in terms of graduation. Locations such as the ‘Kyoto Imperial University’, ‘the first Higher School’ and ‘League of Nations’ convey on him a sense of prestige in addition to the roles he is cast in. The location as an ‘agricultural college’ also confers on him the legitimacy as an ‘agricultural specialist’. Both ideational and interpersonal metafunctions are thus involved in the construction of location. 3.3.1 will explore the particulate syndromes associated with the ideational meaning of the Spatialization Device, while 3.3.2 will explore the prosodic syndromes associated with the interpersonal.

Categorization Devices and Spatialization Devices are functional categories rather than formal ones, and as such they are distinguished through their discourse structures. Many Categorization and Spatialization Devices are similar in form, given the systematic relation between categorization and location pointed out earlier, both may be instantiated through terms such as ‘Japan’ (日本). As the following section will show, a meaningful distinction can be made between them, as the former constructs identities in terms of types, while the latter constructs identities in terms of space. It is a general tendency in essentialist discourses to conflate between the two, and a careful examination of the differences allows us to question such forms of naturalization.

3.3.1 Particulate syndromes

The Spatialization Device is instantiated through the coupling between Circumstance and Processes. They construct the relationship between identities in terms of geographical location, and since geography is imbued with a sense of physical ‘reality’, these constructs lend a sense of credibility to an argument as ‘objective facts’ in the world rather than the subjective constructs of the author. As the Circumstance is located in the Thematic position, it serves to divide the text according to locations, thus constructing the oppositional relations between identities.

3.3.1.1 Orbital organization

Spatialization Devices construct identities in terms of location, instantiated in orbital syndromes through Circumstance of location that is usually mapped onto the Theme of the clause, as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.30.

我が国に於ては、特有の家族制度の下に親子・夫婦が相寄り相扶けて生活を共にしてゐる。(Ministry 1937:1/4)

In our country, under a unique family system, parent and child and husband and wife live together, supporting and helping each other. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:97)

Theme	New		
Circumstance	Circumstance	Participant	Process
我が国に於ては、	家族制度の下に	親子・夫婦が	生活を共にしてゐる。
Our country NI oite WA	family system NO under NI	parent and child...	living O together-ASP

Table 3.30. *Thematizing social spaces*

Morphologically, the Circumstance that instantiates the Spatialization Device may be marked by -NIWA (には) as seen in the preceding example, or -DEWA (では) as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.31.

インドでは、家族成員としては（他の集団成員としても同様であるが）必ず明確な規則があつて（何も家長やその成員と相談する必要はない）... (Nakane 1967:41)

In India, we have definite rules as family members (and this is also true of other social groups), so that when one wants to do something one knows whether it is all right by instantaneous reflection on those rules. It is not necessary to consult with the head or with other members of the family... (Nakane 1970:26-7)

Theme	New		
Circumstance	Circumstance	Participant	Process
インドでは、	家族成員としては	明確な規則が	あつて
India DEWA	family members TOSHITE WA	definite rules GA	exist SUSP

Table 3.31. *Thematizing social spaces*

Alternatively, the Spatialization device may be instantiated through part of the Modifier of a nominal group realized as Circumstance of what Teruya (2006) identifies as a descriptive embedded clause (Teruya 2006:445) as shown in the following example.

昭和の初め頃までに日本に長期滞在した外国人の多くは、同様のことを記しています。逆に、日本からアメリカへ行ったキリスト者の内村鑑三や新渡戸稲造は、故国の道徳の高さに打たれました。(Fujiwara 2005:188)

Up to the Showa period, many of the **foreigners who resided for any length of time in Japan** made similar comments. In contrast to this, Uchimura Kanzō and Nitobe Inazō, both of whom were Christians, were struck by the comparatively high moral level of the Japan they had left behind when they **went to the United States**. (Murray trans. 2007:273)

In this case the nominal group construes a social actor that instantiates the Spatialization Device, and the nominal group serves as the Theme of the clause, illustrated in table 3.32.

Modifier		Head
Circumstance	Process	Participant
日本に	長期滞在した	外国人
Japan NI	long term-stay-past-inf	foreigners

Table 3.32. Spatializing through modification

It can also be observed in this example that this construction introduces a process into the modification of the nominal group, and the Spatialization Device instantiated through the nominal group can be accordingly modified through a coordination between the Circumstance and the Process. In this example, we also see the Spatialization Device instantiated through the material Process ‘行った’ (went) in the nominal group as shown in table 3.33. This is an important feature because it allows the text to construct the identity of the social actor in terms of ‘belonging’.

Modifier			Head
Circumstance	Circumstance	Process	Participant
日本から	アメリカへ	行った	新渡戸稲造
Japan KARA	America E	go-past-inf	Nitobe

Table 3.33. Spatializing through directionality

It does this by assigning Circumstance of motion:source to the location ‘Japan’ and motion:arrival to the location ‘America’, effectively establishing Nitobe’s status as being ‘indigenous’ to Japan and ‘foreign’ to America, which is a crucial aspect of Nitobe’s identity construction (see Teruya 2006:322 on Circumstantiation).

The same can be achieved through selections in the Process type as shown in the following example.

イギリスから帰国後、私の中で論理の地位が大きく低下し、情緒とか形がますます大きくなりました。(Fujiwara 2005:5)

After I came back to Japan **from England**, logic had become much less important to me, while, conversely, emotions and forms of behavior had become much more important. (Murray trans. 2007:9)

In this case, the Process ‘帰国する’ (return to one’s country) instantiates the Spatialization Device, and it serves to establish the author, writing in the first person, as ‘foreign’ to England through the Circumstance of motion:source, as illustrated in table 3.34. This example shows that the Circumstance alone is insufficient to establish the identity of the social actor, and it requires a coordination with the Process.

Circumstance	Process
イギリスから	帰国
England KARA	return

Table 3.34. Spatializing through material processes

There is in fact a range of such specialized Processes in Japanese that serve to distinguish between the place of belonging and a temporary one. The place of belonging is usually associated with the Process ‘帰国する’ and ‘帰る’, while a temporary one is associated with the Process ‘戻る’.

The selection of Process type for the instantiation of the Spatialization Device is crucial to the argument in the following passage.

我が国に輸入せられた各種の外来思想は、支那・印度・欧米の民族性や歴史性に由来する点に於て、それらの国々に於ては当然のものであつたにしても、特殊な国体

をもつ我が国に於ては、それが我が国体に適するか否かが先づ厳正に批判検討せられねばならぬ。(Ministry 1937:conclusion)

Every type of foreign ideology that has been imported into our country may have been quite natural in China, India, Europe, or America, in that it has sprung from their racial or historical characteristics; but **in our country**, which has a unique national entity, it is necessary as a preliminary step to put these types to rigid judgment and scrutiny so as to see if they are suited to our national traits. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:175)

The Spatialization Device instantiated through the coupling between the material Process ‘輸入せられた’ (imported) and the Circumstance of motion ‘我が国に’ (into our country) constructs the ‘foreignness’ of the values that the text seeks to disparate, as shown in table 3.35.

Circumstance	Process	Participant
我が国に	輸入せられた	各種の外来思想
Our country NI	Import-passive-past-inf	every type of foreign ideology

Table 3.35. Spatializing thought

In the above examples, we observe that the Spatialization Device is instantiated through the coupling between selections in different elements of the clause. It is instantiated through the coordination between the selection of Process and Circumstance type in terms of ideational meaning, and these elements are in turn mapped onto the periodic structure of the clause as the Theme.

3.3.1.2 Serial organization

It has been shown in 3.1.1.1 that the conjugation of Head and modifier can be realized in the form of a free or bound morpheme, such as the distinction between ‘アジアやアフリカの人々’ (peoples of Asia and Africa) and ‘白人’ (white people) in the following example.

白人の間の平等なら良いが、アジアやアフリカの人々との平等には反対ということです。(Fujiwara 2005:103-4)

It was well and good for **white people** to all be equal, but they were hostile to equality with the **peoples of Asia and Africa**. (Murray trans. 2007:37)

It is argued that there is a difference in the extent in which the two nominal groups アジアやアフリカの人々 and 白人 have been lexicalized. The coupling between the Classifier and Thing in the nominal group ‘白人’ (white people) is naturalized in their morphological status as bound morphemes, as shown in table 3.36.

Modifier	Head	Modifier		Head
β	α	$\beta 1$	$\beta 2$	α
Classifier	Thing	Classifier	Classifier	Thing
白	人	アジアや	アフリカの	人々
white	people	Asia YA	Africa NO	people

Table 3.36. Spatializing people

In contrast, nominal groups such as アジア人 and アフリカ人 may alternatively have ‘の’ inserted between the Classifier and Thing, realized as アジアの人 and アフリカの人 where the Classifier refers to location. In cases like these, the location may be further rankshifted as the Circumstance of an embedded clause that acts as the Classifier, as shown in table 3.37. Hence the nominal group ‘アフリカの人’ may also be expressed in the form ‘アフリカに住んでいる人’ as shown below.

Modifier		Head
Circumstance	Process	Participant
アフリカに	住んでいる	人
AfricaNI	live-ASP-inf	people

Table 3.37. Spatializing through location

Expressed in this way, the location is presented in the orbital and periodic organization of meaning associated with Spatialization Devices described in 3.3.1.1. This is one of the ways in which Categorization Devices relate to Spatialization Devices. Whereas the Categorization Device instantiated through nominal groups such as ‘アフリカ人’ (Africans) and ‘白人’ (white people) construct kinds of people, the Spatialization Device instantiated through ‘アフリカに住んでいる人’ (people living in Africa) constructs people located in particular places. Locations may be constructed either way, and nominal groups such as ‘アフリカの人’ (people of Africa) are therefore inherently

ambiguous, and they must be distinguished through surrounding text. This is why we do not get the form ‘白の人’, because the Classifier ‘白-’ (white) may only instantiate a Categorization Device but not a Spatialization device.

The instantiation of the Spatialization Device through modification of the participant can be observed in the following example, where the identity of the social actor ‘おばあちゃん’ (grandmother) is constructed in terms of location, as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.38.

その言葉を聞いた時、私は信州の田舎に住んでいたおばあちゃんが、秋になって虫の音が聞こえ、枯葉が舞い散り始めると、「ああ、もう秋だねえ」と言って、目に涙を浮かべていたのを思い出しました。(Fujiwara 2005:102)

His comment reminded me of my grandmother who used to live in the countryside of Shinshū. When the fall came with the sound of the insects and the falling leaves blowing hither and thither, she would grow misty-eyed. “Ah, autumn is here,” she would say. (Murray trans. 2007:145-7)

Modifier		Head
Circumstance	Process	Participant
信州の田舎に	住んでいた	おばあちゃん
Shinshū NO countryside NI	live-ASP-pst-inf	grandmother

Table 3.38. Spatializing through modification

The reason the social actor is constructed through the Spatialization Device in this case is because the location realized as Circumstance ‘田舎’ (countryside) locates the field of discourse as one associated with nature, including lexical items such as ‘虫の音’ (sound of insects) and ‘枯葉’ (falling leaves).

Even though locations may be constructed both as a Categorization or Spatialization Device, it is nonetheless useful to distinguish between them as shown in the following example extract that depends precisely on this distinction to achieve its rhetorical effect.

日本に長く留学していたインド人が、筆者に不思議そうに質ねたことがある。(Nakane 1967:41)

An Indian who had been studying in Japan for many years once compared Japanese and Indian practice in the following terms... (Nakane 1970:26-7)

The Spatialization Device is instantiated through an orbital relation (Circumstance, Process and Participant) is nestled within another set of serial relation (γ, β, α) as shown in table 3.39, instantiating a Categorization Device.

γ		β	α
Circumstance	Process	Participant	
日本に	留学していた	インド	人
Japan NI	study-ASP-pst-inf	India	man

Table 3.39. Spatializing and Categorizing

The Categorization Device constructs the social actor as a representative of a kind of person (i.e. race), while the Spatialization Device constructs his identity in terms of location, as an expert of a place, establishing him as a legitimate spokesperson for both ‘Japanese and Indian practice’. Furthermore, their relative statuses in this relationship are not equal; the structures are organized in such a way where Categorization Devices takes precedence over Spatialization Devices as far as identity is concerned. The Spatialization Device is instantiated through an optional element of the orbital structure and located further away from the Head of the serial structure, which is telling of their relative extent of naturalization in society.

3.3.1.3 Oppositional organization

The Spatialization Device serves to organize identities in oppositions. The most common way that it does this is through the periodicity of macroThemes. In the following example, the Spatialization Device is instantiated through the macroThemes in the initial position marked by では, realized as ‘日本では’ (in Japan) and ‘インドの農村では’ (in India) respectively.

たとえば、日本では嫁姑の問題は「家」の中のみで解決されなければならない、いびられた嫁は自分に親兄弟、親類、近隣の人々から援助を受けることなく、孤軍奮闘しなければならない。インドの農村では筆者が調査中に非常に印象深く感じたので

あるが、長期間の里帰りが可能であるばかりでなく、つねに兄弟が訪問してくれ...
(Nakane 1967:38-9)

In Japan, for example, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law problem is preferably solved inside the household, and the luckless bride has to struggle through in isolation, without help from her own family, relatives, or neighbors. By comparison, **in agricultural villages in India** not only can the bride make long visits to her parental home but her brother may frequently visit her and help out in various ways.
(Nakane 1970:25-6)

The Spatialization Device instantiated this way separates the passage into two distinct portions organized through location. It serves to divide the construal of reality into two distinct phenomena, each construed through its own set of participants and activities as shown in figure 3.13.



Fig. 3.13. Spatializing through oppositional organization

3.3.2 Saturating prosody

One of the main uses to which the taxonomizing potential of Spatialization Devices is put is to set up a system of contrast between items in the taxonomy, thereby relativizing practices to give them a form of legitimacy. The practices are naturalized by attributing them as feature of geography, in other words, construing them as an index as opposed to an arbitrary phenomenon.

The Spatialization Device in the following passage is instantiated through an opposition between ‘the West’ and ‘Japan’, realized in the clauses as Circumstance of location. The Circumstance is Thematized in the clause initial positions, marked by the morphological

marker DEWA (では), relating the two parts of the passage through a contrastive reference.

お茶を考えても、イギリスではみんなマグカップにどぼどぼ注いでガブ飲みする。しかし日本では、茶道というものにしてしまう。花の活け方も、日本では華道にしてしまう。字なんて相手に分からせれば済むものです。しかし日本では書道にしてしまう。あるいは香道なんていうのもありますね。香を聞く。何でも芸術にしてしまう。(Fujiwara 2005:98)

Tea is a similar story. **In the U.K.** the British just slosh it carelessly into mugs and slurp it down, but here **in Japan** we have created *sadō*, the tea ceremony. For the display of flowers, we have created *kadō*, or the art of flower arrangement. Strictly speaking, ideograms fulfill their function if the person to whom they are addressed is able to read them, but still **in Japan**, we have come up with *shodō*, the art of calligraphy. There is even something called *kōdō*, the art of guessing incense fragrances. We Japanese make everything into an art. (Murray trans. 2007:139-41)

Ideationally, the relationship of contrast between the two locations are established through the contrastive Conjunction ‘しかし’ (but) as shown in figure 3.14. Interpersonally, this oppositional organization of the Spatialization Device is instantiated through saturating prosody in the two parts of the text.

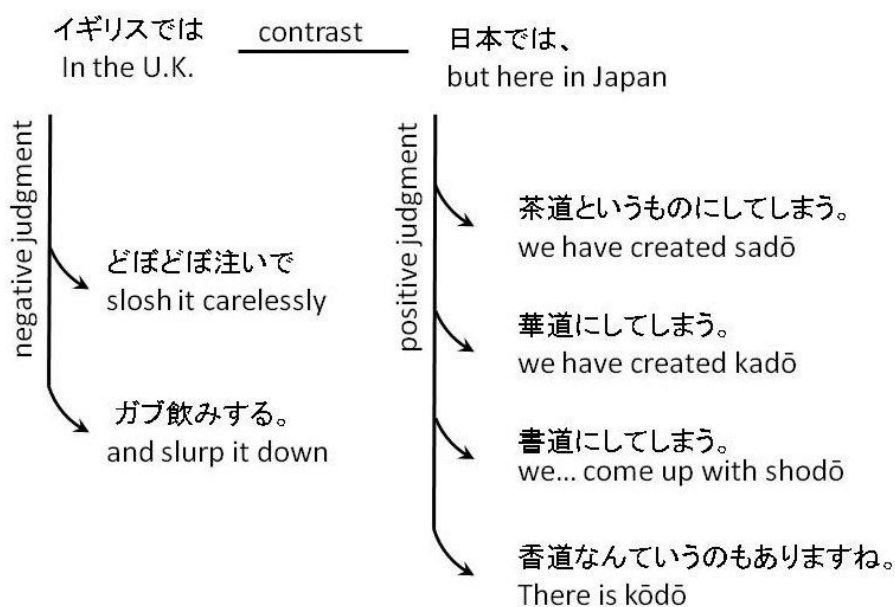


Fig. 3.14. Saturating prosody of Spatialization

The identity constructed as ‘in the UK’ is instantiated through the descriptions ‘どぼどぼ注ぐ’ (slosh carelessly) and ‘ガブ飲みする’ (slurp down) that serve as ideational tokens to invoke a negative judgment that saturates the text. The identity constructed as ‘here in Japan’ however is instantiated through the list of artistic accomplishments ‘茶道’ (*sadō*), ‘華道’ (*kadō*), ‘書道’ (*shodō*) and ‘香道’ (*kōdō*) that are interpreted through the dominating prosody of the hyperNew ‘We Japanese make everything into an art.’ In this way, the Spatialization Device is instantiated through the three metafunctions. Ideationally, the ‘UK’ is contrasted against ‘Japan’ as locations, realized as Circumstance in the clause. This is organized periodically as hyperThemes, dividing the Participants and Processes through the contrast between the locations. The oppositions thus set up by the ideational and textual meanings provide the targets for evaluation, which is realized by an opposition between positive and negative judgments that saturates the passage in interpersonal meaning.

3.4 Identity legitimation

The preceding sections provide a description of the particulate and prosodic syndromes in Nihonjinron discourse that influence the development of the text. These syndromes construct the social world by distinguishing, assimilating and separating identities. Critics have observed that Nihonjinron acts as a prescriptive model for behavior, and it has been made to serve as political and corporate ideology in policy-making decisions. It also serves as practical guides for consumers in their interactions (see 1.1.2). Nihonjinron discourses therefore serves as a source of legitimation for these political and corporate policies and personal conduct. This section will explore the role identity construction plays in Nihonjinron as a basis for social action.

Van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) proposes a framework for the discursive construction of legitimation that proves useful in this study. He is primarily interested in the way discourses provide compelling reasons for carrying out specific instructions. However, it has been pointed out in 1.1.2 that Nihonjinron is a prescriptive discourse framed as a descriptive one. Description does not necessarily constitute prescription unless readers identify themselves with the account and adopt the subject position offered by it, and the notion of ‘identities’ is therefore central to the prescriptive effect of the discourse. It may provide the grounds for perceiving a description as the proper way to act, or it may be invoked to establish the validity of that description. In either case, identification involves an organization of the social world, which ultimately translate to forms of

social action. It is therefore necessary to extend van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) framework, to include not only the discourses that lead to immediate compliance, but also those that indirectly provide the basis for specific forms of behavior.

The framework distinguishes between rationalization and authorization as strategies of legitimation. Rationalization refers to legitimation by reference to knowledge systems. The construction of identities as both the premise and conclusion of knowledge systems will be explored in 3.4.1. 'Authorization' refers to legitimation by reference to the authority of social institutions and persons in whom this institutional authority is vested. Identity is constructed as the basis of knowledge in Nihonjinron, and the conception of cited individuals in terms of categories and spatial relations are used to authorize Nihonjinron propositions will be explored in 3.4.2. Categorization Devices and Collectivization Devices distinguish and assimilate identities that offer subject positions for readers who may comply with the normative descriptions in Nihonjinron by identifying with these positions. The way in which identity is constructed as a potential basis of action will be explored in 3.4.3. Through these three aspects of identity construction, identities legitimize discourse and discourse legitimizes identity, constituting the circularity that serves to guarantee the perpetuation of Nihonjinron as a self sustaining discourse.

3.4.1 Rationalizing group behavior

What the work in MCA has consistently shown, most strikingly, is that identity construction is inextricably bound to our understanding of the world (see 2.2.2). Our observations inform our conception of identities, which in turn provides the background knowledge against which we subsequently interpret the actions and rationales of social actors. As Sacks (2005) observes:

That categorization which starts from some relevancies independent of a single action, permits you to go about, e.g., doing an explanation, or searching out how the thing could have happened. And ordinarily, if you have a singular recurring action, and you get a statement "we do that" or "they always do things like that," what's involved now is not simply that one is proposing to have categorized it as the actions of such people, but to have *explained* it as well. If you can turn a single action into 'a thing that they do,' it's thereby solved. (Sacks 2005:577, original emphasis)

The relationship between identity and explanation is therefore an interdependent one, in a way where each sustains the other. Both aspects of the identity-as-explanation complementarity come together as a system of social organization that functions as a ‘commonsense code’ in society, classifying social actors and ascribing values to them. ‘Classification,’ Hall (1997) explains, ‘ is a very generative thing once you are classified a whole range of other things fall into place as a result of it... it is a way of maintaining the order of any system’ (Hall 1997:2-3).

It is argued in MCA that identities are constructed as part of our interactions, and it is also argued in SFL that language construes our experience as a theory of reality (see 2.3.1). In this sense the relationship between identities and experience is managed discursively as systems of knowledge. When the systems of knowledge are used to legitimize social organization, identities serve as ‘objects for the disposition of power’ (Hall’s 1997:2). In this way, the knowledge system that is constructed around the concept of identities becomes a resource for what van Leeuwen (2008) describes as theoretical rationalization, shown in figure 3.15. His framework distinguishes between experiential rationalizations that appeal to anecdotal accounts and scientific rationalizations that appeal to systematic bodies of knowledge. These rationalizations may be presented simply as the definition of the identity in question. Alternatively, they may either serve as explanations, where a course of action is directly prescribed by the knowledge system itself, or as predictions, where the expectation of an action’s outcome is based on expert opinion.

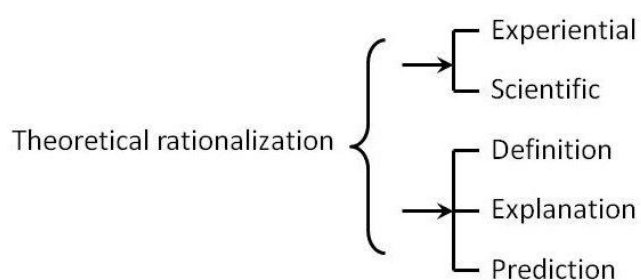


Fig. 3.15. *Theoretical rationalization (cited from van Leeuwen 2008:117)*

As Sacks’ account earlier suggests, specific actions may be associated with an identity by fiat as the definition of the identity. Theoretical definition involves the instantiation of *Gemeinschaft* through both the Token and Value of a relational clause, as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 3.40.

日本人一人一人が美しい情緒と形を身につけ、品格ある国家を保つことは、日本人として生まれた真の意味であり、自類への責務と思うのです。(Fujiwara 2005:191)
 Each and every Japanese must master beautiful emotions and forms and so preserve Japan as a nation with dignity. This is the true meaning of having been born Japanese, and it is our obligation to humanity. (Murray trans. 2007:279)

The circularity of such a form of legitimation is clear here, where Japanese behavior is defined in terms of Japanese identity.

Token	Value
日本が情緒と形を身につけることは	日本人として生まれた意味であり
Japanese GA forms and emotions O master NOM GA	Japanese TOSHITE born-pst-inf meaning-end-SUSP

Table 3.40. Explaining by categorization

It has been pointed out in 3.1.2.3 that the taxonomic relations that instantiate the Categorization Device are evaluative and regulatory, and the ideational meaning in this clause is coupled with graduation to sharpen the focus of ‘meaning’, hence flagging a positive attitudinal meaning towards the action.

...日本人として生まれた真の意味であり...

This is the **true** meaning of having been born Japanese...

It is more common however, to base the argument on an observation that serves as evidence for the claim about the relationship between identity and social action, such as the following anecdote that is used to make claims about ‘British behavior’.

ロンドン駐在の商社マンが、あるお得意さんの家に夕食に呼ばれた。そこでいきなり、こう訊かれたそうです。「縄文式土器と弥生土器はどう違うんだ」啞然としていると、「元寇というのは二度あった。最初のと後のとでは、何がどう違ったんだ？」そう訊かれたそうです。その人が言うには、イギリス人には人を試すという陰険なところがあって、こういう質問に答えられないと、もう次から呼んでくれないそうです。(Fujiwara 2005:41)

Another trading-company man posted in London was invited out to dinner at the house of an important client. There, out of the blue, he was asked: “What is the stylistic difference between Jōmon and Yayoi pottery?” The man was dumbstruck. “There were two Mongolian invasions. What was the difference between the first and the second?” These were the questions that were put to him. The British, he explained, have a sneaky side to them that likes putting people to the test. If you prove unable to answer their questions, then they won’t ask you around again. (Murray trans. 2007:69-71)

The passage constitutes a cautionary tale that serves as a practical guide for business communication (see 1.1.2). It does not merely present a set of observations, but it also provides an interpretation of the event, linking the account to the interpretation through an internal conjunction shown on the left of figure 3.16 (see Martin 1992:180 on internal and external conjunctions).

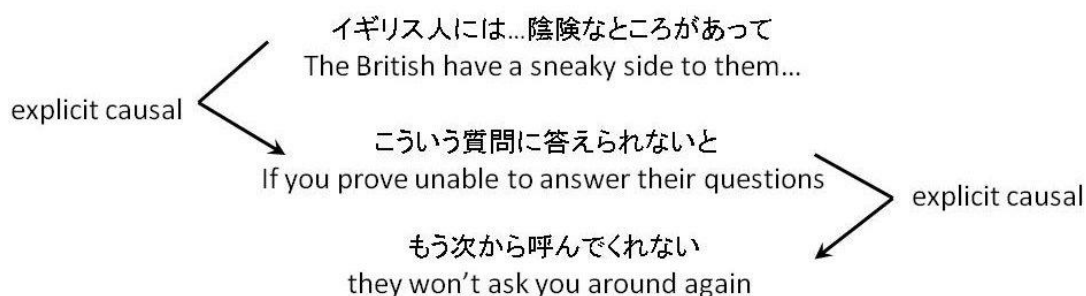


Fig. 3.16. Categorization and causality

Although the anecdote is a hearsay framed in past time, the assertion presented in the conclusion here is framed in present time, and past observation is used to determine a future course of action.

そう訊かれたそうです。

These were the questions that **were put** to him.

...もう次から呼んでくれない...

...they **won't ask** you around again.

The Categorization Device, instantiated through ‘British’ identity, therefore serves as theoretical prediction to legitimize the preventive measure against the scenario

presented in this cautionary tale. Anecdotal arguments such as the one here are common in *Nihonjinron*, and it is interesting to note that this account is a hearsay, morphologically marked in the Predicator by the hearsay marker ‘そう’, which shows that the observations used in identity construction do not necessarily have to be a personal experience of the author.

Legitimation may also take the form of a theoretical explanation that describes general attributes of the identities by reference to knowledge systems, reasoning that the behavior is appropriate to the identity. Spatialization Devices have a systematic relationship with Categorization Devices, and since geography engenders a sense of ‘physical reality’, Spatialization Devices are often used in the context of *Nihonjinron* as an explanation for rationalizing forms of national behavior.

Spatialization devices are also instantiated through taxonomic relations that provides a scientific flavor to the rationalization. The geographical detail provided by such a taxonomy locates it in a different field, that is, one associated with physical phenomena and scientific genres.

日本という土地には、台風や地震や洪水など、1年を通じて自然の脅威が耐えません。他国よりも余計に「悠久の自然と儂い人生」という対比を感じやすい。「無常観」というものを生み出しやすい風土などでしょう。(Fujiwara 2005:99)

Japan is a country under permanent threat from nature with its typhoons, earthquakes, and floods. Here in Japan, more than in other countries, it is easier to feel the fragility of human life set in contrast to the permanence of nature. Our environment naturally engenders a sense of the impermanence, the transitoriness of things. (Murray trans. 2007:141)

Lexical items associated with natural phenomena such as ‘土地’ and ‘風土’ (environment), ‘自然’ (nature), ‘台風’ (typhoons), ‘地震’ (earthquakes) and ‘洪水’ (floods) are used to project a scientific field and establish it as expert opinion. However, the Spatialization device then separates between identities, instantiated through ‘日本’ (Japan) and ‘他国’ (other countries) which is then linked to the national values ‘impermanence’ (無常観) through a notion of causality, presented as the process ‘engenders’ (生み出す).

3.4.2 Source of authority

The construction of identity through *Gemeinschaft* as explored in this chapter is associated with three forms of authorization as shown in figure 3.17. Personal authority is that which is vested in specific social actors by virtue of their social position in the institution. The nation is the primary institution that national identity discourses are concerned with, and members of the nation are presented as the legitimate members of the institution. Their voices are thus given the authority as representatives of the institution. Expert authority is that which is accorded to social actors based on their expertise. Individuals may be imbued with expert authority and presented as experts on the behavior of the members in a nation, either as a researcher or an informant. Conformity is based on the normative notion that a course of action is desirable because everyone does it. By the same token, a specific form of behavior is expected of a member of a nation simply because everyone else in the nation behaves that way. We shall examine each of these rhetorical strategies in turn.

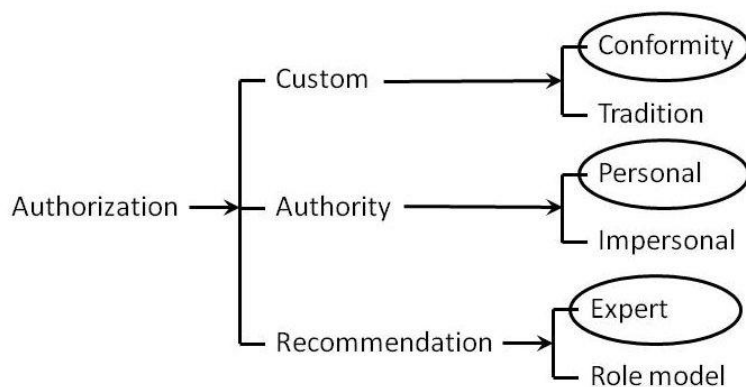


Fig. 3.17. *Types of Authorization (cited from van Leeuwen 2008:109)*

Identity is constructed as the basis of knowledge in *Nihonjinron*, and the conception of cited individuals in terms of categories and spatial relations are used to authorize *Nihonjinron* propositions. Leudar et al. (2004) remark that membership categories are not ‘representations for representation’s sake’, but serve interactional purposes to ‘justify’ social actions (Leudar et al. 2004:262-3). In this case, the validity of a proposition is based on the source of the argument, and the reliability of that source depends on the category to which the social actor belongs.

Categorization Devices are associated with a number of varied concepts such as nationality, field and status (see 3.1.1.1), and it is observed in 3.1.2.3 that the taxonomic relations in Categorization Devices are coupled with engagement. The coupling between engagement and these categories makes it a powerful resource for legitimizing arguments.

The nation as a cultural group and the state as a political entity do overlap in national identity discourses, even though it may not necessarily be the case (Wodak et al. 1999:19). It is possible to conflate the two when the situation demands it, such as during the war when it was actively promoted during the war in the form of state ideology (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:7-8). This is the case in *Kokutai no Hongi*, in which commands are legitimized through the personal authority of the emperor, based on his social position in the institution.

「教育ニ関スル勅語」に「天壤無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ」と仰せられてあるが、これは臣民各々が、皇祖皇宗の御遺訓を紹述し給ふ天皇に奉仕し、大和心を奉戴し、よくその道を行ずるところに実現せられる。(Ministry 1937:1/1)

In the Imperial Rescript on Education, the Emperor [Meiji] says:

Guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.

And this is brought to fruition where the subjects render service to the Emperor – who takes over and clarifies the teachings bequeathed by the Imperial Ancestors – accept the august Will, and walk worthily in the Way. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:65)

Through the Categorization Device, the category ‘emperor’ enters into a taxonomic relation with ‘subjects’, and the command to ‘guard and maintain the prosperity of the imperial throne’ is realized grammatically in the jussive mood (see Teruya 2006:182) as part of the projection. The personal authority of the emperor allows the command to be presented as an assertion.

The state is no longer featured as a prominent aspect of the nation in popular *Nihonjinron* discourses after the war, where the horizontal comradeship of the nation is emphasized, and the center personal authority is relocated from the roles within the nation to the taxonomic relation between nations. Consequently, personal authority takes the form of sourcing based on national categories, and comments cited from the individual are presented as the collective voice of the category.

日本に長く留学していたインド人が、筆者に不思議そうに質ねてことがある。...これによってもよくわかるように、ルールというものが、社会的に抽象化された明確な形としており(日本のように個別的、具体的なものでなく)、「家」単位というような個別性が強くなく... (Nakane 1967:41)

An Indian who had been studying in Japan for many years once compared Japanese and Indian practice in the following terms... As this clearly shows, in India “rules” are regarded as a definite but abstract social form, not as a concrete and individualized form particular to each family/social group as is the case in Japan. (Nakane 1970:26-7)

The source of comparison between Japanese and Indian practice is presented through the category ‘Indian’. The category is crucial in warranting the graduation in the subsequent comment on India ‘よくわかるように’ (as this **clearly** shows). The validity of the account is thus legitimized through the Categorization Device, trading on the semantic relation between ‘Indian’ and ‘India’. The nature of this relationship will be explored further at a later point.

Identity as existence is equated with identity as knowledge in *Nihonjinron*, and examples such as the preceding one conflates personal and expert authority. The Indian is accorded personal authority as the collective voice of one cultural group versus another, and expert authority as an expert offering an insider insight to the culture. Expert authority may be established independently of course, where the source is presented as a researcher, and expertise is presented in terms of field, such as the following example.

日本文学者のドナルド・キーン氏によると、これは日本人特有の感性だそうです。儂く消えゆくもののなかにすら、美的情緒を見いだしてしまう。(Fujiwara 2005:101)

Donald Keene, the Japanese literature scholar, sees this as a sensibility that is unique to the Japanese. We are able to discover emotional beauty even in fragile, fleeting things. (Murray trans. 2007:145-7)

As this example shows, expert authority is usually produced through a compounding of categories associated with nationality (Japanese), field (literature) and status (scholar). Unsurprisingly then, ‘nationalities’ such as ‘British’ and ‘Indian’ and ‘expertise’ such as

‘literature scholar’ comprise the most common Categorization Devices as sources in Nihonjinron. A more detailed description of this compounding is provided in 3.1.1.1.

Nihonjinron provides a means of self definition, and it is a premise in Nihonjinron that self definition has to be fulfilled through acceptance from others (Befu 1992:120). National categories as personal authority in the form of the foreign Other may be compounded with national categories as expert authority as part of the field of expertise, to present the source of reflexive assessment.

3年ぐらい前、日本の中世文学を専攻するイギリス人が我が家に遊びに来ました。私は「日本の中世文学を勉強するうえで何が難しいですか」と訊ねました。彼はただちに「ものあわれだ」と答えました。(Fujiwara 2005:103)

Around three years ago, a British scholar whose specialty was the literature of the Japanese Middle Ages came to my house. I asked him what was particularly difficult about Japanese literature of his period. “Mono no aware, the pathos of things,” came the immediate reply. (Murray trans. 2007:149, my bold)

The nominal group ‘a British scholar whose specialty was the literature of the Japanese Middle Ages’ contains two national categories that are equally vital to establishing the validity of the account. The category ‘British’ allows the source to be presented as an external observer, while the category ‘Japanese’ presents the source as an authority on the Japanese value ‘mono no aware’, allowing the voice of the source to be paradoxically constructed as simultaneously objective and privileged, and this has to be achieved by appealing to two different forms of authority, personal and expert.

It is mentioned in 3.3 that Spatialization Devices are systematically related to Categorization Devices. The example of the Indian in Nakane’s account discussed earlier trades on this systematic relation between locations and categories of social actors such that the Categorization Device instantiated through the category ‘Indian’ serves as expert authority for Spatialization Device instantiated through the circumstance ‘in India’. Conversely, Spatialization Devices can similarly serve as expert authority for Categorization Devices as shown in the following example.

私の友人でブリュッセルに住んでいる男がおります。...「EUの拡大で国境がなくなったら、東ヨーロッパの貧乏人たちが西ヨーロッパに出稼ぎに来るようになった。西の果てのベルギーでベンツやBMWなどの高級車を盗んで、そのままノンストッ

プで東ヨーロッパまで逃げてしまえば、誰も捕まえられない」と言うんです。
(Fujiwara 2005:18)

I have a friend who lives in Brussels... “With the EU getting bigger, borders have been abolished,” he explained. “Poor Eastern Europeans can now come to Western Europe as migrant workers. Nobody can prevent them from stealing expensive cars like Mercedes or BMWs here in Belgium and driving them non-stop all the way to Eastern Europe.” (Murray trans. 2007:18)

The identity of the source of the comment is constructed as the Spatialization Device instantiated through ‘in Brussels’. The source does not have to be named; the Spatialization Device is sufficient for establishing his expert authority on the place ‘in Belgium’ and the category ‘poor Eastern Europeans’.

The simultaneous construction of personal and expert authority such as that introduced earlier can similarly be done through compounding Spatialization Devices and Categorization Devices, such as the ‘Japanese woman living in Texas’ in the following example.

最近、アメリカ人と結婚してテキサス州に五十年余り住んでいる日本女性と会ったのですが、とても興味深い話を聞きました。(Fujiwara 2005:159)

Not long ago, I met a Japanese woman who was married to an American and had been living in Texas for more than fifty years. She told me something that I found very interesting. (Fujiwara 2007:233)

The Categorization Device instantiated through the nominal group ‘Japanese woman’ establishes her personal authority as the collective voice of the Japanese nation, while the Spatialization Device instantiated through the circumstance ‘in Texas’ confers on her the expert authority on the situation in America. What we have here is a direct inversion of the ‘British scholar of Japanese literature’ described earlier, although the use of both forms of authorization establishes the social actor as ‘one of us’ who is privy to the situation of the Other in this case.

3.4.3 Basis for conformity

Conformity is based on the normative notion that a course of action is desirable because everyone does it. For conformity to be established as the basis for behavior regulation in

Nihonjinron, the discourse presents the behavior as the normal standard in the nation. This may be done through the instantiation of Categorization Device simply through monogloss, or a dialogic contraction where an assertion about a category of people is simply presented as a fact about the category as a whole, as shown in the following examples.

日本人が外に向かって（他人に対して）自分を社会的に位置づける場合、好んでするのは、資格よりも場を優先することである。(Nakane 1967:30)

When a Japanese seeks to identify himself to others with respect to his position in society, he is inclined to give preference to frame over attribute. (Nakane 1972:9)

だいたい、金持ちの息子は苦勞がないから、おめでたく、バカで、刻苦勵型が出世するという社会的イメージが、日本人の常識の底流となっていることは、これをよく示すものであろう。(Nakane 1967:102)

This point is clearly demonstrated by the fact that underlying the Japanese people's **common view** of society, there exists the idea that sons of the wealthy are naive and stupid, and that diligent hard-workers are the type that succeed in life. (Nakane 1972:47-8)

[[...日本人の常識の底流となっている]]ことは、これをよく示すものであろう。

This point is clearly demonstrated by the fact [[that underlying the Japanese people's **common view** of society...]].

Such totalizing accounts have become increasingly untenable since the general assault in the social sciences on the assumptions of homogeneity however, and we are more likely to find the claims qualified through graduation resources (see 1.1.2 on criticisms of Nihonjinron).

武士道は鎌倉時代以降、多くの日本人の行動基準として機能してきました。(Fujiwara 2005:116)

Bushido, or the “way of the samurai,” has functioned as the criteria for action and the foundation of morality for **many Japanese** since the Kamakura period (1185-1333). (Murray trans. 2007:163)

In this case, the Categorization Device is instantiated through an assertion moderated by an up-scaling of quantification. The proposition formulated in this way allows it to be

expansive enough to include dissenting accounts while amplifying the evaluation in the author's assertion at the same time. It therefore acts as a mechanism that shields the proposition from criticisms of its generalizing tendency.

Description of identities does not necessarily constitute prescription unless readers identify themselves with the subject position offered by the discourse, and the subject position places the readers in a moralistic framework, such that they are 'interpellated' by the discourse (see 2.4.3). One of the ways in which this is achieved is through the Collectivization Device that serves to assimilate the readers into the community (see 3.2). The Collectivization Device is instantiated through the pronoun '私たち' (we) in the following extract, to cast readers into a moral framework whereby their actions are regulated by the negative judgment of capacity 'できない' (cannot) and increased force '決定的な' (decisive) and '必然的に' (must).

第一に、私たちは序列の意識なしには席に着くこともできない(日本間のしつらえは、特に決定的な作用を果たしている)し、しゃべることもできない(敬語のデリケートな使用、発言の順序・量などに必然的に反映される)。(Nakane 1967:83)

In the first place, we **cannot** even sit down or talk without being conscious of rank; for the traditional arrangement of a Japanese room is a decisive factor in relating seating practices with rank, and when speaking with anyone we must observe the subtleties governing the use of honorific expressions, the order of precedence or the time allowed each speaker according to his rank. (Nakane 1972:36-7)

As modalized expressions are ambiguous in the sense that they may realize propositions or proposals (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:148), the high value of modality '必然的に' (must) can be taken up by the reader as a moral imperative for the performance of a proper Japanese person (see 2.2.2).

Categorization Device can likewise be used in this way through the coupling between 'Japanese' as a participant and positive judgment. Befu (1993) argues that when the descriptive model 'describe an idealized state and carry positive valence, then it behooves Japanese to act and think as described to achieve the idealized state of affairs' (Befu 1993:116). The use of the inscribed attitude '価値を持つ' (valuable) in the following example invokes the positive judgment of capacity as part of the prosody of the Categorization Device to exhort readers towards feeling, thinking and acting in ways that the author considers appropriate to a Japanese person.

日本人は日本人のように思い、考え、行動して初めて国際社会の場で**価値を持つ**。
(Fujiwara 2005:147)

By the same token, it is when Japanese people feel like Japanese, think like Japanese, and act like Japanese that they **have value** in the international community. (Murray trans. 2007:213)

The preceding examples have shown how *Gemeinschaft* serves as a source of legitimation for *Nihonjinron* propositions. Both texts draw on the *Gemeinschaft* as a resource to set up a list of actions that are presented as the defining criteria of the collective or category.

In order for them to function as authorization however these propositions must contain an ‘element of moralization’, as van Leeuwen (2008:113) suggests, such that they result in a course of action. This chapter has shown that interpersonal meaning is part of the *Gemeinschaft*, and the following passage demonstrates how such couplings of ideational and interpersonal meanings can be explicitly used to authorize proposals and regulate behavior.

明治初年に来日し、大森貝塚を発見したアメリカの生物学者モースは、日本人の優雅と温厚に感銘し、「なぜ日本人が我々を南蛮夷狄と呼び来ったかが、段々判って来る」と書きました。モースはさらにこう書きます。「日本に数ヶ月も滞在していると、どんな外国人でも、自分の国では道徳てき教訓として重荷となっている善徳や品性を、日本人が生まれながらに持っていることに気づく。最も貧しい人々でさえ持っている」と。...我が国は経済成長を犠牲にしてでも、高い道徳という国柄を保つこと、そのために情緒と形を取り戻すことです。(Fujiwara 2005:187-8)

The American biologist Edward S. Morse, who came to Japan in early Meiji and discovered the Ōmori Shell Mounds, was so impressed by the grace and good nature of the people that he wrote: “I have gradually come to understand why it is that the Japanese call us southern barbarians.” Morse also commented: “After living in Japan for several months, all foreigners come to realize that the virtues and the strength of character which are the fruit of moral instruction and a heavy burden to bear in their own country, are here something which the Japanese are born with. Even the poorest people have them.”... Even if we have to sacrifice economic growth, we must restore our emotions and forms to preserve our high moral values. (Murray trans. 2007:271-3)

In this example, the Categorization Device is instantiated through the taxonomic relations between the nominal groups ‘American’, ‘foreigners’ and ‘Japanese’. The category ‘Americans’ is contrasted against the category ‘Japanese’, and reformulated in terms of the Collectivization Device instantiated through a projection with the pronominal reference ‘我々’ (us).

...日本人が我々を南蛮夷狄と呼び来った...
 ...the Japanese call us southern barbarians.

The Collectivization Device attributed to Morse assimilates the identities of Morse as ‘foreigners’, thereby constructing ‘American’ as a hyponym of ‘foreigners’, as shown in figure 3.18.

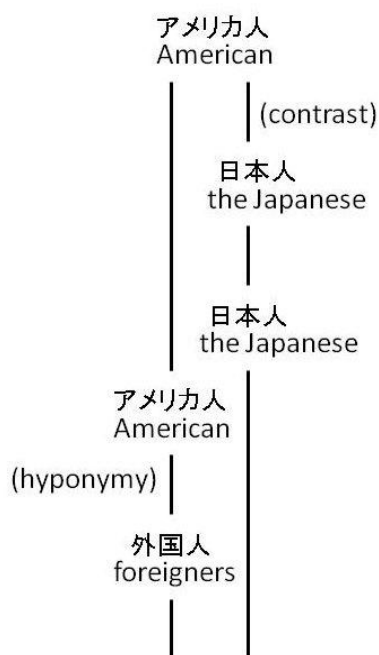


Fig. 3.18. Categorizing through semantic strings

The Categorization Device instantiated through the taxonomy set up in this way is simultaneously instantiated through a polarization in attitude in terms of interpersonal meaning as shown in figure 3.19, evaluating Japanese with positive judgment (virtue and strength of character) and the foreign Other with negative judgment (barbarians).

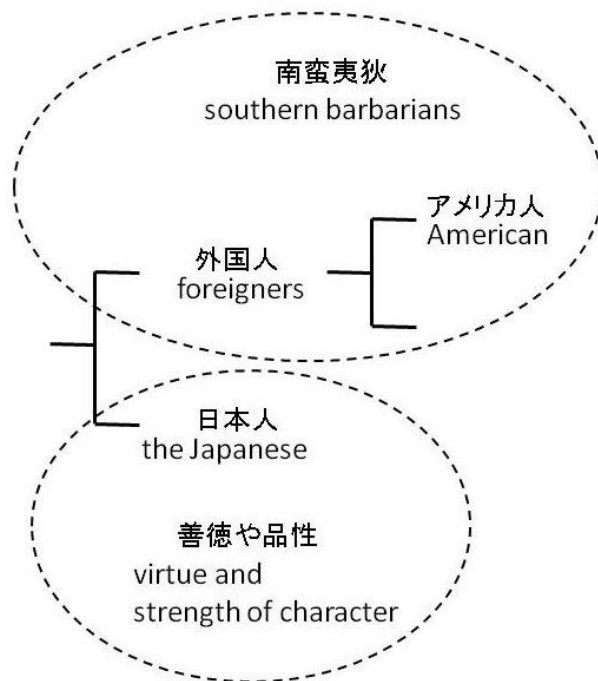


Fig. 3.19. Taxonomy and judgment

It can therefore be seen that the discourse is located in a moral framework. However, for these evaluations to be convincing, they have to be authorized by reference to the Categorization Device and Spatialization Device. Categorizing Morse as ‘American’ and locating him in terms of ‘coming to Japan’ and ‘living in Japan’ legitimizes the observation of the difference in moral character between ‘foreigners’ and ‘the Japanese’ and gives credit to the evaluations.

Finally, the Categorization Device is again reformulated as the Collectivization Device instantiated through ‘我が国’ (our nation) in the conclusion.

我が国は...国柄を保つこと...
 ...we must restore our emotions and forms...

The Collectivization Device functions to include the readers, assimilating their identities as part of the *Gemeinschaft* to introduce the command to subscribe to the set of values ‘情緒と形’ (emotions and forms) propounded in the book, framed in the modality of necessity ‘保つこと’ (must restore). This passage constitutes an argument that seeks to propound a prescribed form of behavior, and it does so through the construction of

identities within a moralistic framework. This moralistic framework is in turn supported by the identity constructs that serve as personal authority to the argument.

3.5 Gemeinschaft and identity

Categorization, Collectivization and Spacialization Device distinguish, assimilate and separate identities through different syndromes of coupling between particulate and prosodic structures. These syndromes coalesce in culture to form relatively stable clusters that provide the linguistic resources for the establishment and maintenance of boundaries between communities.

This chapter has identified three distinct types of Gemeinschaft, and distinguished them in terms of their ideational and interpersonal organization. They are the Categorization Device that construct kinds of people and things such as ‘Japanese people’ and ‘Japanese language’, the Collectivization Device that construct people and things as collectives such as ‘we’ and ‘our land’, and the Spatialization Device that constructs identities in terms of locations, such as ‘Japan’ and ‘the West’.

The Categorization Device is instantiated through the coupling between participants and evaluative prosodies in the text, coalescing as folksonomies. The Collectivization Device is instantiated through the coupling between participants or circumstance of angle and evaluative prosodies in the text, coalescing as oppositional relations. The Spatialization Device is instantiated through circumstance of location and evaluative prosodies, coalescing as oppositional relations.

Aside from the structures associated with experiential and interpersonal meanings that have been explored above, two other forms of structure come into play in the text. The periodic structure of identification associated with textual metafunction and the serial structure of conjunction associated with logical metafunction allow for logogenetic developments that organize icons in semantic chains, and the way these icons work together is distinctive to Nihonjinron. Befe (1992) identifies a premise of Nihonjinron that he describes as an ‘isomorphism of geography, race, language, and culture’ (Befe 1992:115). In terms of linguistic functions, we observe the reformulation between Categorization Devices (in terms of race) and Spatialization Devices (in terms of geography), Doxas and Oracles (in terms of language and culture) that are used interchangeably in a sense. However, as these icons are structured differently, and they

serve different functions, the reformulation of one kind of icon into another allow for the discursive strategies particular to Nihonjinron.

Gemeinschaft is thus produced and maintained through Doxas and Oracles that comprise the two other aspects of identity construction. It is committed interpersonally in terms of shared values as Doxas, and ideationally in terms of people and things as Oracles. The structural organization of Doxas and their instantiations will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Identifying with Doxa: values we rally around

All nationalisms stake out the exclusive boundaries of their claim to uniqueness on the common ground of our collective humanity by categorical expropriations of favored traits and values. What they attribute to themselves they must deny to 'outsiders', and conversely what is ascribed to others is disclaimed within the indigenous patrimony. – Peter Dale

Verbal expressions have a central place in the reasoning of Nihonjinron. Dale (1986) points out that 'in the search for the sui generis characteristics of Japan, the Japanese language plays a central role, not only as the medium of discussion but also as the primary object of analysis.' (Dale 1986:56). Befu (1993) similarly explains that 'the importance of language in creating a national identity stems not only from the fact of speaking a common tongue, but also... from the unique connotations, meanings, and values implied in its expressions' (Befu 1993:128). Language is seen as a vehicle of thought, and uniqueness in the language of a community reflects the uniqueness of the community. In this way, the supposedly unified culture and thought of a homogenous population is equated with a single language shared exclusively within the population that exists conterminously with geographical boundaries. The essence of the Gemeinschaft as we have explored in the preceding chapter is hence inextricably bound to language in Nihonjinron, in such a way that a single expression is able to account for the societal practices of entire populations in what Mouer and Sugimoto (1980) describe as a form of 'linguistic reductionism'. Extracted from what is considered the essence of the Gemeinschaft, these so-called 'indigenous' expressions are deemed uniquely suitable for describing the behaviors of the Japanese people.

In Nakane's sociological treatise for instance, the expressions 'the husband leads and the wife obeys' and 'man and wife are one flesh' are invoked to explain Japanese social organization. The mere existence of the expressions is regarded as evidence of a collective and homogenous form of 'conduct, ideas, and ways of thought'. Furthermore, the existence of these expressions implies an essential difference in terms of Gemeinschaft between 'the Japanese' and other categories of people, such that they provide the basis for comparisons.

夫唱婦随とか夫婦一体という道徳的理想はあくまで日本的なものであり、集団の一体感の強調のよいあらわれである。従来のいわゆる家制度の特色とされてきたような日本の家長権というものは、家成員の行動、思想、考え方にまで及ぶという点で、インドの家長権より、はるかに強力な力を発揮しうる性質のものであったといえよう。(Nakane 1967:40)

Moral ideas such as “**the husband leads and the wife obeys**” or “**man and wife are one flesh**” embody the Japanese emphasis on integration... The traditional authority of the Japanese household head, once regarded as the prime characteristic of the family system, extended over the conduct, ideas, and ways of thought of the household’s members, and on this score the household head could be said to wield a far greater power than his Indian counterpart. (Nakane 1970:26)

The explanatory value of the quoted phrase in this argument is based on its supposedly taken-for-granted status within the community. It is a quotation that has no source, because its voice is totalizing, belonging to society at large. It presents to the reader an unquestionable and commonsense assumption within the community, and it is one that the reader must accept if the argument is to proceed. It therefore represents the mind of the majority, a universal discourse sustained by repetition that calls to mind Roland Barthes’ (1977) notion of the ‘doxa’. Far from examples mentioned merely in passing, it can be seen that quotations such as these play a crucial role in the argument itself. Consequently, the function of such expressions can only be properly understood in terms of their location within the argument.

These expressions may range from lengthy proverbs to individual words such as the ones above. As Dale observes, ‘each writer will analyze the whole spectrum of ethnic experience in light of his single chosen term. Though they may frequently differ among themselves as to where the quintessence of “Japanliness” may be found, they all share the same simple faith in the idea that Japan’s vast and variegated tradition may be summed up in one “key word”’ (Dale 1986:57). These key words are hence tokens of the collective mind, instances of the doxa of the community that commit the *Gemeinschaft* in interpersonal meaning. The low degree of ideational commitment allow these words to serve as floating signifiers that can be reformulated and recommitted ideationally. Doxas are not simply words; they are the networks of couplings higher up the instantiation cline, and are highly charged interpersonally, endorsing the *Gemeinschaft* and Oracles.

As Doxas are syndromes of meaning, they have to be understood through the role they play within the discourse. For instance, the argument of the following passage rests on the word '*ie*' that is perceived as the essence of difference between the 'Japanese' and the 'Indian'. In fact, concept of '*ie*' is deemed so exotic and ineffable that has to be placed within quotation marks and rendered as a loanword within parenthesis. The passage then concludes with another expression, this time a quote 'the parents step in when their children quarrel'.

まず、この種の集団のあり方の原型は、前節であげた日本のいわゆる「家」を例に求めることができる。たとえば、日本では嫁姑の問題は「家」の中のみで解決されなければならない、いびられた嫁は自分の親兄弟、親類、近所の人々から援助を受けることなく、孤軍奮闘しなければならない。インドの農村では筆者が調査中に非常に印象深く感じたのであるが、長期間の里帰りが可能であるばかりでなく、つねに兄弟が訪問してくれ、何かと援助を受けるし、嫁姑の喧嘩はまったくはなばなしで大声でやり合い、隣近所にまる聞こえで、それを聞いて、近隣の(同一カーストの)嫁や姑が応援に来てくれる。他村から嫁入りして来た嫁さん同士の助け合いはまったく日本の女性にとっては想像もつかないもので羨ましいものである。

こんなことにもいわゆる資格(嫁さんという)を同じくする者の社会的機能が發揮され、家という枠に交錯して機能しているのである。日本では反対に、「**子供の喧嘩に親が出る**」のであって、後に詳しく述べるように、まったく反対の志向が存するのである。(Nakane 1967:38-9, my bold)

The archetype of this kind of group is the Japanese "household" (*ie*) as we have described in the previous section. In Japan, for example, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law problem is preferably solved inside the household, and the luckless bride has to struggle through in isolation, without help from her own family, relatives, or neighbors. By comparison, in agricultural villages in India not only can the bride make long visits to her parental home but her brother may frequently visit her and help out in various ways. Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law quarrels are conducted in raised voices that can be heard all over the neighborhood, and when such shouting is heard all the women (of the same caste) in the neighborhood come over and help out. The mutual assistance among the wives who come from other villages is a quite enviable factor completely unimaginable among Japanese women. Here again the function of the frame of the household. In Japan, by contrast, "**the parents step in when their children quarrel**" and, as I shall explain in detail later, the structure is the complete opposite to that in India. (Nakane 1970:25-6, my bold)

‘Key words’ such as ‘*ie*’ instantiates an **Ism**, which is a part of a constellation of other such key words as a ‘mosaic of words’ (Dale 1986:60). The passage generalizes the Ism in terms of the Spatialization Device as ‘Japan’, and the difference between ‘Japanliness’ and ‘non-Japanliness’ is exemplified through a series of observations, and reformulated as an **Adage**, instantiated through quotations such as ‘the parents step in when their children quarrel.’

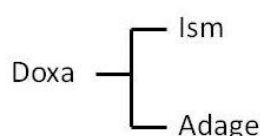


Fig. 4.1. *The Doxa network*

Two types of Doxa can therefore be observed in this passage, as presented in figure 4.1. Isms, such as ‘*ie*’, are lexicalized and prototypically instantiated through nominal groups. They are organized into value clusters and counterpoints in discourse that coalesce culturally to form axiological constellations. Adages, in contrast, are not organized as constellations. They are prototypically instantiated through a Locution that consists of one or more clauses such as ‘the parents step in when their children quarrel’, without an identifiable source in terms of engagement. While Isms produce axially charged discourses through taxonomies, Adages do so through ideational commitment. They are therefore clusters of syndromes higher up the instantial cline, and just as Charles Dickens’s Wellerisms have to be understood as the interrelations between proverb, speaker and the circumstances of the (mis)quotation, Isms and Adages are not merely collections of words and phrases, and they have to be understood in terms of the coupling between the expressions and their discursive environment. This chapter will examine the couplings between the ideational and interpersonal syndromes that coalesce as Doxa in culture.

Isms, Adages and Scriptures are three ways in which identities are constructed as verbiage, and even though both types of Doxa are committed interpersonally with respect to *Gemeinschaft* and Oracles, Adages have a higher degree of ideational commitment than Isms from a topological perspective, resulting in Adages sharing certain qualities with Scriptures (see 5.2 for the discussion on Scriptures). However, they serve distinct functions in the text, and Adages can nonetheless be distinguished

from Scriptures ideationally in terms of field and time expressions (see 4.2.1.2), and interpersonally in terms of engagement (see 4.2.2.3), as mapped out in figure 4.2.

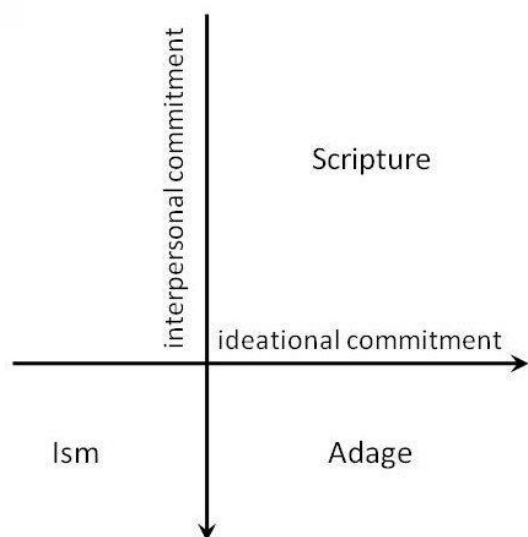


Figure 4.2. Identity as verbiage

4.1 will examine the particulate and prosodic syndromes that instantiate Isms, while 4.2 will examine the particulate and prosodic syndromes that instantiate Adages. Both sections will conclude with examples of the reformulative relationships between them and the Gemeinschaft in texts, whereby Isms and Adages may be **generalized** as Gemeinschaft, and Gemeinschaft may conversely be **endorsed** by Isms and Adages. 4.2.4 will explore the notion of ‘idiomaticity’ in relation to the Adage, and how it is used to hail readers into taking up a subject position in the Gemeinschaft.

4.1 Isms

Isms are the abstractions regularly used in identity discourse to refer to specific communal values shared by members of the community. They are highly charged concepts that supposedly sum up the ‘unique ethos’ of the community in question (Befu 1992:113). Isms play a significant role in Nihonjinron, and critics have referred to them variously as ‘talismanic key-words’ (Dale 1986:38), ‘geist’ (Befu 1992:113), ‘key concepts’ (Yoshino 1992:17-8) and ‘isms’ (Tansman 2007:61). They are abstractions, highly condensed in interpersonal meaning, and they bear little systematic correlation to the things they describe in terms of ideational meaning, and may be equally applied across a vast range of ideas. Isms are therefore undercommitted ideationally, and highly

committed interpersonally as what Maton (2008) describes as constellations that serve to identify social actors in terms of their moral positions. These abstractions therefore serve rhetorically as the coat of arms, or the *kamon* around which members of the discourse community may rally as their identity.

Given their central role in rallying readers to moral positions, the social significance of these emblems is easily identified by readers in the text through repetition and prominence. Describing the ideological rhetoric of Kokutai no Hongi, Tansman argues that the invocation of an ineffable and timeless essence of the Japanese people is borne out through the repetition of ‘talismatic words and phrases’ that bear on the reader like ‘beats in a chant’, presented as ‘repeated motifs whose sound and sight come to bear more propagandistic weight than their semantic content’ (Tansman 2007:65).

Readers may also be alerted to the social significance of the Isms through their graphological and lexical prominence. They may be explicitly signaled graphologically by the use of brackets and katakana characters in Japanese texts, or parenthesis, bold and italics in English texts. This strategy uses orthography to increase the prominence of Ism textually, marking them visually off from other words in the text.

この日本社会に根強く潜在する特殊な集団認識のあり方は、伝統的な、そして日本の社会の津々浦々まで浸透している普遍的な「イエ」（家）の概念に明確に代表されている。(Nakane 1967:31)

The essence of this firmly rooted, latent group consciousness in Japanese society is expressed in the traditional and ubiquitous concept of *ie*, the household, a concept which penetrates every nook and cranny of Japanese society. (Nakane 1970:16)

そして、「情緒」とか「形」というものの意義を考えるようになりました。(Fujiwara 2005:4)

It was then that I began to start thinking about the meaning of Japanese terms like *jōcho* (**emotion**) and *katachi* (**forms of behavior**). (Murray trans. 2007:9, original bold)

The way to signal the presence of an Ism is to leave them ‘untranslated’. In the above examples, イエ in Nakane (1967) has been rendered as ‘*ie*’ in Nakane (1970) while 情緒 and 形 in Fujiwara (2005) are rendered as *jōcho* and *katachi* in Murray (trans. 2007). The fact that they are also glossed subsequently as ‘the household’ and ‘emotion’ and

‘forms of behavior’ shows that the ideational meanings of those words can be, and are in fact translated. What is retained by the loanwords ‘*ie*’ and ‘*jōcho*’, ‘*katachi*’ are the interpersonal meanings that are lost in translation, i.e. they no longer function to imbue the Ism with a sense of communal identity, tellingly reinforced by the explanation ‘a concept which penetrates every nook and cranny of Japanese society.’ The loanwords however, are unable to communicate ideational meanings to an English reader, and the translators are therefore faced with a tension between the demands of translating ideationally and interpersonally, the result of which is the decision to translate the words both ways.

Although the presence of Isms is most ostensibly signaled at the word level, the nominal group is only part of their realization in the stretch of text. An Ism is realized as a cluster of features comprised of particulate and prosodic structures that will be elaborated in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2. The nominal group may be conceptualized as the nexus of these structures that are organized as a taxonomy in discourse. 4.1.1.3 will explore the construction of these taxonomies in the text, while 4.1.4 will show how these taxonomies are organized to produce the axiological rhetoric in *Nihonjinron*.

4.1.1 Particulate syndromes

Isms are structured around a nominal group that can be thought of as the nexus of the structure. In a sense, these nominal groups are the construal of societal values and ideals as abstract nouns. Martin (1993) points out that the construal of processes and events as abstractions and specialized terms allows meanings to be related in grammar as participants. Construed as abstractions, Isms can take on orbital structures that allow them to participate in discourse, relating them as explanatory devices to other events.

Halliday also notes that the nominal group is a powerful resource for meaning making in terms of what he calls their ‘semogenic power’ (p.196), that is, the potential to be expanded indefinitely. Construing social phenomena as abstract nouns enables the categorization and taxonomic organization of those phenomena. Isms can therefore enter into taxonomic relations with other Isms to form Ism clusters (see 4.1.5.1).

4.1.1.1 Orbital organization

Isms are structured around a nominal group that can be thought of as the nexus of the structure. These nominal groups function most commonly as Participants in the clause at the level of lexicogrammar, and they usually take the role of Medium in terms of ergativity. In the following example, we observe the nominal group ‘家’ (*ie*) taking the role of Medium in an existential clause, as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 4.1.

そして近代化に伴って、特に新憲法によって「家」がなくなったと信じられている。
(Nakane 1967:31)

The general consensus is that, as a consequence of modernization, particularly because of the new post-war civil code, the *ie* institution is dying. (Nakane 1970:16-7)

Existent	Process
「家」が	なくなった
<i>ie</i> GA	neg-become-past-inf

Table 4.1. *Ism as existential clause*

Alternatively the nominal groups may function as Goal in material clauses, such as ‘個人主義’ (individualism), or Phenomenon in mental clauses, such as ‘全体主義・国民主義の勃興’ (rise of totalitarianism and nationalism) in the following example, shown in tables 4.2 and 4.3.

個人主義を本とする欧米に於ても、共産主義に対しては、さすがにこれを容れ得ずして、今やその本来の個人主義を棄てんとして、全体主義・国民主義の勃興を見、ファッショ・ナチスの擡頭ともなつた。(Ministry 1937: preface)

The West that makes **individualism** their principle too has been unable to adopt communism, so now they are about to abandon their traditional **individualism**, and saw the rise of **totalitarianism** and **nationalism** as well as an upspringing of **Fascism** and **Nazism**. (my translation)

Token	Value	Process
個人主義を	本と	する
individualism O	principle TO	make-inf

Table 4.2. *Ism as relational clause*

Circumstance	Goal	Process
今や	その本来の個人主義を	棄てんとして
now YA	that original NO individualism O	abandon EXP TOSHITE

Table 4.3. *Ism as material clause*

To a lesser extent, these nominal groups may also function as Circumstance of material clauses, such as ‘武士道精神’ (spirit of *bushido*) marked by KARA in the following example, analyzed in table 4.4.

形とは主に、武士道精神からくる行動基準です。 (Fujiwara 2005:5)

By “forms” I mean the code of conduct that derives chiefly from the **spirit of *bushido***, or samurai ethics. (Murray trans. 2007:11)

Token	Circumstance	Value			Process
		Modifier		Thing	
		Circumstance	Process		
形とは	主に、	武士道精神から	くる	行動基準	です。
form TOWA	main NI	[[bushido spirit KARA	come-inf]]	code	end-fml

Table 4.4. *Ism as location*

4.1.1.2 Serial organization

These nominal groups may be composed of more than one lexical item organized serially, realized through morphology. The most common morphological markers associated with Isms are ‘主義’ (-ism) and ‘精神’ (-spirit). In *Kokutai no Hongi* (国体の

本義) published by the Ministry of Education (1937), for instance, there are 個人主義 (individualism), 合理主義 (rationalism), 実証主義 (positivism), 自然主義 (naturalism), 理想主義 (idealism), 社会主義 (socialism), 無政府主義 (anarchism) and 共産主義 (communism). In Fujiwara (2005) there are 合理精神 (spirit of rationalism), 武士道精神 (spirit of bushido), 帝国主義 (imperialism), 共産主義 (communism) and 資本主義 (capitalism). In these serial organizations, the markers that signal Isms function as Thing in the nominal group, as shown in table 4.5.

	nominal group			nominal group	
<i>Experiential</i>	Classifier	Thing	Classifier	Thing	
<i>Logical</i>	β	α	β	α	
	武士道	精神	無政府	主義	
	bushido	spirit	anarchy	ism	

Table 4.5. Serial organization of Isms

These nominal groups are themselves composed of two nominal groups joined through agglutination. The components are not of equal status however, and as the examples above show, the morpheme 主義' and '精神' function as the Head of the hypotatic relationship.

Generally, the morpheme 'spirit' is used to mark Isms of the authors' community, and '-isms' are used to mark Isms of the 'Other'. The only exceptions I have come across in these texts are in Fujiwara (2005) where 'spirit of rationalism' (合理精神) marks a 'Western' Ism, and 'one-set-ism' (ワン・セット主義) in Nakane (1967) for a Japanese Ism. 'Spirit' (精神) carries a valence of positive judgment, while '-ism' (主義) carries a valence of negative judgment, and these morphemes therefore charge the Ism with interpersonal significance, signaling to the reader the presence of an Ism.

When the markers '-ism' and '-spirit' do not function as the Thing in the nominal group, the Classifier of the nominal group is marked by the possessive marker NO (の) as shown in the following example.

この日本社会に根強く潜在する特殊な集団認識のあり方は、伝統的な、そして日本の社会の津々浦々まで浸透している普遍的な「イエ」(家)の概念に明確に代表されている。(Nakane 1967:31)

The essence of this firmly rooted, latent group consciousness in Japanese society is expressed in the traditional and ubiquitous **concept of ie**, the household, a concept which penetrates every nook and cranny of Japanese society. (Nakane 1970:16)

In this case, the nexus of the Ism is organized as the Classifier of the nominal group, with a general noun such as ‘概念’ (concept) functioning as the Thing, as shown in table 4.6.

nominal group	
Classifier	Thing
「イエ」の	概念
ie NO	concept

Table 4.6. *Ism instantiated through nominal group*

The nexus may also function as the Modifier in what Teruya (2006) calls a Projective embedding (Teruya 2006:451) where the nexus is marked morphologically by a mental projection marker ‘to’ (と) and a verbal process noun ‘iu’ (いう). In such cases, the Thing of the nominal group may be realized by the nominalizer ‘no’ (の) or nouns associated with mental and verbal processes, such as ‘concept’ (概念) and ‘word’ (言葉), as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 4.7.

その筆頭が「自由」という概念です。いま自由を否定する人は世界中にいないでしょう。私は奴隷制度のようなものがなくなった現代、「自由という言葉は不要」と思っています。(Fujiwara 2005:66)

At the top of my list is the concept of **freedom**. There is probably no one who would gainsay the concept of **freedom** these days, but now that slavery has disappeared from the world, the word “**freedom**” is, in my opinion, quite useless. (Murray trans. 2007:95)

nominal group	
Modifier	Thing
「自由」という	概念
freedom PROJ say	concept

nominal group	
Modifier	Thing
「自由」という	言葉
freedom PROJ say	word

Table 4.7. *Ism*s instantiated through projective embedding

The Head restates the meaning of the embedded clause as a particular artifice, thereby distancing the author from the voice in terms of engagement, and this is a strategy commonly used by authors to distance themselves from the value and identity signified by the *Ism* in question.

4.1.1.3 Lexical strings and taxonomic organization

Particulate strategies are suited for parts of the discourse that are organized locally, as clausal grammar provides the resources for bridging from each *Ism* to the next. In the following extract for instance, the *Ism* ‘natsukashisa’ (懐かしさ) and ‘mono no aware’ (もののあわれ) are brought into relation with the *Ism* ‘emotion’ (情緒) by a relational clause (情緒とは...懐かしさとかもののあわれといった...ものです). Similarly, ‘spirit of bushido’ (武士道精神) is embedded as the Qualifier of the nominal group ‘the code of conduct that derives chiefly from the spirit of bushido’ (武士道精神からくる行動基準) that is related to the *Ism* ‘form’ (形) by a relational clause (形とは...武士道精神からくる行動基準です). The clauses realize a lexical string that generates new *Ism* from existing ones and construes taxonomic relations between those *Ism*.

ここで言う情緒とは、喜怒哀楽のような誰でも生まれつき持っているものではなく、懐かしさとかもののあわれといった、教育によって培われるものです。形とは主に、武士道精神からくる行動基準です。ともに日本人を特徴づけるもので、国柄とも言うべきものでした。(Fujiwara 2005:5)

When I talk about “emotion,” I do not mean emotions like joy, anger, pity, and happiness, which we all experience naturally; I mean emotions that are fostered through cultural experience, like *natsukashisa*, a sense of yearning for the lost, and *mono no aware*, an awareness of the pathos of things. By “forms” I mean the code of conduct that derives chiefly from the **spirit of bushido**, or samurai ethics. Taken

together, these are the things that make the Japanese different, and comprise what we might call our **national character**. (Murray trans. 2007:9-11)

‘Emotion’ is contrasted against ‘that which “we all experience naturally”,’ and in terms of engagement, the denial shuts down any potential arguments that the Ism may be universal, so that the author may claim privileged access to it. The text then introduces new Ism ‘natsukashisa’ and ‘mono no aware’ as hyponyms of ‘emotion’, and ‘spirit of bushido’ as a synonym of ‘form’, before relating both Ism as co-meronyms of ‘national character’ (国柄), as shown in figure 4.3.

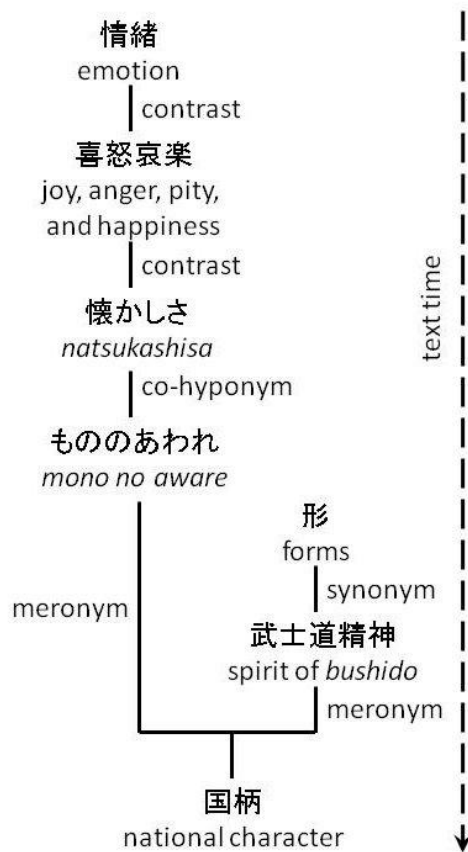


Fig. 4.3. Organization of Isms in lexical strings

The relations of superordination such as those that hold between ‘mono no aware’ (もののあわれ) and ‘natsukashisa’ (懐かしさ) in relation to ‘emotion’ (情緒) and the relations of composition such as those between ‘forms’ (形) and ‘emotion’ (情緒) in relation to ‘national character’ (国柄) can be expressed as set of synoptic relations as shown in

figure 4.4. This illustrates the relationship between elements of the cluster from a synoptic perspective.

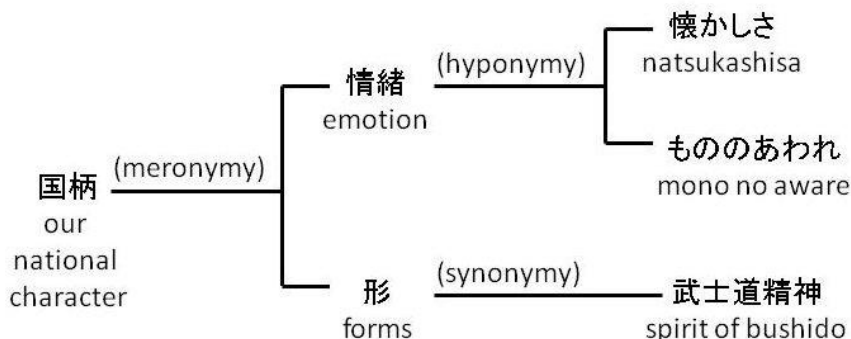


Fig. 4.4. Taxonomic organization of Isms

It is a function of the text to order the Ism this way so that they may offer an articulation of positions as a systemic resource in the linguistic reservoir. From a dynamic perspective however, the Isms have to be introduced into the text, and each one is generated as new information in relation to preceding ones through such covariate structures.

4.1.2 Prosodic syndromes

Mapped onto the ideational meanings explored in 4.1.1 are interpersonal ones, structured as dominating, intensifying and saturating prosodies in the stretch of text. The prosodic organization of meaning allow the Isms to play a prominent role in the text. Placed in textually prominent positions, the Isms dominate the text, and their effects can be observed as a saturation of interpersonal meaning through the length of text.

4.1.2.1 Dominating prosody

Aside from being interpersonally charged, Ism are usually Thematic in *Nihonjinron*, which attests to the central place in the texts. Textually prominent, Ism are often realized as part of the MacroTheme of the book, such as the title of Nakane's (1967) *Tate-shakai no ningenkankei* (Personal relations in a **vertical** society) and Doi's (1971) *Amae no Kozo* (Anatomy of **Dependence**) or that of book chapters such as those in Fujiwara (2005) listed below Murray trans. 2007, my bold).

1. 近代的合理精神の限界 (The Limits of the Modern **Rational Spirit**)
2. 「論理」だけでは世界が破綻する (**Logic** Alone will Drive the World to Ruin)
3. 自由、平等、民主主義を疑う (**Freedom, Equality, and Democracy** Questioned)
4. 「情緒」と「形」の国、日本 (Japan: Land of **Emotions** and **Forms**)
5. 「武士道精神」の復活を (The Revival of the **Samurai Spirit**)
6. なぜ「情緒と形」が大事なのか (Why are **Emotions** and **Forms** so Important?)
7. 国家の品格 (The **Dignity** of the Nation)

In that way they resemble scientific discourses where technical terms take up such positions of prominence. It should be noted however, that as Isms are interpersonally charged, the textual prominence allows them to sustain a dominating prosody over long stretches of *Nihonjinron* discourse in what Martin and White (2005) describe as the ‘co-option of periodic structure by a prosody’. In other words, interpersonal meanings form a crucial part of the organizational principle of the texts: Isms are interpersonally charged with moral undertones, and entire chapters are meant to be interpreted against them. They are therefore often realized at various levels of periodicity, functioning as both the macroTheme of a chapter as well as a section within the chapter.

For instance, the Ism ‘samurai spirit’ (武士道精神) can be observed to play a pivotal role in the section 父の教え (My father’s teaching) that opens with the following extract in chapter 5.

父の教え

私にとって幸運だったのは、ことあるごとにこの「武士道精神」をたたき込んでくれた父がいたことでした。父からはいつも、「弱い者いじめの現場を見たら、自分の身を挺してでも、弱いものを助けろ」と言われていました。父は「弱い者がいじめられているのを見て見ぬふりをするのは卑怯だ」と言うのです。私にとって「卑怯だ」と言われることは「お前は生きている価値がない」というのと同じです。だから、弱い者いじめを見つけたら、当然身を躍らせて助けに行きました。(Fujiwara 2005:126)

My father’s teaching

I was lucky to have a father who hammered the samurai spirit into me. He would always say: “If you see someone bullying someone weaker than themselves, you have to intervene to help the weaker party regardless of the danger.” My father also

told me that it was base not to see someone weak being bullied then pretend not to. For me, to be called “base” was like being told I was unworthy to live. Thus whenever I saw any bullying, I would routinely pile in and lend a hand to the weaker side. (Murray trans. 2007)

‘Samurai spirit’ serves once again as the basis of interpretation ‘base’ (卑怯) for what is otherwise simply an event, i.e. ‘to see someone weak being bullied then pretend not to’, one that is open to alternative interpretations as evidenced in his mother’s comment.

母は渋い顔で、「正義の味方もほどほどよ。暴力少年のレッテルを貼られ、内申書にでも書かれたら、行きたい中学にも行けませんよ」なんて言ってましたが。
(Fujiwara 2005:127)

My mother would look rather stern and issued warnings: “You’d better ease up on being a champion of justice. You’ll be labeled a violent delinquent, and if that goes into your report, you won’t be able to go on to your first-choice junior high school.”
(Murray trans. 2007)

It is precisely the lack of ‘samurai spirit’ in his mother that allows for the alternative judgment ‘violent’ (暴力) and pragmatic considerations ‘you won’t be able to go on to your first-choice junior high school’. ‘Samurai spirit’ sanctions a specific moral evaluation of his actions and the Ism therefore motivates a coupling of the ideational meaning ‘to see someone weak being bullied then pretend not to’ with an interpersonal one i.e. ‘base’; it invokes a judgment on the author as being morally strong in his actions, i.e. ‘whenever I saw any bullying, I would routinely pile in and lend a hand to the weaker side.’ Finally, it serves as the basis for a moral obligation, in this case a command realized as modulation i.e. ‘you have to intervene to help the weaker party regardless of the danger’. In Davies and Harre’s (1990) terms therefore, the Ism provides a ‘subject position’ from which obligations and moral judgments may be invoked (c.f. Tann 2010:176).



Fig. 4.5. *Ism as a dominating prosody*

The Ism therefore exerts a dominating prosody that ranges over the extensive stretch of text, as shown in figure 4.5. Prosodic strategies such as this generally apply to clusters that are generated over longer stretches of text.

At first glance, the Ism in chapter 3 of Fujiwara (2005) ‘Freedom, Equality, and Democracy Questioned’ (自由、平等、民主主義を疑う) may seem like a list with each item taking up a section of the chapter. It begins with given information that links the chapter to the previous one. The Ism ‘logic’ (論理) is the core of the Given, realized as the macroTheme of the section.

欧米人の「論理の出発点」

前章で「論理だけでは人間社会の問題の解決は図れない」ことを、四つの理由に基づいて説明しました。(Fujiwara 2005:65)

The Starting Point of Western Logic

The previous chapter provided four reasons why logic alone cannot provide solutions to the problems we face as a society. (Murray trans. 2007:93)

The first section closes with the Ism ‘logic’ again, but it is now coupled with the author’s position.

先ほど「論理には出発点が必要である」と言いましたが、欧米が近代社会を構築する際の「論理の出発点」としたものの多くが、私にはどうもピンとこないのです。(Fujiwara 2005:65-6)

I spoke earlier about logic needing a starting point, but I find myself unable to accept many of the starting points that the West employed when constructing modern society. (Murray trans. 2007:93)

The rest of the chapter then develops serially, introducing a new Ism (in bold) in each section, as shown in each of the macroThemes below.

その筆頭が「自由」という概念です。(Fujiwara 2005:66)

At the top of my list is the concept of **freedom**. (Murray trans. 2007:95)

民主主義だって同じことです。(Fujiwara 2005:75)

Democracy is the same. (Murray trans. 2007:103)

さっき「自由」というものを批判しましたが、「平等」というものもまたフィクションです。(Fujiwara 2005:88)

A little earlier I was critical of freedom. **Equality** is another such fiction. (Murray trans. 2007:125)

Then the Isms are brought together in a list at the end of the chapter and appraised as the ‘cause of difficulties’ (苦境の真の原因).

もちろん民主主義、自由、平等には、それぞれ一冊の本になるほどの美しい論理が通っています。だから世界は酔ってしまったのです。論理とか合理に頼りすぎてきたことが、現代世界の当面する苦境の真の原因と思うのです。(Fujiwara 2005:94)

Democracy, freedom, equality – each of them has enough beautiful logic to fill a book, which explains why the world was so intoxicated by them. Too much faith in logic and reason is, I believe, the true cause of the difficulties that the world currently faces. (Murray trans. 2007:133)

Ideationally, the Isms form a list without any specified relations between them. Textually, they are linked by anaphoric reference (in bold).

その筆頭が「自由」という概念です。

At the top of **my list** is the concept of freedom.

民主主義だって同じことです。

Democracy is **the same**.

「平等」というものもまたフィクションです。

Equality is **another such** fiction.

In fact, the Ism ‘logic’ as the macroTheme of the chapter exerts a dominating prosody (see 2.3.2) over the rest of the chapter, and the Ism subsequently generated have to be interpreted against its interpersonal meanings. ‘Logic’ is flawed (negative valuation), and it generates other equally flawed Ism. Each subsequent Ism is then presented into the discourse as new information, culminating in the macroNew of the chapter, where the entire cluster is appraised, as shown in figure 4.6.

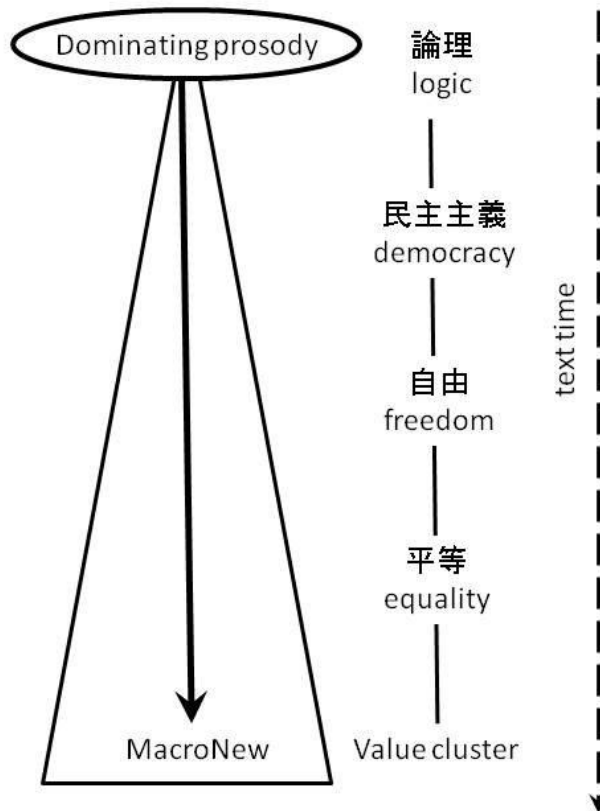


Fig. 4.6. Prosodic organization of Isms

4.1.2.2 Intensifying prosody

Amplification is not commonly associated with Isms, but they can also be structured as intensifying prosody, such as those in the following extract, shown in figure 4.7.

以心伝心、あうんの呼吸、腹芸、長幼、義理、貸し借り、などがものを言う日本に比べ、論理の応酬だけで物事が決まっていくアメリカ社会が、とても爽快に思えました。(Fujiwara 2005:3)

In contrast to Japan, where **unspoken understanding, instinctively sensing what other people are thinking, personality projection, respect for one's seniors, and a sense of duty and mutual obligation** count for so much, I found American society – where everything is decided by logic – wonderfully refreshing. (Murray trans. 2007:7, my bold)

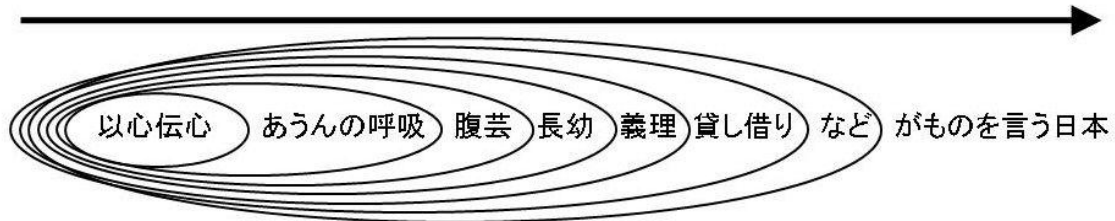


Fig. 4.7. Isms as an intensifying prosody

The list consists of Isms in bold that have been borrowed from other *Nihonjinron* texts, and demonstrates the use of intertextuality to amplify the contrast between ‘Japan’ and ‘American society’, and to get the author’s point across forcefully. Interestingly, when Isms are used in this way, their ideational meanings seem to have been bled away to a large extent; it no longer matters to what concept each of these keywords refer exactly, but what is significant is the fact that they symbolize ‘Japanese’ values that ‘American society’ does not share. And indeed, they appear simply as part of this list to bring in the argument of how different ‘Japanese society’ is from ‘American society’, and are not developed any further in the remainder of the text once the point is made.

4.1.2.3 Saturating prosody

Ism are also instantiated in the text as a saturating prosody, which are opportunistic realizations of interpersonal meaning. Between pages 116 and 129 comprising chapter 5

for instance, I counted 20 times that the Ism appeared, including both realizations ‘bushido’ (武士道) and ‘samurai spirit’ (武士道精神). ‘freedom’ (自由) is repeated up to 12 times in the space of the following passage.

その筆頭が「自由」という概念です。いま自由を否定する人は世界中にいないでしょう。私は奴隷制度のようなものがなくなった現代、「自由という言葉は不要」と思っています。控えめに言っても、「自由」は積極的に賞揚すべき概念ではありません。

日本の中世においては、自由というのはしばしば「身勝手」と同じ意味で使われていました。『徒然草』においても、そのように使われていたと記憶しております。自由が著しく制限されていた戦中への反動から、また自由を国是とするアメリカによる占領統治もあり、戦後はことあるごとに「自由」が強調されてきました。憲法や教育基本法をはじめ、さまざまな法律にも、基本的な人間の権利として書かれております。しかし結局、自由の強調は「身勝手の助長」にしかつながらなかった、と言えるのではないのでしょうか。

この「自由」という名の化け物のおかげで、日本古来の道徳や、日本人長年のあいだ培ってきた伝統的な形というものが、傷つけられてしまいました。

人間にはそもそも自由がありません。それは当たり前のことです。生れ落ちた瞬間から人間に自由はない。あんなに厚い六法全書があり、法律が網の目のように張り巡らされています。法律の他にも道徳とか倫理というものまであります。さらにどんな組織にも規則があり、そこでは協調が強いられています。我々の行動や言論は全面的に規制されているのです。(Fujiwara 2005:66-7)

At the top of my list is the concept of **freedom**. There is probably no one on who would gainsay the concept of **freedom** these days, but now that slavery has disappeared from the world, the word “**freedom**” is, in my opinion, quite useless. **Freedom** – and I am speaking with deliberate moderation here –is not a concept that deserves any praise.

In the Japan of the Middle Ages, *jiyū*, the word for **freedom**, was used in the same sense as *migatte*, meaning “selfishness” or “egotism.” I remember it being used this way in the *Turezuregusa* too.

Freedom was dramatically curtailed in Japan during World War II. In a reaction to this, **freedom** has been played up at every opportunity in postwar Japan, starting with the American Occupation’s elevation of **freedom** to a national policy. **Freedom** is described as a basic right of the people in the constitution, in the basic

education law, and in a host of other laws. I wonder, though, if this emphasis on **freedom** is ultimately nothing more than the promotion of egotism.

It was this monster called “**freedom**” that dealt such a severe blow to the old morality and the forms of behavior that the Japanese had cultivated over so many generations.

Human beings are not free. That is obvious. We have no **freedom** from the moment that we come into this world. There is the hefty Statute Book, and the law that wraps around us like a net, not to mention morality and ethics. All organizations have rules to enforce cooperation. Everything we do and say is subject to regulation. (Murray trans. 2007:95-7)

Aside from a few exceptions (see 4.1.1.2), there is a consistent pattern where instances of the Ism ‘freedom’ are accompanied by negative appraisal, shown in figure 4.8. The pattern is only disrupted temporarily in the third paragraph where the Ism is committed with ideational meaning (see 4.2.1 for analysis).

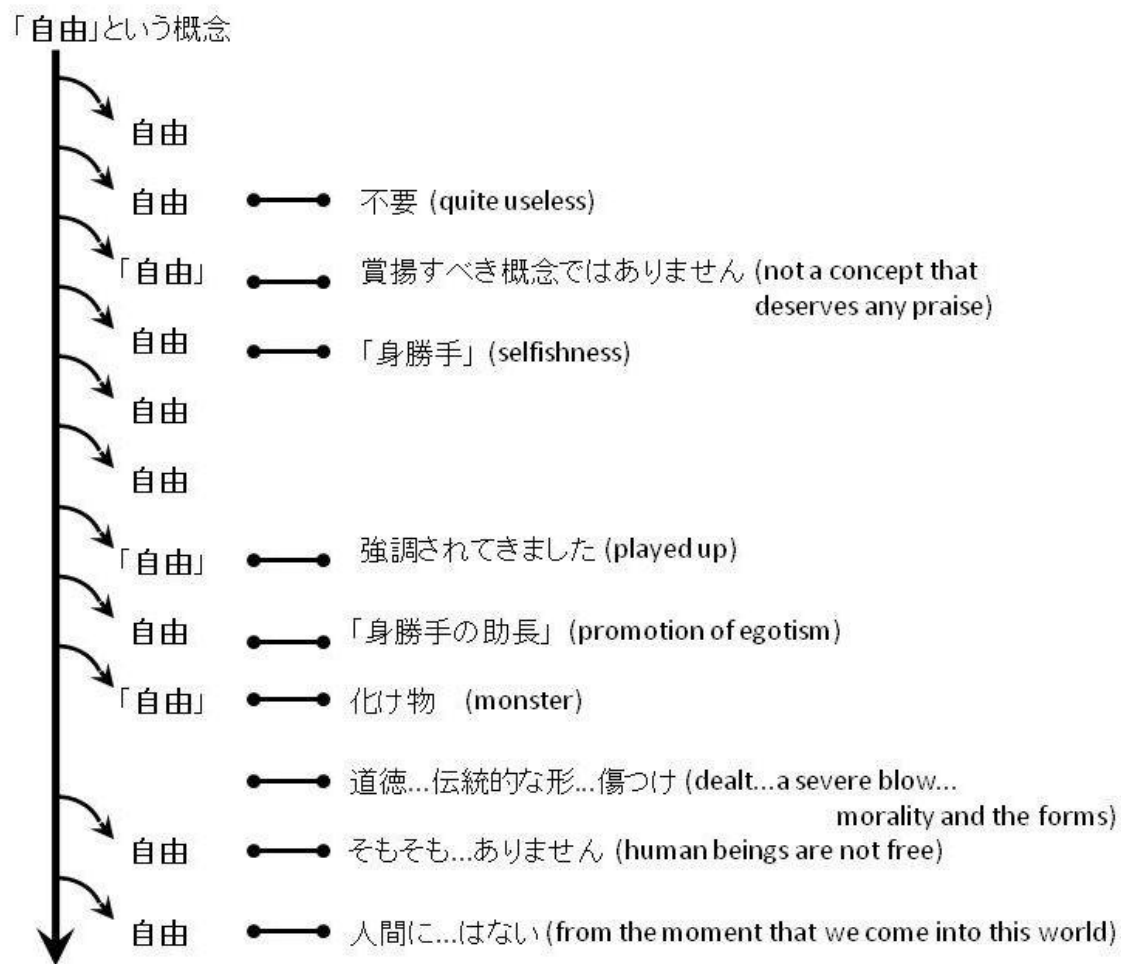


Fig. 4.8. *Isms as a saturating prosody*

The ‘Western’ Ism ‘freedom’ therefore is coupled with the appreciation ‘useless’ and ‘made up’ (negative valuation) on the one hand, and the judgment ‘selfishness’, ‘egotism’ and ‘monster’ (negative propriety) on the other. The coupling of ideational and interpersonal meaning produces an alignment, in which the Ism ‘freedom’ is considered inferior, and those who position themselves with it reprehensible.

4.1.3 Axiologizing discourse

In the example above, the Ism ‘freedom’ (自由) is disavowed as the Ism of the morally reprehensible and foreign ‘Other’. It is the value of the ‘American Occupation’ and ‘their’ national policy; it is a ‘useless’ ‘myth’ that has been ‘played up’.

自由が著しく制限されていた戦中への反動から、また自由を国是とするアメリカによる占領統治もあり、戦後はことあるごとに「自由」が強調されてきました。

In a reaction to this, freedom has been played up at every opportunity in postwar Japan, starting with the American Occupation's elevation of freedom to a national policy.

In contrast, 'our' morality and *Ism* 'forms of behavior' (形), which is in direct conflict with 'freedom', is part of 'our' indigenous history (日本古来の), and has been cultivated 'over so many generations' (長年のあいだ培ってきた伝統的).

この「自由」という名の化け物のおかげで、日本古来の道徳や、日本人長年のあいだ培ってきた伝統的な形というものが、傷つけられてしまいました。

It was this monster called "freedom" that dealt such a severe blow the old morality and the forms of behavior that the Japanese had cultivated over so many generations.

Isms are therefore used to construct the identities of social actors as oppositions between the Self and the Other. Befu points out that the associations of ideas, practices and beliefs in *Nihonjinron* form 'a cosmos unshared by others and serves as a basis for Japanese ethnocentrism' (Befu 1992:128). Maton (2008) argues that words with an affective charge associated with moral, political and social values form 'axiological constellations', through which 'ideas, practices and beliefs are grouped together and contrasted to other groups' (see 2.4.3). When the author employs an *Ism* in his identity discourse therefore, he is not simply presenting an isolated item, but invoking a 'constellation' of concepts, hence invoking a tradition of commonsense thought.

The *Isms* therefore do not work alone; they work alongside other keywords to form a network of couplings that generates a discursive space that may be shared with other texts. The *Nihonjinron* therefore is such a space, or what Dale (1986) describes as a 'metadiscourse', that is, a reservoir of couplings, and the text plays a key role in organizing the resources into structural relationships.

As each verbal argument enters into the intellectual tradition of identity discussions, each key word contributes the force of its eccentrically loaded nationalism to the

ideological mainstream. The resulting patchwork of tightly interknitted, wooly threads of semantic assertion presents an order of deliberately constituted unintelligibility. That is, this mosaic of words charged with intense resonances of ‘Japaneseness’ (which they never bore in the vernacular) begins to constitute an academic metadiscourse, implicated with intertextual reverberations of uniqueness, that raises a semantic bamboo curtain between Japan and the outside world. (Dale 1986:60)

The ‘mosaic’ of words form **Ism clusters** that articulate a nexus of interpersonal positions and construct a perspective of the social order. They offer specific ‘gazes’ for understanding what it means to be ‘Japanese’ or ‘non-Japanese’. There are two general strategies for formulating Ism clusters such as these. Identity icons are couplings of ideational and interpersonal meanings, and they have properties of both organizing principles. As such, methods of reformulation associated with either structure are viable. Particulate strategies are locally organized, and they construe the social order taxonomically. Prosodic strategies generally apply to clusters that are established through longer stretches of text. It is also through these strategies that new Isms are derived from existing ones in unfolding text.

One means by which Ism are introduced and charged in texts is by generating them from an opposing set of Ism. In Maton (2008) terms, this sets up ‘oppositional constellations’ of positions that are ‘axiologically loaded’. Befu (1992) observes that ‘Nihonjinron is formulated on the basis of comparison: by comparing Japan with other cultures, one arrives at what is presumably unique to Japan’ (Befu 1992:113).

We have seen how Ism are generated and organized into clusters. However, Ism clusters can be used both to rally readers *to* a position as well as to rally them *against* one. As we have seen in the preceding example, Ism such as ‘democracy’, ‘freedom’, ‘equality’ and ‘logic’ are used to rally readers against a set of positions that are described as ‘Western’. This is a strategy commonly used in Nihonjinron to rally readers towards what are supposedly their opposites. As Maton (2008) reminds us, constellations only appear to be coherent from a particular position (see 2.4.3). It is therefore important to note that these oppositions are structurally constructed, and it is this structural organization that reveals the alignment of the text. I shall refer to such structural oppositions between clusters within the text as **counterpoints** after Tann (2010:189).

Oppositions are often set up between Ism clusters in Nihonjinron because they draw on the potential of dialogic contraction to introduce Ism as can be seen in the following extract from Nakane's (1970).

The foregoing discussion highlights one of the important features of the leader-subordinate relationship in Japan – the leader is a part of the group organization... in fact, the Japanese language has no term for the word leadership; to express the concept, one has to fall back on terms describing the *oyabun-kobun* relationship. (Nakane 1970:91)

By denying the term for 'leadership' in Japanese, Nakane introduces the Ism '*oyabun-kobun*'. This is possible only because the categories 'English' and 'Japanese' are construed and positioned as mutually exclusive in terms of 'language'. A similar strategy can be observed in the following extracts from Fujiwara (2005).

私は平等というのは、欧米のひねりだした耳当たりのよい美辞に過ぎないと思っております...我が国では差別に対して対抗軸を立てるのではなく、惻隠をもって応じました。弱者・敗者・虐げられた者への思いやりです。惻隠こそ武士道精神の中軸です。(Fujiwara 2005:89-90)

Personally, I think that equality is nothing more than a fine-sounding term cooked up by the West... In Japan, we do not respond to discrimination by setting up something else in opposition to it, but with *sokuin*. *Sokuin* means compassion and pity for the weak, for the loser, for the oppressed. Compassion stands at the center of the samurai spirit. (Murray trans. 2007:127-9)

数年間はアメリカかぶれだったのですが、次第に論理だけでは物事は片付かない、論理的に正しいということはさほどのことでもない、と考えるようになりました。数学者のはしくれである私が、論理の力を疑うようになったのです。そして、「情緒」とか「形」というものの意義を考えるようになりました。(Fujiwara 2005:5)

My mania for American ways persisted for several years until it gradually dawned on me that logic was not the answer to everything, and that maybe being logically correct was not really such a great thing after all. Here I was, a budding mathematician who had ended up questioning the value of logic! It was then that I began to start thinking about the meaning of Japanese terms like *jōcho* (emotion) and *katachi* (forms of behavior). (Murray trans. 2007:9)

The oppositions between Ism clusters are also evaluative.

イギリスから帰国後、私の中で論理の地位が大きく低下し、情緒とか形がますます大きくなりました。(Fujiwara 2005:5)

After I came back to Japan from England, logic had become much less important to me, while, conversely, emotions and forms of behavior had become much more important. (Murray trans. 2007:9)

The two sets of Ism in this last example are set up in direct opposition through a contrastive conjunction realized as the gerund in Japanese (低下し) and the form ‘conversely’ in English. The fact that this contrast is primarily evaluative is made all the more explicit through phoricity ‘more/less’ and repetition ‘important’. Positive valuations associated with the American Ism ‘logic’ are discharged by dialogic contraction realized by negative Mood, i.e. that it was ‘not the answer to everything’ (物事は片付かない) and ‘not really such a great thing after all’ (さほどのことでもない), and are recharged with negative valuation, remarking that it ‘had become much less important’ (地位が大きく低下し). In contrast, Japanese Ism ‘emotions’ and ‘forms of behavior’ are charged with positive valuation, i.e. that they have ‘become much more important’ (ますます大きくなりました).

If we map out the Ism in Fujiwara (2005) that we have discussed so far, we can begin to see how the Nihonjinron text is axiologically structured as shown in figure 4.9. Arrows with solid lines show the directions of development where subsequent Ism are derived from preceding ones, and arrows with dotted lines indicate counterpoints between Ism.

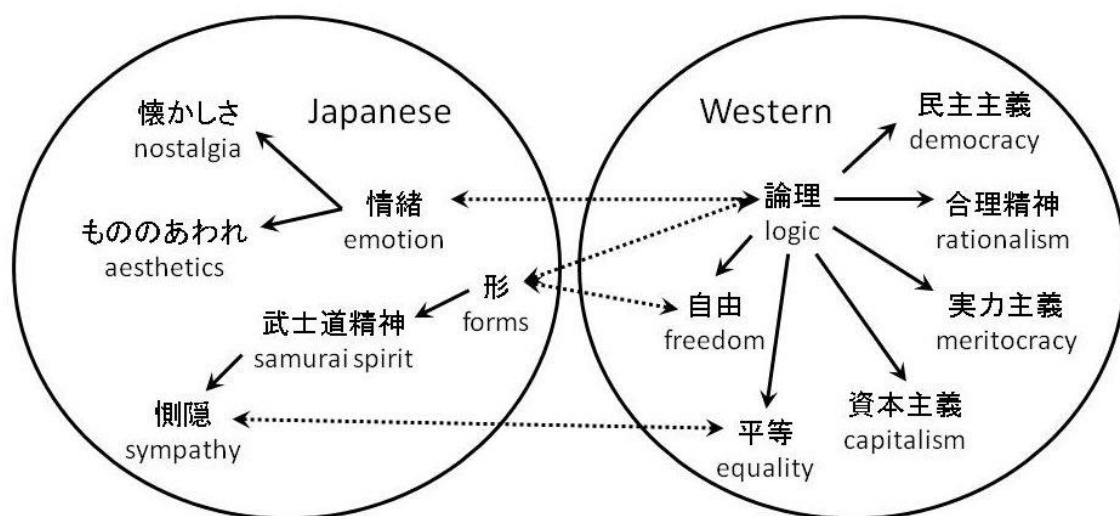


Fig. 4.9. Counterpoints in Fujiwara (2005)

The diagram shows how individual Ism are organized into the clusters that map out the domains designated as ‘Japanese’ and ‘Western’. It also shows the interdependency of the two domains in this discourse, and the discourse of ‘Japanese identity’ as instantiated in this text consists of both domains related through the counterpoints. The various Ism in the co-constitutive domains are therefore interrelated to form a coherent text.

4.2 Adages

Just as an Ism is not merely a word, an Adage is not merely a phrase or a clause. It is a syndrome located higher up the instantial cline. Unlike Isms that are structured around a nominal group, Adages are structured around units that carry entire quanta of meaning, and they therefore preserve a measure of independence and stability. These quanta of meaning are commonly realized as clauses, although in some cases they may be distilled as nominal groups that can potentially be reinstated as entire clauses. When they are instantiated through full clauses, the clauses are presented as projections, thereby construing the icon as a serial relationship between projecting and projected clauses.

「長いものにはまかれる」という一方、すべて上からの命令というものに生理的反発を感じる。(Nakane 1967:114)

They are afraid to offer open opposition to authority and instead commit themselves to it, while **quietly admonishing one another to “wrap yourself up in something long”**... (Nakane 1970:128)

Sacks (2005) observes that one of the defining characteristics of the Adage is its ‘atopical’ nature (Sacks 2005:109). In the example above for instance, there is no clue as to what the referent of the ‘long object’ may be. This is due to the fact that Adages are relatively undercommitted ideationally, so the ideational meaning of the quotation is open to a range of possible semantic relations. The distinction between the Adage and the Ism lies in their degree of ideational commitment, which will be discussed in 4.2.1.

The presence of an Adage is also signaled by formal features, such as archaism, rhythmic structures, or repetitions (Gándara 2004:346). While the Adage is not committed ideationally, these formal features function interpersonally to signal a shared positioning, even in the absence of graphological features such as quotation marks.

節婦は二夫に見えず、忠臣は二君に仕えず、と規約を制定してみても人間の転落は防ぎ得ず... (Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:202)

Even if you establish rules like “**the virtuous woman takes not a second man**” or “**the true samurai serves but one lord,**” you can’t prevent the plunge. (my translation)

The shared positioning enables what Gándara (2004) calls a ‘polyphonic structure’ that is central to the Adage. When an Adage is instantiated in a text, the voice of the Adage extends beyond that of the text alone. It effectively constructs a ‘collective utterer’ (Gándara 2004:347) as the source of the voice, in this case the Gemeinschaft, instantiated through the Circumstance ‘日本語では’ (in Japanese) in the following.

英語にどういう表現があるかは知りませんが、日本語ではこういう場合になんというかははっきりしています。「**付ける薬がない**」です。(Fujiwara 2005:16)

I don’t know what the appropriate English expression is, but it’s clear what the expression is in Japanese. It’s “**there’s no medicine that will cure a fool.**” (my translation)

4.2.1 and 4.2.2 will examine the particulate and prosodic syndromes that coalesce as Adages in culture. 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 will explore reformulation in the texts to observe how

Adages are generalized through the *Gemeinschaft*, and conversely how the *Gemeinschaft* is endorsed through Adages.

The collective voice of the Adage is constrained to declarative and jussive mood, realizing a macroproposal, exhorting the reader to act in certain ways. This is often coupled with appraisal at the level of discourse semantics to construct a specific and normative worldview. The mapping of the ideational onto the interpersonal syndromes is a cultural resource that the author draws upon as a identity icon to rally readers. 4.2.3 discusses the way readers are hailed by the Adage to identify with the *Gemeinschaft* on account of their recognition of the collective voice and take up a compliant reading position.

4.2.1 Particulate syndromes

Instances of Adages are serially organized as a coupling between a projecting quantum of ideational meaning and a projected one. The ideational meaning of Adages is thus simultaneously organized orbitally as projecting and projected clauses, and these two aspects are linked by a serial structure. Compared to Isms, Adages are more committed ideationally in two ways.

Adages are coalesced as entire quanta of meaning realized as complete clauses, and they may comprise more than one set of such orbital relations. The orbital organization of Adages may be lexicalized, in which case the Adage is downranked, loses its thematic structure and negotiatory potential. These lexicalized forms are nonetheless distinct from the Isms that do not coalesce as complete orbital structures.

Adages are serially organized through projections and conjunctions. The projection of an Adage may consist of more than one clause, although the projecting aspect of an Adage is often not instantiated, resulting in the source of its voice being irrecoverable (see 4.2.3). The projected component of an Adage also has the potential to be expanded logogenetically, committing the Adage further through serial developments.

4.2.1.1 Orbital organization

Adages are coalesced as entire quanta of meaning realized as complete clauses, and they may comprise more than one set of such orbital relations. However, they are syndromes

meaning coupled historically, which means that these quanta of meaning are constrained in their selection of tense and mood types.

The projected portion of the Adage may be realized as a clause such as the bolded segment in the following example. It is marked off from the rest of the text by brackets and parenthesis graphologically, while grammatically, it is marked by the projection marker ‘と’ in Japanese.

「長いものにはまかれろ」という一方、すべて上からの命令というものに生理的反発を覚える。(Nakane 1967:114)

They are afraid to offer open opposition to authority and instead commit themselves to it, while quietly admonishing one another to “**wrap yourself up in something long**”... (Nakane 1970:128)

The projection marker ‘と’ signals that the negotiatory value of the clause is that of projected mood, and projected clauses such as these can independently select for mood and tense in parataxis (Teruya 2006:338). In the case of this Adage for instance, the content portion is presented in jussive imperative mood, indicated by the imperative marker (IMP) in the Predicator, as shown in table 4.8.

<i>Experiential</i>	Circumstance	Process
<i>Interpersonal</i>	Adjunct	Predicator
	長いものには	まかれろ
	long object NIWA	wrap-pass-IMP

Table 4.8. Adage in jussive mood

Even though the serial structure of projections allow an independent selection of mood from a bottom-up perspective at clausal level, the function of Adage constrains its selection to jussive and declarative mood, as illustrated in table 4.9. The selection of other mood types results in the instantiation of a Scripture rather than an Adage (see 4.2.3 and 4.3).

Sayer	Locution	Process
(国民)	「長いものにはまかれろ」と	いう
(citizens)	“wrap yourself up in something long” PROJ	say-inf

Table 4.9. Adage instantiated through verbal clause

The projecting clause is generally a verbal clause, and in this example, the Sayer can be recovered from the preceding text as ‘citizens’. The Sayer in Japanese must generally be a sentient being (Teruya 2006:277), so the Sayers associated with Adages are consequently social actors. However, in contrast to Scriptures that are instantiated through Sayers that construe specific individuals such as Heroes (see chapter 5 on Scriptures and Heroes), Adages are instantiated through Sayers that are generic, instantiating *Gemeinschaft*. As such, the Sayers, if recoverable, are communities, e.g. ‘we say...’ or classes of people, e.g. ‘the Japanese say...,’ etc.

The projection instantiating an Adage is not necessarily a single clause nor is it limited to any Process type. In the following example, two relational clauses simultaneously realize the Adage in a hypotactic serial structure.

だからこそ桜をことのほか大事にし、「花は桜木、人は武士」とまで持ち上げ、ついに国花にまでしたのです。(Fujiwara 2005:104-5)

That is why the Japanese hold the cherry tree in such high regard, praise it in the proverb that says: “**As among flowers the cherry is queen, so among men the samurai is lord,**” and have even made it into their national flower. (Murray trans. 2007:153)

These two Japanese clauses form a clause complex, linked by an implicit comparative conjunction of similarity, realized explicitly as ‘so’ in the English text, as shown in table 4.10.

<i>experiential</i>	Value	Token	Value	Token
<i>interpersonal</i>	Subject	Complement	Subject	Complement
<i>textual</i>	Theme	New	Theme	New
	花は	桜木	人は	武士
	flower WA	cherry blossom	people WA	the samurai
	β		α	

Table 4.10. Adage instantiated through clause complex

The Sayer in this case instantiates a Categorization Device through the nominal group ‘日本人’ (Japanese) as shown in table 4.11, and can be retrieved from the preceding text even though it is not present in this Japanese clause.

Sayer	Locution	Process
(日本人は)	「花は桜木、人は武士」と	持ち上げ
(the Japanese WA)	“among flowers, the cherry...” PROJ	praise-SUSP

Table 4.11. Adage and categorization

The two preceding examples are prototypical instantiations of Adages, through the coupling of a projecting clause and a projection that consists of at least one clause. Adages may also be instantiated through rankshift, whereby the projected clause or clauses are embedded as part of a nominal group, such as in the following. In these cases, the Sayer of the projection is absent, and in terms of engagement, the source of the Adage is rendered irrecoverable (see 4.2.3).

夫唱婦随とか夫婦一体という道徳的理想はあくまで日本的なものであり、集団の一体感の強調のよいあらわれである。(Nakane 1967:40)

Moral ideas such as “the husband leads and the wife obeys” or “man and wife are one flesh” embody the Japanese emphasis on integration. (Nakane 1970:26)

In the example above, the Adage is instantiated through the coupling of an embedded projection and the Thing ‘理想’ (ideals, translated in Nakane 1970 as ideas). The projection functions as the modifier, marked by the projection marker ‘と’ (PROJ) and the verb ‘いう’ (say), as shown in table 4.12.

Modifier	Classifier	Thing
夫唱婦随とか夫婦一体という	道德的	理想
“husband leads...” BND.such “man and wife are one” PROJ say	moral	ideal

Table 4.12. Adage instantiated through rankshift

The projection in fact consists of two clauses that have been lexicalized. Each of these clauses can potentially be expanded into a full clause as shown in table 4.13.

<i>experiential</i>	Carrier	Attribute	Process
<i>interpersonal</i>	Subject	Adjunct	Predicator
<i>textual</i>	Theme	New	
	夫婦は	一体と	なる
	husband and wife WA	as one TO	become-inf

Table 4.13. Lexicalization of Adages

While they retain their experiential meaning, the lexicalized clauses have undergone rankshift, and have lost their thematic structure or negotiatory potential. Consequently, these lexicalized clauses do not have morphological markers in their Predicator or the Theme marker WA.

Their intonation has also been neutralized, often marked by a radical shift in pronunciation, such as that in the other part of the projection in the same example, shown in table 4.14. This part of the projection is the lexicalization of a clause complex, linked by a contrastive conjunction.

<i>experiential</i>	Actor	Process	Actor	Process
<i>interpersonal</i>	Subject	Predicator	Subject	Predicator
<i>textual</i>	Theme	New	Theme	New
	夫は	唱える	婦は	随う
	husband WA	sing-inf	wife WA	follow-inf

Table 4.14. Lexicalization of clause complex

These clauses comprising the projection have undergone rankshift, collectively functioning as the Modifier to the Thing ‘理想’ (ideas). Unlike the earlier examples where the projection has full clause status, the Sayer in this case as shown in table 4.15 is irretrievable, reflecting a reduction in ideational commitment.

Locution	Process
夫唱婦随とか夫婦一体と	いう
<<the husband leads and the wife obeys>> ... PROJ	say-inf

Table 4.15. Adage instantiated through rankshift

In terms of ideational commitment therefore, expressions of this sort lies somewhere in between the instantiation of an Adage and the Ism. In the following example, we finally arrive at the other end of the spectrum where commitment is at a minimum, and the resulting structure is that of an Ism, such as ‘武士道精神’ (bushido spirit).

形とは主に、**武士道精神**からくる行動基準です。ともに日本人を特徴づけるもので、
国柄とも言うべきものでした。(Fujiwara 2005:5)

By “forms” I mean the code of conduct that derives chiefly from the **spirit of bushido**, or samurai ethics. (Murray trans. 2007:11)

In contrast to Adages, Isms are not coalesced as a complete transitivity structure. ‘武士道精神’ (bushido spirit) in this example is a nominal group; it takes on the postposition marker ‘から’ to function as Circumstance of the embedded clause that serves as Modifier to the Head ‘行動基準’ (code of conduct), as shown in table 4.16.

Modifier		Head
Circumstance	Process	
武士道精神から	くる	行動基準
[[bushido spirit KARA	come-inf]]	code of conduct
lit. "a code of conduct that comes from bushido spirit"		

Table 4.16. *Ism instantiated through rankshift*

While both Isms and Adages are equally committed in terms of interpersonal meaning, the ideational commitment of the Doxa is a cline as shown in figure 4.10, with Isms being minimally committed in ideational meaning, to Adages that are maximally committed.

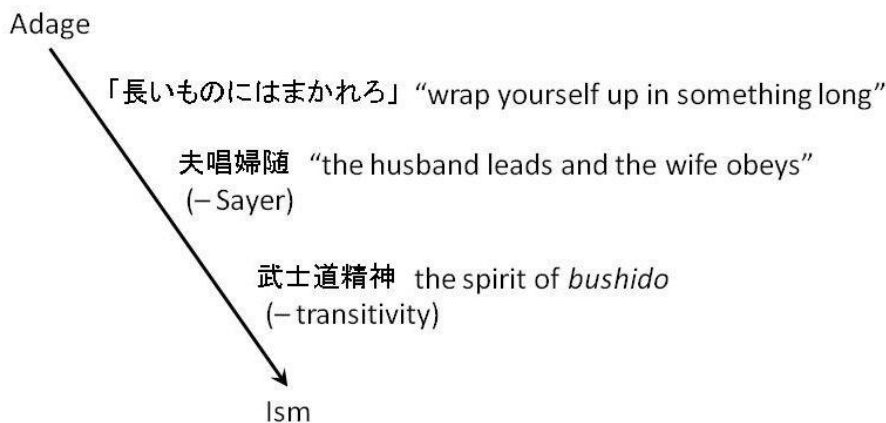


Fig. 4.10. *Ideational commitment of Doxa as a cline*

Although Adages are committed ideationally to allow for various selections in terms of thematic structures and negotiatory potential, these selections are nonetheless constrained by the iconization of the Adage as syndromes of meaning. Another way in which Adages are ideationally committed is through serial structures, and they can theoretically be expanded indefinitely through these structures.

4.2.1.2 Serial organization

When Adages are maximally committed in ideational meaning, they resemble Scriptures in terms of projections, such as the quotations of exemplary members of a

community or categories of people such as the ‘American educationalists’ in the following passage. There are two distinct voices in this text, that of the ‘educationalists’ and the authorial voice. The ‘educationalists’ voice is construed as quotations, while the authorial voice is construed as the unmarked commentary running throughout the text.

アメリカの教育学者たちは、それを自画自賛しています。「小学生たちが新聞の経済欄に目を通すようになった」。それだけではない。「株価欄にまで目を通すようになった」「社会に目が開かれた」と言います。英語にどのような表現があるかは知りませんが、日本語ではこういう場合になんというかははっきりしています。「付ける薬がない」です。(Fujiwara 2005:16)

American educationalists are quite pleased with what they have done. “Elementary school children are now reading the economics section in the newspaper,” they enthuse. And that’s not all: “Some children have even started running an eye over the stock price listings;” “Their eyes have been opened up to the ‘real world.’” I don’t know what the appropriate English expression is, but in Japanese we would say: **“There’s no medicine that will cure a fool.”** (Murray trans. 2007:65)

A third voice is brought into the text towards the end of the passage, and while this third voice, instantiating an Adage, resembles the other quotations, there are two fundamental differences between them.

Firstly, the Adage instantiated through the projection is ‘atopical’ (Sacks 2005:109). In other words, the projection instantiating Adage does not share a similar field with the authorial voice. In the quotations attributed to the ‘educationalists’, for instance, ‘小学生’ (elementary school children) belongs to the same field as ‘教育学者’ (educationalists) in the hyperTheme, while ‘経済欄’ (economics section) belongs to the same field as ‘株価欄’ (stock price listings), and ‘社会’ (society) shares the field of ‘新聞’ (newspaper). These elements are woven into a coherent text through serial organization into projecting and projected portions of the text to construct two distinct voices. In the case of the Adage, ‘薬’ (medicine) does not belong to the same field as the other portions of the text, signaling its intertextual nature. As icons derive their prominence through intertextuality, the ‘atopicality’ serves to mark its status as an Adage.

Secondly, the Adage is restricted in its instantiation in terms of time expressions. As projected clauses can independently select for mood and tense in parataxis, projections

that are associated with various Sayers in recounted stories can be observed to select for realis time, as seen in the following quotes.

「小学生たちが新聞の経済欄に目を通すようになった」

“Elementary school children **have started reading** the economics section in the newspaper”

「株価欄にまで目を通すようになった」

“They **have even started looking through** the stock price listings”

「社会に目が開かれた」

“Their eyes **were opened up** to the ‘real world’”

This is not the case with projections that have been canonized as Adages. Although Adages are instantiated through locutions, they are attempts to generalize a specific construal of reality as timeless truths, and are therefore neutralized in tense, constituting one of the formal features that distinguish an Adage from other locutions. This restricts the projections instantiating an Adage to irrealis time.

「付ける薬がない」

“There’s no medicine that **will** cure a fool.”

Adages are Doxas with a higher level of ideational commitment, and there is in principle no upper limit to the extent of commitment, as they can be expanded indefinitely through serial structures like one shown in the following example. As part of Fujiwara’s (2005) attempt to denounce ‘logic’, seen as a ‘Western’ icon, the text, as shown in the following extract, expands on a Japanese Adage on the absurdity of faulty arguments as an example of the failings of ‘logic’.

「風が吹けば桶屋が儲かる」という諺がありますが、この場合はどうでしょうか。風が吹けば埃が立つ。埃が立つと目を患う人が多くなる。すると目が見えない人が多くなる。目が見えなくなった人の中から三味線弾きが出る。三味線弾きが多くなると三味線の需要が増える。三味線の皮は猫のものなので猫の需要が増える。町から猫が少なくなる。するとネズミが増える。増えたネズミは風呂桶をかじる。だから桶屋が儲かる……。ちゃんとした論理です。(Fujiwara 2005:57-8)

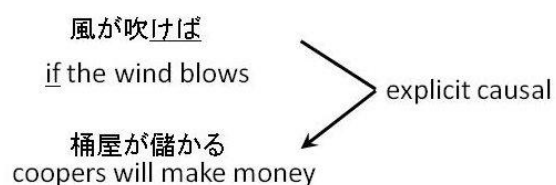
What about the case of the proverb that goes ‘if the wind blows, coopers will make money’? If the wind blows, dust will rise. When dust rises, more people will have their eyes irritated. As a result more people get blinded. Some of those blinded will become shamisen players. As the number of shamisen players increase, the demand for shamisen will rise. The material of shamisen is obtained from cats, so the demand for cats will rise. As a result the number of cats in town will decrease. As a result the number of rats will rise. The increased number of rats will gnaw at bath buckets. Therefore coopers will make money... It is perfectly logical. (my translation)

The initial clause in this text is the prototypical instantiation of the Adage, where a projection ‘if the wind blows, coopers will make money’ serves as a Modifier for the Head ‘諺’ (proverb) of the nominal group functioning as Existent, as shown in table 4.17.

Existent: inanimate		Process
Modifier	Head	
「風が吹けば桶屋が儲かる」という	諺が	ありますが
wind GA blow-COND.ba coopers GA earn PROJ say	proverb GA	exist BND.but

Table 4.17. Prototypical instantiation of Adage

The projection is in turn made up of two clauses connected by a causal conjunction.



The clause containing the projection is set up in the hyperTheme, and as the text unfolds, the projection is reinstated, unpacked as a series of other clauses, where successive conjunctions are inserted in between those two clauses (linked by an explicit causal conjunction). These other clauses introduce other Participants (dust, shamisen players, cats, rats, etc) and Processes (dust rising, eyes getting irritated, demand increasing, etc.) into the text. These additional Participants and Processes are related by orbital structures,

committing the Adage further ideationally, as shown in figure 4.18, not including implicit additive conjunctions in the analysis.



Fig. 4.18. Expansion of an Adage

The Adage is thus instantiated through a prototypical formulation of a projection in the hyperTheme, coupled with a reformulation unfolding through the rest of the text. The Adage is therefore instantiated through a number of clauses across the stretch of text, and these clauses are linked by serial conjunctions, whereby the ideational meaning of the projection is reorganized in a subsequent rephrasing. The prototypical form of the projection is presented with thematic prominence, and the author's recontextualization of the projection is presented as new information. The serial organization of ideational meaning instantiating an Adage is therefore coupled with a periodic one as shown in figure 4.11, and through this periodic organization, the hyperTheme presents the collective voice as Given information in the instantiation of the Adage, while the authorial voice is presented as New information.

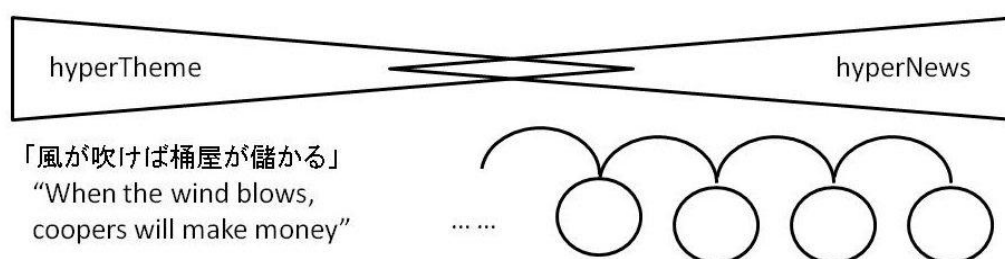


Fig. 4.11. Adage as coupling between serial and periodic syndromes

The example also demonstrates that such couplings between serial and periodic organization results in a highly malleable nature, which gives Adages a considerable degree of logogenetic potential. It is this potential for serial expansion that allows for its recontextualization through its course of phylogenesis, and this very iterability ensures the survival of the expression over time, such that it coalesces culturally as a meaning resource.

4.2.2 Prosodic syndromes

Adages are drawn upon as a cultural resource in identity discourses, and each time they are instantiated in a new text, they are adapted to a different context. This new context involves a different set of alignment in interpersonal positioning and values in the discourse community. Consequently, the ideational and interpersonal couplings instantiating the Adage may differ between texts as part of its phylogenetic change. As the syndromes instantiated by the projection is relatively stable, this change can be observed by tracing the projection across texts.

4.2.2.1 Engagement

Adages are presented as part of a collective voice, and as such the source of the voice is generally obscured or attributed to the collective *Gemeinschaft*. In this first example, we observe that the source of the Adage is constructed through the Categorization Device that is instantiated through the category ‘日本人’ (the Japanese), as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 4.19.

だからこそ (日本人は) 桜をことのほか大事にし、「花は桜木、人は武士」とまで持ち上げ、ついには国花にまでしたのです。(Fujiwara 2005:104-5)

That is why **the Japanese** hold the cherry tree in such high regard, praise it in the proverb that **says**: “As among flowers the cherry is queen, so among men the samurai is lord,” and have even made it into their national flower. (Murray trans. 2007:153)

Sayer	Locution	Process
(日本人は)	「花は桜木、人は武士」と	持ち上げ
(the Japanese WA)	<<among flowers, the cherry...>> PROJ	praise-SUSP

Table 4.19. Adage and categorization of source

In such a formulation, the voice of the Adage is attributed to ‘kinds’ of people.

Alternatively, the sources of an Adage may be constructed through the Spatialization Device that is instantiated in the following example through the Circumstance ‘日本では’ (in Japan), as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 4.20.

日本では反対に、「子供の喧嘩に親が出る」のであって、後に詳しく述べるように、まったく反対の志向が存するのである。(Nakane 1967:39)

In Japan, by contrast, “the parents step in when their children quarrel” and, as I shall explain in detail later, the structure is the complete opposite to that in India. (Nakane 1970:26)

Circumstance	Value	Process
日本では	「子供の喧嘩に親が出る」	のであって
In Japan	<<the parents step in when their children quarrel>>	EXP-end-SUSP

Table 4.20. Adage and Spatialization of source

In this formulation, the source of the Adage lies not in specific people, but is constructed as the ‘resonances’ of a land. In both cases, the Adage is attributed to the *Gemeinschaft*. In this next example however, the Sayer has been elided, and the source obscured, as shown in table 4.21. It can still be recovered from the surrounding text, but the source is ambiguous and non-specific, and the ellipsis here serves to background the identity of the speaker, thus placing the focus on the generality of the voice.

「二君にまみえず」といわれるように、一生のうち、子々孫々にいたるまで、できれば一人の特定の主君に仕えることが理想とされ... (Nakane 1967:165)

Just as **it is said** “a man cannot serve two masters”, it is ideal to serve only a single lord in a lifetime, and even from generation to generation. (my translation)

Locution	Process
「二君にまみえず」と	いわれるように
<<a man cannot serve two masters>> PROJ	say-pass-inf BND.like

Table 4.21. Adage with recoverable source

This can similarly be observed in the following example from Sakaguchi (1946). However, the source is altogether elided in this case, as shown in table 4.22, and is not recoverable from the surrounding text through discourse semantic relations. The source is therefore obscured in a way that presumes the reader’s recognition of the Adage.

死んでしまえば身も蓋もないというが、果してどういふものであろうか。敗戦して、結局気の毒なのは戦歿した英霊達だ、という考え方も私は素直に肯定することができない。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:200)

What do people mean when they callously **say** that the dead are the lucky ones? They draw this conclusion because since the defeat our sympathies have turned to the

heroic souls of the war dead. This reasoning just doesn't sit right with me. (Dorsey 2009:169)

Locution	Process
死んでしまえば身も蓋《ふた》もないと	いうが
<<the dead are the lucky ones>> PROJ	say-inf BND.but

Table 4.22. Adage with irrecoverable source

The verbal Process 'say' in Japanese can also serve as a hearsay marker 'to iu' (という) within a nominal group to mark the projection as a Modifier as shown in the following example, analyzed in table 4.23, rendering the source grammatically irrecoverable in such constructions.

夫唱婦随とか夫婦一体という道徳的理想はあくまで日本的なものであり、集団の一体感の強調のよいあらわれである。(Nakane 1967:40)

Moral ideas such as "the husband leads and the wife obeys" or "man and wife are one flesh" embody the Japanese emphasis on integration. (Nakane 1970:26)

Modifier	Classifier	Thing
夫唱婦随とか夫婦一体という	道徳的	理想
<<husband leads...>>BND.such<<man and wife are one>> PROJ say	moral	ideal

Table 4.23. Adage without source

The recoverability of source with respect to different instances of Adages can therefore be located on a cline from those with identifiable sources to those without, as shown in figure 4.12.

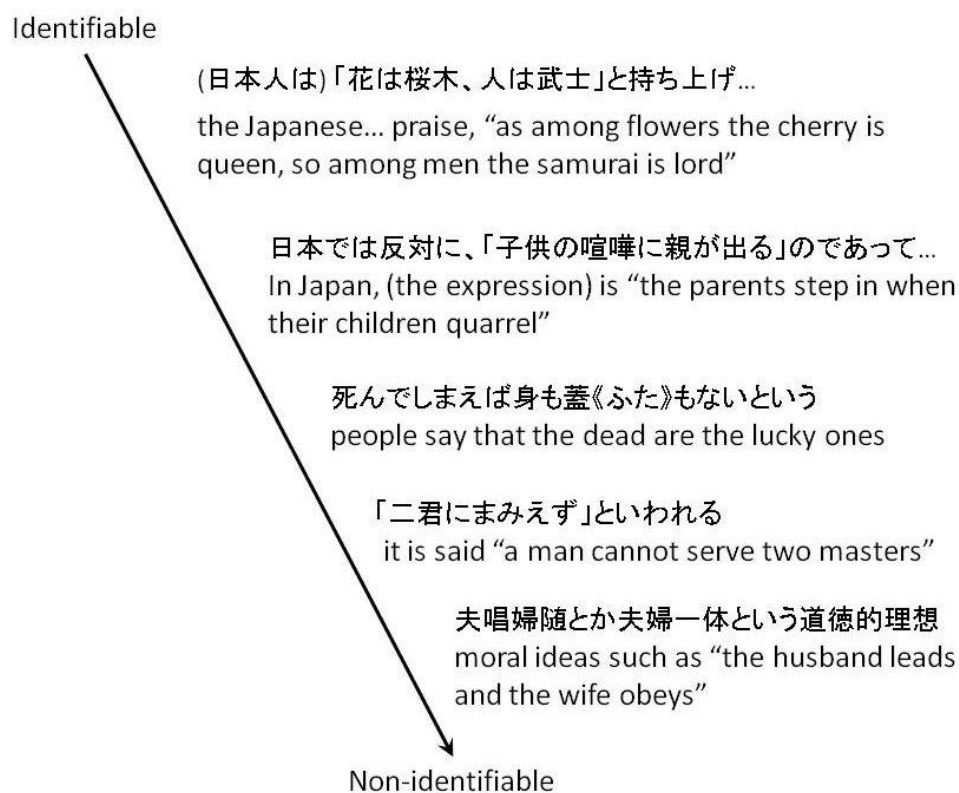


Fig. 4.12. Adages and identifiability of the source

It is mentioned in 4.1.1.2 that the hearsay marker is similarly used with Isms such as that shown in the following example, analyzed in table 4.24, and we observe a continuity between Isms and Adages in terms of engagement.

この無常観はさらに抽象化されて、「もののあわれ」という情緒になりました。
(Fujiwara 2005:101)

As the sense of impermanence became more abstract, it evolved into the emotion that we call *mono no aware*, or the sense of the pathos of things. (Murray trans. 2007:145)

Modifier	Thing
「もののあわれ」という	情緒
<i>mono no aware</i> PROJ say	emotion

Table 4.24. *Ism without source*

It can be seen from this example that unsourced Adages bear a resemblance to Isms in the sense that both are fixed expressions, and hence without arguability (as opposed to Scriptures in 5.2), and the sources in both cases are generalized to the whole community.

4.2.2.2 Saturating prosody

The projection highlighted in bold in the following example was attributed to an unspecified and generalized source, retrieved intertextually as a cultural resource from texts associated with samurai values.

「二君にまみえず」といわれるように、一生のうち、子々孫々にいたるまで、できれば一人の特定の主君に仕えることが理想とされ... (Nakane 1967:165)

Plurality of lords, permissible in the West, was refused all countenance in Japan: “**a man cannot serve two masters**” it was said, and if the relationship continued from generation to generation so much the better. (Nakane 1970:101)

The quote is not merely brought into this passage as an example. The Adage is introduced into the text as a serial expansion of the projection of a verbal clause, a shown in table 4.25.

Locution	Process
「二君にまみえず」と	いわれるように
“a man cannot serve two masters” PROJ	say-pass-inf BND.like

Table 4.25. Adage as projection

The projecting clause functions as Circumstance in an attributive clause that evaluates the quote positively through the inscription ‘理想’ (ideal) as shown in table 4.26. In this way, the passage couples the ideational meaning of the projected clause with positive valuation as an instance of the Adage (literally, ‘It is made an ideal that if possible, one serves a single lord, for a lifetime, and for generations to come...’)

Carrier	Attribute	Process
...一人の特定の主君に仕えることが	理想と	され
[[...one person NO lord NI serve-inf]] NOM GA	ideal TO	make-pass-SUSP

Table 4.26. Adage instantiated through attributive clause

The projected clause is part of a hypotactic clause, and is elaborated by a subsequent clause through a semantic relation of comparison, shown in figure 4.13.

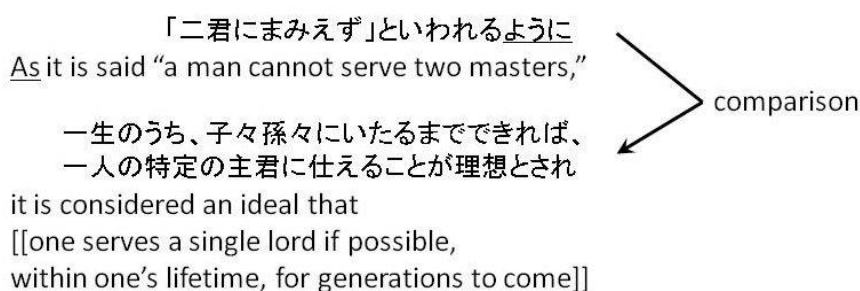


Fig. 4.13. Expansion of Adages

Serial expansions such as these allow for the coupling of ideational and interpersonal meanings to the projection, and thereby adapting the Adage to a new instance of use that serves the purpose of the text at hand. As the following shows, the same quote is co-opted into Sakaguchi’s iconoclastic essay in quite a different way.

節婦は二夫に見えず、忠臣は二君に仕えず、と規約を制定してみても人間の転落は防ぎ得ず... (Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:202)

“The virtuous woman takes not a second man.” “**The true samurai serves but one lord.**” Establish whatever rules you want, but you just can’t prevent the plunge. (Dorsey trans. 2009:171)

The expression is framed as a ‘rule’, construed as part of a material clause rather than a verbal one. This forms a coupling between the projected clause and ‘規約’ (rule) functioning as Goal as shown in table 4.27.

Locution	Goal	Process
忠臣は二君に仕えずと	規約を	制定しても
"The true samurai serves but one lord" PROJ	rule O	establish-COND.mo

Table 4.27. Adage instantiated through material clause

The material clause is subsequently expanded serially through a concessive conjunction as shown in figure 4.28, elaborating on the first. The second clause serves as a token for invoking negative valuation of ‘規約’ (rule) as ineffective. The Adage is hence instantiated in this passage through a coupling between the projected clause and negative valuation.



Fig. 4.28. Adage instantiated through valuation

Although the Adage is instantiated differently in Nakane (1967) and Sakaguchi (1946), both iterations share the common strategy of serial expansion through projection that brings the Adage into the individual concerns of the two texts. The serial development results in the coupling between the ideational and interpersonal meaning illustrated in figure 4.14, and such couplings in each of the two texts coalesce culturally, providing an impetus to the phylogenetic development of the Adage.

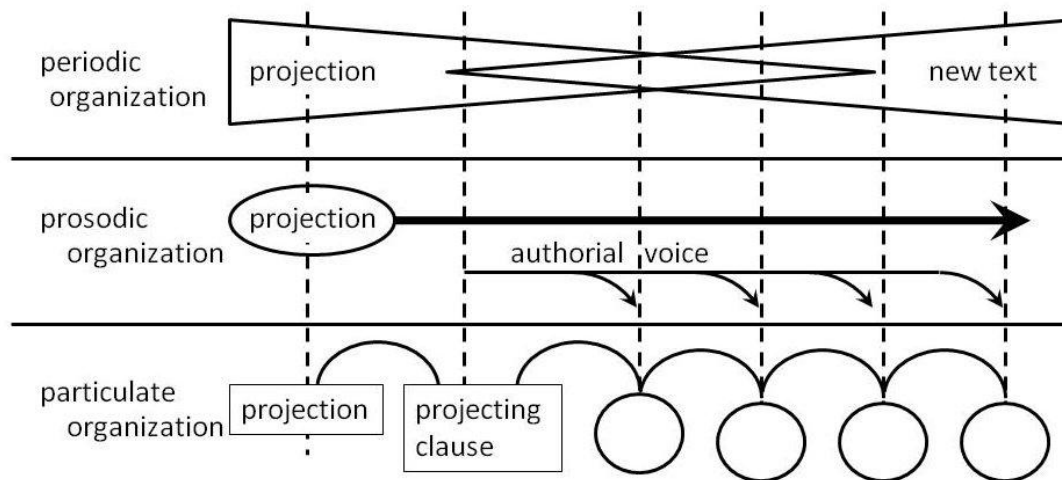


Fig. 4.14. Adage as coupling across three metafunctions

This phylogenetic potential of Adages is exploited by Sakaguchi through saturating prosody. In the following passage, he cites the popular wartime poems that have gained the status of Adages in the population. However, the popular attitudes have turned against the positions represented by these poems after the war. In this passage, Sakaguchi the iconoclast carries out a systematic subversion of the wartime sentiments by dismantling these icons.

醜の御楯といでたつ我は。大君のへにこそ死なめかへりみはせじ。若者達は花と散ったが、同じ彼等が生き残って闇屋となる。ももとせの命ねがはじいつの日か御楯とゆかん君とちぎりて。けなげな心情で男を送った女達も半年の月日のうちに夫君の位牌にぬかずくことも事務的になるばかりであろうし、やがて新たな面影を胸に宿すのも遠い日のことではない。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:197)

“We, the humble shields of our Sovereign Lord, march forth.” “We are resigned to die at his Majesty’s side and never look back.” These young men, the kamikaze, did die, scattering like the cherry blossoms. Those who escaped with their lives, though, now hawk goods on the black market. **“We dare not hope for long lives together. And yet we pledge ourselves to you who will one day sally forth as his Majesty’s humble shields.”** It was with admirable commitment that these young women sent their men off to war. Six months later, though, they’re only going through the motions as they kneel before their husbands’ mortuary tablets – and it won’t be long before they’ve got their eye on somebody new. (Dorsey trans. 2009:165)

He expands the Adages serially, committing them in ideational meaning, and in his elaboration of these meanings, he invokes pairs of judgments in opposite poles and situates them as a succession in time as shown in figure 4.15. This allows him to naturalize the transition of these Adages, thereby discharging them in terms of positive judgments and recharging them in terms of negative ones.

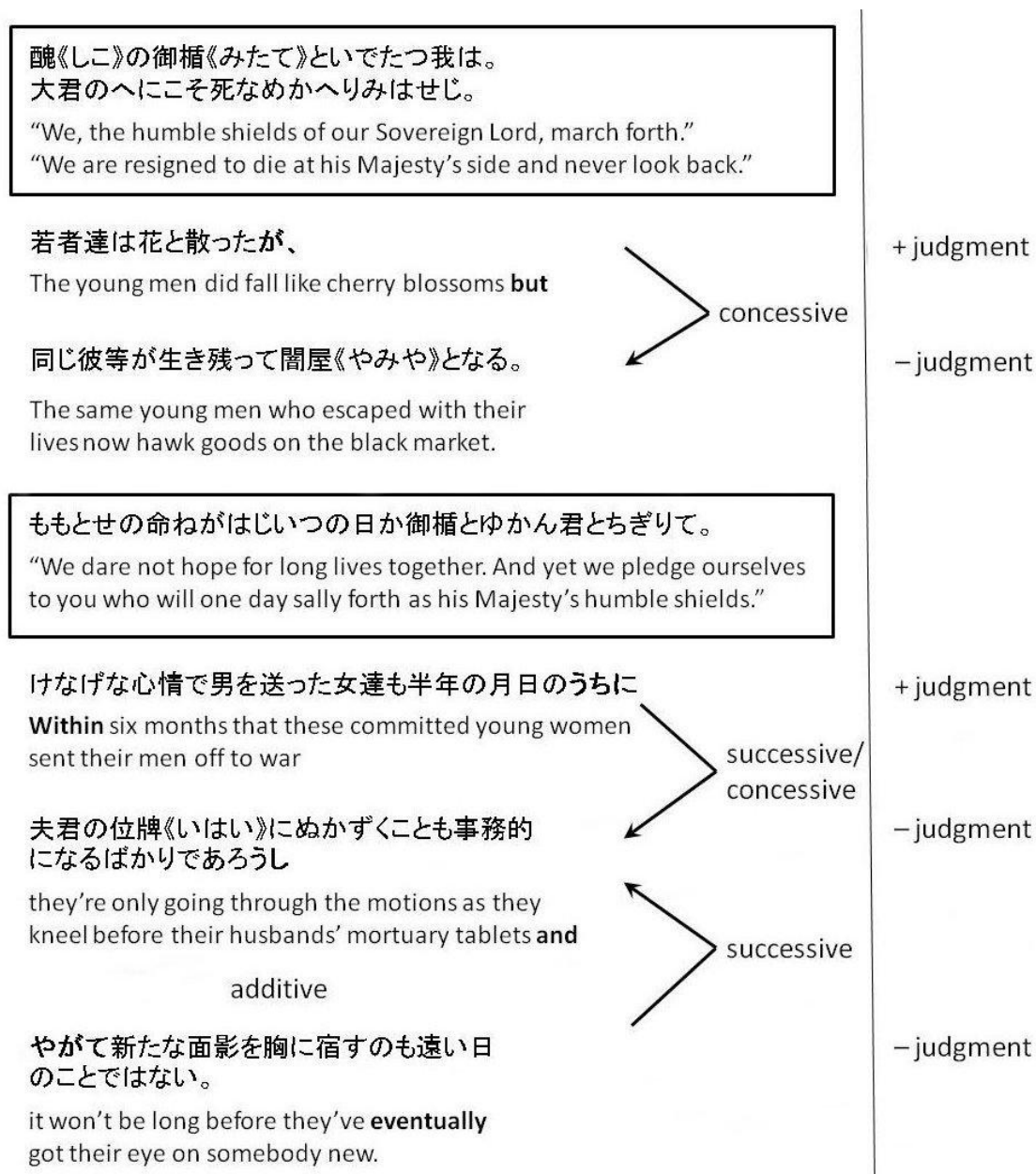


Fig. 4.15. Adage as a saturating prosody

4.2.2.3 Dominating prosody

When the Adages are placed in a textually prominent position, they may also dominate the interpretation of the stretch of text. In the following example, Fujiwara quotes the American educationalists on their approach to pedagogy. However, the author narrows the interpretation of the quotes through negative judgment in the hyperTheme.

アメリカの教育学者たちは、それを自画自賛しています。「小学生たちが新聞の経済欄に目を通すようになった」。それだけではない。「株価欄にまで目を通すようになった」「社会に目が開かれた」と言います。英語にどういう表現があるかは知りませんが、日本語ではこういう場合になんというかははっきりしています。「付ける薬がない」です。(Fujiwara 2005:16)

American educationalists are quite pleased with what they have done. “Elementary school children are now reading the economics section in the newspaper,” they enthuse. And that’s not all: “Some children have even started running an eye over the stock price listings;” “Their eyes have been opened up to the ‘real world.’” I don’t know what the appropriate English expression is, but in Japanese we would say: **“There’s no medicine that will cure a fool.”** (Murray trans. 2007:65)

The story is then summed up by a single Adage in the hyperNew, condensing the interpersonal meaning in the passage. Through the Adage as an identity icon, the story is interpreted in the light of identity construction, differentiating between the communities ‘American’ and ‘Japanese’, and it serves to condemn the behavior of the other in a polemic rhetoric.



Fig. 4.16. Adage as a dominating prosody

The negative judgment of capacity instantiating the Adage is thus inscribed in the hyperTheme and hyperNew, and the evaluative meaning ranges over the story as a dominating prosody, as shown in figure 4.16.

4.2.3 Logogenesis

An Adage is the construction of verbiage as a collective voice, and as we have seen in 4.2.2.1, this is presented as a voice without an identifiable source because the voice is totalizing and diffused through the population. In this way, the *Gemeinschaft* can be endorsed through Adages. While the *Gemeinschaft* constructs social actors as a community, Adages give that community a voice. It is also the mechanism by which the voices of individuals are presented as the voice of the community, making it a very powerful resource for soliciting the alignment of readers with those voices. This strategy of endorsement will be described in 4.2.3.1.

Conversely, the Adages can be generalized as part of the *Gemeinschaft*. Adages are idiomatic expressions that readers recognize as the familiar echoes of a collective sentiment. The very resonance of its expressions serves as empirical testament to the

existence of a *Gemeinschaft* from which it yields. The way in which such generalizations serve to reify the collective identity will be described in 4.2.3.2.

4.2.3.1 Endorsement

Adages presented as the ‘collective voice of a people’ can be used to endorse the *Gemeinschaft*, thus reifying the collectivity of the population. While *Gemeinschaft* constructs social actors as a community, Adages give that community a voice. This can be seen in the following passage where the Adage is used as the evidence of the collective values of Japanese people.

しかし日本人は、桜の花が咲くこの三、四日に無上の価値を置く。たった三、四日に命をかけて潔く散っていく桜の花に、人生を投影し、そこに他の花とは別格の美しさを見出している。だからこそ桜をことのほか大事にし、「花は桜木、人は武士」とまで持ち上げ、ついには国花にまでしたのです。(Fujiwara 2005:104-5)

The Japanese regard the three or four days when the blossoms come out as priceless. Projecting human life onto the blossom that falls gracefully after a brief span of only three or four days, they contrive to see in it a beauty that is of a different order to any other flower. That is why the Japanese hold the cherry tree in such high regard, praise it in the proverb that says: “As among flowers the cherry is queen, so among men the samurai is lord,” and have even made it into their national flower. (Murray trans. 2007:151-3)

This is achieved textually by presenting the category ‘Japanese’ as the Theme and Given information in the passage, while summing up the account with an Adage as New information. The periodicity of the passage therefore provides the means for reformulating *Gemeinschaft* as a set of values, committing it interpersonally, as shown in figure 4.17.

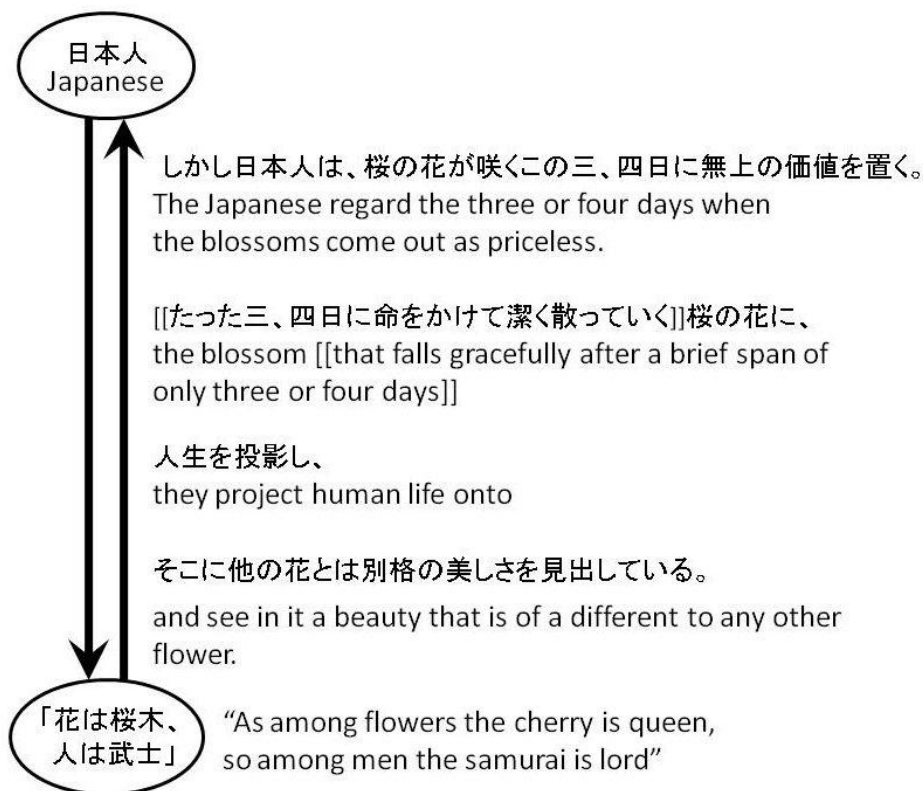


Fig. 4.17. Periodicity and reformulation

The same can be observed in the example in 4.2.3, where the Adage is used to interpret the quotes from ‘American educationalists’.

アメリカの教育学者たちは、それを自画自賛しています。「小学生たちが新聞の経済欄に目を通すようになった」。それだけではない。「株価欄にまで目を通すようになった」「社会に目が開かれた」と言います。英語にどのような表現があるかは知りませんが、日本語ではこういう場合になんとかははっきりしています。「**付ける薬がない**」です。(Fujiwara 2005:16)

American educationalists are quite pleased with what they have done. “Elementary school children are now reading the economics section in the newspaper,” they enthuse. And that’s not all: “Some children have even started running an eye over the stock price listings;” “Their eyes have been opened up to the ‘real world.’” I don’t know what the appropriate English expression is, but in Japanese we would say: “**There’s no medicine that will cure a fool.**” (Murray trans. 2007:65)

The quotes have been reformulated as the contrast between the ‘English’ and ‘Japanese’ communities before being reformulated again in terms of the Adage as shown in figure 4.18.

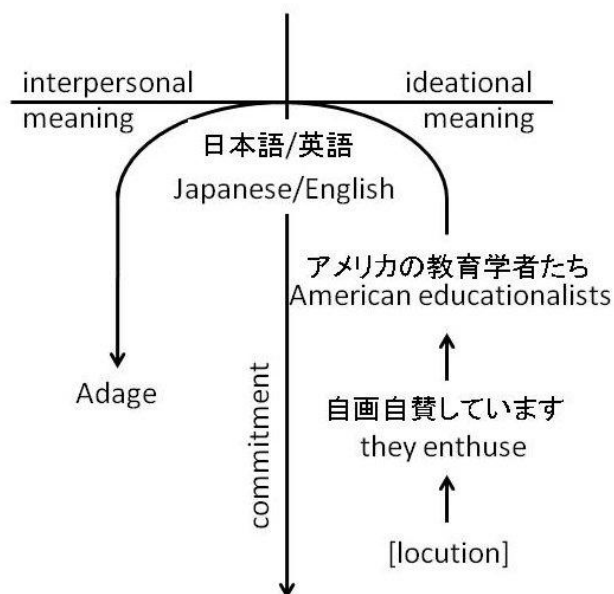


Fig. 4.18. Endorsing through Adage

The voices of the educationalists have been uncommitted ideationally, and generalized as the voice of a collective people, i.e. English/American, and this contrast is endorsed by the Adage, underscoring the differences in *Gemeinschaft*. This presents a mechanism through which the voices of specific individuals are constructed as the voice of the community.

4.2.3.2 Generalization

Conversely, the Adages can be uncommitted interpersonally and generalized as *Gemeinschaft*. Adages are idiomatic expressions that readers recognize as the familiar echoes of a collective sentiment, and the idiomaticity of their expressions are taken to be a reflection of the very essence of the population. Sakaguchi can be observed to make use of this strategy to make his point about an inherent nature of the Japanese people in the following passage.

生きて捕虜の恥を受けるべからず、というが、こういう規定がないと日本人を戦闘にかりたてるのは不可能なので、我々は規約に従順であるが、我々の偽らぬ心情は規約と逆なものである。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:198)

“Die rather than suffer the shame of being taken prisoner” was the rule during the war. Without precepts like these it would have been impossible to spur the Japanese on to war. We’re submissive to these sorts of rules but our true emotional make-up points us in exactly the opposite direction. (Dorsey trans. 2009:166)

Projective embedding is used to obscure the source of the Adage as shown in table 4.29, thus attributing it to the collective voice.

Locution	Process
生きて捕虜の恥を受けるべからずと	いうが
die rather than suffer the shame... PROJ	say-inf BND.but

Table 4.29. Adage instantiated through projective embedding

He then proceeds to expand the Adage serially, committing it in ideational meaning, allowing him to discharge the sentiments behind the Adage through a series of concessions, shown in figure 4.19.

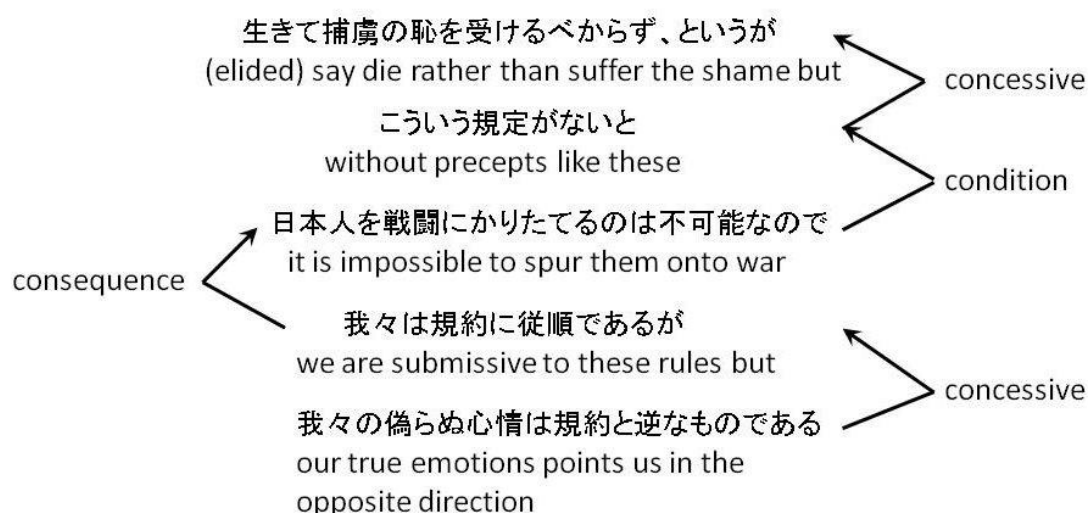


Fig. 4.19. Expansion of Adage as counter-expectations

The Adage, broken down in this way with its charges undone and interpersonal meaning uncommitted, is reformulated in terms of the Collectivization Device, instantiated through the nominal group realized as a pronoun, as shown in table 4.30.

Carrier	Circumstance	Process
我々は	規約に	従順であるが
we WA	rules NI	obedient-end-inf BND.but

Table 4.30. Reformulating Adage as Collectivization Device

There has thus been a shift in the meaning of the identity icon. The Adage has been relieved of its interpersonal commitment as specific positioning, and generalized as a consequence of Gemeinschaft, as shown in figure 4.20.

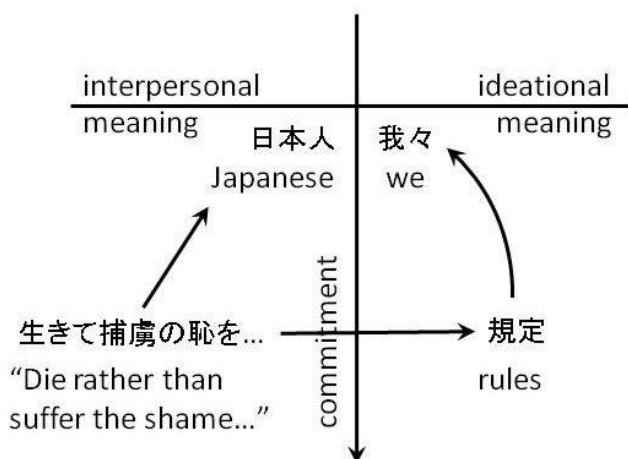


Fig. 4.20. Generalization of Adage

4.2.4 Idiomaticity and complicity

It can be seen in this chapter that semantic arguments take a central place in Nihonjinron. This is because of the assumption that language is a vehicle of thought, and a shared language therefore necessarily reflects the homogeneity of its speakers. Hence Dale observes that the notion of language and identity are highly naturalized and, ‘as the mother of nursing thought, the enabling idiom of mute, material culture, speech constitutes the very crucible of identity’ (Dale 1986:56). In such logic, the very

existence of an expression constitutes its validity in the community, while recognition of the expression constitutes a complicity in the communion.

All is well and good in this line of reasoning except for its premise that speakers relate to the expression in the same way. The argument systematically ignores any variation in individual readings of the expressions the associations formed around these expressions. Nonetheless, it is the function of the text to secure a specific reading of the expressions as the valid one, erected as the testament to the speakers' community and the contract of their communion. The totalizing voice of such interpretations is framed as the voice of the collective, and the reader who recognizes the expression recognizes it as their own voice. In the process, the reader owns the voice, and identifies with the community.

It is shown in 4.3.4.1 that engagement plays an important role in naturalizing the Adages presented in the texts. By effacing the source behind the voice of an Adage, the assertions in the interpretations of the author is presented as the assertions of the community, and readers are obliged to interpret the Adages in the same way by virtue of their membership in the community. Tansman's (2007) description of the Kokutai no Hongi is equally applicable to the Adages presented in this way.

The feeling of naturalness created by this style is only increased by the nameless authorship of the book. Though written by particular people, the book was presented as anonymous, like an unnamed folk song... In this way, it represents what it argues: it sounds like the voice of history working through the people, written with no concern for self-expression or individual originality. And by arguing in the language of "we," it sounds like the voice of the tribe. (Tansman 2007:62)

The author's interpretation of the text, its reiteration in other words, is thus established as the sole legitimate voice of the community. However, for the iteration to be intelligible, the citation that has arisen from a different context has to be recognized by the reader. As it is argued in 1.1, the symbols adapted to the cause of nationalism have to be derived from the material that resonates among speakers. If this resonance cannot be found in the individual readings of the expressions, where then can it be located?

It has been argued that Adages are syndromes of meanings, resources located higher up the instantiation cline, and it is this status as a metastable resource that allows for their citationality, and hence their recognition by the readers.

For instance, part of the Adage is instantiated through projections that select independently mood and tense (see 4.2.1.1) such as the jussive imperative mood as shown in the following example, marked in bold.

「長いものにはまかれろ」という一方、すべて上からの命令というものに生理的反発を覚える。(Nakane 1967:114)

They are afraid to offer open opposition to authority and instead commit themselves to it, while quietly admonishing one another to “**wrap yourself up in something long**”... (Nakane 1970:128)

However, this feature is not unique to Adages, and it is shared by other forms of projections. The functional difference between the projections that instantiate Adages and the projections that are simply used to construe the dialogues of characters is the interpersonal charge of the Adage that is crucial for soliciting the identification by the readers with the community. Other features are often introduced to signal the interpersonal commitment. This is done partly through the ‘atopicality’ of the lexical items within the projection (see 4.2), such as ‘長いもの’ (long object) in this example.

The interpersonal commitment may alternatively be signaled through formal morphological features. For instance, Fukuzawa (2004) observes that even though the citations in the following passage are not graphologically distinguished through quotation marks or the projection marker TO ‘と’ from the rest of Sakaguchi’s text, their status can be inferred from the use of classical language.

醜の御楯といでたつ我は。大君のへにこそ死なめかへりみはせじ。若者達は花と散ったが、同じ彼等が生き残って闇屋となる。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:197)

“We, the humble shields of our Sovereign Lord, march forth.” “We are resigned to die at his Majesty’s side and never look back.” These young men, the kamikaze, did die, scattering like the cherry blossoms. Those who escaped with their lives, though, now hawk goods on the black market. (Dorsey trans. 2009:165)

Nonetheless, the attitudes in these two examples provide little alternative interpretations and are close to an inscribed status, while morphological (e.g. 死なめ, かへりみはせじ, etc.) and lexical (醜の御楯, 長いもの, etc.) features aid in their recognition to give them a sense of historicity, thus serving functionally to mark their degree of interpersonal

commitment. This co-articulation between the features that distinguish their interpersonal significance as icons and the lack of source that establishes them as communal voices may be termed as their **idiomaticity**, which is the coalescence of these features.

The morphological and lexical features that serve to mark the interpersonal meaning of the text can also be found in other kinds of texts such as poems. Sacks (2005) also observes that proverbs are similar to poetry in the sense that both have a form of ‘stability’ that gives them an independence from any occasion of use (Sacks 2005:109). There is hence a continuity between the Adage on the one hand, and the poem that constitutes a Scripture on the other (see 5.2 on Scriptures).

例えば万葉集の読み知らずの歌で「庭草に村雨ふりてこほろぎの鳴く声聞けば秋づきにけり」。古今集から「あきの野に道もまどひねまつ虫の声するかたに宿やからまし」などです。(Fujiwara 2005:102-3)

There is this poem by an unknown author in the *Manyōshū*: “The rain falls on the grass in the garden, and I hear the song of the crickets. I know autumn has come”; and this one from the *Kokinshū*: “I have lost my way on the overgrown roads of autumn. I shall head for the sound of the cricket and seek my lodging there.” (Murray trans. 2007:149)

In contrast to Adages however, poems are attributed to specific sources, as the above example shows, even if the exact identity of the social actor involved is suppressed as ‘unknown’. Compared to the attitude inscribed in the previous examples, the voice individualized in this way is less totalizing, and the poem offers a wider scope for interpretation.

The source of the extract from Sakaguchi (1946) shown earlier may similarly be traceable to its source as a poem in the *Manyōshū*. Unlike the last example however, its source does not have to be identified because it has taken the status of an Adage by the time the text was produced, having been sufficiently disseminated into public consciousness. During the war, the poem was accompanied by music as a song that the population was very familiar with. In this way, it has gradually lost its source and become a collective voice. The extract from Sakaguchi (1946) therefore stands between the first and the last examples in terms of its potential for subjectivity. The three examples can therefore be located on a cline marked by the gradual loss in interpersonal

commitment as a result of a loss in the projection's amenability to subjective reading as shown in figure 4.21, and the gradual movement from Scripture to Adage can be understood as a phylogenetic change in the identity icon.

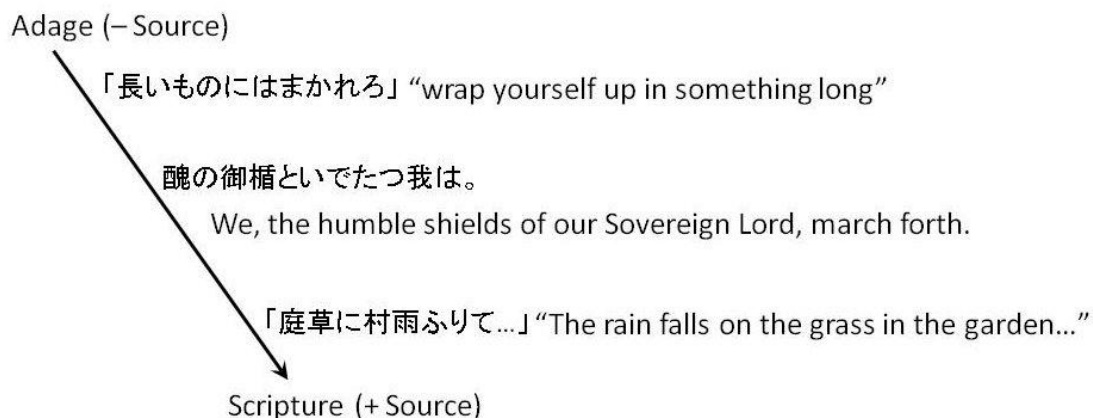


Fig. 4.21. *Interpersonal commitment of Adages as a cline*

Conversely, while the lack of source can also be observed in certain forms of quotations, such as those in the following passage, they are not recognized by readers as Adages.

「みんながこういっているから」「他人がこうするから」「みんながこうしろというから」ということによって、自己の考え・行動にオリエンテーションが与えられ、また一方、「こうしたかたはすべきではない」「そう考えるのはまちがっている」「その考えは古い」というような表現によって、他人の考え・行動を規制する。(Nakane 1967:170)

The individual receives orientation in his thoughts and conduct through such reasons as ‘Everyone says so,’ ‘Other people do so’ or ‘Everyone tells me to do so’; while, on the other hand, he regulates the ideas and actions of others by such statements as ‘One should not do such a thing,’ ‘It is wrong to think that way’ or ‘That idea is old fashioned.’ (Nakane 1972:83)

These quotations may share the discourse semantic feature of Adages in terms of engagement, but they lack the features that characterize the Adage at the level of lexicogrammar mentioned earlier, and they do not carry the interpersonal charge of identity icons. In other words, Adages as a syndrome of meaning may be distinguished from quotations such as these in terms of their idiomaticity. However, the presentation of the quotes in this example as part of the communal voice does indicate that they are

on the way towards gaining the status of an identity icon, and only time will tell if they eventually coalesce as stable syndromes.

In contrast to Scriptures (see 5.2), the Doxa is simply attributed to *Gemeinschaft* or left implicit as an accepted fact of the community (see 4.2.2.1). This constitutes an erasure of the source, whereby the voice of the Adage or Ism is uncommitted ideationally, removed from the tentative and situational context of their original formulation. Readers who recognize these expressions as part of their language are obliged to identify with the moral position, recognizing the voice of the Doxa as their own. As Tansman's description of the 'voice of the tribe' also suggests, the idiomaticity of the text provokes a sense of **complicity** in the reader, whose agreement is presumed on account of their membership in the discourse community. Maton (2008) similarly argues that constellations of axiological concepts appear as such to particular social actors who are located in specific space and time, and their association with the constellation reflects on them as moral beings. The individual positions within a constellation calls up the set of related differential associations that constitute a specific 'gaze' (see 2.4.3). By the same token, the retrieval of the syndromes of meaning enabled by the idiomaticity of the icon entails the reader's complicity in the 'cultivated gaze' it constitutes as a performance of 'identity'.

4.3 Doxa and identity

Identities are constructed as verbiage through Doxas. Both forms of Doxas, the Ism and the Adage present verbiage as expressions that capture the essence of a unique *Gemeinschaft*, distinguishing between the indigenous community and the foreign Other. Whereas Isms sum up the essence in a single abstract and condensed concept, Adages illustrates the concept through the construal of commonsense experience. In these respective ways, they present to the reader the values of the community, committing *Gemeinschaft* in interpersonal meaning.

Isms serve to condense the values as abstractions, and construct the differences between identities in terms of a taxonomy as 4.1.4.2 shows. They therefore act as emblems around which communities may rally in opposition, constructing the world in binary terms. These alignments are organized in language in folksonomic structures as clusters and their counterpoints.

Adages present the communal values as a communal voice. This is constructed in language as propositions that lack an identifiable source as shown in 4.2.2.1. The source of the voice cannot be precisely located because it is diffused through the community, and it is argued in 4.2.4 that the reader recognizes the voice through its idiomaticity in the form of the coupling between engagement and lexicogrammatical resources.

It is argued in 4.2.5 that there is a continuity between the Adage and the Scripture because both of them commit *Gemeinschaft* in terms of ideational meaning as verbiage. However, the Scripture is an Oracle, and is relatively less committed in terms of interpersonal meaning. It is also argued in 4.2.1.1 that there is a continuity between the Adage and the Ism in terms of their degree of commitment in ideational meaning. It is also argued that the relative difference in commitment between the Ism, Adage and Scripture can be conceptualized as clines. This allows us to locate the Ism and Adage in relation to the Scripture as a form of Oracle, as mapped out in figure 4.23.

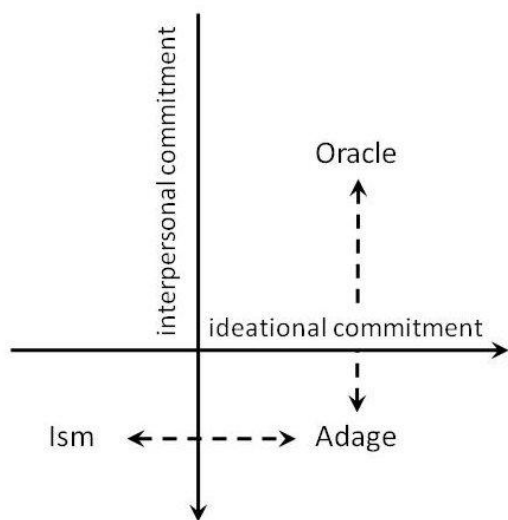


Fig. 4.22. Relating Doxa and Oracle in terms of commitment

It is shown in 4.2.3.1 and 4.2.3.2 that the relationship between *Gemeinschaft* and the Doxa is a logogenetic one, where *Gemeinschaft* can be endorsed by a Doxa, and the Doxa can be conversely generalized as *Gemeinschaft* in the text. The generalization of the Doxa decommits it interpersonally, and opens up the icon's potential for recommitment in terms of ideational meaning as an Oracle. This involves a reconfiguration of the couplings between the selection of features that comprise the identity icon. While the Doxa constructs identity in terms of values, the Oracle

constructs identities in terms of people and things, and the next chapter will explore the syndromes of meanings that comprise an Oracle.

Chapter 5 Identifying with Oracles: people and things we celebrate

Every nationalism requires a touchstone of virtue and heroism, to guide and give meaning to the tasks of regeneration. The future of the ethnic community can only derive meaning and achieve its form from the pristine 'golden age' when men were 'heroes'. Heroes provide models of virtuous conduct, the deeds of valor inspire faith and courage in their oppressed and decadent descendents. – Anthony Smith

National identity discourses such as the ones found in *Nihonjinron* often construct collective identities in terms of a timeless and homogenous *Gemeinschaft* as we have explored in chapter 3 and as abstractions in the form of verbiage as we have explored in chapter 4. However, identities cannot simply be theorized as these abstract labels. For *Gemeinschaft* to be rendered immediate and tangible to the reader, they have to be exemplified as specific people and things that act as tokens of the abstract categories. These people and things are constructed as Oracles that anchor the identities in a shared history, where they commit *Gemeinschaft* ideationally, and exemplify their *Doxas*. Hence in her discussion of nationalism during the war, Ohnuki-Tierney makes a distinction between '*pro patria mori*' and the state ideology of '*pro rege et patria mori*' (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:7-8). The former is a nationalist sentiment directed at the shared sense of community, while the latter requires a central figure as the target of loyalty. The former is a discourse grounded in a sense of *Gemeinschaft*, while the latter involves a specific individual as a rally point of one's moral orientation.

The Oracles are situated in a specific space and time that lends credibility to them as part of the reality shared by the community, and these collective memories may take the form of stories, such as the one recounted by Fujiwara in his discussion of what he considers as an intrinsic part of the Japanese sensibility.

『平家物語』の中に、武士道の典型として新渡戸稲造の『武士道』の中でも引用される有名な場面があります。一の谷の合戦の際、熊谷直実が敵の平家の武將を捕まえた。殺そうと思って顔をみると、まだ若い。歳の平敦盛だった。

自分の息子ぐらいの歳である若者を殺していいものかどうか。熊谷直実は思わず逡巡するわけですが、さすが平敦盛は「首を討て」と直実に命令します。直実はし

かたなく首を討つ。その後、手にかけてしまった若者を悼んで、直実は出家してしまう。

このような敗者、弱者への共感の涙。これが日本の無常観にはある。お能の「敦盛」が今でも延々と演じられているのは、こういう無常観、武士道でいう惻隠に近いものが今も日本人の心の中に流れていて、心を揺さぶられるからでしょう。

(Fujiwara 2005:100-1)

The *Heike Monogatari* includes a famous episode which Nitobe Inazō mentions in his *Bushido*. At the Battle of Ichi no Tani, Kumagai Naokane has captured the general of the enemy Heike clan. Kumagai intends to kill him, but when he comes face to face with the general, he discovers that he is just a young man, the fifteen-year-old Taira no Atsumori.

Can Kumagai properly kill a young man of around the same age as his own son? When he hesitates, it is Taira no Atsumori who earnestly instructs him to behead him. Reluctantly Kumagai does so, but afterward, grieving for the young man he has killed, he becomes a priest.

Tearful empathy for the loser and for the weak: these are the emotions that the Japanese sense of impermanence incorporates. The Noh play *Atsumori* continues to be popular after all this time because the Japanese still have feelings akin to this sense of impermanence and to the compassionate empathy of the samurai, and are still moved by the same emotions. (Murray trans. 2007:143-5)

On one level of the discourse, we observe that the story revolves around a number of what we may identify as individuals, such as the historical heroes Kumagai and Atsumori. These Heroes participate in a series of events, e.g. the capturing and killing of Atsumori, that were located in a specific time and place, i.e. at the Battle of Ichi no Tani. Their actions form a core part of their identity, and the exemplification of the Doxa ‘compassionate empathy’ is presented as the very purpose of this story.

On another level, we are told that these events comprise an ‘episode’ that appears in a number of sources, i.e. the play *Atsumori*, the literary canon *Heike Monogatari* and the book *Bushido*, which are considered as Japanese cultural Heritages. These Heritages are prized in the community, and they present to us in tangible form the essence of the Japaneseness. These Heroes and Heritages stand out among other participants because of their potential for intertextuality in terms of the quantity and duration in the community, and the passage informs us that there are three supporting accounts of the

story, and that they exemplify a Japanese essence precisely because the story endures even ‘after all this time’. They serve as an authority to legitimize forms of communal behavior, and dispense oracular wisdoms of the community, such as the samurai value of ‘compassionate empathy’ in this passage.

These Heroes and Heritages comprise two distinct forms of Oracles that exemplify *Gemeinschaft* as shown in figure 5.1. While *Gemeinschaft* constitutes a very abstract way to classify social persons in terms of their communities, these two types of Oracles are specific tokens of these communities, committed ideationally to a specific time and place. As readers, we recognize Heroes as culturally significant social actors in the discourse and Heritages as their creations and achievements.

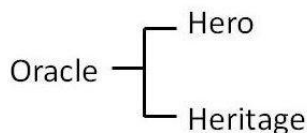


Fig. 5.1. Basic network of Oracle

As we have seen in the passage above, ideationally, both Heroes and Heritages may be committed as orbital syndromes and organized serially through projections. However, the two forms of Oracles take distinct roles in these structures. Heroes typically take agentive roles that relate them to other participants, while Heritages can potentially enter into taxonomic relations with other participants. Interpersonally, Heroes are typically instantiated through judgment, and have the potential to serve as a source of personal, expert or role model authority. Heritages on the other hand are typically instantiated through appreciation and graduation to serve as an authority of tradition. These ideational and interpersonal syndromes are organized periodically, foregrounding and backgrounding the Oracles at different junctures in the discourse, allowing us to track them in a way that provides a sense of continuity in their identities.

We are not concerned with physical people and things in our conceptualization of Oracles in this thesis. As identity icons, Heroes and Heritages are semiotic phenomena, comprised of relatively stable networks of structures that provide the texture and intertextual resources in identity discourses. These clusters of couplings between the three metafunctions coalesce across texts into the Oracles that readers recognize as people and things that are culturally significant. This chapter will examine the

syndromes associated with the ideational and interpersonal meanings instantiating each type of Oracles in detail, before exploring their reformulation in terms of *Gemeinschaft* and *Doxas* as described in the preceding chapters.

5.1 Heroes

The Hero as conceptualized in the present study is the sum of the meanings that comprise an individual's semiotic reality. It is a relatively stable network of couplings between ideational and interpersonal meanings that coalesces intertextually as a social person in discourse. They serve to 'put a face' to the otherwise ineffable *Gemeinschaft* by committing it ideationally in a specific time and space as part of the orbital and serial structures that relate them to other social actors and things. Coupled with this strand of meaning is a prosodic one where Heroes are charged with social significance to serve as the experts and role models that the community may aspire towards, or in the case of the 'non-Japanese' Other, caricatures that the community may distinguish themselves from.

As the Heroes are instantiated in text, they may be generalized in terms of *Gemeinschaft*, or they may endorse *Doxas* through their speech and actions. In this way Heroes are interrelated to *Gemeinschaft* and *Doxas* through discourse to produce an intricate network of social meaning that constructs a differential sense of identity between the Self and the Other.

5.1.1 Particulate syndromes

Heroes are committed ideationally in specific space and time as part of the orbital structures that relate them to other Heroes and Heritages. These orbital structures are themselves organized orbitally around a nexus, instantiated as a Participant at the level of the clause, and a semantic string at the level of discourse semantics. The Participant is mapped onto identity chains as part of their textual meaning to link them through the course of the text. Heroes may also expand serially to other icons through projections, to form connections with the orbital structures of other icons. As these networks are relatively stable over time, their orbital and serial structures play an important role in the intertextual retrieval of Heroes.

5.1.1.1 Orbital organization

One of the most salient ways in which Heroes are committed is through naming. Heroes are often instantiated through clauses with recognizable proper names in the nominal groups that function as a Participant in clauses. The nominal groups are consistently coupled with specific Processes and Circumstances across a range of texts, illustrated in the following example of Nitobe as a Hero.

新渡戸稲造 (一八六二～一九三三) は南部藩 (現岩手県) の下級武士の息子として生まれ、札幌農学校 (現北海道大学) で農学を学んだ後、アメリカに留学してキリスト教クエーカー派の影響を受けました。(Fujiwara 2005:122)

Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) was the son of a low-ranking samurai of the Nambu clan in what is now Iwate prefecture. After studying agriculture at Sapporo Agricultural College (present-day Hokkaido University), he traveled to the United States for further study and there came under the influence of the Quakers. (Murray trans. 2007:175)

The Hero in this example is committed at the level of the clause through the Participant ‘新渡戸稲造’ (Nitobe Inazō) and the material and behavioral Processes ‘生まれ’ (was born), ‘学んだ’ (learned), ‘留学して’ (studied abroad) and ‘受けました’ (received). In the English version, the Hero is additionally instantiated through the identifying relational clause ‘Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) was the son of a low-ranking samurai...’ The clause is realized as Circumstance of role in Japanese, lit. ‘Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) was born as the son of a low-ranking samurai...’

These Processes play an important role in the particulate as well as prosodic structuring of the Hero. Through these Processes, Heroes may take the role of Carrier and Token in relational clauses, Sayers in verbal clauses, or Actor, Behaver and Recipient in material clauses, opening up the potential for invoking judgment in terms of their prosodic structures, which will be discussed in 5.1.2.

In terms of particulate structures, Heritages play the corresponding role of Goal in material clauses, establishing ideational relations between Heroes and Heritages. The role of material clauses in linking Heroes and Heritages ideationally will be explored in 5.2.1.1. Heroes take the role of Sayer in verbal clauses to project other clauses in a serial structure. These serial structures create a particulate and prosodic link with the

structures of other icons. The way in which the orbital structures of different icons are linked through the serial structure of the Hero will be discussed in 5.1.1.2.

The Hero is instantiated through Participant across various clauses, providing a link across these orbital structures that bring them together as a coherent text as shown in figure 5.2, and semantic interdependency is thus constructed between each instance of the Hero.

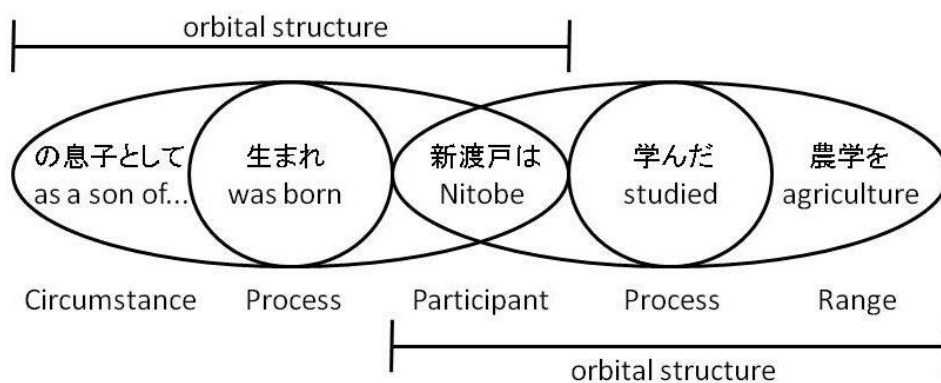


Fig. 5.2. Coupling between orbital syndromes

The Hero ‘Nitobe’, instantiated through Participant at clausal level, provides a link across clauses through such covariate structures (see 2.3) that form identity chains at the level of discourse semantics. Figure 5.3 shows the interaction between the ideational structures represented by lines and textual structures represented by arrows across this stretch of text, with elided Participants recovered from the Process.



Fig. 5.3. Heroes and identity chains

Aside from functioning as a Participant in clauses, the Hero can be further committed ideationally through the nominal group, expanding the set of relations by grafting it ideationally onto other strings. The Thing ‘息子’ (son) of the nominal group realizing part of this string is expanded by the Classifier ‘武士の’ (samurai), which in turn functions as a Categorization Device. Typically instantiated through Classifiers in the nominal group, Categorization Devices are therefore a useful resource for expanding Heroes because Heroes do not normally generate taxonomies, while Categorization Devices do (see 3.1.2).

Figure 5.4 illustrates a synoptic perspective of how the couplings of features in the orbital structures observed above coalesce into a network of ideational relationships through the identity chain provided by textual meaning.

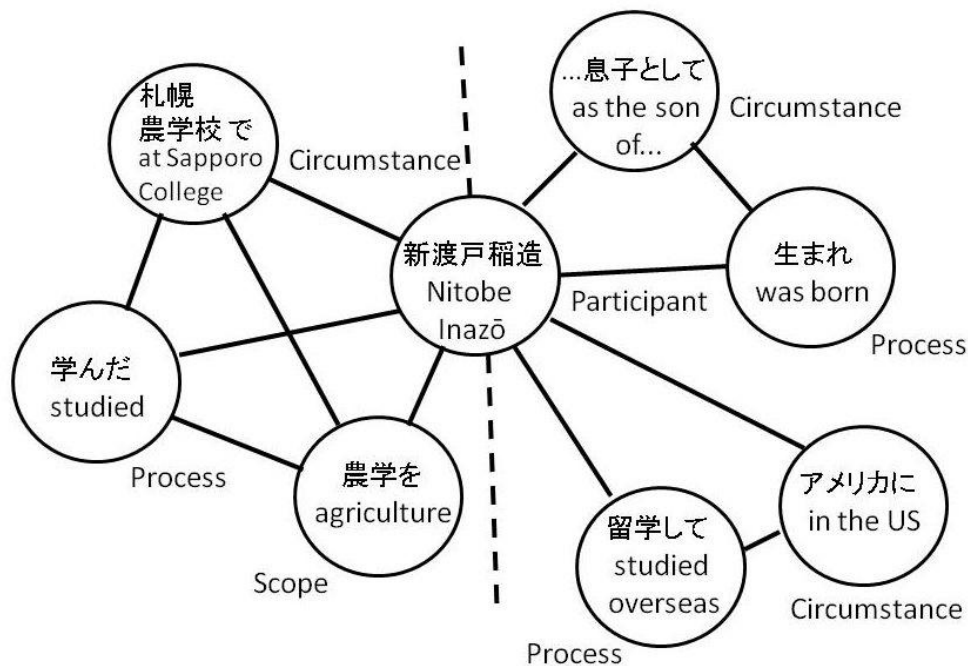


Fig. 5.4. Hero as a network of couplings

Each of the clauses is a quantum of meaning constituted by the couplings of features in the selection of Participants, Processes and Circumstance. The Hero is therefore a relatively stable network of couplings, constituted by such clusters of features as shown in the diagram. The illustration shown here is by no means exhaustive of the Hero in question, which by the end of a text would have doubtlessly been a very extensive network indeed. Each text involving the Hero is an instance that contributes to and reinforces this enormous but nonetheless finite and relatively stable network. Given the extensive size of these networks, only parts of these networks may be instantiated in a text at any one moment, but it is the very relative stability of these networks that allow readers to recognize characters in the story as the same person in their cultural knowledge.

5.1.1.2 Serial organization

One important role of Heroes is that of Sayer in verbal clauses. Through projecting clauses, Heroes can be expanded serially to other icons and their orbital structures. These serial structures serve to recontextualize one network of structures within another, as can be seen in the following example.

明治天皇は、

おごそかにたもたざらめや神代よりうけつぎ来たるうらやすの国
かみつよの聖のみよのあととめてわが葦原の国はをさめむ
と詠み給うた。以て天皇の尊き大御心を拝察すべきである。(Ministry 1937:1/2)

The Emperor Meiji sang:

Should we not preserve in dignity
This Land of Peace
Handed down from the age of the gods?
Following the ancient days of sages,
Would We rule Our Land of Reed-plains.

Thus do we witness [in these two poems] the great august Will of the Emperor.
(Gauntlett trans. 1949:75)

At first blush, we can discern one level of relationships from another, the former as a quantum of meaning involving the Emperor Meiji, and the latter as part of a Locution, as shown in table 5.1. Within the projected quanta of meanings is a network of relationships between the land, its origins and social values.

Sayer	Locution	Process
明治天皇は	おごそかにたもたざらめや神代より...	と詠み給うた。
The Emperor Meiji	Should we not preserve in dignity...	sang

Table 5.1. Hero as sayer and locution

The difference in levels is often also realized in the text as a graphological distinction to mark one set of relations off from another, as can be observed as the use of indentations in this passage. Furthermore, by presenting an assertion as a Locution projected by a Sayer instantiating the Hero, the voice of the Locution can be attributed to the Hero. This attribution is itself an additional layer of meaning, constructed as an authorial voice, commenting on the social action of the Hero, in this case Emperor Meiji's speech.

以て天皇の尊き大御心を拝察すべきである。

Thus do we witness the great august Will of the Emperor.

Therefore, this passage contains three distinct layers of network of meanings in a serial relationship as shown in figure 5.5, comprising three locations of identity one projecting another, i.e. one of the various participants within the locution, one of Emperor Meiji, and one of the authors, each with their own relatively independent networks of orbital structures.

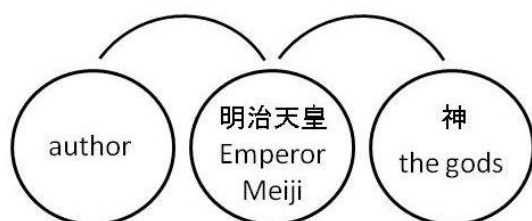


Fig. 5.5. *Serializing Heroes*

Serial structures such as this play an important role in the text in providing the ideational link for the attribution of interpersonal meaning, such as the judgments in the example above, e.g. ‘great Will’ and ‘dignity’.

These serial structures can also be instantiated through other projecting Processes such as ‘書く’ (to write), as well as Processes that realize graduation such as ‘重要視する’ (to regard highly) as shown in the following example.

新渡戸稲造は武士道の最高の美德として、「敗者への共感」「劣者への同情」「弱者への愛情」と書いております。まさに「惻隠」をもっとも重要視しているのです。
(Fujiwara 2005:124)

According to Nitobe, the supreme virtues of bushido were “benevolence to the weak, the downtrodden or the vanquished.” He regarded *sokuin* – the feeling of compassionate empathy – as more important than anything else. (Murray trans. 2007:179)

Through the serial structure in this passage, the Hero ‘Nitobe’ is ideationally linked to the Doxa ‘*sokuin*’ as part of the process of endorsement that contributes to legitimation when coupled with their interpersonal meanings (see 5.1.2.1).

5.1.2 Prosodic syndromes

The network of ideational meanings comprising a Hero is organized around a nexus instantiated through Participant at the level of the clause and as lexical strings at the level of discourse semantics, mapped onto identity chains. The Participant serves as target for appraisal, while the orbital structures that instantiate Heroes serve as ideational tokens for invoking evaluation. Coupled with the particulate structures therefore, are prosodic structures that charge the Hero with interpersonal meanings, such that they stand out in culture as figures that other members of the community can aspire to emulate or scorn. The interpersonal meaning may dominate a domain of text projected by the Hero, saturate stretches of text alongside other Heroes, or intensify its effect on the text.

5.1.2.1 Dominating prosody

As we have noted in 5.1.1, Heroes can be instantiated through Participant in projecting clauses. In terms of engagement, the clauses are dialogically expansive, attributing the voice presented in the clause to the Hero.

新渡戸稲造は武士道の最高の美德として、「敗者への共感」「劣者への同情」「弱者への愛情」と書いております。まさに「惻隠」をもっとも重要視しているのです。
(Fujiwara 2005:124)

Nitobe writes that the supreme virtues of bushido were “benevolence to the weak, the downtrodden or the vanquished.” He **regards** *sokuin* as the most important. (my translation)

The Hero Nitobe functions as an appraiser, enabling the appraisal of bushido and *sokuin*, and on another level, the Hero endorses those Doxas by conferring its interpersonal charge onto the text projected. It thus dominates the projected text prosodically, constraining the range of positioning offered by the stretch of text, as shown in figure 5.6.

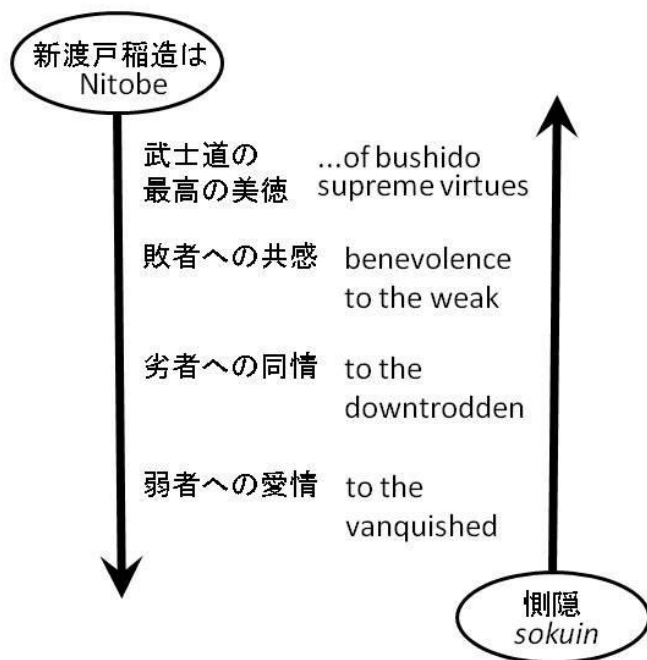


Fig. 5.6. Hero as a dominating prosody

The Hero is a network of couplings between the experiential representations of the ‘weak, vanquished and downtrodden’, with the positioning towards them, i.e. ‘benevolence’. It is instantiated through a dominating prosody over the projected text, and the interpersonal charge built up in the identity icon is conferred onto the voice.

5.1.2.2 Saturating prosody

Heroes can be instantiated consecutively through a stretch of text as a saturating prosody. In trying to establish the tradition of similar attitudinal alignment through history, the following text engages a repetition of examples, each of them attributed to different Heroes, but in a unified voice saturated in affect.

我が国に於ては、君臣一体と古くよりいはれ、天皇を中心として億兆一心・協心戮力、世々厥の美を濟し来つた。天皇の聖徳と国民の臣節とは互に融合して、美しい和をなしてゐる。仁徳天皇は、

百姓貧しきは、則ち朕が貧しきなり。百姓富めるは、則ち朕が富めるなり。

と仰せられ、又、亀山上皇は、蒙古襲来の際、宸筆の御願文を伊勢神宮に献げて、朕が身をもつて国難にかへん。

と御祈り遊ばされ、又、今上天皇陛下御即位式の勅語に、

皇祖皇宗国ヲ建テ民ニ臨ムヤ国ヲ以テ家ト為シ民ヲ視ルコト子ノ如シ...

(Ministry 1937:1/4)

In our country, Sovereign and subjects have from of old been spoken of as being one, and the entire nation, united in mind and acting in full cooperation, have shown forth the beauties of this oneness with the Emperor as their centre. The august virtues of the Emperor and the duties of the subjects converge and unite into a beautiful harmony. The Emperor Nintoku [A.D.313-399] has said:

The poverty of Our subjects meaneth in effect Our poverty. The opulence of Our subjects meaneth in effect Our opulence.

Again, the Emperor Kameyama [A.D.1260-1274], on the occasion of the Mongolian Invasion, offered a written prayer at the Ise Shrine and did pray: “Let Our own Person bear the national crisis!” Again, His Majesty the Present Emperor says in his Imperial Rescript issued on the occasion of his enthronement:

When Our Imperial Ancestors founded the nation and reigned over Their subjects, They counted the nation Their family and looked upon Their subjects as Their own children... (Gauntlett trans. 1949:114-5)

Affect is invoked through the locution projected by the various Emperors functioning as Sayers, and the opportunistic instantiation of Heroes through the coupling between Sayer and affect can be observed in this text. In saturating prosodies, Heroes are opportunisticly inserted into the text to support an argument in the text, as shown in figure 5.7.

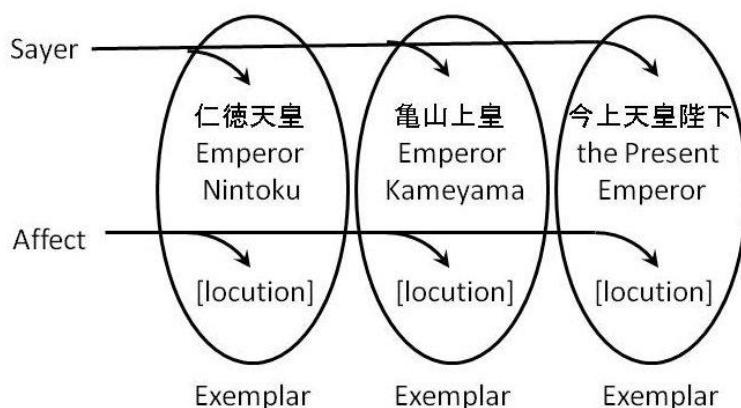


Fig. 5.7. Hero as a saturating prosody

5.1.2.3 Intensifying prosody

Alternatively, the force of the Hero can be built up in an intensifying prosody increased by quantifying, functioning as graduation for the interpersonal meaning. Quantification is achieved by committing *Gemeinschaft* multiple times over as a number of different individuals. In the following example, the Hero committed from *Gemeinschaft* ‘loyal subjects’ is instantiated through Kitabatake, Hino, Nitta, Kusunoki, etc.

...幾多の忠臣の輔佐があつた。即ち忠臣には、北畠親房・日野資朝・日野俊基等を始め、新田義貞、楠木正成等があつて、回天の偉業が成就せられた。(Ministry 1937:2/1)
 ...the assistance of many loyal subjects. That is, among the loyal subjects were such names as Kitabatake Chikafusa [A.D. 1293-1354], Hino Suketomo [died A.D. 1332], Hino Toshimoto, Nitta Yoshisada [A.D. 1301-1338], and Kusunoki Masashige [A.D. 1294-1336]; and through such men were titanic tasks accomplished. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:114-5)

Each instance is ideationally committed individually, as can be observed from features such as time frame (provided for the English reader). Interpersonally, they instantiate the Hero collectively, i.e. loyal. The interpersonal meaning of the Hero is structured by an intensifying prosody, prefigured by the intensifier ‘幾多の’ (many) in the nominal group ‘幾多の忠臣’ (many loyal subjects), as shown in figure 5.8.



Fig. 5.8. Hero as an intensifying prosody

5.1.3 Intertextual clustering

The various ways in which Heroes are committed ideationally as discussed in the preceding sections provide the means for their intertextual retrieval by authors and readers alike. Naming is a very salient feature in a Hero’s commitment, and as such, a proper name is often sufficient to call up entire networks to anchor the Hero as a

specific individual in history. In the following example, the Categorization Device ‘日本人’ (Japanese people) is committed as the Hero ‘大石内蔵助’ (Oishi Kuranosuke) with its counterpart ‘ナポレオン’ (Napoleon).

事実、日本人のリーダーの像は、ナポレオンのものではなく、あくまで大石内蔵助的なものである。(Nakane 1967:155)

In fact, the enduring image of the leader for Japanese people is not that of **Napoleon** but always that of **Oishi Kuranosuke**. (my translation)

They are both well known characters in history, literature and the theatre, and they function as prominent icons with extensive networks – not unlike those described in this chapter – that are assumed to be readily recoverable by readers. They are therefore introduced into the text without any further elaboration. The interpersonal implication of this is that such icons are phylogenetically pre-charged, and they carry a high level of social significance culturally. In these cases, the Heroes are ideationally committed through the shared networks, even if portions of these commitments may have to be semogenetically retrieved through intertextuality.

In terms of textual meaning, the identity chain of these highly pre-charged Heroes are introduced through homophora. Proper names generally realize homophoric reference, and where Heroes are retrieved phylogenetically as prominent cultural resources, they are usually presented in the text as proper names without the use of Categorization Devices. Lafcadio Hearn is a prominent name in *Nihonjinron*, and the Hero is introduced into the text without Categorization Devices even though he is invoked as a Western expert on Japanese literature in the following example.

虫の音にたいする日本人の感性については、ラフカディオ・ハーンも『虫の演奏家』という随筆で触れています。(Fujiwara 2005:102)

In his essay “The Insect Performers,” Lafcadio Hearn mentions the sensitivity of the Japanese to the sound of insects. (Murray trans. 2007:147)

Hearn is assumed to be familiar to Japanese readers, but not retrievable to English readers, and a small caption on Hearn is tellingly included in the translated Murray (2007) copy although it is not present in the original Fujiwara (2005). Intertextual retrieval of this sort is therefore sensitive to the readership community, and is constrained by the bonds between author and readers.

Aside from naming, Heroes may also be retrieved from parts of the network that are instantiated in the text itself. For example, the Hero in the Nitobe example in 5.1.1.1 is instantiated through a specific time frame (1862-1933), and through features at the clausal level such as Circumstance of location ‘札幌農学校で’ (at Sapporo Agricultural College) and ‘アメリカに’ (to the United States). These features commit the Hero to a specific time and place by coupling them to give the Hero a sense of realism. It is precisely for this purpose that the biographical recount of Nitobe is included in Fujiwara (2005).

In cases where icons are retrieved intertextually from culture, Processes and Circumstance provides the means for retrieval through orbital structures. For instance, Sakaguchi (1946) introduces the Hero ‘学生と娘’ (the student and his young lover) without having to name them specifically. Yet the Heroes are easily retrievable by readers through the Circumstance ‘十数年前’ (ten years ago) ‘大磯のどこかで’ (in the town of Ōiso) when they are coupled with the Process ‘心中した’ (committed suicide).

けれども人の心情には多分にこの傾向が残っており、美しいものを美しいままで終らせたいということは一般的な心情の一つのようだ。十数年前だかに童貞処女のまま愛の一生を終らせようと大磯のどこかで心中した学生と娘があったが世人の同情は大きかったし... (Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:197-8)

The desire to have things of beauty forever frozen in that state is universal. Take, for example, the incident that occurred about ten years ago in the town of Ōiso. When the student and his young lover committed suicide so that the purity of their platonic love would be guaranteed for all eternity, the general public was completely sympathetic. (Dorsey 2009:165)

As the Hero is the network of couplings between Participants, Processes and Circumstance as shown in figure 5.9, the identity of the Hero can be retrieved readily from other elements in the network such that it does not have to be specifically named.

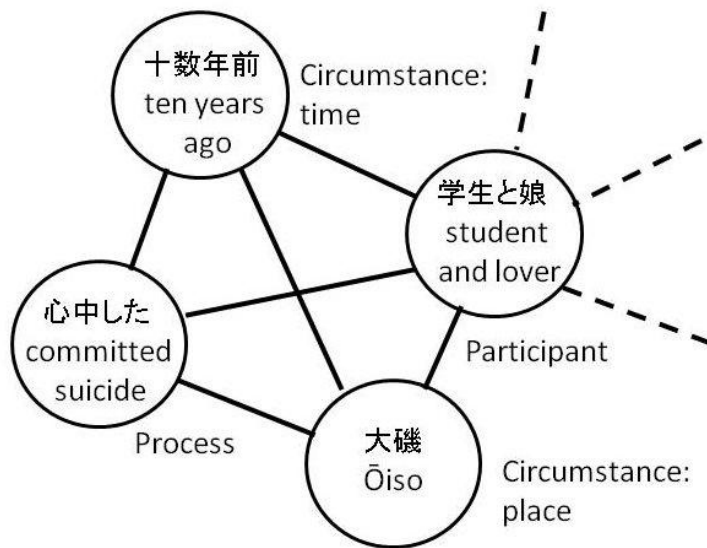


Fig. 5.9. Hero as a syndrome

This is an example where only a fragment of the network is instantiated, because the remaining portions are intertextually retrievable. The extent to which features can be left out before the Hero is irretrievable is indicative of its social significance, and hence the phylogenetic interpersonal charge. The extent to which networks can be retrieved by the readers is indicative of the extent of bonds shared between author and reader.

Heroes can likewise be retrieved from serial structures when the projected text is highly charged with interpersonal meaning. In such cases where the projected text has accrued a high level of cultural significance, it may also consequently be established as a Heritage brought into existence by the Hero such as the following quote.

「教育ニ関スル勅語」に「天壤無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ」と仰せられてあるが...
(Ministry 1937:1/1)

In the Imperial Rescript on Education, the Emperor [Meiji] says:

Guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:65)

The Sayer of this Locution has been elided in the original Japanese text as shown in table 5.2. It is nonetheless readily retrievable as Emperor Meiji, as the English translation demonstrates.

Circumstance	Locution	Process
「教育ニ関スル勅語」に	「天壤無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ」	と仰せられてある
In the Imperial Rescript	Guard and maintain the prosperity...	is urged

Table 5.2. Hero instantiated through locution

It is retrievable to the original readers as the Imperial Rescript on Education is an important text during wartime Japan. Postwar readers of the English text do not share the same bonds however, and the Hero has to be retrieved for them by the translator.

As the text cited within the Locution is highly significant, it takes the status of a Heritage, instantiated through a proper name and functions as Circumstance of the clause. The projected text thus takes on an orbital structure in the form of Circumstance. This allows the text to be part of the network of ideational meanings orbitally organized as the Hero instantiated through Emperor Meiji. The way Heritages relate to Heroes ideationally as the result of their actions will be explored further in 5.2.1.1.

5.1.4 Logogenesis

5.1.4.1 Generalization

Generalization is a process of uncommitting the Hero, resulting in Gemeinschaft. Although the ideational meaning is uncommitted, any interpersonal meaning built up in the course of commitment is brought over to Gemeinschaft. This is a useful strategy for three interrelated reasons. As Heroes are committed ideationally, the particulate structures of Heroes can serve as ideational tokens for interpersonal meanings such as appraisal. Secondly, a number of different Heroes committed individually can be generalized as a single category in terms of Gemeinschaft, allowing multiple instances of charging to be relayed to the category. Finally, where Heroes are axiologically charged and contrasted ideationally against other Heroes differentially, the axiological charge can be used to retrieve parts of the Gemeinschaft that are left implicit.

The following is an example of a number of different Heroes, committed ideationally by being coupled with individual fields.

文学のシェイクスピアやディケンズ、力学のニュートン、電磁気学のマックスウェル、遺伝学のダーウィン、経済学のケインズ。みんなイギリス人です。(Fujiwara 2005:131)

In literature they have Shakespeare and Dickens; in mechanics, they have Newton; in electromagnetic, James Clerk Maxwell; Darwin in the study of heredity; Keynes in economics: all these men are Britons. (Murray trans. 2007:191)

Where Heroes are generalized, they lose their ideational commitment, and the interpersonal meaning is distilled. Note that the fields mentioned in the above example do not constitute a taxonomy; they form a serial list of items that are coupled with the Heroes as shown in figure 5.10, committing each of them individually. As the text unfolds, the ideational individuality of Dickens and Darwin is backgrounded in the argument. Instead, the text develops in such a way as to focus on their social significance in terms of capacity.

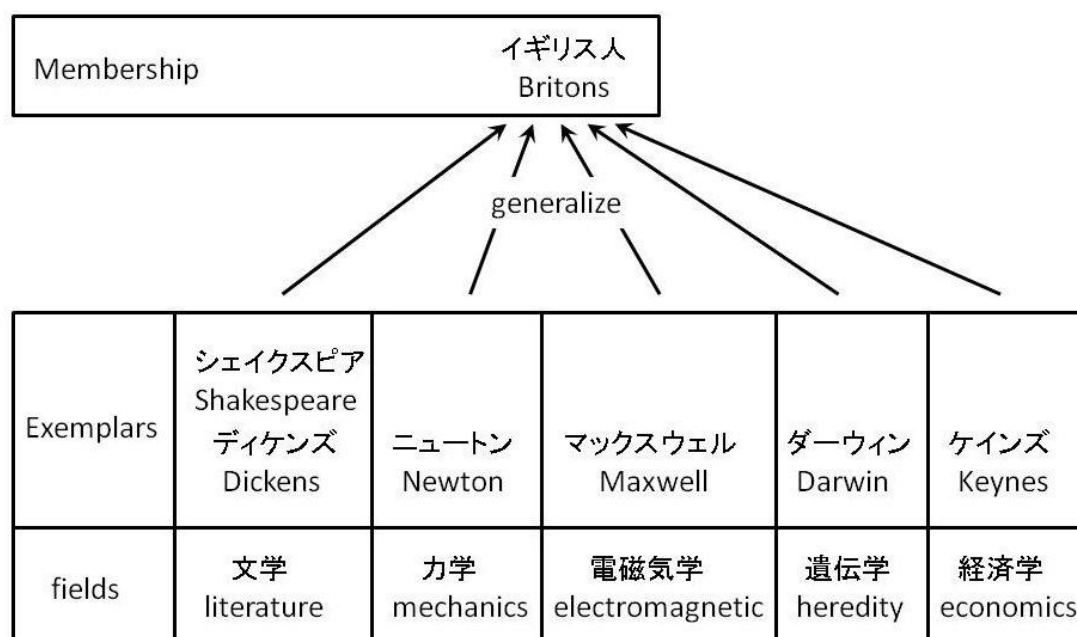


Fig. 5.10. Reformulating Heroes as a category

Where the interpersonal meaning associated with the Hero is differential, the axiological charge is carried over to Gemeinschaft.

東条英機はヒトラーやムッソリーニと質的に異なるリーダーであり、それは実に、この日本の社会構造によるものである。(Nakane 1967:142)

Tōjō Hideki is a different kind of leader from Hitler and Mussolini. In fact, this is something due to the structure of Japanese society. (my translation)

In the Hero's instantiation through 'Tōjō', functioning as Participant in the relational clause, a contrast is set up at the level of the clause against 'Hitler and Mussolini' as shown in figure 5.11. However, the Hero 'Tōjō' is subsequently uncommitted ideationally, generalized as simply a member of 'Japanese society'. As the Hero is generalized as the Categorization Device instantiated through 'Japanese society', the corresponding Gemeinschaft of the Hero 'Hitler and Mussolini' is not explicitly instantiated in the text. The corresponding part of Gemeinschaft has to be retrieved axiologically as 'non-Japanese', and indeed this retrieval is prompted at clausal level by the causal conjunction 'による' (due to).

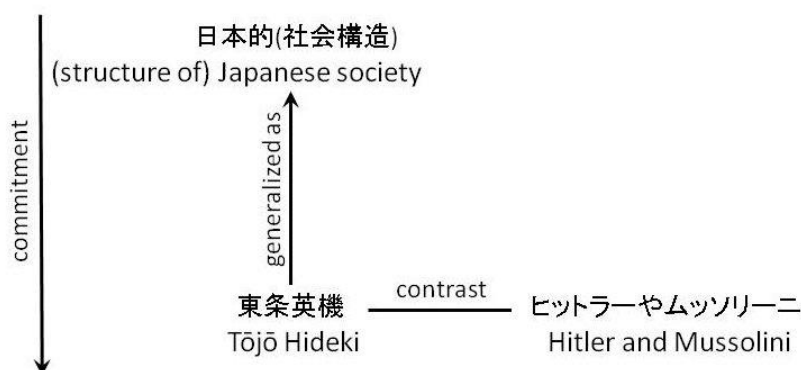


Fig. 5.11. *Contrasting Heroes*

Generalization is thus a discursive strategy that creates an explanatory relationship between Gemeinschaft and Heroes, providing the basis of a form of circular reasoning, i.e. Tōjō behaves the way he does because he is Japanese; he is recognizably Japanese because he behaves the way he does.

Heroes and Gemeinschaft have discernable roles and dynamics in discourse. The previous examples have also shown that these two categories of icons participate in an economy that can be productively studied from a typological perspective. When generalization is observed from a topological perspective, Heroes and Gemeinschaft can

be located on a continuum (see 2.4.4 on typology and topology of icons). The relationship forms a cline because meaning is committed in degrees.

A series of reformulations can be observed in the following extract, where Emperor Jimmu is generalized as ‘Emperors’, which is in turn generalized as ‘our national Oracle’.

神武天皇の御東征は、久しきに亙り、幾多の困難と闘ひ給ひ、皇兄五瀬ノ命を失ひ給ふほどの御悲痛にも屈せられず、天ツ神の御子としての御信念と天業恢弘の御精神とによつて、遂にその大業を達成し給うた。神代に於ける所伝やそれ以後の国史に徴するに、御歴代のかくの如き限りなき御努力によつてよく万難を克服し、天業を恢弘し、益々善美なる国家が造られ、我が国体の光輝は弥々増して来るのである。
(Ministry 1937:2/1)

The Emperor Jimmu’s expedition to the East extended over a long period, and His Majesty fought against many hardships. And although he met with the terrible grief of losing his Imperial elder brother Itsuse no Mikoto, he would not yield to grief, but finally achieved his great undertaking through his august convictions and will to expand the Imperial enterprises as an august son of the heavenly deities. The traditions of the mythological age and our national history that has followed shows that through such ceaseless efforts of the successive Emperors every obstacle has been surmounted, Imperial enterprises expanded, a good and beautiful nation built up, and that the splendor of our national Oracle is on the rise. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:107-8)

The icon is committed as a Hero that is instantiated through the Participant ‘Jimmu’ at clausal level, such that the clauses serve as ideational tokens invoking judgment. Alongside inscribed appraisal such as ‘convictions’ (御信念) ‘will’ (御精神) and ‘efforts’ (御努力), implicit judgment is also flagged by graduation such as ‘ceaseless’ (限りなき) ‘every obstacle’ (万難).

...御悲痛にも屈せられず ...would not yield to grief (resilient)

...御信念と天業恢弘の御精神 ...his august convictions and will (steadfast)

...限りなき御努力によつて ...such ceaseless efforts (persevering)

...よく万難を克服し ... every obstacle has been surmounted (capable)

In this case, the Emperor's character is interpreted as the cause of the community's success. He exemplifies the *Gemeinschaft*, and his merits are the merits of the nation.

... 御努力によつて... 益々善美なる国家が造られ、我が国体の光輝は弥々増して来るのである。

...through such ceaseless efforts...a good and beautiful nation built up, and that the splendor of **our national Oracle** is on the rise.

As Emperor Jimmu is generalized as a token of 'Emperors', 'successive Emperors' are generalized as a token of *Gemeinschaft* 'our national Oracle'. 'Successive Emperors' therefore sits midway in the cline between the Hero 'Emperor Jimmu' (神武天皇) at the most committed end and *Gemeinschaft* 'our national Oracle' (我が国体) at the least committed. In this particular instance, it functions simultaneously as a Categorization Device, referring to 'Emperor' as a category, and as a Hero, referring to a limited and specific number of people in history, i.e. 'successive Emperors'.

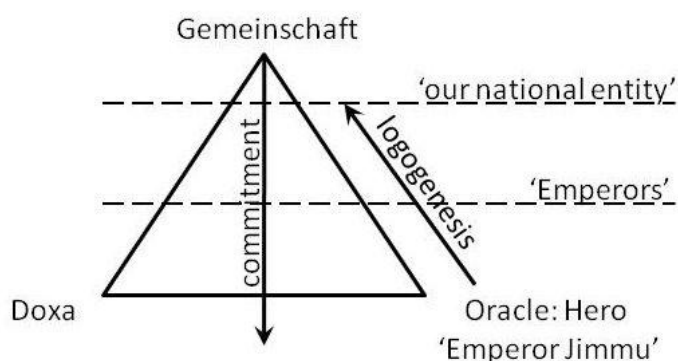


Fig. 5.12. Generalizing Hero by degrees

As the text progresses logogenetically away from the former, Heroes become less committed, having lost their specificities, are reformulated as a class and finally a community, as shown in figure 5.12. Aside from proper names and specific events, the specificities that are lost include past time. As the icon moves from Oracle to *Gemeinschaft*, the text correspondingly moves from past time to present time. Oracles, bound to their historical contexts, are committed in time and place, while *Gemeinschaft* is arrested in an empty homogenous time (see 3.2).

In this example, the icon is committed as a Hero to be structured as a series of orbital structures that allow it to be charged in terms of judgment. As the Hero is generalized, it

loses its ideational commitment, and the charge is brought over to the Categorization Device and Collectivization Device. This process of generalization can be observed to occur in degrees in this example, along a cline of commitment.

5.1.4.2 Exemplification

While the text may progress in the direction of generalizing Heroes, reformulating them as *Gemeinschaft*, reformulation may also occur in the opposite direction, exemplifying *Gemeinschaft* in terms of Heroes. In the following extract, specific examples of successive Emperors are provided to illustrate the initial claim that they show concern for their subjects.

歴代の天皇が蒼生を愛養して、その衣食を豊かにし、その災害を除き、ひたすら民を安んずるを以て、天業恢弘の要務となし給うたことは更めて説くまでもない。垂仁天皇は多くの地溝を開き、農事を勧め、以て百姓を富寛ならしめ給うた。又百姓の安養を御軫念遊ばされた仁徳天皇の御仁慈は、国民の普く語り伝へて頌へ奉るところである。 雄略天皇の御遺詔には、

筋力精神、一時に労竭きぬ。此の如きの事、本より身の為のみに非ず。 たゞ百姓を安養せむと欲するのみ。

と仰せられ... (Ministry 1937:1/2)

There is no need to take the trouble to explain how the successive Emperors counted it their duty to nurture their subjects, to provide them with ample clothing and food, to remove their disasters, and intently to set their minds at rest. The Emperor Suinin [B.C.29-A.D.70] had many ponds and ditches built, encouraged farming, and thereby enriched the people's means of livelihood. Again, the august sympathy shown by the Emperor Nintoku [A.D.313-399], who exercised solicitude for the well-being of the people, is a subject widely related and lauded by the people. The Emperor Yūryaku [A.D.457-479] says in his posthumous proclamation:

Both Our body and mind are together become sick. Such a thing as this is from the beginning not on account of Ourselves alone; but [because] We wish to have Our subjects live in peace. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:76)

The Categorization Device 'Emperors' are exemplified by specific Heroes that are committed through naming. These Heroes are also anchored in specific time spans that can potentially be retrieved intertextually through the knowledge of history. They are in

fact retrieved in Gauntlett's (1949) English translation for readers who are presumed to be unfamiliar with the shared history.

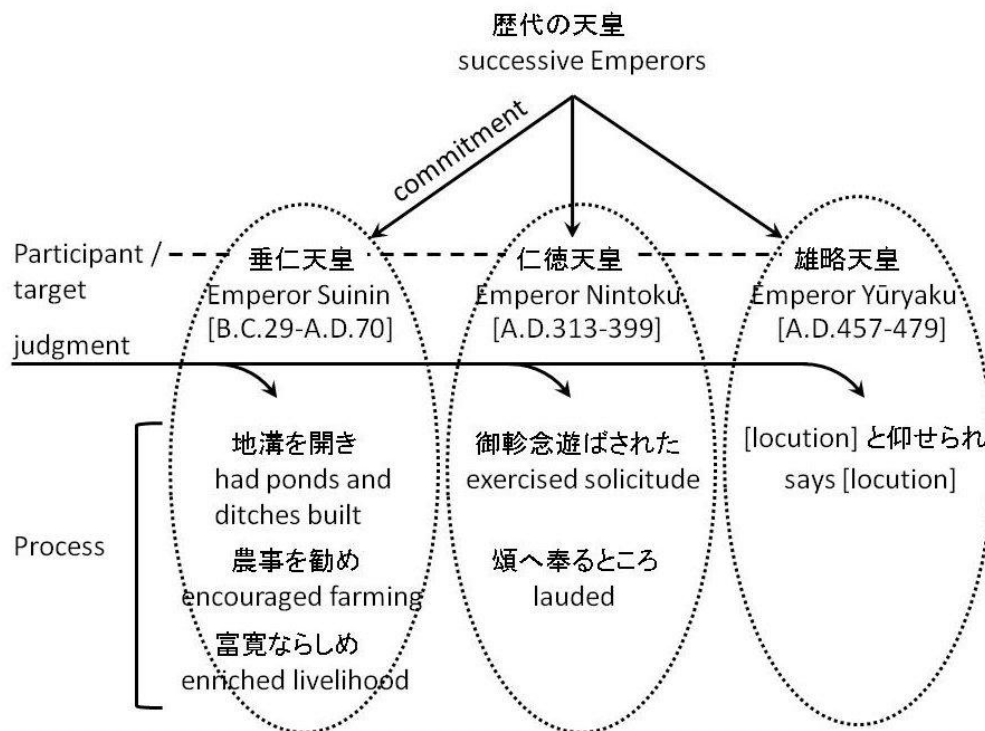


Fig. 5.13. Exemplifying through Heroes

The individual Heroes are instantiated through the coupling between Participants and their Process in terms of ideational meaning, and judgments with their targets in terms of interpersonal meaning as shown in figure 5.13. The judgments are realized in three different ways demonstrated in this example. They may be directly inscribed and attributed to other social actors (the people) as the source of evaluation as with the case of Emperor Nintoku.

...国民の普く語り伝へて頌へ奉るところである。
...widely related and lauded by the people.

Judgments can be invoked through ideational tokens realized by material clauses, where the target of evaluation is the Agent in the clause, such as Emperor Suinin.

...多くの地溝を開き、農事を勧め、以て百姓を富寛ならしめ給うた。

...had many ponds and ditches built, encouraged farming, and thereby enriched the people's means of livelihood.

The ideational token can also take the form of locutions projected by verbal Process with the Hero as the Sayer as is the case with Emperor Yūryaku.

As any axiological charge of the Hero is carried over to Gemeinschaft during generalization, and implicit parts of Gemeinschaft are consequently retrievable (see 5.1.2), exemplification is a useful means for constructing Gemeinschaft in differential and binary sets without instantiating the other half of the pair as shown in the following example.

日本のリーダーの影響力・威力というものは、部下との人間的な直接をとおして、はじめてよく発揮されるものである。事実、日本人のリーダーの像は、ナポレオンのものではなく、あくまで大石内蔵助的なものである。(Nakane 1967:155)

The charisma of a Japanese leader can only be truly exercised through immediate personal relations. In fact, the enduring image of the leader for Japanese people is not that of Napoleon but always that of Oishi Kuranosuke. (my translation)

In this example, 'Japanese leader' and 'Japanese people' instantiate Gemeinschaft, exemplified by the Hero 'Oishi Kuranosuke' that is contrasted by the implicit contrastive conjunction against the Hero 'Napoleon' as shown in figure 5.14.

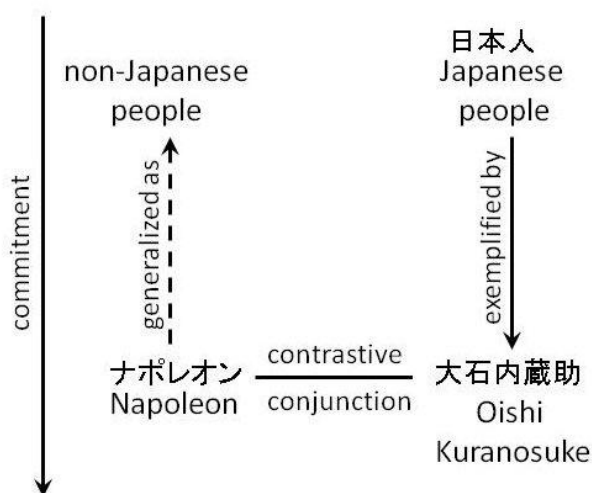


Fig. 5.14. Categorizing by implication

Gemeinschaft has the potential to form a standardized relational pair (see 3.4), and even though the corresponding Gemeinschaft of the Hero ‘Napoleon’ is not instantiated in the text, it is nonetheless retrievable through the axiological charge of ‘Oishi Kuranosuke’ flagged by graduation ‘あくまで’ (always). It is also interesting to note that although ‘Napoleon’ would perhaps have been associated with the concept of ‘the French’ for some English readers, the part of Gemeinschaft that can be retrieved through this axiological arrangement is that of ‘non-Japanese’. This is a good example of how Categorization Devices are constrained by axiological charges. Exemplification thus obscures the mechanism of the standardized relational pair by foregrounding the Heroes (see 2.3.5), and shields it from potential challenges as Heroes have a greater extent of ideational commitment.

As exemplification involves a movement from one form of icon to another, it provides a useful opportunity for iconoclastic discourse. It is precisely the mapping of Gemeinschaft to Hero that the following passage is seeking to problematize.

社会的に忘れた時にすら政治的に担ぎだされてくるのであって、その存立の政治的理由はいわば政治家達の嗅覚によるもので、彼等は日本人の性癖を洞察し、その性癖の中に天皇制を発見していた。それは天皇家に限るものではない。代り得るものならば、孔子家でも釈迦家でもレーニン家でも構わなかった。ただ代り得なかっただけである。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:199)

Then, just when the emperor system had been forgotten by society at large, it would be dragged out once more. The political utility of the imperial house was something sniffed out by politicians who had observed the idiosyncrasies of the Japanese people and discovered within them the possibilities for an emperor system. There’s absolutely no reason that they had to settle on the imperial house; they could very well have gone for the descendants of Confucius, Gautama Buddha, or even Lenin. (Dorsey 2009:167)

The text begins by exemplifying Gemeinschaft instantiated through ‘Japanese people’ as the Hero ‘the imperial house’ to entertain the popular position dialogically, if only to deny it ‘に限るものではない’ (absolutely no reason). It introduces substitute Heroes as potential alternatives to the dominant understanding, in order to denaturalize the position, as shown in figure 5.15.

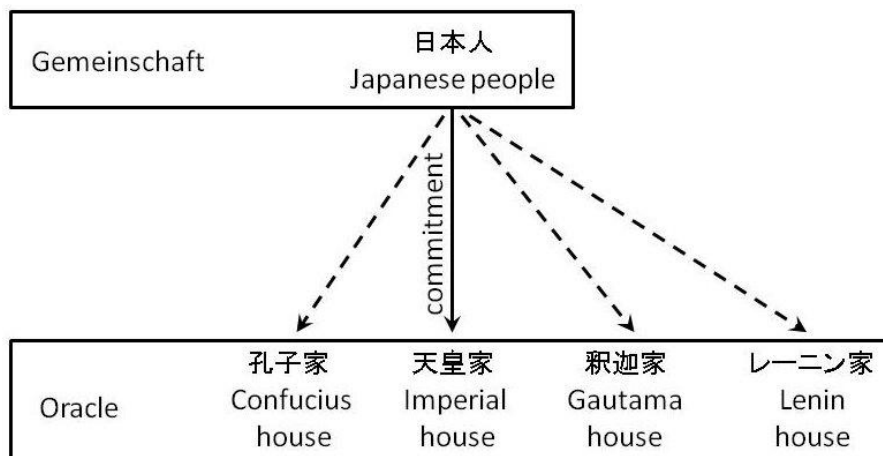


Fig. 5.15. Problematizing exemplification

The purpose of the text is not to establish an alternative, but to destabilize the gaze (see 2.4.3). The emphasis here is on the alternatives as potential rather than actual ones, and the Heroes are introduced into the discourse through the modalization of possibility ‘代り得るものならば’ (could very well have gone for). It thus introduces a number of voices through dialogic expansion by recommitting *Gemeinschaft* a number of times to challenge the dominant one in a tone of mockery, exposing the defeasibility of its formulation of Japanese identity.

5.1.4.3 Endorsement

Aside from *Gemeinschaft*, there are generally two ways in which Heroes can be reformulated in terms of *Doxa*. Endorsement can be done directly through authorial voice or through attribution.

Where endorsement is done through a voice attributed to the Hero, projecting clauses are used, and the *Doxa* is instantiated in part through the locution, as shown in the following example.

新渡戸稲造は武士道の最高の美德として、「敗者への共感」「劣者への同情」「弱者への愛情」と書いております。まさに「惻隠」をもっとも重要視しているのです。
(Fujiwara 2005:124)

Nitobe writes that the supreme virtues of bushido were “benevolence to the weak, the downtrodden or the vanquished.” He **regards** *sokuin* as the most important. (my translation)

Endorsement can also be done through authorial voice, commenting on the Hero's actions and speech. In doing so, the text charges the icon through 'supersubjectivity' (Macken-Horarik 2003), where the author stands over the Hero and interprets the social significance of those actions and speech.

そして、個人は自由に快樂を追求してよい、全能の神が社会に調和をもたらしてくれるから、と述べました。何と無責任でデタラメな発言でしょう。ロックこそは、自由主義、功利主義、近代資本主義の祖と呼んでも過言ではない人です。(Fujiwara 2005:69)

Locke also said that it was all right for the individual to pursue his pleasure freely because an all-powerful god would ensure the harmony of society. There's an irresponsible and nonsensical statement for you! It is no exaggeration to see Locke as the father of libertarianism, utilitarianism, and modern-day capitalism. (Murray trans. 2007:101)

The Hero 'Locke' in this example is committed by naming and projection. The projection is then uncommitted in terms of contents, as it is distilled as a verbiage '発言' (statement), which is in turn re-committed interpersonally through the valuation '無責任でデタラメな' (irresponsible and nonsensical), as shown in figure 5.16. The inscription '無責任' (irresponsible) which is lexically associated with judgment also evaluates the Sayer 'Locke'.

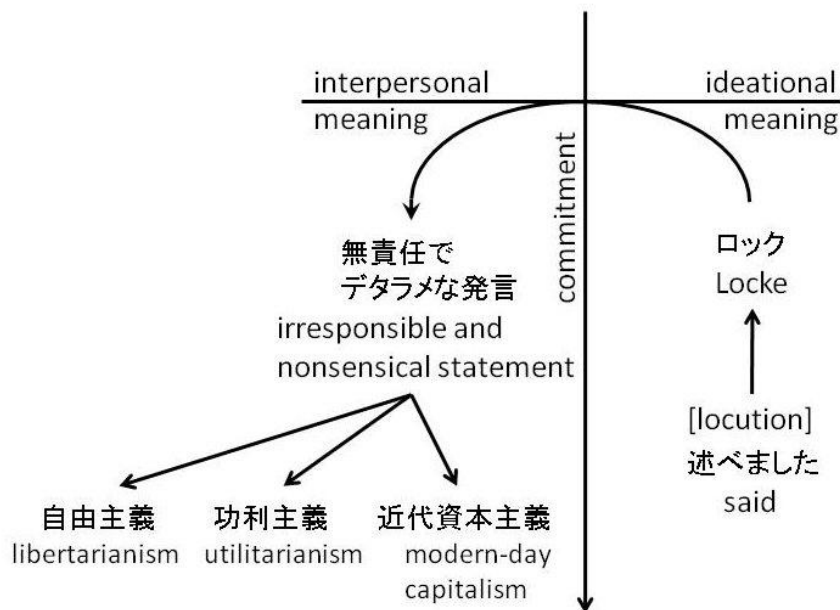


Fig. 5.16. Endorsing Heroes

The Hero, which is the coalescence of both strands of meaning, is thus uncommitted ideationally. The icon is eventually re-committed interpersonally, and condensed into the Doxas ‘libertarianism’, ‘utilitarianism’, and ‘modern-day capitalism’.

Endorsement through authorial voice is not limited to speech. Aside from direct inscriptions of appraisal, the actions of Heroes, construed through material and behavioral Processes can also be committed interpersonally as ideational tokens to invoked judgments, as shown in the following passage.

新渡戸はよく「東洋と西洋の架け橋」などと呼ばれますが、彼の目は西洋にばかり向けられていたわけではありません。『武士道』が世界的なベストセラーとなり、国際的な名声を博したその二年後に、台湾に民生局殖産課長として赴任したのです。当時の台湾は日本領となってまだ六年で、マラリア、コレラなどの伝染病が蔓延する未開の土地でした。新渡戸の偉さは、そこで一介の課長として懸命に台湾の農業を改革し、製糖業を興したことです。その結果、台湾の製糖業を昭和初年にはハワイと世界一を競うまでに育てた。不借身命と申しましようか、「公に奉ずる」という武士道精神を見事に実践したのです。(Fujiwara 2005:124)

Nitobe is often described as a bridge between East and West, but his focus was by no means exclusively on the West. *Bushido* became a best seller, and in 1901, two years after winning worldwide fame, Nitobe was sent to Taiwan as a technical advisor to

the Japanese colonial government. Taiwan had only been a Japanese colony for six years, and it was still an untamed place subject to epidemics like malaria and cholera. What was so special about Nitobe was that, despite being a mere departmental head, he worked assiduously to improve the country's agricultural sector and set up its sugar making business. As a direct result of his efforts, Taiwan's sugar industry grew to a point that it was competing for the top spot with Hawaii by the early Showa period. He thus gave a marvelous practical example of the samurai spirit of serving the public good. (Murray 2007:177-9)

Except for a single case of inscribed appraisal 'greatness' (偉さ), most of the evaluation of Nitobe in this passage is invoked through ideational construal of his actions.

- ...東洋と西洋の架け橋 ...bridge between East and West (significant)
- ...西洋にばかり向けられていたわけではありません
- ...by no means exclusively on the West (capable)
- ...国際的な名声を博した ...winning worldwide fame (famous)
- ...民生局殖産課長として as a technical advisor (important)
- ...新渡戸の偉さ ...so special about Nitobe (great)
- ...懸命に...改革し...興した worked assiduously to improve/set up (hardworking)
- ...公に奉ずる ...serving the public good (benevolent)

The implicit judgments are flagged by graduation (see 4.4.2) such as 'worldwide' (国際的な) and 'assiduously' (懸命に), as well as evaluations of the results of his actions.

その結果、台湾の製糖業を昭和初年にはハワイと**世界一を競う**までに育てた。

As a direct result of his efforts, Taiwan's sugar industry grew to a point that **it was competing for the top spot** with Hawaii by the early Showa period.

The story of Nitobe's adventure in Taiwan is not left open to interpretations however. Left on their own, his achievements and virtues are highly committed as the credits of a single person who may inspire others as a role model, but for the average reader to aspire towards Nitobe's character, it is not enough to merely share his *gemeinschaft*. His actions and qualities have to be abstracted as properties that everyone else shares by virtue of their *gemeinschaft*. The significance of the story has to be interpreted for the reader as an example of the 'samurai spirit'.

...武士道精神を見事に実践したのです。

He thus gave a marvelous practical example of the samurai spirit...

Thematized by the marker ‘は’ (wa), the Hero is instantiated through the proper name Nitobe and a dominating prosody that ranges over the subsequent stretch of text, and the interpersonal meanings are ‘grounded’ in material and behavioral clauses, construing physical events that readily serve as ‘concrete’ examples for the reader. These interpersonal meanings are then condensed as the Doxa ‘samurai spirit’ (武士道精神), gaining the potential for idiomaticity (see 4.3.4), as shown in figure 5.17. As hyperNew, the Doxa dominates the chunk of text from the opposite direction. In this way, the interpersonal meanings in both icons ride on the textual structure to form a link across a longer stretch of text than those associated with endorsement through attributed voices.

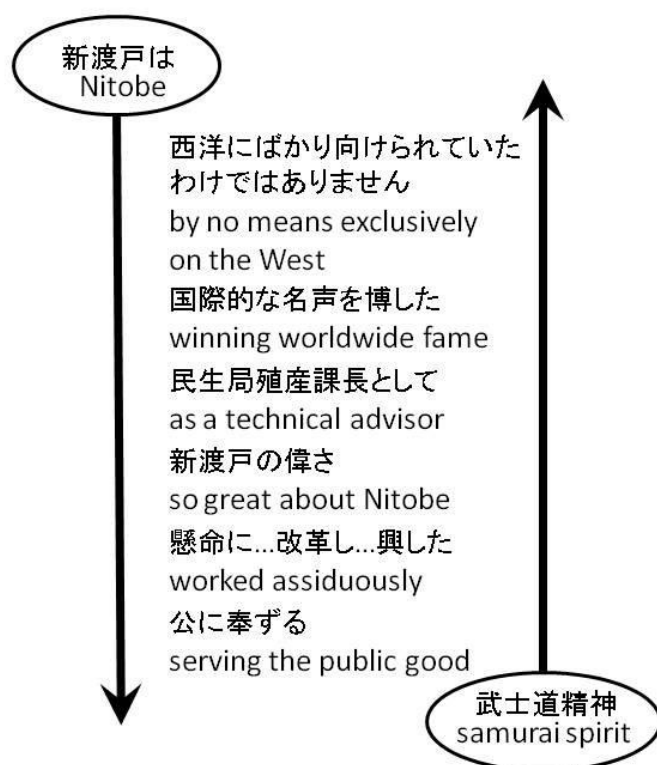


Fig. 5.17. Reformulating Hero as Doxa

Oracles are predominantly committed ideationally while Doxas are predominantly committed interpersonally. From a topological perspective, the reformulation of Heroes as Doxas involves a degree of ideational uncommitment and a degree of recommitment in interpersonal meaning, as shown in figure 5.18.

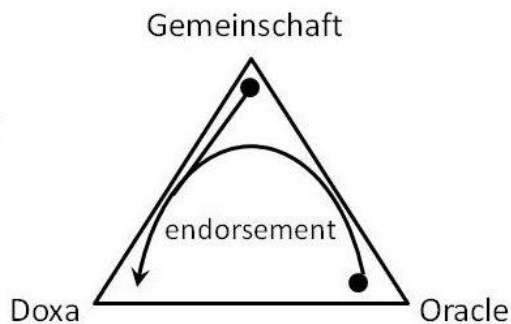


Fig. 5.18. Endorsement

5.1.5 Role models

Heroes may serve as either as the personal or role model authority to establish social norms and legitimize calls to valued forms of social behavior. Personal authority is vested in social actors because of their role in the institution, and typically takes the form of a verbal Process (van Leeuwen 2008:106). In the case of national identity discourses, the unique social position of the Hero in the nation-state provides the basis of authority over members of the nation. As such, Heroes associated with personal authority are highly committed, and they exert their authority as unique individuals in the form of commands. Through the use of locution, the demand may be expressed as a command, typically realized as optative mood or modality as shown in the following passage.

それ故、明治天皇は、陸海軍軍人に下し賜へる勅諭に於て、幕府政治について「且は我国体に戻り且は我祖宗の御制に背き奉り浅間しき次第なりき」と仰せられ、更に「再中世以降の如き失体なからんことを望むなり」と御誠めになつてゐる。

(Ministry 1937:2/1)

Hence, the Emperor Meiji declared in his Imperial Rescript Granted to the Men of the Forces, concerning the shogunate administration:

Furthermore, it is indeed contrary to our national Oracle and indeed in violation of the laws set by Our Imperial Ancestors, and a thing to be truly ashamed of.

And His Majesty gave admonition, saying,

We desire that there be no more loss of face as that which followed the establishment of the Kamakura Shogunate. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:113)

The first quotation in this passage is couched in terms of evaluation.

...我国体に戻り且は我祖宗の御制に背き奉り浅間しき次第なりき...

...it is indeed contrary to our national Oracle and indeed **in violation** of the laws set by Our Imperial Ancestors, and a thing to be **truly ashamed** of.

In the second quotation, the command is realized as optative mood, expressed as a desire on the part of the Emperor, as shown in table 5.3.

Complement	Predicator: optative
再中世以降の如き失体なからんことを	望む
[[that there be no more loss of face...]] O	hope-OPT

Table 5.3. Hero as authority

Where the locution is presented as a Heritage, the Hero may not necessarily be identified by name. They are nonetheless highly committed ideationally, and this commitment may be retrieved from the Heritage. In the following example, the Sayer is elided in the Japanese text, and instead the Heritage is instantiated through Circumstance. This Heritage is identified by naming, and the social actor responsible is intertextually retrievable to anyone familiar with it. The Sayer is retrieved for the benefit of postwar readers who do not share the communal bond, and the Hero is specifically named in the subsequent English translation.

「教育ニ関スル勅語」に「天壤無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ」と仰せられてあるが、これは臣民各々が、皇祖皇宗の御遺訓を紹述し給ふ天皇に奉仕し、大和心を奉戴し、よくその道を行ずるところに実現せられる。(Ministry 1937:1/1)

In the Imperial Rescript on Education, the Emperor [Meiji] says:

Guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.

And this is brought to fruition where the subjects render service to the Emperor – who takes over and clarifies the teachings bequeathed by the Imperial Ancestors – accept the august Will, and walk worthily in the Way. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:65)

Circumstance	Locution	Process
「教育ニ関スル勅語」に	「天壤無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ」	と仰せられてある
In the Imperial Rescript	Guard and maintain the prosperity...	is urged

Table 5.4. *Hero as a command*

The locution itself constitutes a command, as shown in table 5.4, realized as the modality of necessity, lit. ‘the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth **must** be guarded’.

Role model authority is associated with celebrated members of the community, and the fact that they behave in certain ways and believe in certain things makes those very behaviors and actions desirable for emulation (van Leeuwen 2008:107). In terms of national identity discourse, they either exemplify *Gemeinschaft*, or their actions are generalized to a feature of *Gemeinschaft* on the whole. The authorial voice typically recontextualizes the quoted text of the Hero, generalizing the voice as a comment on *Gemeinschaft*.

『武士道』の中で新渡戸は「武士道の将来」と題とした最終章にこう記しました。
「武士道は一の独立せる倫理の掟としては消ゆるかも知れない、しかしその力は地上より滅びないであろう。(中略)その象徴とする花のごとく、四方の風に散りたる後もなおその香気をもって人生を裕富にし、人類を祝福するであろう」「武士道精神」の力は地上より滅びません。まず日本人がこれを取り戻し、つまらない論理ばかりに頼っている世界の人々に伝えていかなければいけないと思います。(Fujiwara 2005:129)

In “The Future of Bushido,” the last chapter of Nitobe’s *Bushido*, he writes as follows. “Bushido as an independent code of ethics may vanish, but its power will not perish from the earth... Like its symbolic flower, after it is blown to the four winds, it will still bless mankind with the perfume with which it will enrich life.” The samurai spirit will not perish from the earth. The Japanese must recover this spirit and then communicate it to the people of the rest of the world who are in thrall to dry, trite logic. (Murray trans. 2007:185-7)

The Hero’s belief is generalized, reformulated as the Categorization Device ‘the Japanese’ and instantiated through the modality of necessity.

...日本人がこれを取り戻し...人々に伝えていかなければいけない...

The Japanese must recover this spirit and communicate it to the people of the rest of the world.

Aside from projections instantiating Heroes, expert authority may also be constructed through a series of material clauses accompanied by interpersonal meaning in the form of judgment.

併しながらこれに対して、和氣ノ清席呂が勅によつて神の御教を拝し、**毅然たる精神**を以て、一身の安危を忘れ、**敢然立つてその非望を挫いた**。(Ministry 1937:2/1)

However, Wake no Kiyomaro, in compliance with an Imperial order, received the injunctions of the deities [at a Shinto shrine], and **stood up fearlessly and crushed the evil designs with a resolute spirit, forgetful of dangers to his own person**. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:112)

Judgment may be realized implicitly in these instances of ideational commitment, and the material clauses in the following passage serve as ideational tokens for judgment, flagged by the inscription of affect ‘remorse’.

宮本武蔵は一乗寺下り松の果し場へ急ぐ途中、八幡様の前を通りかかって思わず拝みかけて思いとどまったというが、吾神仏をたのまずという彼の教訓は、この自らの性癖に発し、又向けられた悔恨深い言葉であり、我々は自発的にはずいぶん馬鹿げたものを拝み、ただそれを意識しないというだけのことだ。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:199-200)

They say that when Miyamoto Musashi was hurrying towards a duel near Ichijōji Temple, he suddenly caught himself starting to pray as he passed the buildings dedicated to Hachiman, the patron deity of warriors. This personality quirk is what inspired his maxim “Look neither to gods nor Buddhas for aid,” words which reveal the deep remorse he felt over this personality weakness. Like him we automatically fall to worshipping some pretty ridiculous things and simply aren’t aware of it. (Dorsey 2009:168)

In this example, the Hero’s actions are generalized by the Collectivization Device ‘我々’ (we), and the interpersonal commitment in the form of negative judgment is carried over to *Gemeinschaft*.

5.2 Heritage: Relics and Scriptures

Gemeinschaft can be committed in two distinct but interrelated ways, as Heroes and Heritages. While Heroes are the semiotic construction of social actors, Heritages are the semiotic construction of their achievements and possessions. Heritages can therefore be thought of as the mark that social actors leave on the world, and they therefore partake of the social value and interpersonal charge attributed to the Heroes with which they are associated. Just as Heroes are relatively stable networks of couplings within and between different structures that coalesce intertextually as social persons in discourse, Heritages are relatively stable networks of couplings within and between different structures that coalesce intertextually as specific recognizable objects in discourse. A Heritage is therefore a sum of its extensive relationships to social actors and the roles that it plays in social practice.

The relationship between Heroes and Heritages is either one of creation, whereby the Heritage is presented as an achievement of the Hero, or one of transfer, whereby the Heritage is conferred by a Hero to another social actor as a symbolic transfer of authority or legitimacy. The Hero responsible for the creation or giving hence endows the Heritage with interpersonal charge, and upon the establishment of its independent existence, the Heritage becomes a source of impersonal authority.

Heritages are usually distinguished from Heroes and Doxas in form, such as morphological or graphological features. In the following Japanese text for instance, The Hero ‘Nitobe Inazō’ remains unmarked, whereas the Heritages *Heike Monogatari* and *Bushido* are instantiated through nominal groups realized in brackets, and they are correspondingly realized in the English text in italics.

『平家物語』の中に、武士道の典型として新渡戸稲造の『武士道』の中でも引用された有名な場面があります。(Fujiwara 2005:100)

The *Heike Monogatari* includes a famous episode which Nitobe Inazō mentions in his *Bushido*. (Murray trans. 2007:143)

These features also serve to distinguish Heritages from Doxas, and this can be seen when we compare the use of the word ‘Bushido’ in the preceding example with that in the following example about a book similarly named after the Doxa. In the following

example where the word ‘Bushido’ instantiates a Doxa, it is not marked in italics, but instead with the morpheme ‘-精神’(spirit).

不借身命と申しませうか、「公に奉ずる」という武士道精神を見事に実践したのです。(Fujiwara 2005:124)

He thus gave a marvelous practical example of the samurai spirit of serving the public good. (Murray 2007:179)

The distinction in form reflects the difference in structures associated with each of the three types of icons, while the resemblance in form between the Heritage and the Doxa reflects a relationship of reformulation between them whereby the Doxa is endorsed by the Heritage. As Heroes are tokens of Gemeinschaft in collective identity discourses, their Heritages also exemplify Gemeinschaft, representing the achievement and prized artifacts of the collective, and are therefore an alternate way in which Gemeinschaft is ideationally committed. The ideational commitment of Heritages in time, coupled with the interpersonal charge of their cultural significance, in turn serves as a form of legitimation for Gemeinschaft by constructing a sense of tradition.

5.2.1 Particulate syndromes

Heritages are generally recognized as objects in texts. While Heroes typically take the role of Agents in orbital structures, Heritages typically take the complementary role of their Mediums. In cases where the Heritage is constructed as a document or a piece of literary work, it may chronicle the actions and speech of social actors, and serve as the source of additional voices, to project other Icons through serial development. Unlike Heroes, Heritages can potentially participate in taxonomies to establish a relationship with other Heritages, thereby providing the material for interpersonal intensification.

5.2.1.1 Orbital organization

The relationship between Heroes and Heritages usually takes either the form of creation associated with creative clauses, whereby the Heritage is presented as an achievement of the Hero. Heritages are often construed as the achievements of Heroes, and Heritages are therefore often coupled with their corresponding Heroes. This may be done by instantiating Heritages (marked by brackets in the Japanese text and parenthesis in the English text) through nominal groups alongside the proper names of the Heroes (not

graphologically marked), committing the Heritages ideationally as shown in the following example.

即ち世阿弥の「花」、芭蕉の「さび」、近松門左衛門の虚実論等に於ては、この心と物との深い一体の関係を捉へてゐる。(Ministry 1937:2/5)

For example, this deep relationship of oneness between mind and matter is ably presented in Seami's [A.D.1363-1443] "Flowers," Bashō's [A.D.1644-1694] "Sabi," and Chikamatsu Monzaemon's [A.D.1653-1724] "On Truth and Falsehood." (Gauntlett trans. 1949:158-9)

This provides a link between Heritages and Heroes by coupling them ideationally as shown in figure 5.19, by instantiating them through the same nominal group. They hence take on both the ideational and interpersonal commitment of the Heroes, opening up the potential for further commitment. For instance, the time frames committed to the Heroes may be transferred to the Heritages, as are those retrieved for English readers in this extract.



Fig. 5.19. Coupling between Hero and Heritage

Other ways in which Heritages are coupled with Heroes include their co-instantiation through Participants of the same clause. For example, the Heritage 'Bushido' is established in the following passage as the product of the Hero 'Nitobe'.

武士道が書かれたのは明治 32 年で、ちょうど日清戦争と日露戦争の間になります。清を破った新興国家日本に世界が注目しながら、警戒心を持ち始めた時期に当たります。1899 年にアメリカで出版されると、絶大な賞賛を受けたそうです。感激した当時の大統領、セオドア・ルーズベルトは、何十冊も『武士道』を買い込んで、子供、友人、そして他国の首脳たちに贈ったそうです。(Fujiwara 2005:100-1)

Nitobe's *Bushido* was written immediately between the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars. This was the time when the world sat up and took note of Japan, the new nation that had defeated China, but also started to feel wary of it. When the book was published in America in 1899 it won a rapturous reception. Theodore Roosevelt, the then president of the United States, was so taken with it that he bought numerous copies to hand out to children, friends, and even other national leaders. (Murray trans. 2007:177)

While Heroes are typically instantiated through the Agent, Heritages are correspondingly instantiated through the Medium. In the case of material clauses, the Heritage is instantiated through the Goal of the clause, as shown in table 5.5.

Goal	Circumstance: time	Circumstance: place	Process
武士道が	1899年に	アメリカで	出版される
<i>Bushido</i>	in 1899	in America	was published

Table 5.5. Heritage as product

Through such clauses, Heritages can be further committed ideationally through the Circumstance. For instance the Circumstance ‘in 1899’ is extended to the nominal group ‘the then president’, which functions as the Participant of the next clause, and the Heritage is committed further. Logogenetic developments such as these open up the potential for evaluation, and hence interpersonal commitment.

感激した当時の大統領、セオドア・ルーズベルト...

Theodore Roosevelt, the then president of the United States, was so taken with it...

清を破った新興国家日本に世界が注目しながら、警戒心を持ち始めた時期に当たります。

This was the time when the world sat up and took note of Japan the new nation that had defeated China, but also started to feel wary of it.

Heritages are ideationally coupled with Heroes at the level of lexicogrammar, where both are instantiated through Participants in the same clauses, linking the individual orbital structures, as shown in figure 5.20.

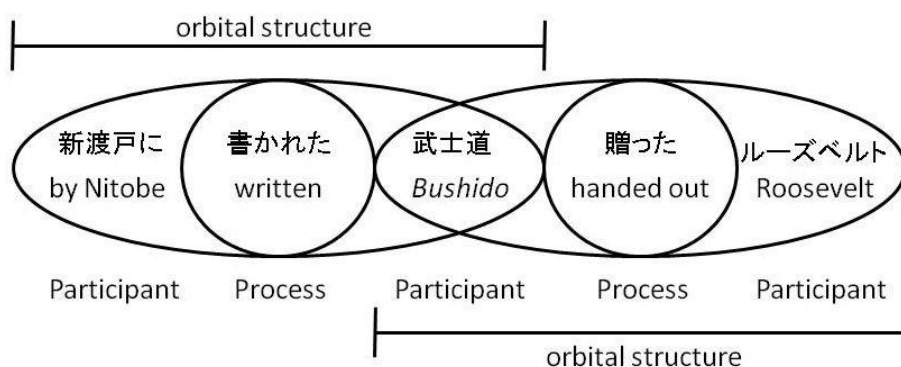


Fig. 5.20. Heritage as structural link between social actors

One way of handling this level of complexity is to render them as lexical strings at the level of discourse semantics, for example to trace ‘Bushido’ as covariate structures (see 2.3.1) through the course of the text as shown in figure 5.21.

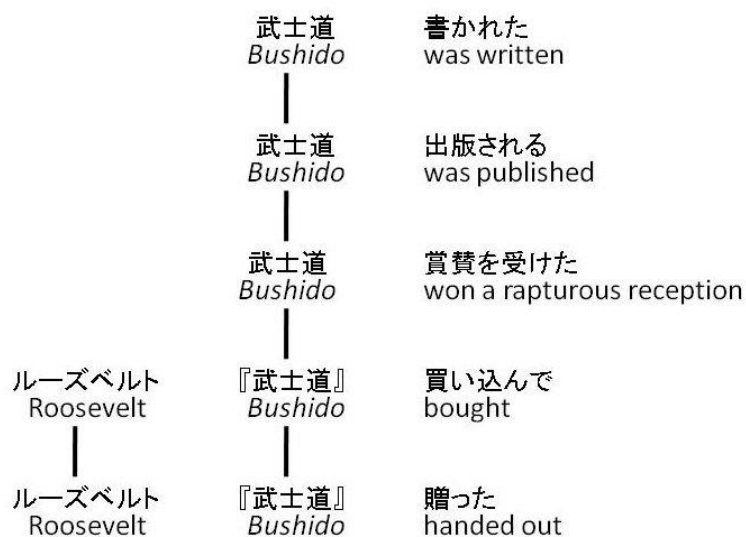


Fig. 5.21. Heritage as a lexical string

From a synoptic perspective, these elements at the clausal level coalesce into networks of couplings instantiating Heritages and Heroes. The Heritage ‘*Bushido*’ is therefore the coalescence of a relatively stable network of couplings between Participants, Processes and Circumstances as shown in figure 5.22, and it is precisely these networks that constitute the ideational existence of the Heritage that the language community recognizes as ‘*Bushido*’.

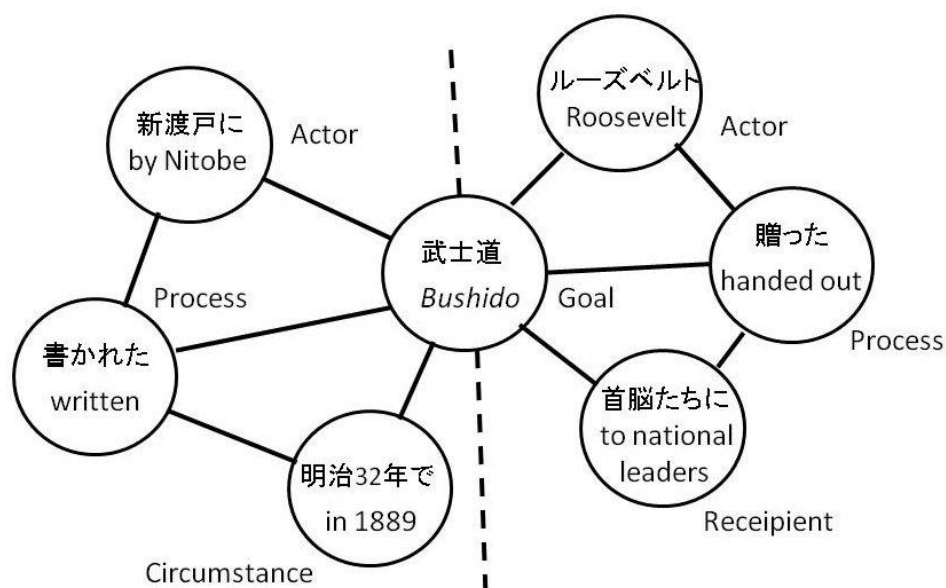


Fig. 5.22. Heritage as a syndrome

As it has been suggested at the beginning of 5.2, the term ‘bushido’ may instantiate either a Doxa or a Heritage at different junctures. The two are interrelated of course, as in that example, the book instantiating Heritage is written about the Doxa. However, one crucial distinction here is that Heritages are associated with the notion of tangible artifacts, whereas Doxas are associated with ineffable abstractions. This has a consequence in terms of their structural realizations at different strata, which is precisely what enables Sakaguchi to denaturalize the icon in the following example.

何人が武士道を案出したか。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:199)

Who came up with *bushidō*, the code of the samurai? (Dorsey 2009:167)

While the term ‘bushido’ has been commonly used as a Doxa to rally national sentiments around the time the text was produced, it is used in this case to instantiate a Heritage. As Heritage, ‘bushido’ may be instantiated through Goal in a material clause,

introducing the possibility of an Actor that brings it into existence, as shown in table 5.6.

Experiential	Actor	Goal	Process	
Interpersonal	Subject	Complement	Predicator	Negotiator
	何人が [§]	武士道を	案出した	か
	Who GA	<i>bushidō</i> O	produce-past	INT

Table 5.6. *Bushido as Heritage*

Interpersonally then, the Actor can be made modally responsible for the clause as Subject, opening up the question of social responsibility. This commits the icon ideationally to a specific space and time, denaturalizing the notion of ‘bushido’ as a timeless quality that the wartime authorities have tried to promote. The formulation of icons as Heritages thus forms an important trope in Sakaguchi’s (1946) iconoclastic rhetoric, articulated at the level of discourse semantics through appraisal such as in the following example, where the construction of artificiality is lexicalized as ‘作品’ (creation).

私は天皇制に就ても、極めて日本的な（従って或いは独創的な）政治的作品を見るのである。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:199)

I see the emperor system as another creation of politics, and one that is both quintessentially Japanese and quite original. (Dorsey 2009:167)

5.2.1.2 Serial organization

There are two important forms of serial structures pertaining to the Heritage’s role in discourse. One of them is projection where the Heritage is related to another text serially, and the other is in taxonomies and lists where the Heritage is related to other Heritages serially within the same stretch of text.

Where the Heritage exists as a text, it may be instantiated through Sayer or Circumstance of the orbital structure, to serve as a source of projection, thereby forming serial structures to provide additional ideational links with other icons. As with the case of Heroes, one of the most salient ways Heritages are committed is through naming.

They can therefore be instantiated through proper names to establish an intertextual link that can be used for further commitment. This is a powerful device especially where the Heritage is phylogenetically pre-charged interpersonally, and it allows Heritages to be established as a serial structure, with one citing another. In this way, Heritages may draw on one another for their social significance.

While Heritages are not typically instantiated through the Actor, they may nonetheless be instantiated through the Sayer in verbal clauses if they are constructed as texts such as books, documents or poems. When they are construed in this way, they are presented as the Subject of the clause that serve as the source of authority on the information they project as shown in the following example.

而して古事記・日本書紀等は、皇祖肇国の御事を語るに当つて、先づ天地開闢・修理固成のことを伝えてゐる。(Ministry 1937: 1/1)

And in relating the facts of the founding of our Land by the Founder of our Empire, the Kojiki and the Nihon-shoki tell first of all the beginning of heaven and earth, and of the making and consolidating... (Gauntlett trans. 1949:59-60)

Where the Heritage is instantiated through Sayer, the projection functions as Verbiage in the verbal clause, and the contents of the projection is presented as a paraphrase, shown in table 5.7.

Sayer	Verbiage	Process
古事記・日本書紀等は	皇祖肇国の御事を	語る
the Kojiki and the Nihon-shoki	the facts of the founding of our Land by the Founder	relate

Sayer	Verbiage	Process
古事記・日本書紀等は	天地開闢・修理固成のことを	伝えてゐる
the Kojiki and the Nihon-shoki	of all the beginning of heaven and earth, and of the making and consolidating	tell

Table 5.7. Heritage as sayer

Heritages may alternatively be instantiated through Circumstance in verbal clauses. The projected text is construed as Locution, but Subjects and Sayers can be elided from such clauses to construe the Heritage as the source of authority for the projected clause. The projected text takes on the flavor of being immediately present to the reader as a direct quotation. This distinction from Verbiage has consequences on the intertextual retrieval of the Heritage (see 5.2.1.3) in the following example.

皇位の御するしとして三種の神器が存する。日本書紀には、
天照大神、乃ち天津彦彦火瓊瓊杵ノ尊に、八坂瓊ノ曲玉及び八咫ノ鏡・草薙ノ
劍、三種の宝物を賜ふ。

とある。(Ministry 1937: 1/1)

Symbolic of the Imperial Throne are the Three Sacred Treasures [of the Imperial Court]. In the *Nihon-shoki* it is stated:

Amaterasu Ohmikami, therefore, gave unto Amatsuhikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto the Three Treasures, namely, the curved jewel of the Yasaka gem, the eight-hand Mirror, and the Sword Kusanagi. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:67)

At the level of lexicogrammar, the Heritage is instantiated through Circumstance ‘in the *Nihon-shoki*’ as show in table 5.8, but at the level of discourse semantics, it functions as the source to which the locution is attributed.

Circumstance	Locution	Process
日本書紀には	天照大神...	とある。
In the <i>Nihon-shoki</i>	Amaterasu Ohmikami...	is stated

Table 5.8. Heritage as location

A material clause is nestled within the locution of the projecting clause, where other Heroes and Heritages are instantiated through Participants of the clause as shown in table 5.9.

Actor	Receipient	Goal	Process
天照大神	天津彦彦火瓊瓊杵ノ尊に	八坂瓊ノ曲玉・八咫ノ鏡・草薙ノ剣を	賜ふ。
Amaterasu Ohmikami	unto Amatsuhikohikoho no Ninigi no Mikoto	the Yasaka gem, the eight-hand Mirror, and the Sword Kusanagi	gave

Table 5.9. Nestling of Oracles

Projections such as these serve to connect Heritages and Heroes through networks of networks such as the one shown in figure 5.23, constituting the ideational existence of the Heritages and Heroes that the language community recognizes as the ‘*Nihon-shoki*’ and ‘Amaterasu’.

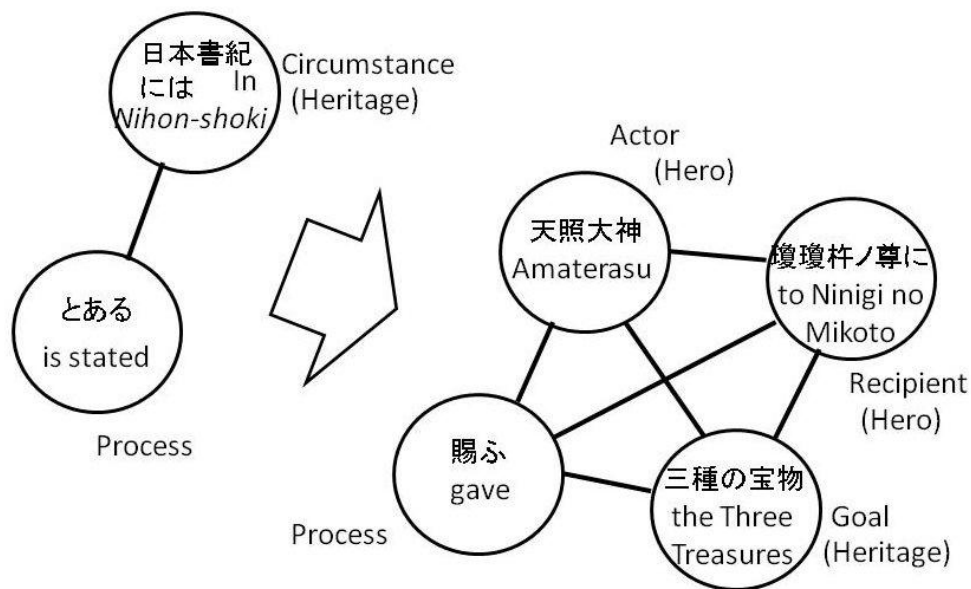


Fig. 5.23. Serializing Oracles through projections

Other than projections that relate Heritages to other stretches of text serially, Heritages can be structured serially in the form of taxonomies and lists, relating them to other Heritages in the same stretch of text. Taxonomies are structural expansions of the Heritage through elaborating paratactic relationships, while lists are structural expansions of the Heritage through extending paratactic relationships.

The following passage is an example of an elaborating relationship where the Heritage ‘literature’ is expanded into a taxonomy of different literary works to exemplify the Doxa instantiated through ‘emotion’.

いかに濃厚かは、懐かしさを歌った文学が山ほどあることから明らかです。万葉集の中には防人の歌をはじめ郷愁を歌ったものがありますし、近代短歌でも石川啄木や斎藤茂吉などに多くある。俳句では与謝蕪村、詩の世界でも萩原朔太郎や室生犀星の名前がすぐに挙げられます。このような文学をたっぷりと子供に読ませないといけません。(Fujiwara 2005:111)

The quantity of literature devoted to this theme shows just how strong an emotion it is. In the *Manyōshū* there is a host of such works starting with the poems of soldiers on duty far from their families and homes; in modern *tanka* poetry, exemplars would be Ishikawa Takuboku and Saitō Mokichi; then in haiku there is Yosano Buson, while in free-style verse the names of Hagiwara Sukutarō and Murō Saisei spring to mind. Children should be made to read plenty of this sort of literature. (Murray trans. 2007:155)

While both Heritages and Heroes may be instantiated through proper names, a proper name may conversely instantiate either a Heritage or a Hero, along with differing structural consequences. The names Ishikawa, Saitō or Yosano can instantiate both Heroes and Heritages, but unlike Heroes that are typically instantiated through Agents, Heritages are potentially instantiated through taxonomic chains. The agency of the Heroes in the creation of these works are implicit in the passage, and in a different structure, the names Ishikawa, Saitō or Yosano could have equally instantiated the Heroes as Actors of material clauses in the creation of the literary works. In this particular passage however, they instantiate collections of texts, lexicalized as Thing ‘もの’ (works) and ‘名前’ (names) in the nominal groups. This allows the generation of a taxonomy of those works shown in figure 5.24, collectively instantiating the Heritage in this passage.

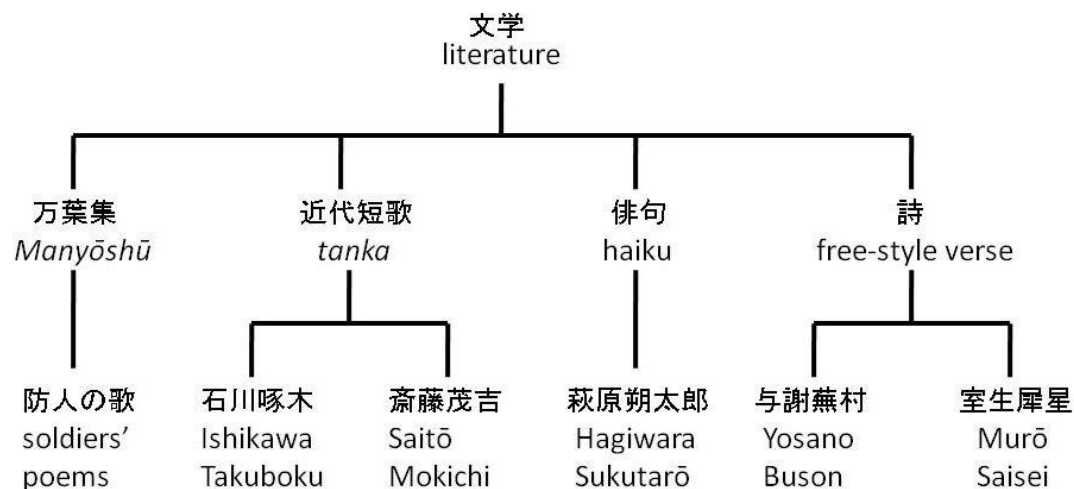


Fig. 5.24. Heritage as taxonomy

The body of texts in this text collectively instantiate a Heritage exemplifying the Doxa. They are hence presented as a coherent taxonomy, relating them as parts of the whole lexicalized as ‘文学’ (literature), where the parts serve to elaborate on the whole. Taxonomies such as these are commonly coupled with intensifying prosody (see 5.2.2.3).

Alternatively, a number of different Heritages may be presented in the form of a list. In this serial structure, the Heritages are construed as separate items from altogether different domains, and no taxonomic relationships may be established between them. Instead, items in the list are open ended extensions to the list. These lists are very effective in generating intertextual potential for logogenesis. The following text is a list consisted of a number of Heritages.

...[新渡戸は]エマソンやスペンサーを引用しらり、ギリシャ哲学や聖書、シェイクスピア、ニーチェなどと比較したり、本居宣長や平重盛、頼山陽、吉田松陰などを引きながら武士道精神の本質について説いた。(Fujiwara 2005:123)

...[Nitobe] unveiled the essence of the samurai spirit while quoting Emerson and Spenser and drawing parallels with Greek mythology and the Bible, with Shakespeare and Nietzsche, at the same time as bringing in Motoori Norinaga, Taira no Shigemori, Raisanyō, and Yoshida Shōin. (Murray trans. 2007:177)

These Heritages can be subsequently ‘grafted’ onto other semantic strings to open up the potential for text development as well as dialogic expansion in terms of voices.

Furthermore, the Heritages are instantiated through proper names that can also instantiate Heroes, further opening up the range of Process types available for selection in these new semantic strings as shown in figure 5.25.

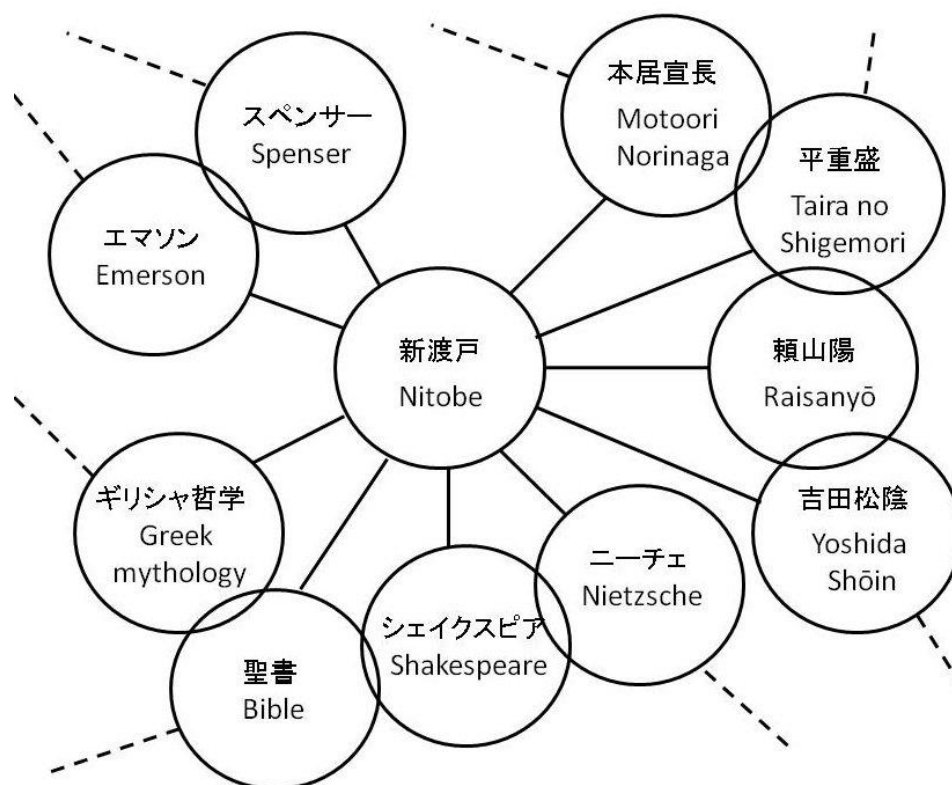


Fig. 5.25. Clustering of Heritages

In terms of engagement, the text is dialogically expansive, entertaining the alternate voices associated with these Heritages; in terms of affiliation, each of these Heritages present a separate bond, and serve as an invitation for potential readers from various alignments.

5.2.2 Prosodic syndromes

Heritages are the semiotic construction of cultural fetishes. They are highly valued objects endowed with an impersonal authority entrenched in tradition. In other words, they are prized for their quality, and held as the physical evidence underlying an authoritative and unquestionable claim to cultural knowledge. Heritages are therefore instantiated prosodically as appreciation in terms of attitude, assertion in terms of engagement and an up-scaling of quantification in terms of graduation.

The structures of these interpersonal meanings are coupled with particulate and periodic structures in specific ways to instantiate Heritages. When a Heritage is foregrounded in the text as cultural symbols, or as the authority of a projection in the form of a document, it dominates the stretch of text with assertion and graduation. When a Heritage is instantiated collectively through a large number of instances, it intensifies the significance of the community's achievement. When a number of different Heritages are presented one after another as different exemplifications of the culture, they saturate the text with examples colored with appreciation.

5.2.2.1 Dominating prosody

Where the Heritage projects a text, it exerts an authority over the stretch of text, instantiated through a dominating prosody over the other domain, to give it a voice of authority and credibility. The assertions in the projected text must be acknowledged and complied with simply because of the social status accorded to the Heritage. The status the Heritage enjoys draws its authenticity from its historicity, and its validity from its wide acceptance. The dominating prosody of the Heritage is therefore instantiated through the coupling of assertion and an up-scaling in quantification of extent.

又日本書紀には

天（あめ）先づ成りて地（つち）後に定まる。然して後、神聖（かみ）其の中（なか）に生（あ）れます。...

とある。かゝる語事（かたりごと）、伝承は古来の国家的信念であつて、我が国は、かゝる悠久なるところにその源を發してゐる。（Ministry 1937: 1/1）

Again in the *Nihon-shoki*, it says:

Heaven was formed first and after that was Earth established. There after were sacred deities brought forth betwixt them...

Such folklore and legends have been our national beliefs since of old, and our nation springs from such a perpetual source. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:60)

The voice of the text projected by the Heritage is couched as a bare assertion and presented as a piece of taken-for-granted information that is not up for dispute. Readers are presumed to align with the text on account of a shared bond as members of the community because of the interpersonal significance invested in the Heritage. The totalizing nature of that voice is reinforced by graduation, realized as the extent of time.

かゝる語事（かたりごと）、伝承は**古来**の国家的信念であつて、我が国は、かゝる**悠久**なるところにその源を發してゐる。

Such folklore and legends have been our national beliefs **since of old**, and our nation springs from such a **perpetual source**.

When a Heritage is instantiated through the hyperTheme, the evaluative meaning is mapped onto the periodic structure that allows it to dominate the remainder of the text. Other than an extent of time, the dominating prosody of Heritages can also be instantiated through the extent of space, as shown in the following example of an English text, highlighted in bold.

A small box luncheon called makunouchi contains **every single item** of cooked food considered necessary or representative of Japanese taste: small pieces of fish and beef, baked or fried, seasoned with soy sauce; omelets; well-cooked seaweed and vegetables, cucumber or radish pickles; and a sliced piece of an apple or an orange. These occupy a half or a third of the box space, and the rest is filled with cooked white rice. **In any station throughout Japan** this box lunch is available, and one can be almost certain to predict its exact contents before one opens the box... Like the Japanese lunch box, **every group** in Japan tends to include an almost identical variety or selection of elements so that it does not require the services of other groups. (Nakane 1970:126)

5.2.2.2 Saturating prosody

Heritages can be instantiated through Participant in orbital structures that are coupled with appreciation. These Heritages can additionally be related to other Heritages through serial structures, correspondingly coupled with a saturating prosody where appreciation is realized opportunistically throughout that stretch of text. This can be observed in the following list of cultural Heritages symbolic of Japan, used in this passage to exemplify a Doxa.

絵画に於ても、大和絵の如きは素直な心を以て人物・自然を写し、流麗にして趣致に富み、日本人の心を最もよく表現してゐる。連歌・俳諧の如きは、本来一人の創作ではなく集団的な和の文学、協力の文学である。又簡素清浄なる神社建築は、よく自然と調和して限りなく神々しいものとなつてゐる。寺院建築の如きも、よく山

川草木の自然に融合して優美なる姿を示し、鎧兜や衣服の模様に至るまで自然との合致が見られるといふが如く、広く美術工芸等にもよくこの特色が現れてゐる。

(Ministry 1937: 2/5)

In the field of painting, too, the Yamatoe paintings are guileless presentations of people and nature; are elegant and most tasteful, and are finest representations of the Japanese mind. The *renga* and the *haiku* are originally not individual compositions, but literature produced by groups of people, in harmony and through cooperation. Again the chaste and unsullied architecture of shrines harmonizes beautifully with nature and is endlessly serene and awe-inspiring. These characteristics appear widely in the fine and industrial arts as well; as witness, for instance, the temples that merge gracefully with the surrounding mountains, rivers, and verdure, or the concurrence with nature seen even in such things as designs on armor, helmets, and clothing. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:158)

Alongside the ideational commitment of these Heritages, e.g. ‘painting’, ‘presentations of people and nature’, etc, the Heritages are also committed interpersonally, charging them with positive appreciation, e.g. ‘guileless’, ‘elegant and most tasteful’, etc. as shown in figure 5.26. In this way, evaluative meanings couple with the Heritages through the stretch of text in a saturating prosody.

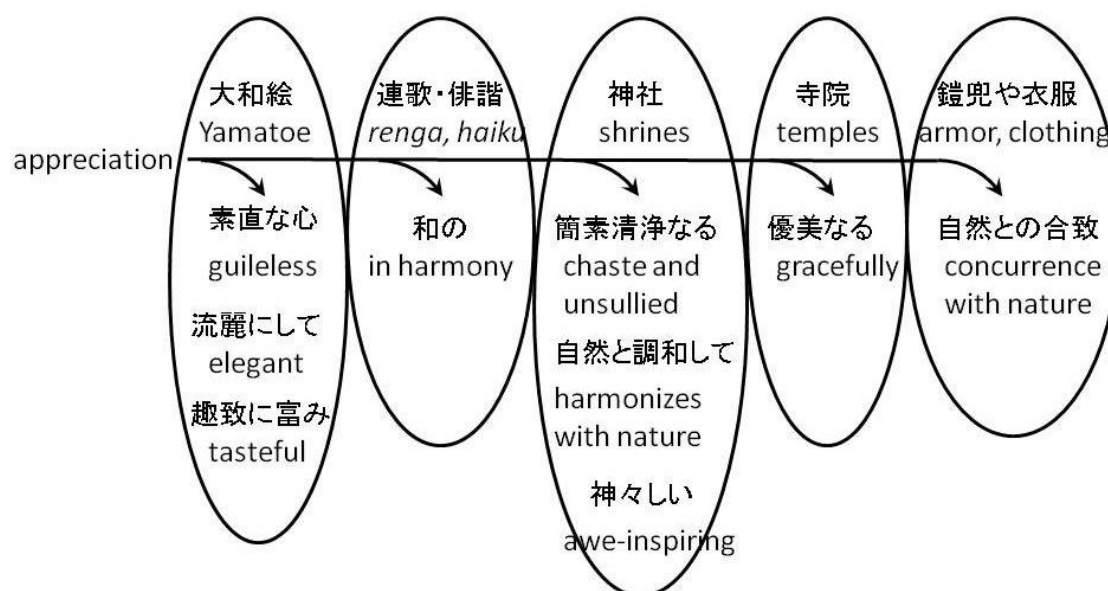


Fig. 5.26. Heritage as a saturating prosody

5.2.2.3 Intensifying prosody

Taxonomies ground the Heritage in ideational detail while providing the material for graduation by quantification. The following passage shows a Heritage instantiated through a taxonomy. An analysis of its taxonomic relationships is provided in 5.2.1.2.

いかに濃厚かは、懐かしさを歌った文学が山ほどあることから明らかです。万葉集の中には防人の歌をはじめ郷愁を歌ったもののがかなりありますし、近代短歌でも石川啄木や斎藤茂吉などに多くある。俳句では与謝蕪村、詩の世界でも萩原朔太郎や室生犀星の名前がすぐに挙げられます。このような文学をたっぷりと子供に読ませないといけません。(Fujiwara 2005:111)

The quantity of literature devoted to this theme shows just how strong an emotion it is. In the *Manyōshū* there is a host of such works starting with the poems of soldiers on duty far from their families and homes; in modern *tanka* poetry, exemplars would be Ishikawa Takuboku and Saitō Mokichi; then in haiku there is Yosano Buson, while in free-style verse the names of Hagiwara Sukutarō and Murō Saisei spring to mind. Children should be made to read plenty of this sort of literature. (Murray trans. 2007:155)

The taxonomizing potential of these Heritages is often accompanied by an intensifying prosody of interpersonal meaning as shown in figure 5.27, simultaneously realized in grammar as intensifiers in ‘山ほどある’, ‘かなりあります’ and ‘多くある’ (there is a host of), as well as ‘すぐに挙げられます’ (spring to mind) and ‘たっぷりと’ (plenty of).

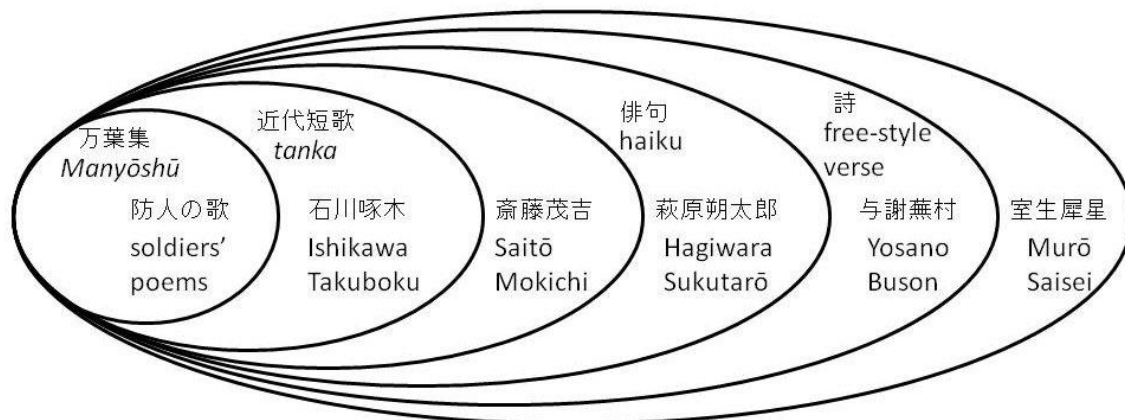


Fig. 5.27. Heritage as an intensifying prosody

Intensification of this sort is a means for charging up the Heritage as a basis for comparative evaluation as shown in the following example. The contrast is realized by the contrastive conjunction ‘一方’ (on the other hand) foregrounded in the textual Theme, and the Process ‘を比べてみると’ (comparing).

一方、日本は当時すでに、十分に洗練された文化をもっていました。文化的洗練度の指標たる文学を見ても、万葉集、古今集、枕草子、源氏物語、新古今集、方丈記、徒然草……と切がありません。この十世紀間における文学作品を比べてみると、全ヨーロッパが生んだ文学作品より日本一国が生んだ文学作品の方が質および量の両面で上、と私は思います。(Fujiwara 2005:14)

By contrast, Japan of the same period already had a culture of considerable sophistication. If we focus on literature as one indicator of the degree of cultural refinement, then we come up with the *Manyōshū*, the *Kokinshū*, the *Makura no Soshi*, the *Tale of Genji*, the *Hojoki*, the *Tsurezure-gusa* – the list just goes on and on. A comparison of the works of literature produced over this ten-century-long period shows that Japan, Japan alone, is superior to the whole of Europe in terms of quantity and quality. (Murray trans. 2007:19-21)

Here, *Gemeinschaft* instantiated through ‘Japan’ is exemplified by the Heritage that is instantiated through a list of items ‘*Manyōshū*’, ‘*Kokinshū*’, ‘*Makura no Soshi*’, ‘*Tale of Genji*’, ‘*Hojoki*’ and ‘*Tsurezure-gusa*’ that builds into an intensifying prosody, signaled by other resources of quantification.

…と切がありません。

…the list **just goes on and on**.

…この十世紀間における文学作品…

… works of literature produced over this **ten-century-long period**…

…全ヨーロッパが生んだ文学作品より日本一国が生んだ文学作品…

…Japan **alone**, is superior to **the whole of** Europe…

…質および量の両面で上…

…in terms of **quantity** and quality.

In contrast to the intensifying prosody charging up the Heritage, resources of quantification can conversely be used to scale it down, thereby invoking negative appraisal.

当時のヨーロッパは、その程度のものでした。よほどの文学好きでない限り、**五世紀から十五世紀までのヨーロッパ生んだ文学作品を三つ挙げられる人は少ない**のではないのでしょうか。(Fujiwara 2005:15)

Europe in those days was not up to much. Serious literary enthusiasts aside, I suspect **few** people could name **three** works of literature that originated in Europe **between the fifth and the fifteenth century**. (Murray trans. 2007:21)

Heritages instantiated through graduation provide a useful means for the comparative evaluation often associated with Nihonjinron (see 1.1.2). As Heritages can form taxonomies, they may be instantiated serially as a form of intensifying prosody of positive capacity in terms of quantification. This is then contrasted against the Other that is evaluated by scaling down in terms of quantification to invoke negative capacity.

5.2.3 Intertextual clustering

The locution projected by a clause instantiating Heritage commits the Heritage ideationally, and where the nature of the Heritage is a text, this commitment plays an important part in its intertextuality. In cases where the Heritages are highly charged in culture, the locution itself can even be used to retrieve the Heritage, without having to name it.

醜の御楯といでたつ我は。大君のへにこそ死なめかへりみはせじ。若者達は花と散ったが、同じ彼等が生き残って闇屋となる。ももとせの命ねがはじいつの日か御楯とゆかん君とちぎりて。けなげな心情で男を送った女達も半年の月日のうちに夫君の位牌にぬかずくことも事務的になるばかりであろうし、やがて新たな面影を胸に宿すのも遠い日のことではない。(Sakaguchi 1968[1946]:197)

“We, the humble shields of our Sovereign Lord, march forth.” “We are resigned to die at his Majesty’s side and never look back.” These young men, the kamikaze, did die, scattering like the cherry blossoms. Those who escaped with their lives, though, now hawk goods on the black market. “We dare not hope for long lives together. And yet we pledge ourselves to you who will one day sally forth as his Majesty’s humble shields.” It was with admirable commitment that these young women sent their men off to war. Six months later, though, they’re only going through the motions as they kneel before their husbands’ mortuary tablets – and I won’t be long before they’ve got their eye on somebody new. (Dorsey trans. 2009:165)

The first quote is recognizably cited from Book XX, Verse 4373 of the *Manyōshū*. The second one is cited from Book XVIII, Verse 4094, but it was also made a popular military song, played over the radio following the reading of the imperial rescript declaring war. The third quote is a poem composed during the war. Quotation marks are not used in the Japanese text, but they are recognized as quotations through the dated grammatical forms (Fukuzawa 2004). The sources of all three quotes are not named in this passage, but are readily retrievable by readers.

The projected texts are construed as Locution, and as it has been pointed out earlier in 5.2.1.2, the projected text takes on the flavor of being immediately present to the reader as a direct quotation. However, the Sayers have been elided from this passage, and the voice is left without a source. The familiarity of wartime readers with these quotations nonetheless allows an immediate recognition of these voices as the result of idiomaticity, through which readers recognize the voice as their own (see 4.3.4). The idiomaticity of the quotes that is foregrounded in this way is a powerful resource for Sakaguchi's subversive strategy here because it calls up the very bonds of the community that the iconoclast is seeking to dismantle.

5.2.4 Logogenesis

5.2.4.1 Exemplification

Heritages are committed ideationally, and they can generate taxonomies and be instantiated through material clauses. This grounds them in a tangible reality and gives them credibility. *Gemeinschaft* is therefore commonly reformulated in terms of Heritages to serve as evidence to a claim made about *Gemeinschaft*, as shown in the following example.

日本人というのは何でも直ちに真似をして、それをアットいう間に変質させ、自分ならではのモノにしてしまう天才的な能力を持つ民族です。漢字を真似してからあつという間に訓読みと万葉仮名、続いて平仮名、片仮名を発明して完全に日本のものとしてしまったのが好例です。(Fujiwara 2005:99-100)

As a people, the Japanese have a genius for copying things, adapting them, and making them very much their own, all at high speed. A good example of this trait is the way the Japanese copied Chinese ideograms, rapidly coming up with *kunyomi*

and *manyōgana* and inventing *hiragana* and *katakana* – turning something Chinese into something totally Japanese. (Murray trans. 2007:143)

The Heritage, instantiated through ‘*kunyomi*’, ‘*manyōgana*’, ‘*hiragana*’ and ‘*katakana*’ exemplifies the Categorization Device instantiated through ‘Japanese’. The grammatical link is provided by a material clause, with *Gemeinschaft* instantiated through Actor and the Heritage instantiated through Goal, thereby committing *Gemeinschaft* ideationally. Interpersonally, the Heritage builds up in an intensifying prosody as shown in figure 5.28, flagged by graduation.

...それをアットいう間に変質させ...
 ...all at high speed.
 ...あっという間に...
 ...rapidly coming up with...

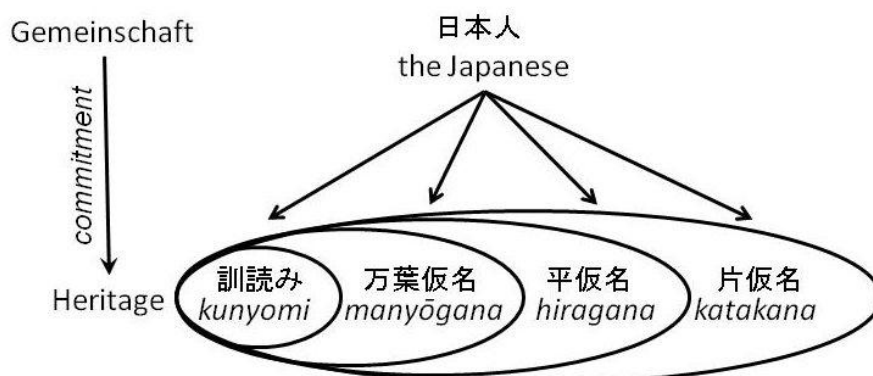


Fig. 5.28. Exemplifying *Gemeinschaft* through Heritages

The same can be observed with the exemplification of Spatialization Devices. In the following example, the Spatialization Device instantiated through ‘Japan’ is exemplified by the Heritage instantiated through ‘*sadō*’, ‘*kadō*’, ‘*shodō*’ and ‘*kōdō*’.

お茶を考えても、イギリスではみんなマグカップにどぼどぼ注いでガブ飲みする。しかし日本では、茶道というものにしてしまう。花の活け方も、日本では華道にしてしまう。字なんて相手に分からせれば済むものです。しかし日本では書道にしてしまう。あるいは香道なんていうものもありますね。香を聞く。何でも芸術にしてしまう。(Fujiwara 2005:98)

Tea is a similar story. In the U.K. the British just slosh it carelessly into mugs and slurp it down, but here in Japan we have created *sadō*, the tea ceremony. For the display of flowers, we have created *kadō*, or the art of flower arrangement. Strictly speaking, ideograms fulfill their function if the person to whom they are addressed is able to read them, but still in Japan, we have come up with *shodō*, the art of calligraphy. There is even something called *kōdō*, the art of guessing incense fragrances. We Japanese make everything into an art. (Murray trans. 2007:139-41, original italics)

The relationship between the Spatialization Device and the Heritage is shown in figure 5.29.

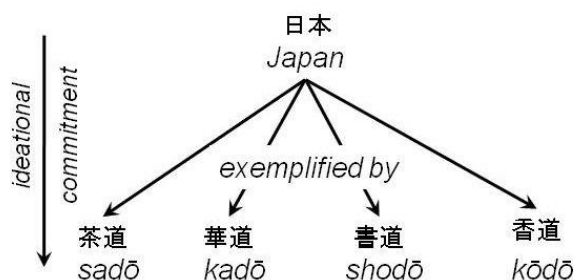


Fig. 5.29. Committing *Gemeinschaft* ideationally

In this case, *Gemeinschaft* is instantiated through material clauses across the stretch in a saturating prosody, and it is also instantiated through Actor and Subject in each clause as shown in figure 5.30, with the Heritage instantiated through Goal, committing the icon ideationally.



Fig. 5.30. Ideational commitment of Heritages as tokens of judgment

Through these ideational tokens of judgment, the Heritage accumulates into an intensifying prosody, flagged by graduation in the hyperNew.

何でも芸術にしてしまう。

We Japanese make **everything** into an art.

Exemplification underlies the rhetoric of isomorphism in Nihonjinron that establishes the discursive links between different aspects of Japanese society, aligning features as varied as language and political ideology.

没我帰一の精神は、国語にもよく現れてゐる。国語は主語が屢々表面に現れず、敬語がよく発達してゐるといふ特色をもつてゐる。...今日用ゐられてゐる「御座います」の如きも、同様に高貴なる座としての「御座ある」と、「いらつしやる」「御出でになる」といふ意味の「います」から来た「ます」とからなつてゐるのである。

(Ministry 1937:2/3)

The spirit of self-effacement and unity clearly appears also in the national language. The Japanese language is characterized by the fact that the subject does not often appear on the surface, and also by its highly developed honorifics... *Gozaimasu* for instance, which is in use today, is composed of *goza-aruru*, which stands for “honorable seat,” and *masu*, which comes from *imasu*, meaning “is” or “is present.”

(Gauntlett trans. 1949:134-5)

In the hyperTheme of this passage, the Doxa (see 4.1.1) is instantiated through the Existent ‘spirit of self-effacement and unity’ (see 4.1.1) and the Given information of the clause as shown in table 5.10. Gemeinschaft instantiated through ‘national language’ is presented as New information, realized as the Circumstance in which the Doxa is instantiated. This mapping of orbital and periodic structures allows the Doxa to be reformulated in terms of Gemeinschaft.

Given	New	
Existent	Circumstance	Process
没我帰一の精神は	国語にも	現れてゐる。
The spirit of self-effacement and unity	also in the national language	appears

Table 5.10. Exemplification and periodicity

The interpersonal meaning of the Doxa is uncommitted, reframed in the more general social significance of the ‘national language’, and hence generalized. In the very next clause, *Gemeinschaft* instantiated through ‘national language’ is recommitted with ideational meaning. This time however, ‘national language’ is realized as Given in clause initial position, and the ideational commitment, i.e. ‘the subject’ and ‘honorifics’, is realized as New in the rest of the clause.

国語は主語が屢々表面に現れず、敬語がよく発達してゐるといふ特色をもつてゐる。

The national language is characterized by the fact that the subject does not often appear on the surface, and also by its highly developed honorifics.

Both the Doxa and *Gemeinschaft* are thus exemplified by the Heritage in this transition, and upon exemplification, the icon is committed by features typically associated with Heritages. For instance, ‘*Gozaimasu*’ (「御座います」) is marked graphologically by brackets, and the embedded clause ‘which is in use today’ (今日用ゐられてゐる) associates it with a material Process. The Heritage can be formulated as a taxonomy shown in figure 5.31, relating ‘*goza-aru*’ and ‘*masu*’ as meronyms of ‘*Gozaimasu*’.

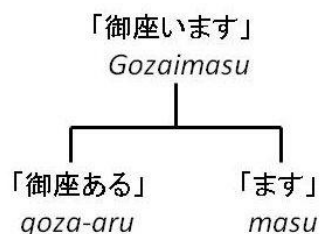


Fig. 5.31. Language as Heritage

The icon thus undergoes a process of uncommitment in interpersonal meaning and a recommitment in ideational meaning as shown in figure 5.32.

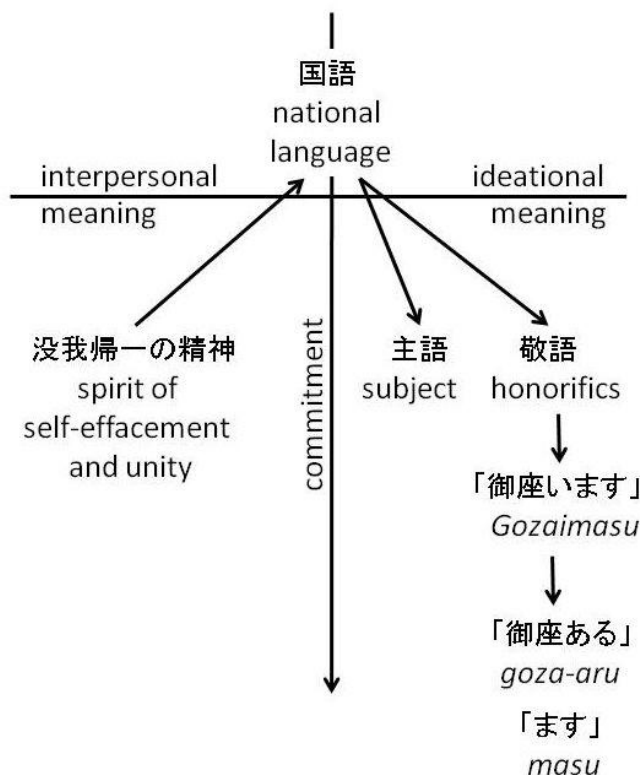


Fig. 5.32. Exemplifying through Heritage

5.2.4.2 Generalization

As *Gemeinschaft* can be exemplified by Heritages, that is to say, committed in ideational meaning, the reverse is also possible, whereby Heritages are generalized as *Gemeinschaft*. For instance, the Heritage instantiated through ‘Yamatoe paintings’ in the following passage is generalized as a ‘representation’ of *Gemeinschaft* instantiated through ‘the Japanese mind’.

絵画に於ても、大和絵の如きは素直な心を以て人物・自然を写し、流麗にして趣致に富み、日本人の心を最もよく表現してゐる。(Ministry 1937: 2/5)

In the field of painting, too, the Yamatoe paintings are guileless presentations of people and nature; are elegant and most tasteful, and are the finest representations of the Japanese mind. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:158)

The ideational specificity in meaning has been fudged out, such that the interpersonal meanings may equally apply to anything that falls under the more general and

reestablished category. Having done so, the icon reformulated as *Gemeinschaft* gains the potential to be subsequently exemplified in any number of ways.

The following passage from Nakane (1970) is written specifically for her English readers. The text uses the analogy of a lunch box, presented as a uniquely 'Japanese' icon to the English audience, but it was not included in the Japanese version presumably because the lunch box would not have functioned as an icon in the same way to Japanese readers, as it would take on a more practical rather than cultural significance.

A striking example is the lunch prepared by a local station in Japan and sold at every railway restaurant. A small box luncheon called *makunouchi* contains every single item of cooked food considered necessary or representative of Japanese taste: small pieces of fish and beef, baked or fried, seasoned with soy sauce; omelets; well-cooked seaweed and vegetables, cucumber or radish pickles; and a sliced piece of an apple or an orange. These occupy a half or a third of the box space, and the rest is filled with cooked white rice. In any station throughout Japan this box lunch is available, and one can be almost certain to predict its exact contents before one opens the box... Like the Japanese lunch box, every group in Japan tends to include an almost identical variety or selection of elements so that it does not require the services of other groups. (Nakane 1970:126)

The Heritage is committed with a foreign word '*makunouchi*' to signal it as an icon, and committed ideationally through taxonomic relations of meronymy, a structure typically associated with Heritages rather than Heroes. The taxonomy, as shown in 5.33, serves to construct a vivid image of the Heritage, so as to render it believable, while at the same time locating it in a field with exotic associations, e.g. 'seasoned with soy sauce', 'seaweed', 'radish pickles', 'white rice'.

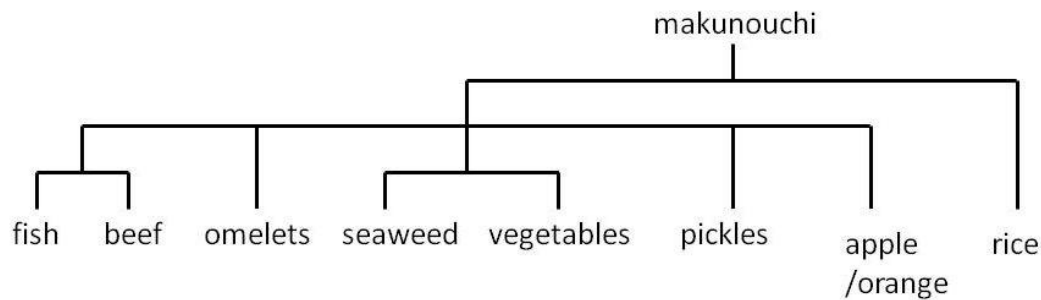


Fig. 5.33. Ideational commitment for lucidity

The Heritage is then linked ideationally to Gemeinschaft through an existential clause, in which the Heritage is instantiated through the Existent, while Gemeinschaft is instantiated through Circumstance. Interpersonally, the significance of this relationship is intensified by graduation ‘throughout’. Textually, the intensification is made prominent as marked Theme, as shown in table 5.11.

Textual	marked Theme	topical Theme	New
Ideational	Circumstance	Existent	Process
	throughout Japan	this box lunch	is available

Table 5.11. Heritage as existential clause

The Heritage is hence instantiated through positive valuation, inscribed as ‘a striking example’ in the hyperTheme, that dominates the stretch of text, signaled by the instances of graduation, as shown in figure 5.34.

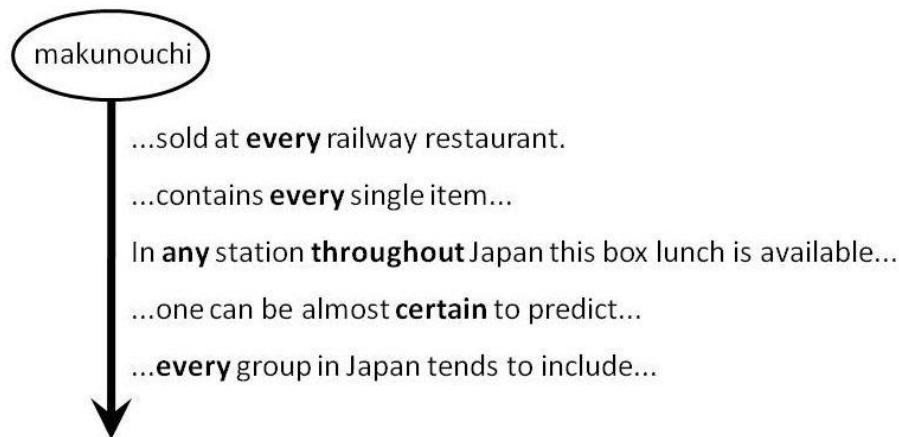


Fig. 5.34. Heritage as dominating prosody

The potential of parts of *Gemeinschaft* to generate their counterpart as part of a standardized relational pair in discourse can be observed in the following passage. Although *Gemeinschaft* is not instantiated explicitly through the word ‘Japanese’ in this extract, it is nonetheless constructed through the comparative rhetoric, inferred from the Heritage.

こう語った後、ハーンは証拠としていくつもの和歌を引用しています。例えば万葉集の読み知らずの歌で「庭草に村雨ふりてこほろぎの鳴く声聞けば秋づきにけり」。古今集から「あきの野に道もまどひねまつ虫の声するかたに宿やからまし」などです。なお、虫の音を楽しむというのは、欧米にはもちろん中国や韓国にもないことだそうです。(Fujiwara 2005:102-3)

Hearn goes on to quote several *tanka* poems by way of proof. There is this poem by an unknown author in the *Manyōshū*: “The rain falls on the grass in the garden, and I hear the song of the crickets. I know autumn has come”; and this one from the *Kokinshū*: “I have lost my way on the overgrown roads of autumn. I shall head for the sound of the cricket and seek my lodging there.” That the sound of insects is not enjoyed by people in the West is no great surprise, but neither does it seem to be enjoyed by the Chinese or Koreans. (Murray trans. 2007:149)

Hearn, presented as an expert on Japanese literature is instantiated as Sayer in a verbal clause as shown in table 5.12, projecting a Verbiage ‘和歌’ (*tanka* poems) over which he exerts an expert authority. The Verbiage is subsequently expanded into two citations instantiating Heritage, before the observation on *Gemeinschaft* ‘the West’, and ‘the Chinese or Koreans’ is attributed to him.

Sayer	Circumstance	Verbiage	Process
ハーンは	証拠として	いくつもの和歌を	引用しています。
Hearn	as proof	several <i>tanka</i> poems	quotes

Table 5.12. Heritage as verbiage

The clause is set up as the hyperTheme, and the Hero exerts a dominating prosody over the subsequent clauses where the Heritages are committed by the Locutions, and the voice is attributed to the Hero that is set up as the expert authority. This commitment is ideationally important for the reformulation because it provides the semantic string as shown in figure 5.35, to establish coherence between the Verbiage and the clauses instantiating *Gemeinschaft* as ‘West’ and ‘Chinese or Koreans’.

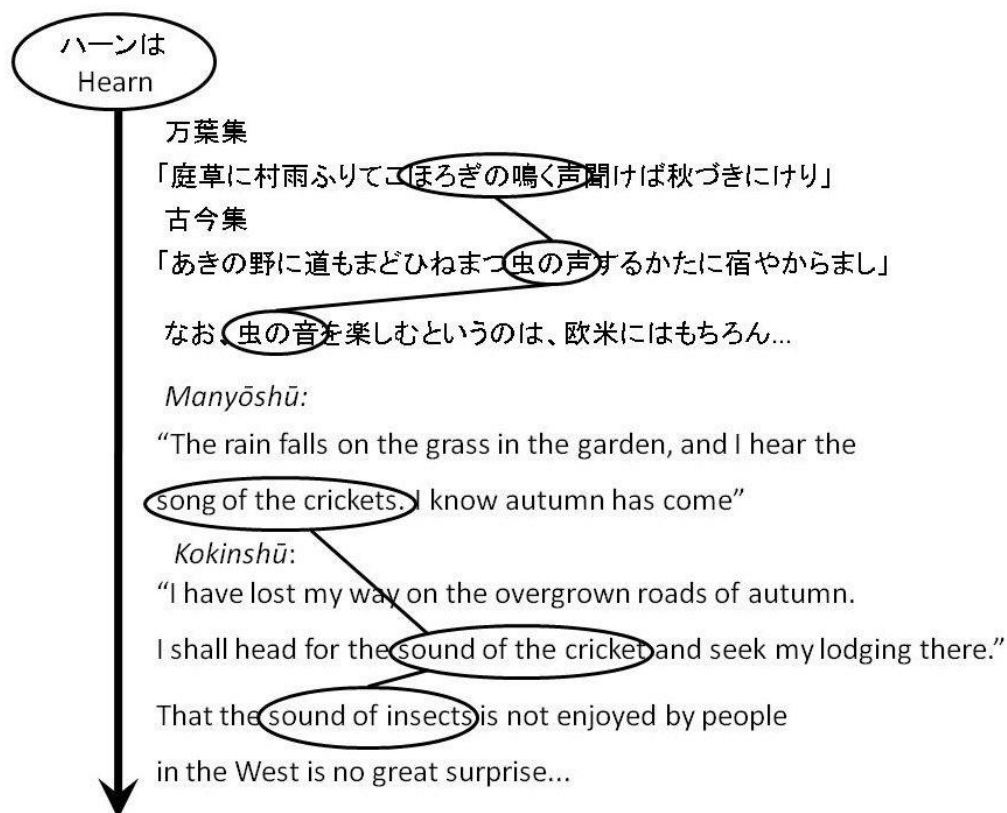


Fig. 5.35. Heritage as semantic strings

The dominating prosody of the Hero ‘Hearn’ plays an important role in the establishment of the Gemeinschaft ‘the West’ because he is considered an authority on ‘the West’, having the ideational meanings phylogenetically coupled as part of the Hero. However, Gemeinschaft instantiated through the contrastive relationship between ‘Japanese’ and ‘the West’ as signaled by the negative polarity ‘ない’ can only be made relevant through the Heritages by generalization, even though ‘Japanese’ is not instantiated explicitly as a lexical item, as shown in figure 5.36.

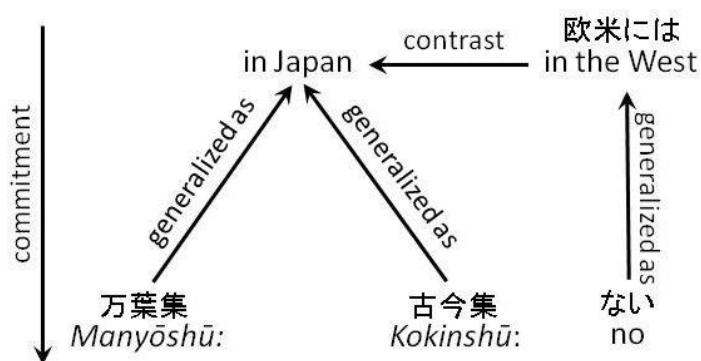


Fig. 5.36. Generalizing Heritage

The following example shows how the generalization of Heritage can be used as a strategy to exhort a particular course of social action. The Imperial Rescript on Education is introduced into this stretch of text as an icon that is vested with the authority of the imperial family that imbues its proclamations with a sense of certainty.

然るに、明治二十三年「教育ニ関スル勅語」の渙発せられるに至つて、国民は皇祖皇宗の肇国樹徳の聖業とその履践すべき大道とを覚り、こゝに進むべき確たる方向を見出した。(Ministry 1937: preface)

But with the promulgation in 1890 of the Imperial Rescript on Education, the people came to discern the things accomplished by the Imperial Founder and Ancestors in the planting of virtues at the time of the founding of the nation, and herein they found a sure direction along which they should go. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:53)

The Heritage introduced as ‘教育ニ関スル勅語’ (the Imperial Rescript on Education) in the first clause is generalized through the Categorization Device ‘国民’ (the people) in the subsequent clause. The Heritage is thus located in the hyperTheme of the clause complex where it exerts a dominating prosody of appreciation over the remainder of the

text evaluating ‘direction’ (方向), realized as a modality of obligation ‘進むべき’ (should go) and probability ‘確たる’ (sure).

5.2.4.3 Endorsement

Just as Heritages can be uncommitted ideationally, they can also be recommitted interpersonally. The content of the play *Atsumori*, related just prior to this passage is now backgrounded, and the focus has shifted to the interpersonal significance of the story, repackaged as a cultural ideal and expressed in the form of a *Doxa* instantiated through ‘compassionate empathy’ in the following extract.

お能の「敦盛」が今でも延々と演じられているのは、こういう無常観、武士道でいう惻隠に近いものが今も日本人の心の中に流れていて、心を揺さぶられるからでしょう。(Fujiwara 2005:100-1)

The Noh play *Atsumori* continues to be popular after all this time because the Japanese still have feelings akin to this sense of impermanence and to the compassionate empathy of the samurai, and are still moved by the same emotions. (Murray trans. 2007:144-5)

The Heritage, instantiated through the story of *Atsumori*, is thus uncommitted of the ideational details associated with the story, and recommitted as a *Doxa*. In this process of endorsement, interpersonal meaning is committed in degrees, instantiated through ‘sense of impermanence’, ‘bushido’, and then finally ‘compassionate empathy’.

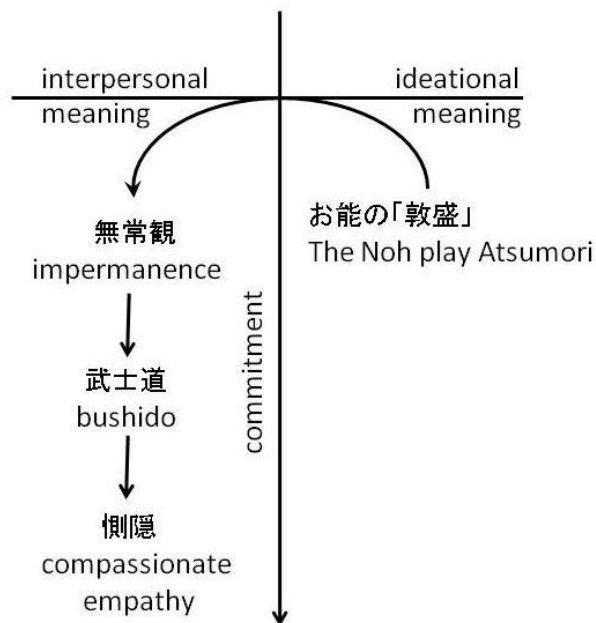


Figure 5.37. Endorsing the play Atsumori

Heritage instantiated through the projection of Heroes can likewise be endorsed by a Doxa. This can be seen in the following passage, where Emperor Meiji's poem, and by extension his emotions and beliefs expressed in the poem, are condensed into the value of patriotism.

而してまことを本質とする明浄正直の心は、単なる情操的方面に止まらず、明治天皇の御製に、

しきしまの大和心のをゝしはことある時ぞあらはれにける
と仰せられてある如く、よく義勇奉公の精神として発現する。(Ministry 1937)

Thus, a cloudless, pure, and candid heart, whose intrinsic nature is truth, does not confine itself to the world of sentiment; but as the Emperor Meiji says in one of his poems:

The valor of a Yamato heart
When faced with a crisis
Its mettle proves.

And this heart reveals itself as patriotism. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:131)

In this example, the Ism instantiated through 'truth' (まこと) and 'cloudless, pure, and candid' (明浄正直) has been reformulated as an example, thereby exemplified through the Hero, i.e. 'Emperor Meiji' and the Heritage, i.e. his poem, committed in ideational

meaning as the specific projection of a historical character. This serves to ground the Doxa in a sense of historicity and factuality (see 5.1.4.2 and 5.2.4.1). The text does not simply leave it there for the reader to form their own interpretations on the value of the poem however. It reformulates the poem in terms of the Ism ‘spirit of patriotism’ (義勇奉公の精神), specifying and condensing its interpersonal meaning as shown in figure 5.38.

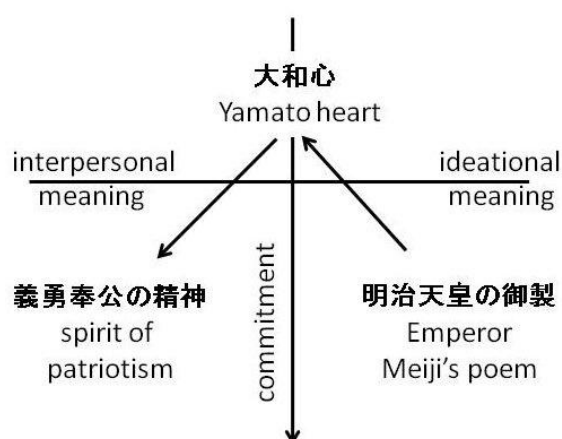


Fig. 5.38. Endorsing Emperor Meiji's poem

The historical specificity of the poem is lost and its ideational meaning uncommitted in the course of elaborating on the poem, where the observation of an individual Hero 'Meiji Emperor' is generalized as the quality of a people instantiated through 'Yamato heart'. This is then reformulated as an Ism instantiated through 'spirit of patriotism', committing it in terms of interpersonal meaning.

This example also shows that a combination of exemplification and endorsement is a very effective logogenetic strategy to bridge from one Ism (e.g. truth) to the next (e.g. patriotism) as shown in figure 5.39, snowballing the constellation of positions around which the reader is rallied (see 2.4.3).



Fig. 5.39. Snowballing of Icons

5.2.5 Tradition and impersonal authority

It has been argued that Heritages are committed ideationally through orbital structures (see 5.2.1.1) while interpersonally, they may be instantiated through intensifying prosody (see 5.2.2.3). Part of the ideational commitment may involve elaboration through circumstance of time, and where these time expressions are intensified, we observe their amplification in terms of the quantification of extent. Heritages may thus be used to appeal to the authority of tradition, through which ideas and practices are perceived as legitimate simply ‘because this is what we have always done’ (van Leeuwen 2008:108).

For example, Kokutai no Hongi stresses the significance of ‘folklore’ (語事) in the following extract as the evidence for the values it is promoting by amplifying the extent of the time expressions used to describe it, i.e. ‘since of old’ (古来の) and ‘perpetual’ (悠久なる).

かゝる語事（かたりごと）、伝承は**古来の**国家的信念であつて、我が国は、かゝる**悠久なる**ところにその源を發してゐる。(Ministry 1937:1/1)

Such folklore and legends have been our national beliefs **since of old**, and our nation springs from such a **perpetual** source. (Gauntlett trans. 1949:60)

It has been pointed out in 5.2.4.2 that generalizations such as the one observed here serve as a useful strategy for exhortation. The Heritage instantiated through ‘folklore’ is located in the hyperTheme of the clause complex where it exerts a dominating prosody over the remainder of the text. In this case, the Heritage is instantiated through an amplification of the time expression, and where the icon is reformulated as a Collectivization Device and instantiated through ‘our nation’ (我が国), the valuation of ‘folklore’ is carried over to serve as a command to ‘our nation’ as social actors.

Fujiwara (2005) similarly amplifies the Circumstance of time in the following example, realized as ‘after all this time’ (今でも延々と), to assert the significance of the Doxas ‘sense of impermanence’ (無常觀) and ‘compassionate empathy’ (惻隱) as inherited values of Japanese people.

お能の「敦盛」が今でも延々と演じられているのは、こういう無常観、武士道でいう惻隱に近いものが今も日本人の心の中に流れていて、心を揺さぶられるからでしょう。(Fujiwara 2005:100-1)

The Noh play *Atsumori* continues to be popular **after all this time** because the Japanese **still** have feelings akin to this sense of impermanence and to the compassionate empathy of the samurai, and are still moved by the same emotions. (Murray trans. 2007:145)

As the Heritage is presented as the hyperTheme of the clause complex, the quantification of extent that instantiates the Heritage can be observed to dominate the subsequent instantiation of the Categorization Device through ‘Japanese’ (日本人) as a characterization of their collective emotional disposition.

The notion of ‘tradition’ in both cases is constructed through an amplification of time expressions, and we observe that the instantiation of Heritage through graduation serves to formulate the values espoused by the texts as a moral obligation on the part of the readers, where particular beliefs and behaviors of social actors formulated as part of *Gemeinschaft* are attributed to and legitimized on account of ‘tradition’.

5.3 Heroes, legacies and identity

In this chapter, we have observed how Oracles exemplify *Gemeinschaft* and *Doxas*. Particulate structures commit *Gemeinschaft* and *Doxas* ideationally as Oracles in a specific time and place. The commitment allows the particulate structures to serve as ideational tokens for interpersonal meanings that are structured prosodically. As the Oracles share some of these particulate and prosodic structures within the same stretch of text, the ideational and interpersonal meanings relate the Oracles to one another.

Oracles may conversely be generalized as *Gemeinschaft* as they lose their ideational commitment, but the interpersonal charge is retained in such reformulations to maintain an interpersonal link between the Oracles and *Gemeinschaft*. When the interpersonal link is subsequently committed, the Oracles also serve to endorse *Doxas*. In this way, Oracles are related logogenetically to *Gemeinschaft* and *Doxas* in a reformulative relationship through the increase and decrease in their degree of commitment in ideational and interpersonal meaning.

Gemeinschaft can be committed in two distinct but interrelated ways as shown in figure 5.40. Heroes are relatively stable networks of couplings between structures that constitute the identity of people, while Heritages are those that constitute the identity of things. A Hero is therefore a cluster of ideational and interpersonal meanings that coalesce as a social actor in discourse, typically instantiated through the coupling between Agent and judgment. This allows them to be presented as role models in discourse, and they serve to establish social norms and endorse Doxas as prominent members of the community.

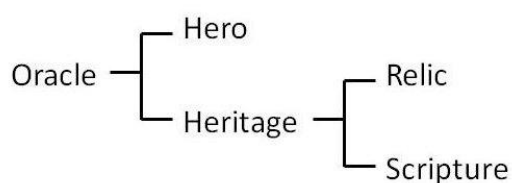


Fig. 5.40. Oracle network

Heritages on the other hand are the semiotic construction of their achievements and possessions, typically instantiated through the coupling between Carrier and appreciation. A Heritage is a cluster of ideational and interpersonal meanings that coalesce as a specific recognizable object in discourse. Once a Heritage is established as independent existence, it serves as a token of tradition, and in cases where the Heritage is a text, its contents take on the voice of an impersonal authority, instantiated through the coupling between Circumstance or Sayer in terms of transitivity, assertion in terms of engagement and an up-scaling of quantification in terms of graduation.

Phylogenetically, certain structures are favored over others at different points in time in the production of national identity discourse. For instance, wartime texts commit the Emperor as a Hero to render the icon as a believable historical person in many of the examples explored in this chapter, whereas Sakaguchi's writings always construct the Emperor in terms of a Categorization Device to strip the icon of any human individuality. In fact, postwar texts like Sakaguchi's also often commit the icon as a Heritage, in terms of an 'Emperor system' to problematize the notion of agency and responsibility. As his writings have also shown, an effective way to dismantle icons ideologically charged as Doxas is to reformulate them as Heritages. The form of structures instantiating these icons therefore determines the kind of relationships into which they may enter, and consequently the form of rhetoric and ideologies that may be produced in these identity discourses. The selection of structures in light of these

linguistic mechanisms is therefore a useful way to examine the motivations behind the construction of collective identities.

Chapter 6 Towards a Model of Iconography

The attempt to pursue the essence of identity, to fix identity around a reassuring certitude results in 'a series of substitutions of center for center.' — Derrida

Race works like a language... Their meaning, because it is relational, and not essential, can never be finally fixed, but is subject to the constant process of redefinition and appropriation to the losing of old meanings, and the appropriation and collection on contracting new ones, to the endless process of being constantly re-signified, made to mean something different in different cultures, in different historical formations, at different moments in time. – Stuart Hall

This thesis began with the objective of analyzing popular thinking about identity by examining the function of identity as the concept is used in actual discourse. Linguistic research in MCA has made a strong case that the use of identity in interpreting data has to be demonstrably relevant to the discourse, and not imposed as an a priori assumption on the part of the analyst. Following this approach, the present study focuses on identity as a 'participants' resource' in actual instances of language use. While identity is not reducible simply to the overt formulations of categories, these discourses accentuate and bring identity construction into a public discursive space, where they are made available for intersubjective negotiation, and as such, they present an important field of study. This commitment to the study of actual language use is shared by SFL that is equipped with a well developed multiperspectival framework for mapping it in linguistic detail, and the modeling of meaning as discourse structures and syndromes of interrelated selections in SFL allows us to establish the chain of interrelated concepts that establish and maintain the categorizations as part of the participants' resource. As the texts in this study show, certain recurring linguistic syndromes figure strongly in identity discourses, including the discursive construction of communities, locations, values, people and things. These constructs serve as identity icons, around which members of the community rally, and they can be recognized in texts as syndromes of meaning in culture.

In recognizing these identity icons as part of their own cultural knowledge, readers are, in Althusser's (1971) parlance, interpellated as members of the community. This study suggests that globally, one of the functions of these icons is to organize identities differentially in terms of an axiology, to construct and police the borders between the Self and the Other. Locally, they also function as a source of legitimation for the argument at hand. The thesis argues that these functions provide an impetus for the icons to be continually repeated and adapted to the developing discourse, and it is this repetition and adaptation that guarantees their survival as a cultural resource.

However, the need for adaptation also means that despite attempts by the texts to portray the identity icons as fixed and perennial features of identity, they are subject to semogenesis, through which they are continually reformulated and revised. In other words, these icons are 'floating signifiers' of identity, after Hall (1997), always differing and always deferred. The text is consequently caught in a tension between a desire of fixity and an underlying nature of change, and a careful examination of the process of 'identification' reveals the ways in which identities are naturalized, essentialized and politicized.

6.1 Identity icons and identity

Identity icons are syndromes of meaning coalesced from couplings across the three metafunctions to construct collective identities in discourse. Importantly, this study has shown that these are not isolated occurrences, and their functions are more productively understood in relation to other icons in what can be understood as an economy of signs. We reify our sense of community by committing the *Gemeinschaft* in discourse interpersonally on the one hand as *Doxas* in terms of shared feelings and values, and ideationally as *Oracles* on the other in terms of people and things.

In chapter 3, we explored how *Gemeinschaft* constructs identities as syndromes involving categories, oppositions and locations. The Categorization Device organizes the world through taxonomies, the Collectivization Device produces boundaries between 'us' and 'them', while the Spatialization Device divides the world into 'here' and 'there'. Through *Gemeinschaft*, 'the Japanese' for example, is often opposed to 'Western people' in *Nihonjinron*, locked in what Dale describes as a kind of 'oedipal shadow-boxing' (Dale 1986:39).

In chapter 4, we explored how Doxas construct communal values in terms of concepts as Isms and in terms of verbiage as Adages. Isms organize values into constellations, where they each serve as an emblem around which communities rally. In Fujiwara's *Nihonjinron* for instance, 'the Japanese' are differentiated from 'the West' on the basis of the opposition between 'emotions' and 'logic'. Adages, on the other hand, present values as a communal voice that a reader internalizes and recognizes as their own. Nakane, for instance, invokes expressions such as 'the husband leads and the wife obeys' to explain the essence of Japanese social organization.

In chapter 5, we explored how Oracles construct identities as specific people and things. Heroes are celebrated or (anti-Heroes) condemned as exemplary members of a community, and communities rally around their actions and speech. Heritage is their legacy, and may either be transferred to another social actor as symbols of legitimacy in the form of Relics, or take on independent voices of their own as Scriptures. Examples such as Nitobe Inazō and his book *Bushido* are often raised as representative symbols of Japanese culture both within and outside *Nihonjinron* writings.

In each of the chapters, the instantiations of the icons are explored at different strata of the realization hierarchy. Each type of icon is instantiated as the coupling between discourse semantic choices in all three metafunctions in terms of periodicity, taxonomic relations and appraisal, and as each stratum of the realization hierarchy provides the context for the the one adjacent to it, the coordination of these choices can be observed to cascade down the hierarchy as transitivity choices and mood types at the lexicogrammatical stratum and as wording and orthographic markers at the stratum of graphology. The coupling of meanings at the different strata collectively allow readers to recognize the specific icon, as shown in figure 6.1.

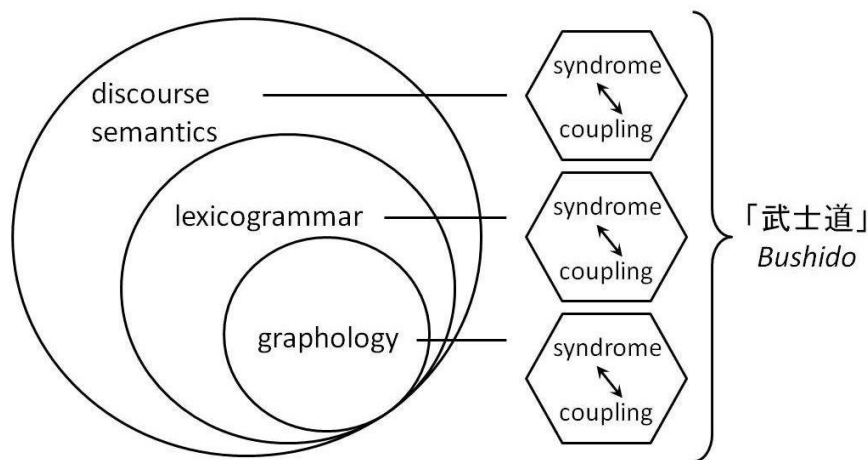


Fig. 6.1. Icons and realization

The book *Bushido*, for instance, was described in Fujiwara (2005) as ‘winning a rapturous reception when it was published in America in 1899.’ In terms of transitivity at clausal level, it is instantiated through a coupling between the material process ‘出版’ (publish) and the verbal process ‘賞賛’ (praise). The clauses serve as ideational tokens invoking positive valuation in terms of appraisal at the level of the text. The syndromes of meaning at both strata are in turn realized as wording in the text, marked by italics and parenthesis. The recognition of ‘*Bushido*’ is dependent on a simultaneous selection of attitudes, process types and wording among others, and the construction of *Bushido* as a Scripture is thus achieved through a synchrony of syndromes at different strata in the realization hierarchy. The same can be said of Nitobe, who upon leaving the materiality of a ‘presemiotic reality’ and having entered the realm of language, is retained in cultural memory as a coalescence of interrelated selections at various strata of realization.

Instantially, Doxas as kinds of communal values and Oracles as kinds of communal entities serve as tokens for *Gemeinschaft*. Both ideational and interpersonal meanings are present in all three forms of icons however, and they differ only in terms of generality and specificity in meaning. The commitment of ideational and interpersonal meanings by degree opens up a topological space in which communal identity is articulated and revised, as shown in figure 6.2.

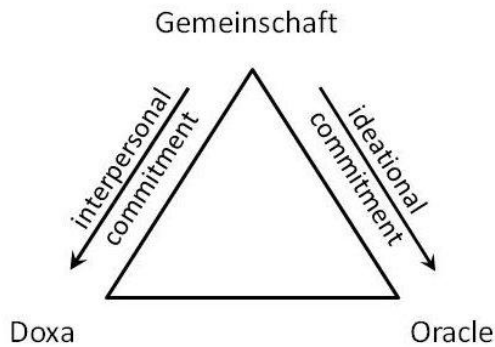


Fig. 6.2. Topology of identity icons

Nonetheless, these three kinds of icons comprise three distinct ways in which we talk about our communal identity that shape our discourses as patterns of meanings. These patterns form couplings of meanings in each instance of language use, and they recur culturally as relatively stable syndromes of meaning, constructing various cultural icons around which communities may bond. From a typological perspective therefore, these three types of couplings between meanings have their own individual dynamics, presenting three distinct ways of talking about identity, and this typological perspective reveals the presentation of identity as a system of paradigmatic choices, shown in figure 6.3.

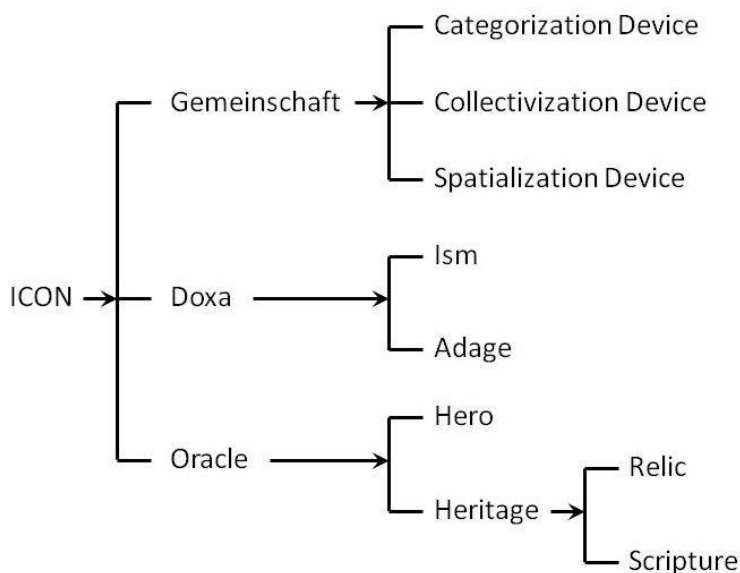


Fig. 6.3. The identity icon network

This thesis has focused on Nihonjinron texts because they provide a well defined and robust set of data for mapping the territory of identity discourse. However, observations of the recent American presidential elections suggest that this model is not limited to Japanese identity, and may prove just as useful for understanding collective identity construction in other contexts.

In the 2010 presidential campaign, we hear resonances of *Gemeinschaft*, constructing ‘Americans’ as a distinct category of people (Categorization Device); they are those addressed as ‘we’ in Obama’s speech (Collectivization Device), and theirs is the way of life ‘in America’ (Spatialization Device). The ‘Americans’ and the ‘we’ ‘in America’ are what allow for an imagining of the community as described by Benedict Anderson, the ‘image of communion’ that lives in the minds of those who will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them (Anderson 2006:6). The *Gemeinschaft* both differentiates and binds; it is what separates ‘us’ from the ‘al Qaeda’ and the ‘Taliban’, and at the same time it is what ‘we’ share with ‘our troops’ in Afghanistan.

Obama himself is presented as a Hero; his bestselling biography and speeches constitute his Scriptures, while the flag flies behind him as a Relic, symbolizing his right to presidency. Heroes and Heritages constitute each other, and Obama the Hero cannot be divorced from Obama the story. They are locked into a symbiotic relationship, where Obama makes his story, and the story makes the man. Together, they exemplify what is ‘truly’ American as Oracles, as they are the legitimate authority on the American past and future. They are part of the nation’s past because his life story is the American story, and they are part of the nation’s future because his hopes are part of the shared American dream. It is Obama’s function as an Oracle to tell Americans where we came from and where we are going.

Parts of his speech soon found their way into popular consciousness, reproduced in magazines and daily conversations as Adages, and ‘Yes we can’ is no longer the sole property of Obama the man – it has come to represent the essence of an ‘American’ vision. The value once propounded by one man has been popularized as the value of many, and the phrase has become part of a collective voice. Its use is no longer confined to the original context, but has attained the status of a *Doxa*, an American-ism (or Anti-American-ism, depending on one’s political position) distinguishing the believers from the non-believers.

The extensive networks that comprise each of these icons cannot be exhaustively instantiated in every text, and readers are obliged to draw upon this cultural resource to retrieve the identities intertextually and make sense of the texts. The people and things that have left the materiality of a ‘presemiotic reality’ and entered the realm of language, that is to say, to have acquired an identity, are therefore necessarily fragmentary and imperfect, living out their existence as caricatures in the collective memory.

6.2 Identity as syndromes

From the perspective of the instance, the icons are observed as clusters of features in language use that allow readers to identify as (and to identify with) the communities (as *Gemeinschaft*), values (as *Doxas*) and things (as *Oracles*) in discourse. From the perspective of the system, these individual instances of features collectively coalesce over time, retained in the language community intertextually as recurrent couplings in the form of networks, thus comprising a form of cultural resource that authors draw upon in the production of new texts.

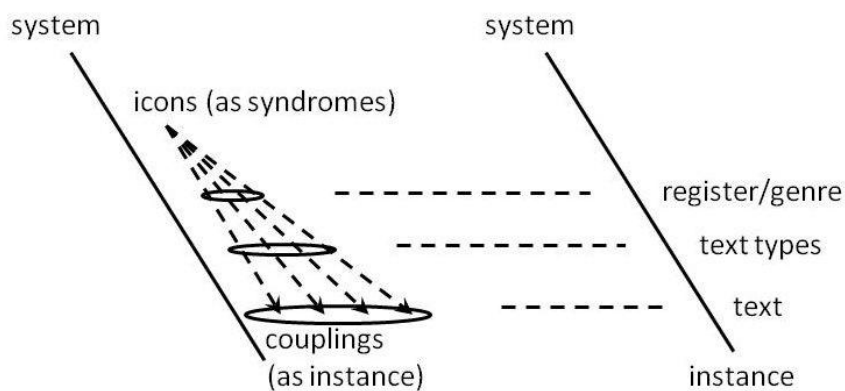


Fig. 6.4. Icons on the instantiation cline

The icons as syndromes of meaning are therefore situated along the cline of instantiation between the system and the instance, as shown in figure 6.4. On the right side of the figure is the corresponding perspective of text typology. It is this space between them that gives the icons the latitude to be explored at different distances from the instance, with differing standards of ‘institutionality’ applied by ethnomethodological and critical discourse analytic approaches (see Benwell and Stokoe 2006:87-128 for a useful account of the different conceptions of institutionality).

From this perspective, we observe that CA, MCA and CDA position themselves at different vantage points along this cline in their discussion on identity, and that the varied accounts of identity correspond to their individual focus on language at different levels of abstraction, from individual texts as micro-contexts, to registerial and cultural factors as macro social forces. The relationship along this cline is however one of metastability (see 2.4.2), and the icon as a meaning potential is not instantiated exhaustively in each text. Hence there we observe a varying degree of stability in the icons, and the description of the icons at each of these different distances is a matter open for further investigation.

As a system, we recognize icons as relatively stable clusters of associations that can be distinguished from others. As instances, we observe them as relatively open ended clusters of features with indefinite edges that shade into one another as the text develops. This thesis has shown that both are necessary aspects of icons. Recognition of the icons as a system of distinct paradigmatic units produces the consistency of identity that provides centers around which communities bond. A dynamic reading of the icons as structures in the text allows for the continuity of identity as one formulation flows into the next as the text unfolds (see 2.1 on identity as consistency and continuity). Consequently, three types of structures have been identified in this study in terms of the way icons are organized vis-à-vis other icons as they coalesce up the instantiation cline.

The folksonomic structure, as described in 3.1.1.3, is comprised of an axiologized taxonomy, and is associated with *Gemeinschaft* (see 3.1 and 3.2) and *Isms* (see 4.1). It is a structure of feelings, motivated interpersonally as a binary opposition, and construed ideationally as taxonomy. Through a folksonomic structure, icons are differentially established against the background of other icons in terms of hierarchies and binary oppositions, as shown in figure 6.5.

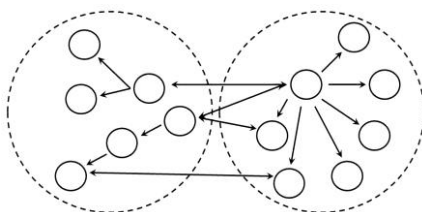


Fig. 6.5. Folksonomic structure

Folksonomic structures organize the social order as dichotomies of social positions, through which readers may be socialized into a particular type of ‘gaze’ (Maton 2008), and they play an important role in allowing a collective identity to be established relationally against its alterity (Dale 1986).

The reticulation of participants, processes and their circumstances as a network of features, associated with the Categorization Device (see 3.1) and Oracles (see 5.1 and 5.2), may be described as a rhizomatic structure, a term adapted from Deleuze and Guattari’s (1980) description of the decentered structure. The reticulum of ideational meaning similarly does not have a specific center, but is comprised of a network of interconnected figures, as shown in figure 6.6. The figures also function as tokens of interpersonal meaning, and the multiple nexus of evaluative charge in the reticulum produces the nodes that allow the recognition of specific icons.

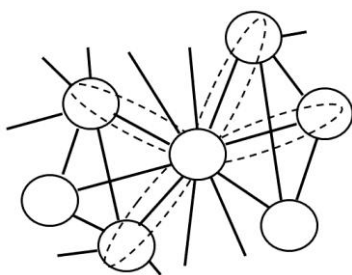


Fig. 6.6. Rhizomatic structure

Rhizomatic structures allow us to forge links between people and things in texts, and ultimately to construct through these connections the shared ‘history’ and ‘myths’ (Smith 2004:89) that we celebrate and condemn collectively as a community.

The tributive structure is the mapping of a dominating prosody onto a serial realization in a projection, and is associated with Heroes (see 5.1) and Adages (see 4.2). In a tributive structure, each nucleus of the serial syndrome dominates the domain of the one it projects, and the interpersonal meaning in each figure of meaning is transferred to the next, as shown in figure 6.7.

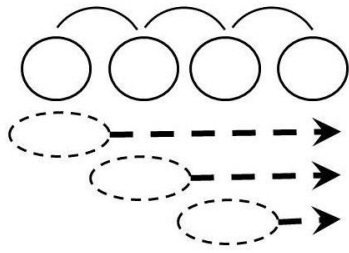


Fig. 6.7. *Tributive structure*

Tributive structures allow the people we celebrate and condemn to transcend the situated confines of their actions, and relate their actions and beliefs to other situations including our own. Through tributive structures, the author pays tribute to these people, attributing the authorial voice to them, thus playing the role of the ventriloquist, projecting the authorial voice through them to interpret and make pronouncements on those situations as the authority on our identities.

While this list is not exhaustive, the folksonomic, rhizomatic and tributive structures described in this thesis present three prominent ways in which icons are interlinked to one another in the text. As the respective sections have shown, they are predicated on the organization of meaning at lexicogrammatical and discourse semantic levels as the simultaneous co-articulation of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning. Each of these structures is shared between icons, providing the continuity and transition between them, and they are therefore an important resource for the coherence of identity texts. Due to the limits of the present study, we have only begun a preliminary exploration into this aspect of icons, and more investigation is necessary to provide a fuller account of the range of such resources available.

6.3 Identity as interpellation

There are four ways in which the texts produce a reading position as a member of the community. Each of these requires an act of inference on the part of the reader to make sense of the text, and if the reader does not supply those inferences, they find the text incoherent and are consequently alienated from the author. These readings naturalize the construction of identities in specific ways, and a compliant reader is thus apprenticed into the normalized meaning making process.

The covariate structures in discourse semantics range across stretches of text, obliging readers to make inferences in the construal, enactment and organization of identities in the texts (see 2.3). The presumption of identity chains play a central role in constructing the identities of individuals in terms of *Gemeinschaft* (see 3.1), while readers develop a specific gaze in their understanding of identities organizing the world through constellations of *Isms* (see 4.1.3), and are hailed by *Adages* through the idiomaticity of their expressions (see 4.2.4), and finally, the networks of features comprising the *Oracles* are not instantiated in their entirety, and readers are required to retrieve parts of the network (see 5.2.3). As Befu explains, nationalism involves an ‘intense identification of the patriot with the nation-state’ (Befu 1993:107), and national identity discourse provides the means for this self-identification through these linguistic mechanisms.

The individuation and affiliation hierarchies have been proposed as two complementary perspectives in the current theorizing of identities in SFL (Martin 2010). Following this line of reasoning, Knight (2010) introduces the concept of bonds as cultural patterns by which communal identities are discursively construed by ‘laughing at, communing around, or rejecting’ in the form of couplings (Knight 2010:42). She proposes the bond as the minimal social unit reflected as a single coupling between ideational and interpersonal meaning in the text, and these bonds accrue as networks.

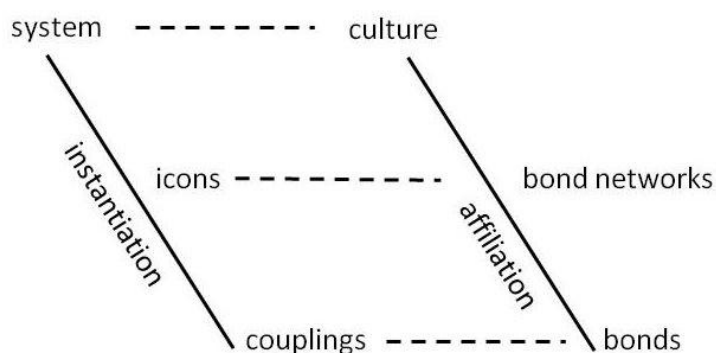


Fig. 6.8. Identity icons and affiliation

From perspective, we may argue that couplings provide the semiotic material for the formation of bonds, while icons as metastable networks of couplings provide the semiotic material for the formation of bond networks, as shown in figure 6.8.

It has been argued that readers are required to infer the presumed information in the identity chains instantiating *Gemeinschaft*, recognize the idiomaticity of *Doxa*, and retrieve features from the rhizomatic structures of Oracles in order to make sense of the text. The failure to do so results in the alienation of the reader, and the text loses coherence. By the same token, when the reader fulfils these requirements to make sense of the text, they are interpellated as the intended reader of the text with its naturalized and normalized understanding of identity. The texts act both semiotically and socially: naturalized because the way the world is construed, enacted and organized is presented as commonsense; normalized because the reader, having understood the world in this way, recognizes themselves as part of a community that holds this view. Hence we ‘identify with’ icons in two interrelated senses. We identify others in the social world, ascribing identities to them to produce a system of difference that informs our interpretation of social actors and their actions; we also identify with the icons, taking up the subject positions offered to us by these configurations of meaning.

Identity icons therefore serve as a means for discourse communities to organize the social world, by providing the semiotic resources for Maton’s (2008) ‘axiological cosmology’ (see 2.4.3), as shown in figure 6.9. Couplings in the text provide social positions for readers to adopt instantially, while the coalescence of these couplings as syndromes of meaning produce constellations of ideas around which readers can align themselves as communities. Where relationships in the form of counterpoints (see 4.1.3) are set up between these syndromes, the communities are juxtaposed and axiologized.

instantiation	cosmology
coupling	position
cluster	constellation
counterpoint	axiology

Fig. 6.9. Identity icons and cosmology

6.4 Identity as legitimation

As this study also shows, one of the functions of identity, as it is constructed through the use of identity icons, is the legitimation of arguments put forward by the text.

Drawing on van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) CDA framework, we have explored the ways in which different formulations of identity as community, values and specific people serve as a source of authority, rationalization and conformity.

In 5.1.5, we explored how the cline of ideational commitment from *Gemeinschaft* to *Oracle* is associated with different formulations of social actors in terms of generality as a source of authority. Specific Heroes are drawn on for their social status as personal authority or they may be presented as role models to endorse beliefs and practices. When people are presented not as individuals but as specimens of kinds of people, they are presented as expert authority on their communities. Conversely, the community to which they belong can be invoked as a source of explanation for their actions, thereby providing rationalization for the actions (3.4). *Doxas* on the other hand serve primarily as a resource for moral evaluation. *Isms* axiomatize between communities, imbuing social practices with a sense of moral alignment (see 4.1.3), while *Adages* serve to render readers complicit in social practices through idiomaticity (see 4.2.4).

The cline of ideational commitment between *Gemeinschaft* and *Oracle* is therefore associated with the identity of people functioning as a source of authority, while the cline of interpersonal commitment between *Gemeinschaft* and *Doxa* is associated with values as a source of legitimation, as shown in figure 6.10.

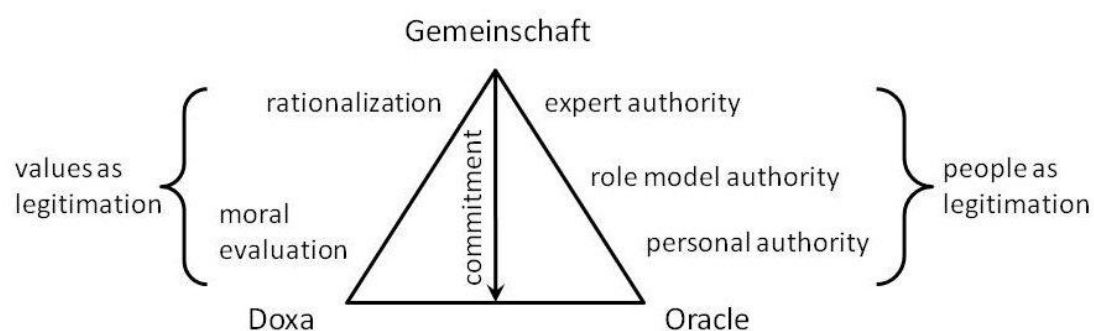


Fig. 6.10. Identity and legitimation

This thesis has demonstrated that legitimation is an important motivation behind the way identity is formulated. The construction of identity in terms of people and values facilitates different arguments situated in the text, and are in that sense sensitive to the specific argument at hand that the text seeks to legitimize, as well as the degree of legitimacy accorded to the constructs in different intellectual and sociopolitical moments in history.

6.5 Identity as floating signifiers

Identity icons are the coalescence of the coupling between different strands of meaning in situated texts over time. It is argued in 6.1 that these extensive networks cannot be exhaustively instantiated in every text, and it is argued in 6.3 that readers draw upon them as a cultural resource to retrieve the identities intertextually. The instantiation of icons is therefore fragmentary and imperfect, opening up the potential for semogenetic adaptation. This is because the instantiations, and consequently the retrievals, are opportunistic and selective in each instance of language use, resulting in a coalescence that is correspondingly selective over longer timeframes.

While the icons as discourse semantic resources provide the intertextual ‘thematic chains’ of identity discourse across texts, they are contextualized locally in the clause, and it is therefore necessary to take into consideration both the synoptic view of these resources as systemic choices as well as the dynamic ‘relations of covariate and multivariate structuring’, to ‘account for the dynamic metastability of social systems of action and meaning’ (Lemke 1985:289, see also 2.3). Legitimation, as discussed in 6.4, is one of the ways in which icons are adapted to the demands of the developing text. Icons are configurations of meaning as syndromes, and as the textual environment changes, the icons have to be reconfigured in different ways to suit the changing environment. This is a process of reformulation through which other kinds of icons are brought into the text.

As the text unfolds, selections from the system of icons leave a trace of reformulations that reveals the text’s presentation of identity as syntagmatic choices. These selections are strategically made to address the situated as the discourse develops. If the selection of icons is traced over a stretch of text, a textual shift can be observed whereby an icon is reformulated in terms of another through the processes of generalization, exemplification and endorsement. Generalization is a process that involves a textual shift from the committed to the generalized, and through this process *Doxas* and *Oracles* are generalized as *Gemeinschaft*, shown in figure 6.11.

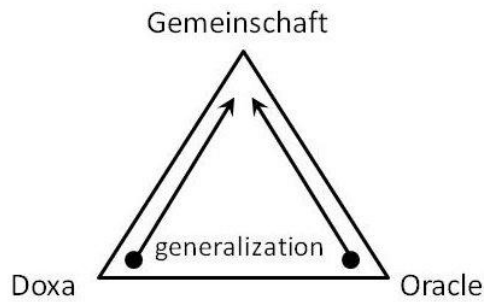


Fig. 6.11. Generalization

The specificity in meaning has been fudged out, such that it may equally apply to anything that falls under the more general and reestablished category. Having done so, the icon reformulated as the *Gemeinschaft* gains the potential to subsequently be exemplified or endorsed in any number of ways.

The *Gemeinschaft* and the *Doxa* are exemplified by Oracles. *Doxas* lose their interpersonal charge in the process, generalized as the voice of the *Gemeinschaft*. They are then exemplified by the Oracles as shown in figure 6.12, grounded in history as an empirical fact.

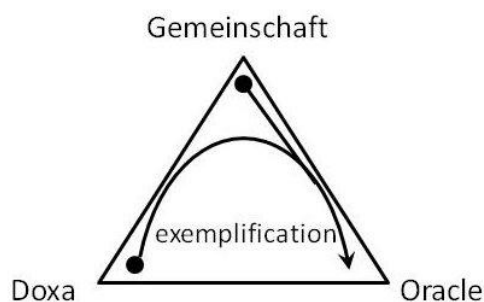


Fig. 6.12. Exemplification

Conversely, *Gemeinschaft* and Oracles are endorsed by *Doxas*. The voices of specific agents in history may be generalized as the collective sentiment of the *Gemeinschaft*, thus uncommitted in ideational meaning. These voices may then be recommitted interpersonally as a collective voice of the community without a specific source, as shown in figure 6.13. In this way, the voices are imbued with an authority by virtue of their status as shared beliefs.

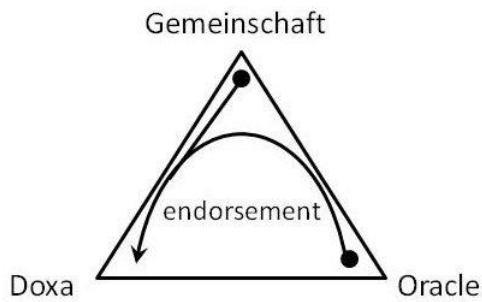


Fig. 6.13. Endorsement

In terms of a logogenetic timeframe, generalization, exemplification and endorsement can be observed in the development of the text. From the perspective of the instance, the icons constitute a chain of signifiers in the text, whereby *Gemeinschaft*, *Doxas* and *Oracles* are substituted for one another as the text unfolds, with each formulation of syndromes taking the place of the one before in the subsequent intratextual environment, as shown in 6.14.

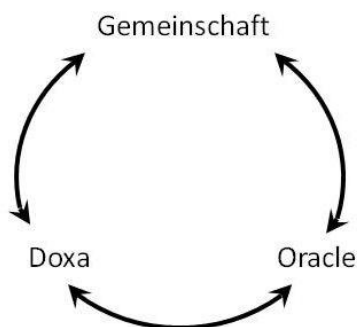


Fig. 6.14. Reformulation of identity

As studies in Membership Categorization Analysis suggests, generalizations and exemplifications and endorsements are exposed to the risk of defeasibility (e.g. Jayyusi 1984), and readers similarly do not necessarily agree with the way icons are reformulated. For instance, an individual constructed as a Hero may be rejected an essential role of the community in terms of *Gemeinschaft* (see 5.1.4.2), or a *Doxa* may be perceived as a political contraption, rather than a shared indigenous value (see 5.2.1.1). This effectively disrupts the rhetoric of the texts that rely on the reformulations for their legitimation, and as the analyses also suggest, where such ‘disruptions’ are celebrated in iconoclastic texts such as Sakaguchi (1946), the icon may undergo a change in valeur, and lose its iconic status.

In terms of a phylogenetic timeframe, the repeated couplings of meanings associated with notions of identity coalesce as syndromes of meaning over time. The chain of texts provides an intertextual environment for these syndromes that are recognized as the identity icons of a community. They are instantiated in the production of identity texts, and they are retrieved by the authors and readers as a cultural pretext to those discourses. The successful instantiation and retrieval of an icon brings it into a new discursive act, where it recharges and regains significance within the discourse community. The icon then coalesces again as a renewed cultural understanding of identity, as shown in figure 6.15.

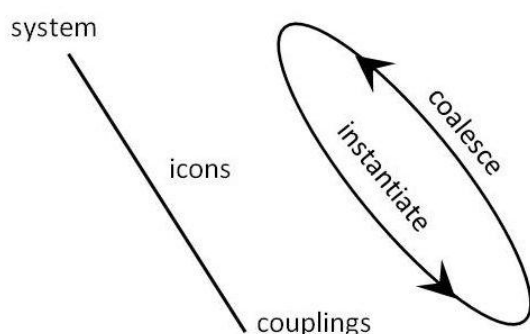


Fig. 6.15. Semogenesis of identity icons

However, the construction of identity is defeasible, and each moment of retrieval is not guaranteed, and the failure of retrieval results in the alienation of the reader from the author. Furthermore, these retrievals are subject to the situational demands of each instantiation. This means that the instantiations, and consequently the recharging of icons, are selective. Over time, parts of the network are impoverished and abandoned as they are no longer perceived to have value to the community, while new additions may develop where they take on value. The reformulation of icons comprises in this sense ‘channels for socially driven changes in the language system’ (Fairclough 2004:141).

Identity icons are hence ‘floating signifiers’ in two senses. Intratextually, the identity of each instance of an icon is always deferred to the next to address the argument at hand as ‘systems of traces’ (Derrida 1974:65), and intertextually, the icon is continually revised by the community in ever new understandings of their identity against the background of other identities in a game of ‘politics without guarantees’ (Hall 1997:4). The networks of meanings comprising the icons are thus open to revision in the course of their semohistory.

6.6 Directions for further research

This thesis has proposed a general model of iconography within the SFL framework. The study has extended the Systemic theory into the study of identity representation, and proposed a systemic functional framework that is complementary to current identity research in MCA and cultural theory. The model proposed here benefitted from the insights provided by the work in these fields, and in return contributes to them by making the detailed and extensive tools developed in SFL available for the analysis of collective identity discourses.

As the preceding sections have suggested, there are four main potential areas in the iconography for further research. While this thesis has outlined the model of iconography in relation to realization and instantiation, these four interrelated areas will extend it through the dimension of time to explore the semogenesis of the icons in greater detail. The logogenesis of icons can be investigated in terms of the charging and discharging of the icons, the phylogenesis of icons can be pursued in terms of cultural selections, and finally, its ontogenesis can be explored through a careful study of the relation between iconography, individuation and affiliation.

It has been proposed in 5.1.2 that one of the functions of Oracles is to present ideational meanings as tokens and targets for evaluation. This serves to charge the icon interpersonally, and as interpersonal charges are necessary to provide the icon with its cultural prominence and establish its iconic status, the process by which these icons accrue their interpersonal charge is important for understanding why certain people and things such as Nitobe and *Bushido* attain the status of an icon where others do not. The opposite is observed in 4.1.2.3, where values such as ‘freedom’ that are constructed as Isms of the ‘West’ are stripped off their positive evaluation, and their interpersonal meanings discharged. The discharging of positive evaluation of wartime Adages is also observed in 4.2.2.2 to play a central role in Sakaguchi’s iconoclastic text. The charging and discharging of the icons can be investigated as an intratextual process in the logogenetic unfolding of the text.

In a longer timeframe, the selective survival and demise of icons can be pursued in terms of phylogenesis. Some icons, such as the Emperor that was highly prominent in nationalist texts during the war such as *Kokutai no Hongi* have very much receded from popular discourse, and is hardly mentioned in Fujiwara’s nationalism – a feature shared

across postwar publications (Befu 2001:140). Furthermore, it is argued in 6.5 that even the icons that do persist over time undergo changes over the course of instantiations and coalescence, as some fragments of the networks are retained and others abandoned. Iconography can be therefore applied to a study of the cultural selections as an epidemiology. For example, 5.2.1.1 shows that the same entity such as Bushido may be formulated either as a Doxa or a Scripture, with their respective structural consequences in the text. These selections may be traced as adaptations to sociopolitical changes as Ryang (1999) and Aoki (1999) suggest in their work, bringing the iconography into a constructive dialogue with sociological perspectives on discursive formations in the Foucauldian (1972) sense.

6.3 suggests that the relationship between iconography, individuation and affiliation may provide useful insights into the socialization of individuals into the normative attribution of identities through interpellation and the development of a specific gaze. Knight's (2010) suggestion to conceptualize the relation between bond networks and ideological networks as the negotiation of identities at different degrees of generality corresponds to the relationship of generality between *Gemeinschaft* and the Doxa/Oracle. From the perspective of instantiation, Doxas are interpersonally committed and Oracles are ideationally committed in relation to *Gemeinschaft*. This relationship may be explored through the perspective of affiliation in terms of a hierarchy of 'social units' as she suggests that affiliation can be observed through logogenesis in couplings as an ongoing process (Knight 2010:45).

This thesis has variously demonstrated that the discourse semantic structures of identification and ideation are central to the construction of identities in text, and as explained in 2.3, readers are required to presume information through covariate structures. Where the identities are presented as icons, authors and readers are additionally required to retrieve the identities intertextually. These constitute the linguistic mechanisms that solicit and necessitate cooperation between author and reader in order to render the text coherent. It is suggested in 6.3 that this cooperative gesture, where successful, socializes the reader into the recognition of identity assumptions, and interpellates the reader into a subject position offered by the text. In Maton (2008)'s terms, this involves a cultivation of a specific type of 'gaze', a position from which the icons appear as a coherent constellation.

However, as it is also suggested in 6.5, this bonding process of icons is nonetheless defeasible. Consequently, the subject position offered to the reader can be rejected, disavowed and ignored (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998:2), and readers are differentially individuated into different reading positions. The conditions and adoption of varying reading positions in relation to the icons over the course of the text and across texts, for instance in an educational setting, can therefore be studied as a process of subjectification in an ontogenetic timeframe.

Following the linguistic turn, the humanities began to recognize language as a structuring agent in social phenomena, and identity theorists such as Foucault, Derrida, Bhabha and Butler placed their emphasis on the role of discourse. They have demonstrated that the problem of identity is a complex and multifaceted one, and within linguistics, interdisciplinary traditions such as MCA, narrative analysis and positioning theory emerged to take up the challenge. This thesis has shown that SFL with its 'exotropic' commitment (Hasan 2005:14) is equipped with a wide array of tools to provide an adequately intricate and multiperspectival map for navigating its volatile and multidimensional terrains. It has also shown that the cultural construction of icons play an important role in the linguistic construction of collective identities. A systemic functional model for iconography paves the ground for a linguistically detailed discourse analysis of the construction of a dynamic self.

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