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Notes on Contributors

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Introduction

Welcome to the inaugural issue of the International Academic Forum Journal of Arts and Humanities (JAH). It is my great pleasure to present to you the first edition of this independent interdisciplinary journal rooted in the proceedings of the IAFOR Asian Conference on the Arts and Humanities. In serving as the publishing platform for the best of the papers presented at the flagship IAFOR conference, the journal aims to establish itself both as the leading journal in the IAFOR stable and amongst the other interdisciplinary journals focusing on Asia. This journal joins a very small group of English-language journals focusing on Asia that are actually based in Asia itself. It is my sincere hope that by drawing together the expertise of the region's scholarly community as well as the vast academic community specialising in Asia around the world the journal can rise to be one of the leading publications in the field.

Like the conference from which it originated, this journal is interdisciplinary and is open to scholarly articles linked to Asia across a range of subjects. These include, but are not limited to: history, politics, literary studies, cultural studies, area-studies sociology, translation studies and anthropology. Following the forthcoming call for papers, it is hoped that alongside building on the strong foundation that the IAFOR Asian Conference on the Arts and Humanities provides, the journal will be able to attract some of the best of the wider scholarly community's current research on Asia.

The broad remit of the journal is reflected in the range of subjects covered in this issue: Olavi K. Fält addresses *East–West Relations during the Growth of*

Globalization in the first article followed by Penelope Shino's paper *Exploring Nagusamegusa (1418): the Semiotics of Encounter and Exchange for a Poet-traveller in Muromachi Japan*. The experience of Taiwan's military families is explored by Pei-Ling Lee in her paper *The Encounter of Hybridity through Space in Narratives: Life Stories from Taiwan's Military Dependants' Villages*, and the journal concludes with Richard Donovan's reflections on translation studies in *Decision-making and Disambiguation in Japanese-to-English Literary Translation: An Application of Game Theory*.

I would like to express my thanks to the entire editorial team for their efforts in putting our first issue together but would especially like to congratulate Richard Donovan, whose contributions, both as an author and in an editorial capacity, have greatly assisted in the production of this issue.

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**Changing Peripheries:
East–West Relations during the Growth of Globalization**

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Keywords: Center, Periphery, East-West, Globalization, Entropy

Abstract

The paper examines why Western culture achieved a position of hegemony in global development in the 1800s and why non-Western cultures, particularly Arabic, Indian, and Chinese cultures, did not achieve the same despite earlier supremacy in various fields leading to a type of globalization that can be termed “southernization.” I consider the question by assessing the political, cultural, and economic factors affecting globalization during different periods. My analysis utilizes Robert P. Clark’s entropy theory, according to which cultures have flourished by extending their sphere of influence, whereupon disorder and loss of energy have been moved elsewhere. The theory helps to suggest how Western Europe was able to adopt enough technical innovations produced by southernization to respond to the population pressures of the 1400s, thereby rising to a leading position in the world in the 1800s.

Introduction

In this paper I examine why Western culture achieved a position of hegemony in global development in the 1800s and why non-Western cultures, particularly Arabic, Indian, and Chinese cultures, did not reach the same position. I examine the question in relation to the growth of globalization by assessing the political, cultural, and economic factors that affected it during different periods. I have placed the starting point of my analysis at around 200 BC, when the growth of globalization clearly began to accelerate. The growth of globalization as such can be considered to have begun when humanity faced the need to spread beyond its original home.

Robert P. Clark (1997: 4–8) explains this need with the theory of entropy, according to which it has been necessary for humanity to spread everywhere in the world. This has been a consequence of the perpetual struggle to satisfy the needs of a society that is continuously expanding and becoming more complex. The model he presents is based on the second law of thermodynamics, according to which entropy constantly increases in every closed system. The tendency in all human systems is toward energy loss and entropy. Energy does not disappear as such, but in practice it eventually can no longer be reused for humanity's future needs. Cultures have flourished by spreading their sphere of influence, whereupon entropy and energy loss have been transferred elsewhere. The more complicated the system in question, the more it needs resources like energy and materials to grow or even to maintain order. To survive, a complex system needs a constantly expanding network through which it can transfer lurking disorder elsewhere.

Connections between Three Centers

In the third century the growth of globalization entered a new phase with the simultaneous birth of large state and cultural entities that began to form increasingly constant trade connections with each other. The Hellenistic culture and the rising Roman world power in the West created political and cultural unity. On the other hand, the Maurya kingdom united a large portion of South Asia by creating a political system for a common Indian culture. At the same time the Qin and Han dynasties united China and created a uniform area of Chinese culture from local cultures.

Earlier contacts between these regions by land and sea had been quite coincidental, but as the societies developed and became more complex, in accordance with the theory of entropy, new needs arose that could not be fully satisfied regionally. Therefore, around 200 BC regular trading began by land from China via Central Asia to the Mediterranean Sea and by sea among the most important parts of the region extending from Japan to Morocco. Trading became very regular, especially from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to India, from India to Southeast Asia, and from Southeast Asia to China and Japan. The trade routes from the Mediterranean Sea to East Asia survived, despite the disintegration of the Roman Empire (476) and the Han dynasty (220). At the end of the millennium they were strengthened by the power of the Tang dynasty (618–906) in China and the Abbasid caliphate (750–1258) in Baghdad.

At the same time the westernmost part of the trade route lost its significance, because, along with the disintegration of the Roman Empire, the relative position

of the western part of Europe compared with the Eastern world began to weaken quickly. The Roman Empire as such endured as East Rome until 1453.

Southernization in the History of Globalization

Lynda Shaffer (1994) has called the thousand-year period beginning around AD 500 the period of southernization in the history of globalization. To her, southernization as a term is analogous to westernization. Westernization refers to the development that initially took place in Western Europe and gradually spread to other areas and changed them. In the same way southernization began in South Asia and later spread elsewhere, bringing with it great changes. Southernization had advanced quite far in South Asia by the fifth century. At the same time it spread to China and in the eighth century also to the Muslim caliphates. Around 1200 it then began to affect the Christian regions around the Mediterranean Sea. As a result of southernization a southern zone that was much richer than the northern areas was born. According to Shaffer (1994: 1–2), it could even be said that southernization laid the groundwork for westernization.

Southernization was the result of development that had taken place in many parts of southern Asia, the Indian peninsula, and Southeast Asia. Perhaps the earliest sign of this development was cotton farming and production of cotton textiles for export. Cotton farming was first adopted in the Indus River valley around 2300-1760 BC. Egypt became an important market area for Indian cotton during the first century AD. From then on the demand for cotton grew quickly in the Mediterranean area and East Africa, and already by the fourth century it was being marketed in Southeast Asia. During the next thousand years the Indian

cotton trade grew constantly, and perhaps a little bombastically it has even been said that as late as the mid-1700s, India clothed the entire world. Only after the Industrial Revolution did Britain supersede India as a producer of cotton (Hobson 2004: 85–86; Shaffer 1994: 2–3).

Another significant factor in southernization was gold and the search for it. At first Siberia was the main source of gold, but later the nomads' travels in Central Asia started to interfere with trade between Siberia and India so much that gold began to be searched for elsewhere. The Indians became especially interested in the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago, from which they began bringing gold to India. Most likely it was the search for gold that also led the Indians to the east coast of Africa.

Sailors of different nationalities gradually began to bind together the coastal areas of the Southern Sea. This was the name the Chinese gave to the large ocean area extending from the South China Sea to the east coast of Africa. Malayan sailors, in particular, excelled in early long-distance sailing. For example, they reached the east coast of Africa by the first century AD. Apparently they also started the long-distance trade in Southern spices. It is known that just before the Christian era they were already transporting cinnamon from the harbors of South China to East Africa and the Red Sea. (Curtin 1992: 15; Hobson 2004: 40–41; Shaffer 1994: 4.)

During the first century AD, southern India began to produce large amounts of pepper for the Mediterranean region. Around 350 the Indians discovered how to crystallize sugar, after which it became a significant export article. The Indians also laid the groundwork for modern mathematics with Arabian numerals, or, as

the Arabians called them, Hindu numerals. With these significant steps of progress, India achieved fame as a land of marvels that lasted for centuries. It must also be remembered that later Indian steel was the best in the world for several centuries, all the way to the 1800s (Hobson 2004: 211).

The Arabs also played a significant role in southernization. In the 600s and 700s, the Arabs, having embraced a new religion, Islam, conquered the eastern and southern coastal areas of the Mediterranean Sea, Spain, and the Turkish-Iranian regions of Central Asia. Thereafter the important sea trade route from the Persian Gulf to China remained under their control until the 1500s. Apparently they were also the first to effectively utilize the new Chinese invention the compass on their ocean voyages. Due to their geographic position, the Arabs also brought many significant innovations from India to the Near East for the first time. They included new crops like cotton and sugar as well as Indian mathematics. To grow sugar crops, the Arabs were the first to begin acquiring large numbers of slaves from Africa. (Hobson 2004: 29–49; Shaffer 1994: 12–14.)

After the fall of the Han dynasty, the significance of Buddhism, which had spread from India to China, continued to increase. New Buddhist monasteries brought even more exchange of culture between regions. During the Tang dynasty (618–906), when the influence of Buddhism was especially great, two significant technological innovations were achieved in China: printing and gunpowder. Flaming arrows, rockets, and bombs thrown by catapults were already being used in the 900s. At the beginning of the Song dynasties (960–1279) the Chinese had already developed a quite functional compass,

which further increased sea trade, as mentioned earlier. As a consequence the towns on the southern coast of China became significant centers for sea trading. At that time China's most important export products were silk, porcelain, and iron products. Not one country was able to reach the level of iron production of Song China until the Industrial Revolution in Britain in the 1700s. (Hobson 2004: 50–61; Shaffer 1994: 8–12.)

By the 1200s southernization had created a prosperous South that extended from China to the Muslim Mediterranean region. Many fundamental aspects of southernization were related to these latitudes. Cotton usually did not grow above the 40th parallel; sugar, cinnamon, and pepper were tropical or subtropical varieties and some spices only grew on certain tropical islands. Thus, the southern parts of Asia and the Muslim Mediterranean region were able to enjoy the benefits obtained from them for several centuries, while the more northerly regions were not able to share the wealth obtained from this profitable farming.

This situation began to change with the appearance of the Mongol conquerors in the 1200s. They created the world's largest kingdom of all time, whose influence reached at most from the Pacific Ocean to the remotest corners of the Gulf of Bothnia. When they gained control of the land routes between Europe and Asia, new connections between Western Europe and the southernized regions of Asia were created. (Liu 2010: 109–126.) As a result of these contacts the Christian Mediterranean region also gradually began to become southernized. From the perspective of Western Europe, the most important innovations were the Chinese inventions of the compass, printing, and

gunpowder. The Arabs most likely brought the compass to the Mediterranean region in the late 1100s or early 1200s. Block printing, gunpowder, and cannons apparently first came to Italy from the Mongol regions in the 1300s, as did the Black Death (Hobson 2004: 183–187; Shaffer 1994: 16–18).

Globalization Led by the Chinese and Islamic Nations

As late as the beginning of the 1400s it appeared that future globalization would be led by the Chinese and Islamic nations. When the influence of the Mongols weakened, the significance of Islam was even further strengthened, as the Southeast Asian nations from the Malay Peninsula to the southern Philippines turned to the Islamic faith. Islam also spread to Eastern Europe when the Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453.

At the same time China's influence was also growing, as the new Chinese Ming dynasty (1368–1644) decided to send large naval expeditions to the surrounding areas after the fall of the Mongol-led Yuan dynasty (1271/1279–1368). The purpose of these naval expeditions was to indicate the power and greatness of the dynasty, tax the nations in the Indian Ocean region as a sign of Chinese supremacy, and acquire exotic, valuable products. The naval expeditions began in 1405 and ended in 1433. Altogether seven expeditions were sent during that time. Nowhere in the world had such a great display of maritime technology been seen.

The largest vessels had nine masts and were about 120 meters long and 45 meters wide, making them among the largest sailing ships in the world of all time. In comparison, Columbus's flagship Santa Maria was about 27 meters long. The

naval divisions also had many kinds of special vessels, such as water tankers. At their largest, the fleets consisted of over 300 vessels and around 30,000 men. Nevertheless, after 1433 the expeditions were ended by Imperial decrees intended to turn China's focus inward. Finally, a decree in 1551 forbade seafaring with a multi-mast vessel for any reason. (Clark 1997: 69–70; Headrick 2010: 16–18.)

Studies have given much consideration to the reasons for China's new policy. Apparently there were many. First of all, for centuries the Confucians had criticized the significant role of trade and traders in Chinese society. Secondly, there had been a continuous power struggle between eunuchs and Confucian scholars. The eunuchs had supported and led the naval expeditions, while the Confucian scholars had opposed them. Thirdly, according to the Chinese elite, the country had no broader need for foreign products. Trade was only important in acquiring gold, silver, and rare, exotic products. Fourth, the Ming dynasty's more-or-less continuous war against the Mongols in the northern border regions consumed large amounts of national wealth. Fifth, the new 3200-kilometer-long Great Canal required a significant number of transport vessels, which changed the focus of shipbuilding. (Clark 1997: 69–71; Headrick 2010: 16–18.)

As the construction of seaworthy ships ended, China gradually lost her leading position in naval technology. When the global system developed, it was led not by China, but by Europe's western states Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, France, and Great Britain. One of history's most interesting coincidences was China's gradual withdrawal from the world stage at the same time as Portugal and Spain began to create a new basis for a global society and economy. When

European vessels reached Asia, no power was any longer able to resist them. The Portuguese destroyed the Arabs' naval power in the Indian waters in fifteen years. (Levenson (ed.) 1967: 17–29)

Westernization in the History of Globalization

What, then, was the reason for this great change in world history? Starting from the end of the first millennium, Europe had experienced significant population growth. The population had grown from 40 million to 80 million by the early 1300s. In spite of the immensely high rate of mortality caused by the Black Death, Europe's population exceeded 90 million by the beginning of the 1500s. This caused repeated famines in many densely populated areas. It seemed that the people had no future alternative to a continuous cycle of famine, death and population growth. Even improved agricultural methods could not solve Europe's population crisis (Clark 1997: 71–73).

The solution to this predicament required new methods, especially exploitation of new areas outside of Europe, in accordance with the theory of entropy. There it was possible to obtain new types of food, such as corn and potatoes, and new places to live to alleviate the population pressure. In this situation the Turks' conquering of Constantinople was of conclusive significance. It substantially increased the cost of trade in the Mediterranean region and Asia. The fall of Mongol power at the end of the 1300s had already nearly completely closed the land connection, the traditional Silk Road (Liu 2010: 126). Sea connections again were affected by the Turks' policy of high tariffs in the harbors they controlled. Therefore, the Portuguese and Spanish increasingly enthusiastically

searched for new connections to the East. The Portuguese succeeded when, led by Vasco da Gama, they rounded Africa in 1498. The Spanish, led by Columbus, sailed West, first to America in 1492 and from there eventually to Asia (Headrick 2010: 20–41).

The importance of pepper, in particular, in the life of Europeans was behind the early voyages of exploration. Pepper was a safe, easy way to make edible meat and fish, which had to be heavily salted for long-term preservation. The population pressure dramatically increased the demand for pepper in Europe in the 1400s at the same time as connections to the East were quickly becoming more difficult. Of course, valuable metals—gold and silver—were also important lures for voyages of exploration. For example, when Columbus set out on his voyage, he planned on funding the Crusades with the coming riches. The Christian faith itself was of significance in terms of its goal to convert pagan nations to Christianity (Clark 1997: 75–77).

By utilizing new foods from the West and East, using Western reserves of the precious metals gold and silver, and adopting Chinese and Arabic technical inventions, the Europeans were prepared to create a new global commercial network and rise to a leading position in the world. They were skillful in borrowing and mimicking new technology and developing it further. The Europeans were also able to successfully combine science and technology (Levenson (ed.) 1967: 17–22). Thus, the former periphery gradually became a new center and the old centers became new peripheries. Real intercontinental world trade began after the Spanish established Manila in the Philippines in 1571 (Frank 1998: 65).

The Chinese and Indians as residents of large southern peninsulas did not need new foods or inventions from other areas or other cultures in the same way as the Western Europeans did. At that stage their own resources sufficed. Therefore, they were not interested in large-scale trading like the Europeans were, nor were they eager to sail afar to see or discover new areas in the world. Contrarily, the Europeans had reached the limits of their resources. The only possible solution appeared to be to attempt to bring resources from other areas. From the 1500s on the Europeans were able to exploit broad new areas—future periphery—to acquire needed resources with which they were later able to fuel their historic expansion.

However, the change was slow and incremental. As late as the 1700s China was still the center of the world's silver trade (Frank 1998: 148, 178–185). At that time the Europeans admired China and Chinese culture so much that as a consequence a wave of fashionable Chinese culture passed over Europe. In the early 1800s China and India were still the world's most prosperous nations (Nishimura 2008: 50–55). The Chinese, Indians, and Japanese were able to control their relationship with the Europeans on their own terms until the 1800s.

The situation began to change in the very last decades of the 1700s. Dwindling European trading profits both in and outside Europe in the middle of the century had accelerated the Industrial Revolution and also the political revolutions in North America and France. At the same time there was a weakening of economies and societal structures in Asia, which offered the Europeans even more leeway in expediting their own political and economic goals in the area. Thus, the end of the 1700s can be considered a significant

turning point in East-West relations. (Hobson 2004: 294–322.)

The best example of this was Great Britain's success. Having gotten an even stronger hold on India, she was able to exploit Indian opium by forcing China to become more "open" to trading with the West. The last turning point was China's defeat under Britain in the Opium War in 1839–1842 and the supremacy that Britain achieved in India. After that the Europeans rose to a leading position in the world and the former centers, the Islamic world, India, and China, became peripheries.

It should be noted, however, that the Europeans did not seek to change the world only because the resources available to them made it possible. They also sought to change the world because they believed it was a task given to them. The Europeans viewed their own identity in such a way that the imperialistic policy they pursued was also a morally correct policy (Hobson 2004: 294–322).

Epilogue

Success in exploiting external resources under severe population pressure was the basis on which Europe's rise to become a leading power in the growth of globalization was built. At the same time, however, Europe also offered a model and tools for other cultures to use. Japan was the first to grasp this possibility as early as the end of the 1800s, at the peak of the era of European imperialism. She was able to at least partly avoid imperialism by intensively renewing her entire society according to those European and partly also Chinese models deemed best. Japan's victorious wars against China (1894–1895) and Russia (1904–1905) and thereby her rise to become one of the world's leading states

was proof of the success of the renewals. Thus, Japan was the first Eastern nation to effectively exploit external global resources in order to develop and strengthen her society. Now India and especially China are seeking to do the same by exploiting global innovations and raw materials.

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**Exploring *Nagusamegusa* (1418): the Semiotics of Encounter and
Exchange for a Poet-traveller in Muromachi Japan**

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The paper applies the LibrAsia 2012 conference theme of ‘exchanges and encounters’ to a fifteenth-century Japanese travelogue, *Nagusamegusa* (‘Grasses of Consolation’, 1418), by the influential poet and Zen priest Shōtetsu (1381-1459). On a number of levels we can find in this work a great richness and diversity of exchanges and encounters; here the paper examines two types of encounters for their encoded significance in historical, social and cultural terms.

Firstly, on a concrete level, Shōtetsu's travel from Kyoto to sojourn in the provinces brings him into contact with a surprisingly colourful cast of characters representing many different strands of Muromachi society—peasants of various kinds, woman peddlars, merchants, travellers, various types of clerics and warriors.¹ In particular he is welcomed and hosted by a local feudal magnate at Kiyosu Castle² who is keen to benefit from his literary credentials and

¹ The pages of the travelogue provide us with vivid documentary evidence of what scholars describe as the ‘Muromachi optimum’: ‘[F]or the half century from the cessation of widespread hostilities in 1368 until the famine of 1420, residents entered an age [...] when the new shogunate was at its height and social and economic expansion most vigorous.’ (Farris 2006, p. 95.) No more vividly does the reader encounter the ‘Muromachi optimum’ than in the following vignette from the journal, where Shōtetsu describes the castle town of Kiyosu: ‘The next day [...] I arrived at a place which seemed to be the very centre of this province. Here I discovered all manner of residences and similar dwellings, with people rushing around on provincial and district business, zealously looking after the needs of their peasants from dawn to dusk—it was as busy as a market town. I felt utterly as if I was back in the capital.’ (*Nagusamegusa*, in Nagasaki 1994, pp. 439-440.) All subsequent quotations from *Nagusamegusa* refer to this edition as translated by the author.

² Kiyosu Castle was located in present-day Kiyosu-chō, Nishi-Kasugai-gun, Aichi Prefecture, in

connections as a *waka* poet. The paper interprets this encounter in terms of the highly transitional, symbiotic and socially mobile characteristics of Muromachi society, the penetration of the culture of the capital into the provinces, and warrior uptake of aristocratic tradition.

The journey is also one where, in his passage through a geographical locale, Shōtetsu encounters and responds to the cultural landscape of the literary past: in this journey the stages of his travel are marked by tributes to *utamakura*, or places famed in poetry; his need to compose poetry at such richly literary sites show his culturally determined drive to construct a ‘proper’ identity for himself as a poet in the classical mode through interaction with the canonised voices of the past.

Thus the paper uses the content of a historical and literary document, *Nagusamegusa*, as a vehicle to demonstrate the semiotics of encounter and exchange. It will focus on the two aspects indicated above, and their significance:

- Shōtetsu’s encounter with the warriors of Kiyosu Castle;
- Shōtetsu’s encounter and exchange with the cultural landscape of his journey

Firstly, before addressing the first aspect, it will be helpful to provide a short

the centre of the Owari Plain. Kiyosu was the territory of the Oda clan; Oda Nobunaga became lord of Kiyosu Castle in 1555, and it became the base from which he set out to unify Japan. The castle town of Kiyosu developed as a post town on the Mino highway (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*). The castle is said to have been built in the early Muromachi period by powerful Shiba Yoshishige (some other sources give the date 1405), and the present castle was reconstructed in 1989 (Kiyosu Castle, 2012).

description of *Nagusamegusa*, and some social information about the narrator of the travelogue, Shōtetsu.

Nagusamegusa is a literary diary completed by Shōtetsu in 1418. It is the account of his travels from the capital part way along the Nakasendō ³ around the shores of Lake Biwa, through the mountains to the northeast of Lake Biwa and eventually reaching the town of Kiyosu, in the western part of present-day Aichi Prefecture. Only about four or five days of his trip were spent on the road, but the journal itself covers a span of about four months, mostly relating his stay in Kiyosu, where Shōtetsu was accommodated in a Zen hall ‘Bamboo Shadows’ in the castle precinct. During his stay at Kiyosu Castle he is prevailed upon to give an impromptu lecture on *The Tale of Genji* and a complete reading of the work. The journal was written retrospectively, at the request of Shōtetsu’s young lover at Kiyosu castle, a warrior youth, to accompany a booklet of poems with commentary from *The Tale of Genji* which Shōtetsu had compiled. A substantial section of the journal lyrically recounts this relationship.

Of the author, we know that at the time the travelogue was written, Shōtetsu was a Zen monk, and had recently retired from the position of *shoki* (secretary) at the great Rinzai Zen temple of Tōfukuji in Kyoto. Socially as a priest or monk his status was somewhat ambiguous, and on the margins of the mainstream hierarchy (Shino, 2006, pp.34-38).

In fact, purely in terms of birth Shōtetsu was of quite humble origins, born as he was a commoner (*jige*) from the middle echelons of the provincial landed

³ This was the normal route to Kamakura in the medieval period, passing through Yamashiro, Ōmi, Mino, Owari, Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Izu and Sagami provinces (Shōgaku tosho gengo kenkyūjo 1990, 176-177). The section travelled by Shōtetsu roughly corresponds with the route followed by the Shinkansen between Kyoto and Nagoya.

warrior gentry. His grandfather, or possibly his father, Hidekiyo, had been the first lord of Kōdoyama castle, in Odanoshō (the Oda estate), Bitchū province (the western part of present-day Okayama Prefecture) after being appointed *jitō* (estate steward) by the Ashikaga shogun and taking up residence in Oda in 1368, where he governed four villages (Inada 1978, pp. 22-23). During Kamakura times the *jitō* had been the 'major local figure' (Hall and Mass 1974, p. 256), but after the formation of the Ashikaga Bakufu, the power of the *jitō* declined and real power in the provinces steadily moved into the hands of the *shugo*, the provincial military governor (Hall and Mass 1974, pp. 182-183).

However, Shōtetsu was not particularly disadvantaged by this provincial start in life, thanks to the combination of shogunal policy and some fortunate real-estate decisions by his parents. When he was about ten, his family were obliged to re-locate to the capital, in response to shogunal requirements for provincial lords to return to the capital and establish their households there on a semi-permanent basis (Hall and Mass 1974, p. 27). Their new home was on Sanjō-Higashi no Tōin (*Shōtetsu monogatari* 1: 104, in Hisamatsu and Nishio, 1961), a major avenue running south to north through Kyoto, just opposite the residence of Imagawa Ryōshun, who was one of the most important and powerful political and military figures of the day as well as an eminent poet and champion of the Reizei school. Shōtetsu's home was also only about half a mile from the quarter between Ichijō Avenue and Sanjō Avenue where were concentrated the residences of the military elite—the Hatakeyama, the Shiba, the Hosokawa, the Yamana and the Isshiki—as well as the imperial palace and the Ashikaga headquarters (Hall and Mass 1974, Figures 1.2 and 1.7).

From about this age Shōtetsu began associating with both the military elite and the court. At the age of twelve, we learn from an entry in *Sōkonshū*, he saw a huge chrysanthemum at the palace of retired Emperor Fushimi and was so struck by its beauty that he was moved to plant an identical chrysanthemum in his own garden over forty years later (Inada 1978, pp. 32-33). Aged about fourteen, Shōtetsu attended his first monthly poetry meeting, held by a group of Reizei-school poets at Imagawa Ryōshun's (1326-c.1417) residence (*Shōtetsu monogatari* 1:104).

Already, therefore, long before taking the tonsure in about 1414,⁴ Shōtetsu was acquiring a hybrid identity, domestically warrior, but culturally gravitating towards court and the aristocratic tradition. In this regard his role model was in all likelihood his teacher and mentor Imagawa Ryōshun, the consummate blend of the martial (*bu*) and the literary arts (*bun*). He was also close to Reizei Tamemasa (1361-1417), the head of the Reizei house and poetic line.

His decision to take monastic vows, and then four years later to become a wanderer in the tradition of poet-priest Saigyō (1118-1190), further enhanced his ability to associate with both classes and act as a cultural conduit between them. The following remarks from *Nagusamegusa* underscore the flexibility conferred by ambiguity:

People can tell that I am not a rough warrior, but puzzle over my real identity. I am like a bat, neither bird nor mouse. I have attended the jewelled courtyards of the highborn, and stayed in the humble dwellings of common people. (*Nagusamegusa*, p. 430)

⁴ A poem written on *kaishi* (loose leaves of paper) which refers to his 'charcoal monk's robes' (*sumi no koromo*) is dated 1414: from this we can adduce that he had already taken the tonsure by this time (Tanaka 1977, p.19). He would have been about thirty-three.

It was in this capacity therefore that he made his journey and eventually reached Kiyosu at the end of the fourth lunar month, where he stayed for three-and-a-half months. And it is the encounter which took place here which is quite remarkable, not for high drama, but as a first-hand account unequivocally documenting the process by which the warrior class accomplished their uptake of the warrior tradition.

The journal, true to the idealised image of the wanderer established in its introductory paragraph—‘I left the capital to wander, “like floating weeds drawn by the waters,” entrusting myself to merciful fate’ (*Nagusamegusa*, p. 430)—depicts his stay in Kiyosu as being unplanned. But in all likelihood the castle was his destination from the outset. As Plutschow remarks (1982, p. 7): ‘Many linked verse poets, apparently reluctant to make their diaries official accounts, did not mention their invitations as the reason for their journeys.’ Such invitations, however, were not out of the ordinary:

famous poets were often invited by such provincial magnates, who welcomed every opportunity to import the refined culture of the capital. Poets were lavishly treated by their hosts, who supplied them with transport (horses, palanquins, boats, etc.) assuring a minimum of comfort and security. (Plutschow, p. 50)

Furthermore Kiyosu Castle was in the hands of the Oda clan, at this point in history retainers of the powerful Shiba clan whose patronage Shōtetsu enjoyed,⁵ and who may have provided the introductions necessary for his visit there. It had been built quite recently, possibly in 1405. Later Kiyosu Castle became the

⁵ For example, Shiba Yoshimasa (1350-1410), referred to in *Nagusamegusa* p. 450.

headquarters of Oda Nobunaga in his conquest of Japan. No details are provided about Shōtetsu's immediate reception at Kiyosu Castle. He arrives in the company of an elderly lay priest (*ubasoku*) he has encountered on the way, and is accommodated in a Zen hall elegantly named 'Bamboo Shadows', where a couple of other monks were already staying. A telling description of the castle is provided, indicative of the extent to which a synthesis of the warrior and the aristocratic was already in progress:

There is a watchtower and a palisade, designed to defend from enemy attack and deter bandits. Once inside everything is similarly elegant, with a green for archery and arbour⁶ for *kemari*. West of the main *shinden* hall stands another building at the end of a gallery. Its name is 'Bamboo Shadows' [...]. (*Nagusamegusa*, pp. 440 -441)

His first reference to meeting the lord of Kiyosu Castle occurs some paragraphs later:

One day the lord of this residence addressed me, saying 'Well now, I have been informed that you are very knowledgeable about *The Tale of Genji*. For a long time, despite lacking any special talent, one of my interests was *renga* poetry but recently I have given up, too caught up in everyday business and unable to concentrate on this artistic pursuit, turning out poetry which is boring and uninspired. Even so I would like to hear about the history of this tale. Please would you be able to oblige, even if only a small part?' (*Nagusamegusa*, pp. 442-443)

And so Shōtetsu is urged to expound on aspects of the scholarship surrounding *The Tale of Genji*, and eventually cajoled to conduct readings of the entire work:

⁶ *Kakari*. The acme of elegance: refers to trees with spreading branches planted on all four sides of a ground for *kemari*, or by extension the *kemari* ground itself (*Iwanami kogo jiten*). Normally a cherry tree would be planted in the northeast, a willow in the southeast, a pine in the northwest and a maple in the southwest (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*).

‘We read it aloud little by little, just whenever we had spare time. We finally finished it this autumn.’ (*Nagusamegusa*, p. 444.)

Full details of who attended these gatherings are not provided, apart from the lord of the castle, and a youth accompanying a group of travellers breaking their journey from the east to Koshi,⁷ possibly travelling to another Shiba domain in Echizen province. We can also assume they were probably a warrior group on some particular business, while the youth was a page in attendance. But this is the moment that we witness the transmission of the aristocratic culture to the warrior class taking place. The eagerness of this group of warriors to embrace the trappings of metropolitan culture is palpable in the pressure they have placed on Shōtetsu to share his knowledge; nowhere is this more apparent than in the entreaties of their page. His aspirations to high culture speak through the observation that

the boy [...] was interested in *renga* poetry and [...] his handwriting held much promise. He would come here with others and to my embarrassment ask endless questions. He was always asking me the meaning of vague *waka* poems and I tried to explain to him even though frustrated by my own stupidity. (*Nagusamegusa*, p. 445)

Before long Shōtetsu had developed a special relationship with this boy and was eventually persuaded by him to write a copy of all the poems in *The Tale of Genji* with commentary. We do not know the identity of the boy, but presumably this enhanced cultural capital benefitted his career in one way or another.

Let us now turn to the second dimension of encounter and exchange to which I referred above. This denotes the symbolically loaded encounters which

⁷ The provinces of Echizen, Etchū and Echigo located on the west (Japan Sea) coast of Honshu.

Shōtetsu experiences at certain places on his journey, construed in this instance as literary and cultural coordinates of the ritual landscape referred to in classical Japanese poetics as *utamakura*. These places are especially conspicuous in the first few pages of the diary. The concept of *utamakura* had existed in poetics since the Heian period, as indicated by the categorisation of *utamakura* compiled by Heian poet Nōin (998-1050) known as *Nōin utamakura*. *Utamakura* denote places redolent with symbolic significance in the classical poetic canon, reference to which in poetry prescribed the usage of specific imagistic conventions. As Shōtetsu travels from the capital to the provinces, he refers to a succession of such toponyms.⁸ At each he offers one poem:

- Ausaka Barrier
- Shiga no ura
- Moruyama
- Kagamiyama
- Oiso
- Ono
- Fuwa Barrier

It is not possible here to share all the poems, and detail the evocations and significance of each of these places. Let us take just one example, the first which appears in the travelogue: Ausaka Barrier. This famous toll barrier on Mt Ausaka existed at the boundary between present-day Kyoto and Shiga Prefectures, and

⁸ The placenames below are listed as *utamakura* in Yōichi Katagiri's work, *Utamakura utakotoba jiten*.

it was regarded as the portal into and out of the capital (Kindaichi 1972, p. 36). It had been disestablished in 795; that is, it had not existed for over six hundred years by the time Shōtetsu passed through, and yet his poetic homage to it evokes a sense of immediacy and presence.

Today I trod the well-worn path over the rocks of the Ausaka Barrier.

Travellers' colts

tarry

at the rocks

of Ausaka Barrier

*where my heart longs to turn back*⁹

Kokoro koso

ato ni hikarure

tabibito no

koma dani nazumu

seki no iwakado

Conventionally in such poetry, Ausaka Barrier compels allusion to returning to the capital, or, as in this case, to departing from the capital, full of apprehension

⁹ This poem echoes *Shūishū* (the third imperial anthology compiled in 1005), poem 169: 'Over the rocks of the Ausaka Barrier/ I trod the well-worn path / to see in the mist / rising from the mountains / the colts of Kiri-hara.' Kiri-hara, located in present-day Nagano Prefecture, had been used for grazing since the Heian period (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*).

of what may lie ahead in the strange provinces beyond the barrier.¹⁰ It could also denote ‘crossing the barrier’ in a sexual sense. (Katagiri 1983, p. 27.)

Another set of conventions available to poets involved allusion to horses, as the Ausaka Barrier was the place where handlers took possession of horses brought to the capital from the eastern provinces (Katagiri 1983, pp. 27-28). Shōtetsu’s poem refers to both, though the colts of his poem appear to be on their way out of the capital, not arriving.

The stock associations surrounding the Ausaka barrier had accrued over the centuries through the poetry of many illustrious figures, including the blind semi-legendary poet Semimaru, and Ki no Tsurayuki, both of the early Heian period. Through composing a poem at this site, and through the imagistic selection, Shōtetsu situates himself firmly within the tradition of court poetry. Also by the power of association he posits himself as the heir to the tradition of his eminent poetic forbears, who are as closely linked to this place as the colts or the barrier. Plutschow calls this an act of ‘poetic ancestor worship’ (1982, p. 21), but it was more than that: as Donald Keene comments,

[t]he reason for traveling to the places [...] was to steep oneself in their atmosphere, savoring both what remained from the past and had changed, and then to join the long line of poets who had made these particular spots immortal. (Keene 1989, p. 220)

Plutschow also remarks that ‘perhaps, by striving to imbue themselves in the spirit of a celebrated poet, his artistic heirs sought to be graced with his gifts.’

¹⁰ As in another poem by Shōtetsu alluding to Ausaka, on the topic ‘Early spring in the mountains’: ‘Though we expect to meet the coming spring at Ausaka Pass / amazed / we behold snowy mountains / wintry as those / beyond the Shirakawa barrier.’ *Shōtetsu monogatari* 1: 100, and *Sōkonshū* 2380. The *Sōkonshū* headnote shows it was written on New Year’s Day 1447. *Shōtetsu monogatari* was probably completed in 1448, so the original source was in all likelihood *Sōkonshū*.

(1982, p. 57.)

This interpretation seems very plausible in the context of Shōtetsu's life and career at that time. As we have seen above, in 1418 Shōtetsu had reached a turning point in his life and his career. He was thirty-eight years old and had just retired from the security of his position of scribe at Tōfukuji, to take up the lifestyle of a wanderer or drifter (*fūryū hyōhaku*). This constituted for a monastic a 'double vow': not only to renounce the world through taking the tonsure, but also to renounce the monastic priesthood which had at this stage in Japanese history become very much part of the 'worldly realm' (Plutschow 1982, p. 39). In addition, his close mentors and teachers Ryōshun and Tamemasa had recently died. It is suggested that Shōtetsu's travels were possibly of a memorial nature, marking the first anniversary of Tamemasa's death (Plutschow 1982, p. 57). He was coping with his deep loss on one hand, but on the other he was faced with inheriting their status as leaders of the Reizei school of poetry. Thus I would propose that Shōtetsu's departure from the capital and *utamakura* itinerary are ritual, legitimising steps towards the forging of a new identity as de facto poetic leader, a process of self-authentication.

It is not surprising that on his return to the capital after his absence, Shōtetsu exerted a huge influence in the poetic milieu as the de facto Reizei heir, actively involving himself in poetry circles, holding his own monthly poetry meetings, taking on his own pupils whom he trained from boyhood (Shōkō became his pupil in 1424) and becoming very popular with poets from the warrior aristocracy (Ichiko 1990, p. 339). He associated particularly closely with the powerful Hosokawa house (Inada 1978, pp. 46-47).

In about 1421 he was granted an audience with shogun Yoshimochi, while in 1429 he presented six poems to the retired emperor Gokomatsu (1377-1433) who according to Shōtetsu was greatly impressed (*Shōtetsu Monogatari* 1: 27). The correlation between status movement and change in spatial position has been commented on by scholars such as Van Gennep in the context of initiation rituals (Turner 1974, p. 196), and Shōtetsu's journey and ensuing poetic status would appear to add weight to this theory.

To conclude, I have demonstrated in this paper two ways in which the travelogue *Nagusamegusa* exhibits the dynamics of exchange and encounter, firstly on the level of the narrator's interaction with the warriors at Kiyosu Castle, and secondly on the level of his lyrical exchange with his landscape and invocation of the literary past through *utamakura*. I have also read these exchanges in terms of their deeper signification: of the ebullient hybrid and socially mobile society emerging in the early fifteenth century, the warrior uptake of aristocratic culture, and the need by rising cultural figures for self-authentication by reference to the canons of the past, a phenomenon which was endemic in the society of this era. *Nagusamegusa* in this way reveals its 'worldly and circumstantial' essence, shared with all texts (Said 1979, p. 23).

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**The Encounter of Hybridity through Space in Narratives:
Life Stories from Taiwan's Military Dependants' Villages**

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Keywords: Ethnicity, Difference, Identity

Abstract

After the defeat of the Kuomintang (KMT) by the Chinese Communist Party in the second civil war, over six hundred thousand soldiers and their dependants followed the KMT government's retreat to Taiwan in 1949. The KMT government settled those soldiers and dependants in different counties in Taiwan in so-called "military dependants' villages." With the gradual elimination of these old villages, the experiences of living in their crude, crowded houses have become memories shared among older residents. The project researcher has employed in-depth interviews and narrative criticism to examine the life stories of the residents of the old villages in Pingtung City, the administrative capital of the southernmost county in Taiwan. The purpose of this project is to investigate the interrelationship of space, diasporic experiences, and hybrid identity in narratives. It is expected that the results of this project could enhance the cultural studies of the old military dependants' villages in Taiwan. This research project is financially supported by the National Science Council, Taiwan, R.O.C. (NSC 100-2410-H-128-022-MY2). The results discussed in this project are from the first half of a two-year research plan.

Introduction

As Crang (2005) has indicated, the development of culture cannot be separated from place; not only declaring where people live and where they are from, a place also represents how people identify themselves. Crang's claim clearly explains the relationship among culture, place, and people's self-identification. In the case of Taiwan, over six hundred thousand military soldiers and their dependants followed the Kuomintang (KMT) government in retreat to Taiwan in 1949 following defeat in the second civil war between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party. In order to settle those soldiers and their dependants, the KMT government expropriated the living quarters originally built by Japanese, built temporary housing, and took over the permanent buildings donated by the National Women's League of the R.O.C. (Republic of China) in different counties in Taiwan. These villages have become unique landscapes on this small island and developed a hybridized identity among the residents who lived, or are still living, in the villages in a diasporic context.

Recently, high-rise public housing has replaced the old military dependants' villages. When the residents of the villages changed their living space and lifestyles, as well as faced the complicated political environment, a unique culture developed in the villages, but in recent times that has become increasingly less adopted and gradually consigned to history. Following the collapse of military dependants' villages throughout Taiwan, many residents have become nostalgic for the time when they lived there. One possible reason is that the childhood memories of living in these old villages represent the "good old days." That could explain why the television programs, dramas, and other

exhibitions related to these villages attract a lot of attention and have become popular in Taiwan.

In this research project, the researcher used semi-structured interviews with 15 residents who had lived or are living in the abovementioned villages. Applying narrative criticism to analyze the themes of the life stories expressed by the interviewees, the purpose of the project is to investigate the interrelations among space, diasporic experiences, and hybrid identity in the narratives. Because they have lacked attention, the researcher selected the military dependants' villages located in Pintung City; which is the administrative capital of the southernmost county, Pingtung, in Taiwan. The results of this project could enhance the cultural studies of the old military dependants' villages in Taiwan.

Narrative Space

The development of narrative theory can be traced back to formalism in the early 20th century, especially Propp's works on linguistics. As Martin (1986) indicated in *Recent Theories of Narrative*, in the 1960s and 70s, the development of narrative theory became central to the humanities and social sciences; using Thomas Kuhn's words, it might be called a "paradigm change." The paradigm change is the shift away from using the philosophical approaches of objectivism, rationality, and empiricism as ways to understand adequately society, culture, and human interactions. Influenced deeply by constructionism, narrative theory has attracted attention from various disciplines. As Herman and Vervaeck (2005) pointed out, constructionists seek to investigate the gap between the surface represented by any symbolic system and its deeper structure. Therefore,

the fundamental aim of narrative theory is to explore the links between what people perceive from the external world and how those people's perceptions are transformed into their knowledge systems.

With respect to rhetorical studies, Walter Fisher has provided a theoretical framework for narrative studies. According to Fisher (1984), the narrative approach “has relevance to real as well as fictive worlds, to stories of living and to stories of the imagination” (p. 2). In other words, narrations simultaneously link the real world and the imagined world, as well as linking real experiences in real life and imagined story plots; through the process of “telling a story,” people then construct their awareness of so-called reality. In terms of the characteristics of narrative, different scholars (Hart & Daughton, 2005; Ochs & Capps, 1996; Labov, 1972; Brooks, 2000; Todorov, 1981) have made different claims; elsewhere (Lee, 2010), I have concluded them to be temporary, casual relationships of narrative structures, plots, and cultural backgrounds.

From the above characteristics, most of the researchers who have applied narrative theory agree that temporality is an essential feature of narrative. In his work *Time and Narrative*, Ricoeur (1984) claimed that “[t]he world unfolded by every narrative work is always a temporal world. [...] [N]arrative, in turn, is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal experience” (p. 3). Hart and Daughton (2005) also reminded us that “[t]here are beginnings, middles, and endings to narrative [...]. All stories, even bad stories, inspire the need to see how it turns out” (pp. 88-89). However, the importance of space in narratives has usually been ignored by many narrative researchers. In his research project, Baynham (2003) suggested that space and time are not a

homogeneous contextual backdrop of narrative; he then claimed to focus on the centrality of spatial orientation in the construction of narrative. In fact, Zoran (1984) attempted to establish a theory of space in narrative by addressing three levels of space constructions in text and the horizontal structures in narrative. Zoran acknowledged that his project was limited to the existence of space and did not deal with its functions; he then suggested that future researchers could focus on single texts and emphasize the systematic components of space in narrative. For the above reason, the theoretical aim of this project is to focus on the living space mentioned in the narratives of the life stories of those from military dependants' villages in order to enrich the discussion of space in narrative theory.

Narrative Criticism

In rhetorical-studies methodology, the purpose of narrative criticism is to use the whole text as an object and, by analyzing the structure of the narrative, to discover the motives and ideology hidden within the narratives (Stokes, 2003). As Foss (1996) expressed, examining the narrative comprehensively and selecting units on which to focus are the two steps in conducting narrative criticism. For the first step, Foss suggested eight units for the critic to choose in order to identify characteristics of the narrative: Setting, Characters, Narrator, Events, Temporal Relations, Causal Relations, Audience, and Theme. The next step, according to Foss, is to focus on those units which are the most significant and relevant to achieving the research purpose. On the other hand, Hart and Daughton (2005) pointed to three critical probes for critics to examine narratives

exhaustively. The first probe is to investigate the roots contained within narratives. Secondly, critics need to discover what propositional content is designed to be revealed by the narrator. Lastly, critics have to consider a narrator's hidden purpose in deciding to describe a narrative in a particular way. In addition, Hart and Daughton mentioned that a possible fourth probe is to evaluate the effectiveness and faithfulness of the narrative. They stated Walter Fisher's work on narrative probability and fidelity. Especially for narrative fidelity, as Hart and Daughton suggested, a narrative critic needs to consider what was knowable in the narrative and by the storyteller, as well as "how faithfully the resulting narrative captures what was known" (p. 92).

Accordingly, this project follows Foss as well as Hart and Daughton's suggestions and applies a thematic analysis to examine the narratives collected from in-depth interviews. Analyzing the theme of the given narratives, as Foss (1996) indicated, is to discover "the theme articulated in the narrative—through the depiction of setting, characters, or events or through the narrator's commentary" (p. 405). In this project, after reviewing the interview transcripts, the author identifies three themes revealed in the narratives: diasporic experiences, the living spaces of old military dependants' villages, and insider versus outsider. By analyzing the above key themes, the author intends to develop a comprehensive picture of the culture of the old military dependants' villages in Taiwan, as well as to discover how diasporic memories and living space interrelate in the process of identification.

Thematic Analysis

As mentioned above, three key themes were identified from the 15 interview transcripts, and they were: diasporic experiences, the importance of living space, and insider versus outsider. The aim of this section is to analyze the above themes in detail in order to discover the interrelations among space, diasporic experiences, and the sense of self versus other.

Diasporic Experiences

As stated in the introduction, the residents of the military dependants' villages were the soldiers and their dependants that followed the KMT government in retreat to Taiwan in or after 1949. The people, including their descendants, who followed the KMT government to Taiwan from China are recognized as an ethnic group called Wai Sheng. Three other ethnic groups are generally recognized in Taiwan: Hoklo, Hakka, and Indigenous Taiwanese. Before the 1949 retreat, the first generation of the Wai Sheng people had already lived through war and experienced a number of battles during the Second World War or even earlier. For them, retreating to Taiwan was a hiatus in their lives; most did not imagine that they would live on the island for 50 years or even longer.

There were several interviewees who described similar story narratives about treating their houses in the military dependants' villages as temporary accommodation. For instance, when a first-generation woman described her experiences of living in such a village in Pingtung City, she said that she clearly understood that the house where she had lived for over 20 years did not belong to anyone in her family; instead, the house belonged to the nation and would be

taken back by the government one day. Thus, the old lady described her experiences of working hard at different kinds of business in order to “buy our own house.” Also, when several second-generation dependants recalled their childhood memories of living in the villages, they all described the crude conditions of their old houses. According to them, their parents did not complain about living in such rough dorms because they treated the houses as temporary accommodation in their military careers. Thus, at the beginning, the first-generation residents did not expend a lot of energy on improving the condition of the house. One second-generation male dependant told me his father’s story. According to him, when his father arrived in Taiwan after the end of WWII, he was assigned to live in empty living quarters built by Japanese in Pingtung City. His father’s superior told him that he could choose any dormitory he wanted. The interviewee’s father, however, only chose a very small one because he thought that he would merely be stationed there for a short period. The father did not know that he and his four family members would live in that tiny Japanese-style dorm for the next four decades. According to the interviewee, his father once told him that nobody would have argued at that time if he had chosen two empty dorms and combined them into a bigger one; thereby his family would have had a bigger space and better living conditions in the village. However, as his father sighed, “who knew that I would stay here for over 40 years?”

The human interest in the military dependants’ villages was repeatedly mentioned by the interviewees. The major reason is the diasporic experiences shared commonly among those residents who lived in the villages. As many

interviewees said, the experiences of leaving hometowns had made them establish close relationships with their neighbors. According to one second-generation male resident, people would naturally learn how to maintain harmonious relationships with others in the villages. Because all of their families had left their homes, and none of them had relatives in Taiwan, “there is no other way; we have to help each other.” A second-generation female used the activities of sharing food as an example to portray the close interpersonal relationships in her village. According to her, almost all female dependants of her parents’ (first) generation were housewives, and they were from different mainland-Chinese provinces. In the 1950s and 60s, they all had difficult living conditions; however, when one mother cooked food from her hometown, she would share the food with her neighbors, and teach the other housewives how to cook the dish. Gradually, many housewives came to be able to cook regional cuisines by learning from their neighbors. This kind of mixed-style cuisine developed in the military dependants’ villages later became popular in Taiwanese society at large.

In addition, the diasporic experiences affected the style of education in the villages. Almost all second-generation interviewees mentioned their strict family education. According to them, corporal punishment was very common. One second-generation male vividly described how his father tied him up and spanked him at midnight. Another female interviewee explained that the strict family education was common in the villages because even though many first-generation residents believed that they might go back to China in the future, they realized that their children would need to live on in Taiwan for a longer

period.

Without the traditional support system from the family, the second-generation residents of the villages did not have enough commercial properties or farms. Thus, to be well educated was the only way in which the second generation could compete with other people from outside the villages. However, another male resident gave a comparatively negative reason to explain the situation. For him, the anxiety of living far away from home made the first generation seek something certain in their lives, but all shared the similar difficult living conditions. Thus, competition among children over grades was a way to achieve a sense of superiority.

The Importance of Living Space

One characteristic of the houses in military dependants' villages, whether they were built by Japanese or the KMT government, or donated by the National Women's League of the R.O.C., was the very small size. In the 1950s and 60s, many Taiwanese families had more than three children, and this applied also to the families in military dependants' villages. Thus, it was common for four or five children, along with their parents, to live in a little house with one or two bedrooms, a living room, and no lavatory. One female, second-generation resident used the term "railway carriage" to describe her old house in the village. As she explained, one side of the residential area in her village contained four rows, and each row had ten houses; the whole village was separated into many living areas. Using her family as an example, she said that ten family members lived in a rectangular house with only one living room and two bedrooms.

However, in occupying the first house on the row, her family was lucky enough to have a front yard, which provided extra living space.

For those houses built temporarily by the KMT government or donated by the R.O.C. National Women's League, the building materials were very simple and crude. For instance, one second-generation female recalled her mother's saying that, when her family had just moved into the village, the central parts of the house walls were bamboo frames which were spread with a layer of mud mixed with straw. Another male interviewee presented his very first memory of the old house in his village. According to him, what impressed him the most was that the ceiling and the top sides of the walls did not join together; in other words, the ceiling of his old house appeared to be suspended in midair. The reason was that his old house was converted from a rectangular warehouse, and the arc ceiling was only connected to the two side walls of the warehouse. The houses built by Japanese were comparatively better. However, as one male interviewee who lived in a Japanese-style dorm in an army village indicated, there was only one room in the house; therefore, he and his sister had to sleep in a built-in cabinet.

The external living spaces of these villages were similarly crowded. In most villages, the back door of each row directly faced the front door of the next row in a living area. This kind of crowded living space enhanced interpersonal interactions among neighbors. Many interviewees, mostly second-generation males, shared a similar story: if a parent of one family punished his/her child, the child always cried out for help and the neighbors then swiftly arrived to save the child from further corporal punishment.

The above story is told repeatedly in many village families, and has become a collective childhood memory among these second-generation village residents. They usually went to the same elementary school; no matter whether during or after school, the children of the same village did almost everything together. Along with similar diasporic experiences and family backgrounds, the second-generation village residents easily developed lifetime friendships with their neighbors. For the first generation, living and sharing everything together meant that neighbors replaced the traditional family role as the support system. When the second-generation interviewees recalled their parents' stories, they usually agreed that, while their parents might compete and argue with, sometimes even dislike, their neighbors, they still developed long-term friendships with them.

Most older interviewees positively described their memories of living in the villages. However, after analyzing the narratives, one could view the crowded living spaces and the firm ties with the military as having given the government a chance to keep the residents loyal to the KMT and the R.O.C. regime. For example, many second-generation villagers expressed their childhood experiences in terms of taking military buses to go to and from school, using military materials in their daily lives, and going to elementary schools established especially for the children of soldiers. In one interview, a second-generation resident related one story that made an impression on him as a teenager. One day, a public lavatory near his home was found to have some anti-government sentences written on a wall. Someone living in the village reported this to the authorities. A few days later, the residents around the living area were collected

together, all adults and teenagers being required to write sample words in order to check the handwriting.

Even though most of the interviewees denied that they had felt the pressure of living in military dependants' villages, the collective living style did make it easier for the government to control the soldiers and their dependants. During the martial-law period, the steady condition of the military helped the KMT maintain its power and the R.O.C. its regime over Taiwan.

Insider versus Outsider

Because of the collective living space and the unique connection with the military, every village mentioned in the interviews revealed a strong sense of community. Even contemporary Taiwanese society is sensitive to the ethnic issue. Almost all interviewees denied that ethnic differences had prevented them from developing interpersonal relationships with other ethnic groups outside the villages. Those who held this viewpoint agreed that ethnic polarisation is caused by unethical politicians, and that they had never felt any differences during their childhoods. However, from analyzing the narratives, the sense of "insider versus outsider" is revealed in many accounts. For instance, one second-generation female agreed that her strict family education made her different from others especially in terms of self-confidence and development of personality; and she attributed the results to her life experiences in growing up in a military dependants' village. According to the woman, after she grew up and moved out of the village, she was identified as a resident of such a village. The one who identified her had a similar background, and told her "I knew at first sight you had lived in a military

dependants' village because we are different from the ones outside the villages.”

Several of the second-generation residents interviewed in this project went to elementary schools sponsored by the military, especially the Air Force. They agreed that they rarely had the chance to interact with other ethnic groups. Other interviewees went to regular elementary schools and, therefore, had more chance to interact with classmates from other ethnic backgrounds. According to those who went to regular elementary schools, inter-ethnic friendships were mostly positive among children. Nevertheless, when children fought, in-village and extra-village groups were usually formed quickly, and they might yell out prejudiced words against each other. According to some of the interviewees, the children living in the military villages hardly ever visited their classmates' homes outside the villages, and the people who lived outside the villages usually did not come to visit. From these stories, it seems as though an invisible line separated the in- and extra-village groups as if two different worlds.

Dialect was another way to distinguish “insiders” from “outsiders.” During the period of martial law, the KMT government pushed a “Speaking Mandarin” movement at all levels of schools. In elementary schools, therefore, speaking a different mother tongue would be punished. However, as one second-generation male indicated, at that time, almost all second-generation residents of the military dependants' villages in Pingtung City, no matter what their original dialects, spoke a revised Si Chuan dialect. The village children could speak the Si Chuan dialect at school; and the dialect itself was a sign of identity. Thus, the punishment only applied to those who spoke the native Taiwanese Hoklo dialect in school.

In Taiwan, there are several gangs that originally developed from within the military villages. One interviewee in this project insisted that he was not a gangster as such but just a “rascal”; according to his definition, rascals in the villages referred to those who did not like to study and sometimes were mischievous. However, he is familiar with the reasons for and history of gang developments inside the villages. According to him, the original reason for the development of gangs was the youths of the villages uniting together and fighting against the threats from outsiders. Throughout his narrative, “sense of community” was a key expression which described his life as a rascal. Nevertheless, one point that needs to be addressed is that the village rascals not only fought and threatened outsiders; to those who lived in the village but did not obey the rules, the village gangs would mete out punishment. Several other interviewees’ narratives contained stories of village gangs; however, those who did not have a background in a gang reported that village gangs only fought with outsiders and protected the residents living in villages. From the account of the gang member described above, the major purpose of joining a gang was indeed to fight against outsiders, which helped develop a sense of community through self-protection; however, on the other hand, punishment applied to both insiders and outsiders who disobeyed the rules.

Discussion

The major reason for conducting this research project is to discover how the experiences of living in military dependants’ villages influenced people’s self-identification. Unlike other ethnic groups such as Hoklo, Hakka, and

indigenous Taiwanese, the Wai Sheng was not organized along geographical, cultural, or dialect lines. Rather, the Wai Sheng group was formed by historical conditions—the 1949 retreat. While much time has passed, and social and political conditions have changed, the more hybridized identities of the later generations have, in fact, accelerated the collapse of the Wai Sheng group.

One of the major sources of the Wai Sheng group, the residents of military dependants' villages, had lived and grown up in a separate living space. For first-generation residents, their strong desire to go back to China allowed them to accept harsh living conditions. After a few decades, many of them realized that they might have to stay on the island for the rest of their lives. When second-generation residents discussed their parents in interviews, they mentioned the older generations' mainland Chinese identity; however, many of them described their parents' journeys of "going home" after the R.O.C. government allowed the citizens to legally visit the Chinese mainland, and said that their home had already disappeared in China. Thus, their parents decided to return once again to Taiwan. One first-generation Wai Sheng interviewee even said that he did not feel any difference between Wai Sheng, Hoklo, or Hakka.

For the second-generation residents, the awareness of hybridity is stronger than that of their parents. Many of the second-generation interviewees were born in Taiwan and have had much more interaction with extra-village people from other ethnic backgrounds. In their narratives, when asked to recall their childhood memories, no matter what village they were from they shared similar stories in terms of family education, school life, interpersonal relationships, and so on. When asked to discuss self-identity, however, they had quite different

reactions. Many of them quickly confirmed their Chinese identity, but all of them refused to recognize the People's Republic of China as "home"; for them, Taiwan is the motherland. A few second-generation interviewees hesitated at first while answering the identity question. For those who showed hesitation, some then answered that they recognized their mixed identities, meaning both Chinese and Taiwanese. But one female interviewee clearly stated that she is Taiwanese: "I was born in Taiwan, grew up in Taiwan, and am living in Taiwan. Of course I am Taiwanese."

For those second-generation residents of military dependants' villages, their parents' diasporic experiences have continued and have been inherited via family education; thus they know the importance of education, and many of them have adopted their parents' Chinese identity. Also, the crowded, harsh living space of the villages has strengthened the sense of community and lifetime relationships with neighbors from the same villages. However, interactions with other ethnic groups during their childhood periods might undermine the awareness of hybridity. When the second generation left the village and their childhood neighbors, the break from the village also made them question how to identify themselves, especially as many had interethnic marriages, and their children a comparatively stronger sense of Taiwanese identity.

By analyzing the narratives of the residents of military dependants' villages in Pingtung City, one can demonstrate that the living space could benefit people in maintaining memories of diasporic experiences, to enhance interpersonal interactions, as well as to strengthen a sense of community and identification. Today, most of the old villages have been torn down and replaced by high-rise

public housing. Leaving the old villages might make the residents reexamine their self-identification. From the ways they cherish the memories of living in military dependants' villages, the invisible line of the villages may not disappear from their lives.

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**Decision-making and Disambiguation in Japanese-to-English Literary
Translation: An Application of Game Theory**

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Keywords: Game Theory, Literary Translation Studies, Disambiguation

Abstract

Jiří Levý's 1966 paper 'Translation as a Decision Process' applied game theory to translation studies in an attempt to characterise and explain the decision-making processes of the translator and the linguistic and socio-cultural forces that inform these processes. The current paper employs some of his conclusions in the context of Japanese-to-English literary translation, addressing in particular the vexed issue of disambiguation. It draws upon examples from Kawabata Yasunari's novella *Izu no odoriko*, and its published English translations *The Izu Dancer* by Edward G. Seidensticker and *The Dancing Girl of Izu* by J. Martin Holman.

Introduction

Deciding among possible renderings is at the heart of the act of translating, deeply embedded as each choice is in the paradigm–syntagm relationship of selection and combination of lexical elements. Disambiguation is a special subset of the decision-making process in translation, and becomes critically important when translating out of a language that discourages explicit grammatical subjects and objects (such as Japanese) into one that positively demands them (English). Game theory has a helpful role to play in situating the issue of disambiguation in Japanese-to-English literary translation (hereafter ‘JE translation’) in a normative sociolinguistic context by tracing the ramifications of differences in conventions and rules between the two languages.

An image from Kawabata Yasunari’s novella *Izu no odoriko* may help to set the scene for this context. Halfway through the story, the student narrator is spending the evening at an inn playing the Japanese board game *go* with an elderly merchant. At one point, the troupe of travelling entertainers comes into the room, and immediately he begins to lose concentration on his game, and soon loses the game itself. (Most likely this is on purpose, so that he can turn his attention to the visitors, in particular the dancing girl who is at this point in the story the object of his amorous intentions.) Eventually the merchant retires for the night, and the student ends up using the *go* board to play a simpler game, *gomokunarabe*, or five-in-a-row, with the entertainers.

Within this scene we can discern an analogy relevant to translation studies. There is the transition from one *game* to another, with a corresponding change of rules, but the *board* remains the same—a nineteen-by-nineteen matrix of lines

with 361 points of intersection at which pieces, or stones, can be placed. This immutable board provides the context for and regulates the moves of both games.

We can view the student narrator as a translator of sorts, a mediator between the two cultures of the well-off merchant and the impoverished entertainers, represented by the games *go* and *gomokunarabe* respectively. And we can equally use the image of the uniting element, the *go* board, to stand for a sociolinguistic aspect of translation studies: what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu referred to as a *textual grid*. Gentzler sums up this notion as “the collection of acceptable literary forms and genres in which texts can be expressed” (Bassnett & Lefevere 1998: *xiii*).¹¹ This grid thus represents the overall system of interdependent structures that constitute what is commonly accepted as ‘literature’. No matter what game—in other words, culturo-linguistic duality—may be played out on the grid, a similar set of universal human expectations about literary norms applies. Thus whatever language it may appear in, *Izu no odoriko* can be uncontroversially described as a first-person coming-of-age novella, divided into seven sections.

While the board-as-textual-grid analogy begins to break down when pressed further—after all, the way the second game is played bears little resemblance to that of the first, whereas it is expected that any translation will bear some resemblance to the original story—it is a useful opening gambit, as it were, for considering game theory itself in the analysis of the translating process.

¹¹ Gentzler goes on: “For example, Chinese novels have their own set of rules, rules which differ from the ways in which novels in Europe tend to be constructed. These ‘grids’ cause patterns of expectations in the respective audiences, and both practising translators and in particular literary historians need to take into consideration such grids in order to better produce and/or analyse translations.” (Bassnett & Lefevere 1998: *xiii*.)

Translation and Game Theory

In his 1966 paper ‘Translation as a Decision Process’, the Czech theoretician Jiří Levý drew upon the branch of applied mathematics called game theory to elucidate the decision-making process that translators enact at the moment they choose within the possible set of word choices relevant at a particular point in the translation. It is worth quoting Levý directly on his rationale for this approach:

From the point of view of the working situation of the translator at any moment of his work [...], translating is a DECISION PROCESS: a series of a certain number of consecutive situations—moves, as in a game—situations imposing on the translator the necessity of choosing among a certain (and very often exactly definable) number of alternatives.
(Levý 1966: 1171; original emphasis)

The possible alternatives delimited by the textual grid are what he calls “definitional instructions”. The criteria the translator employs to make a choice from within this set he calls “selective instructions” (1966: 1173). These criteria may be linguistic, cultural or in some cases personal. Reinvoking the central image, one can state that the definitional instructions indicate all *possible* moves at a given moment in the game, while the selective instructions suggest the *optimal* moves based on the context.

Another way to define definitional and selective instructions is as linguistic *rules* and *conventions* respectively. Merton talks of the “four modalities of normative force”: “prescriptions, proscriptions, preferences and permissions” (Hermans 1999: 83)—in other words, what you must do/say; what you must not do/say; what you can or are recommended to do/say; and what you may or are

tolerated to do/say. Prescriptions and proscriptions define the rules of a language (for example, set grammatical structures that cannot be altered), while preferences and permissions form a loose set of conventions, which *may* be ignored, but probably should not be, depending on one's audience. Paradigmatic and syntagmatic examples from Japanese and English serve to illustrate the distinction:

Table 1: Rules of the 'games'

Japanese	English
Paradigmatic	
No explicit grammatical subject required. Example: 昨日鹿を見た。 <i>Kinō shika o mita.</i> *'Yesterday [...] saw [...] deer.'	Explicit grammatical subject required. Example: Yesterday I saw a deer. (The ambiguity must be resolved in English.)
Syntagmatic	
In hypotactic (subordinate) sentences or clause sequences, the subordinate clause must precede the main clause. Example: 昨日鹿を見たから嬉しかった。 <i>Kinō shika o mita kara ureshikatta.</i> 'Yesterday I saw a deer so I was glad.' *嬉しかったから昨日鹿を見た。 * <i>Ureshikatta kara kinō shika o mita.</i> *'I was glad so yesterday I saw a deer.'	In hypotactic (subordinate) sentences or clauses, subordinate and main clauses may appear in either order. Example: Yesterday I saw a deer so I was glad. I was glad because I saw a deer yesterday.

Table 2: Conventions of the ‘games’

Japanese	English
Paradigmatic	
<p><i>Keigo</i> polite language (such as nominal prefixes <i>go-</i> and <i>o-</i> and verbal suffix <i>-masu</i>) is used to indicate level of civility and social distance.</p> <p>Example: これはお風呂でございます。 <i>Kore wa ofuro de gozaimasu.</i> ‘This is the bath.’ (But it would not be <i>grammatically incorrect</i> to say これは風呂だ。 <i>Kore wa furo da.</i> ‘This is the bath’, only rude in certain circumstances.)</p>	<p>No verb suffixes or nominal prefixes indicate politeness level. (However, the modal verb ‘would’ can sometimes be used to indicate politeness.)</p> <p>Example: This is the bath. (‘This would be the bath.’ would have another meaning entirely.)</p>
Syntagmatic	
<p>Paratactic (coordinate) syntax acceptable in expressing causal relations.</p> <p>Example: 昨日鹿を見て嬉しかった。 <i>Kinō shika o mite ureshikatta.</i> ‘Yesterday [I] saw a deer and was glad.’ (But one could also say 昨日鹿を見たから嬉しかった <i>Kinō shika o mita kara ureshikatta</i>, as above.)</p>	<p>Paratactic (coordinate) syntax not always desirable in expressing causal relations</p> <p>Example: ?Yesterday I saw a deer and (I) was glad. (But it would be more acceptable to say the following: ‘Yesterday I was late for work and I had to run.’)</p>

When one recreates an utterance in the act of translating, and moves from one set of rules and conventions to another, the evaluation process must be re-enacted, under a new set of prescriptions, proscriptions, preferences and permissions. The treatment of the novella title 『伊豆の踊子』 *Izu no odoriko* is an example. I shall ignore the possibility of replacing the original title with something entirely different—a type of cultural-conversion strategy common enough in itself¹²—and imagine that we are attempting to recreate the original in some form. 伊豆/*Izu*, being a place name, is invariant, and thus the corresponding English translation paradigm set is practically limited to its transliteration, or its omission

¹² For example, Seidensticker’s translation of Tanizaki’s novel’s title 『細雪』 *Sasameyuki* ‘light snow’ as *The Makioka Sisters* (1995).

(Ø).¹³ の *no* is a possessive marker, and hence the translation paradigm set contains ‘ ’s ’ (apostrophe-s), ‘of’ and Ø. 踊子 *odoriko*’s translational paradigm set contains, as its most obvious members, ‘dancer’ and ‘dancing girl’. On top of this, English’s set of definitional instructions includes the probable necessity of an article, an irrelevance in the original Japanese language, which does not use articles. The paradigm for articles is (at least) ‘the’ (the most likely choice in the title of a work), ‘a’, and Ø (unlikely with a singular countable noun such as ‘girl’ or ‘dancer’, although titling conventions sometimes allow a zero article for brevity’s sake).¹⁴ Finally, another English selective instruction is the convention of capitalisation of the first and main words in titles. These paradigms combined with the relevant selective instructions hence present us with a finite set of combinations, namely:

- Dancer, A Dancer, The Dancer
- Dancing Girl, A Dancing Girl, The Dancing Girl
- Izu Dancer, An Izu Dancer, The Izu Dancer
- Izu’s Dancer
- Dancer of Izu, A Dancer of Izu, The Dancer of Izu
- Izu Dancing Girl, An Izu Dancing Girl, The Izu Dancing Girl
- Izu’s Dancing Girl
- Dancing Girl of Izu, A Dancing Girl of Izu, The Dancing Girl of Izu

¹³ Occasionally one might observe the substitution of a better-known place-name that is either more specific (hyponymic) or general (superordinate) to the area.

¹⁴ Of course, we could widen this set, with a good enough reason, to include ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘those’, ‘a certain’, ‘some’, and so on, but such deictics are more likely to mark the title in a distracting way, and without good reason in this case.

Our set of syntagmatic permutations of possible lexical concatenations has generated a paradigm set for the title, governed by the definitional instructions listed above. Now the translator employs his or her set of selective instructions, consciously and unconsciously, to make a final choice from within this. Most possibilities will be immediately rejected for their awkwardness or inapplicability to the context of the work as a whole. For example, the selective instruction that is the convention of using “The” in eponymous titles immediately culls the possibilities down to just eight: *The Dancer*, *The Dancing Girl*, *The Izu Dancer*, *Izu’s Dancer*, *The Dancer of Izu*, *The Izu Dancing Girl*, *Izu’s Dancing Girl* and *The Dancing Girl of Izu*.

One can infer two distinct sets of selective instructions in play from the characteristics of the titles the two professional translators of *Izu no odoriko* have chosen in this case. Edward G. Seidensticker’s title *The Izu Dancer* requires more of the TL (target-language) reader, likely unfamiliar with the place name, than *Izu no odoriko* did of the SL (source-language) reader: the simple nominal modifier offers nothing to indicate it is a place name. Similarly, the ungendered ‘dancer’ is more ambiguous than *odoriko*, whose *-ko* diminutive marks it out as probably female. J. Martin Holman’s *The Dancing Girl of Izu*, by contrast, is longer, more expansive and more explanatory than Seidensticker’s. The end result is that Seidensticker’s rendition is closer to the original in terms of length and syntax, while being more semantically obscure. Whatever their differing sets of selective instructions, the translators therewith allow certain interpretations and preclude others.

The main reason for this ongoing process of exclusion that is the corollary of

translating decisions is the simultaneously multilayered and linear way in which language works: the paradigmatic and syntagmatic process of selection and combination discussed above. Without a paradigm, one would have nothing to articulate, and without a syntagm, one would have no way to articulate.

Crucially, such a decision-making process not only affects that discrete point in the translation, but also consequent decisions, creating a decision chain in much the same way that a move one makes in many board games influences all subsequent moves. In other words, one particular translation decision shuts out all other potential alternatives at that point, and further eliminates myriad subsequent choices that could have flowed from the alternatives.

For example, Seidensticker and Holman tend to preserve the diction of their chosen titles in representing the eponymous dancing girl throughout the translated narrative. Seidensticker, having titled the work *The Izu Dancer*, refers to her as the “dancer” on 32 occasions and the “dancing girl” only twice, while Holman, having chosen *The Dancing Girl of Izu* as his title, favours the epithet the “dancing girl” on 63 occasions, and only invokes the “dancers” (plural) twice.

One implication of such an application of game theory, which Levý sidesteps in his paper by confining the concept of the game to a one-player decision process, is that a game often implies competition: winners and losers. The classic example is the zero-sum game, with a polar combination of win (value +1) and loss (-1) in which the sum always comes out to zero. However, should one, in fact, view translation in this way? Can there be said to be winners and losers?

Well, if one is to retain conventions and standards—in other words to view

translation from a normative point of view—then the answer is yes. If ‘anything goes’, and all that counts is participating (here, creating a text for consumption), how can one judge whether or not a translation is a fair representation of the original?

A set of consequential questions follows. If translation is a competitive game, who is the translator playing against? The original author, who is competing with the translator for recognition of authenticity? Other translators of the same text into the same language, who are competing in the same marketplace?¹⁵ The original text itself (Levy’s ‘prototext’), which competes with the translation (the ‘metatext’)?¹⁶ The language and culture in which the text appears, which may resist the ‘intrusion’ of a text that has extra-linguistic and extra-cultural origins? Literary critics, who may take a translation to task for inadequately representing the original? Perhaps members of the target-language readership, who are ready to reject the translation if it does not appeal to them? Or are translators in fact playing against themselves, fighting the unconscious tendencies and tendentiousness that could colour or even distort the style and content of the original to an unacceptable degree?¹⁷ The answers to most of these questions

¹⁵ It can hardly be regarded as a coincidence that Seidensticker chose to publish his retranslation of *Izu no odoriko* the year before Holman’s version (1997 versus 1998).

¹⁶ See Hatim (2001: 57ff.) for a description of metatexts in translation.

¹⁷ While such normative issues are significant in shaping both translators’ metatexts and readers’ reactions to them, another productive perspective is to view translation as a so-called coordination game rather than a zero-sum game. In a coordination game, the players work together to achieve a mutually beneficial outcome. If we consider that authors are usually not in an antagonistic position regarding someone who wishes to interpret their work in good faith, then it makes sense to see the translator and original author as collaborators in the creation of a pan-linguistic, pan-cultural work in re-presenting it to a new, otherwise inaccessible audience, where the goal of their coordination game is simply to complete the decision-making process in a way that observers—bilingual and monolingual readers, critics, and so on—consider acceptable.

depend on the norms within which translators operate. To return to the above example, the selective instructions on which Seidensticker and Holman have based their differing decisions about the novella title constitute equally valid rationalisations for their decisions.

Disambiguation and Game Theory

Among the moves that the translator must make in the translating process, the act of disambiguation is a crucial one. The varying degrees of “lexical segmentation” (Levý’s (1966: 1175) term for range and demarcation of shades of meaning) in the two languages ensure that at certain points in the translating process translators must choose among several lexical choices in their target vocabulary,¹⁸ or, even more likely, among several *strings* of lexical elements. This means they must reduce the TT (target-text) readers’ range of possible interpretations in a way that was unnecessary for the original ST (source-text) readers.

Ambiguity complicates Levý’s assertion that the translating decision process can be defined as a “GAME WITH COMPLETE INFORMATION” (1966: 1172).¹⁹ As we shall see with the below excerpt from *Izu no odoriko*, translating is not in fact a game with complete information. The reason is that, although the original text is invariant, and thus in a sense all the ‘moves’ have already been made and are there for anyone who can read Japanese to see, the original text presents

¹⁸ When the lexical segmentation of a SL term is narrower than that of the equivalent TL paradigm set, then the translator will need to select among more elements than were available to the original author, which has the potential for mischaracterising the ST.

¹⁹ I retain here Levý’s original emphasis: “[T]he process of translating has the form of a GAME WITH COMPLETE INFORMATION—a game in which every succeeding move is influenced by the knowledge of previous decisions and by the situation which resulted from them [...]”

instances of lexical and sequential ambiguity that make it impossible to ascertain the purpose of the move (i.e., authorial intent) that the original player (the author) made.²⁰ In this sense, translation differs from a game like chess, where the purpose of certain moves may be ambiguous at a *particular moment* of play, but subsequent moves resolve this ambiguity. Some textual ambiguities are never resolved, remaining what one might term ‘opaque fossilised nodes’ in the text.

Another reason why translation is not a game with complete information is that some of the information on both the ST and TL sides changes with time. The original text comes to be viewed differently even in its own cultural context as time passes, and equally the expectations of the target domain change periodically: thus too do the rules and conventions on both sides.

Hence we need to revisit Levý’s characterisation of the translator’s decision-making process in the light of the literary text’s sociolinguistic and temporal contexts, issues that were not as prominent in the 1960s when he wrote. Several points must be considered here that extend the definition of the game from that of the activity simply of translating the words on a page to the players (translators in their context) engaging in the ‘game’ of translating a text (with both the act of translating and the text itself embedded in their own cultural contexts). Hermans notes that Holmes expands Levý’s conception of the decision-making process to include wider issues:

In considering the relation between a translation and its source Holmes elaborates Levý’s idea of translating as decision-making into a two-plane model. His argument is

²⁰ Here one should distinguish between constructive ambiguity (polysemy) and destructive ambiguity (indeterminacy). The former is likely intended (though of course not all semantic or formal patterning may be conscious on the part of the author), the latter unintended.

that translators proceed not only serially, making one decision after another as they work through a source text, but also structurally, on the basis of a mental map of the prospective target text. Discussions of translation issues should therefore take into account the interplay between a whole set of factors comprising language, literary tradition or 'literary intertext' (the term is Julia Kristeva's), and socio-cultural situation [...]. (1999: 25)

The moment a translator fixes a translation in place actually only marks the mid-point of a decision-making chain that began when s/he agreed to take on the translation project, and continued with the translator's research into and cultural contextualisation of the text, including reading and re-reading of the text prior to rewriting it.²¹ The translating process itself is still in the middle of the chain, because conscientious translators are likely to revisit their versions multiple times to ensure that the translation both closely corresponds to the ST and is readable in the TL. Next of course the text passes to the editor and/or publisher, who are likely to revise it again based on their perception of target-culture expectations.

The decision-making in the first rewriting is informed by a number of factors—Chesterman's "[e]xpectancy norms", which are

established by the expectations of readers of a translation (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like. These expectations are partly governed by the prevalent translation tradition in the target culture, and partly by the form of the parallel texts (of a similar text-type) in the target language [...]. They can also be influenced by economic or ideological factors [...]. (1997: 64)

²¹ On rewriting, see Lefevere (1992), e.g.: "Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way." (1992: vii.)

Expectancy norms, then, are the socio-cultural aspect of Levý's selective instructions. First, through the process of reading the original and possibly perusing biographical information about the writer and his or her national and cultural context, the translator has probably decided the genre of writing that is involved. The editor/publisher may also have characterised the writing, and encouraged the translator to view it within this framework. The simple classification of the writing as literature binds the translator to a higher level of 'respect' for the original form of the writing than might be expected if the work were of some other kind (say, a formulaic page-turner or, more distantly, a computer manual), and constrains his or her diction choices accordingly (Munday 2009: 34). Further, in reading the original text, the translator will have picked up on certain formal cues that might be seen to characterise the original author's prose ('idiolect'). S/he will have come to certain conclusions about the feasibility of conveying these characteristics in the rewriting. If any features are deemed untranslatable *in toto*, a number of choice pathways will have already been occluded before the first phrase is rewritten in the target language. The translator will have assessed the best way to render the remaining 'translatable' features, and will attempt to achieve this in his or her first rewriting act. At the same time, however, the translator will be conscious of the expectations of the new audience: that the text 'read' well; that it come across as as worthy of consideration as the genre 'literature in translation' implies.

In the first translating 'pass', translators are likely to focus on choices that nail down the superstructure of the whole, constructing a solid base that can be more finely sculpted in subsequent passes. Less attention to formal details, or, at least,

their *consistency*, will be paid at the early stages, unless the style of the original is overtly unorthodox, and hence crucial to conveying the prose. One can posit that as translators lock in the form, they close off alternatives at the microlevel that can contradict the macrolevel (though this may not be fully achieved).

This section has considered how the ‘moves’ the original writer and the translator make are circumscribed, and to some extent constrained, by the “interplay” (Hermans 1999: 25) of rules (‘definitional instructions’) and conventions (‘selective instructions’) of the literary ‘game’ peculiar to each language and culture within which the (re)writer operates (Levý 1966:1173). Now it is time to observe the implications for such differing rules and conventions in disambiguation in the JE literary context.

Disambiguation in JE Translation

Kawabata Yasunari was Japan’s first Nobel laureate for literature, partly owing to the popularity of *Izu no odoriko* in Seidensticker’s first English translation, and his 1968 acceptance speech was famously titled (again through Seidensticker’s translation) ‘Japan, the Beautiful, and Myself’. When Ōe Kenzaburo became the next Japanese literary laureate a generation later in 1994, he pointedly titled his speech ‘Japan, the Ambiguous, and Myself’.²² The Japanese language is often described as ambiguous or vague,²³ and just as often experts will counter that it is not ambiguous to its native speakers, because context and linguistic cues

²² Both speeches are available in full on the Nobel Prize website (www.nobelprize.org).

²³ See, for example, a critique primarily of Ōe Kenzaburo’s, but indirectly also of Kawabata’s, ambiguity, arising from the inherent subjectivity of the Japanese language, in Kumakura (1995). See also Donald Keene and Ivan Morris quoted in Miller (1986: 98).

elucidate meaning.²⁴ I agree in general (exceptions will present themselves shortly), and point to a parallel tendency in the use of irony in English, something that native speakers are apparently more adept at identifying (although not infallibly so) from context and tone than non-native speakers, often with embarrassing consequences for those who fail to do so. However, a strong case can be made for the contention that Japanese is grammatically more ambiguous than English in certain respects, and this ‘semantic gap’ is the source of a variety of potential translation issues.

A particularly salient feature of the SL (source language, Japanese) is the lack of necessity in many cases for a sentence to have an explicit grammatical subject marker. Speakers imply subjects (and sometimes human objects) through certain grammatical elements such as verb endings (though the co-text—surrounding utterances—is also important). Thus, 本を買ってあげた *hon o katte ageta* can, in one context, clearly mean ‘I bought the book for him’, and 本を買ってくれた *hon o katte kureta* ‘he bought the book for me’, even though the clauses contain no subject (the buyer of the book), nor any indirect object (for whom the book was bought). One can make these determinations with confidence in a given context, because (a) the preceding sentences often provide nominal antecedents for the ‘absent’ pronouns and (b) the underlined donatory verbs (Martin 1975: 352-354, 598) are selected depending on whether the implied subjects and objects are members of the in-group (within the

²⁴ Miller, for example, severely criticises Western translators and theorists for characterising Japanese as vague and lacking in clarity, claiming in Ivan Morris’s case that he “has not considered that the grammar—or the grammatical and syntactic inter-relationship—of the language plays any significant role in the ‘literal meaning’ of the text” (1986: 98ff.). Thus Miller argues that the grammar of Japanese plays an important role in disambiguating its lexical elements, something one can readily observe in the use, for example, of ‘donative’ verb forms such as *ageru/kureru*, as outlined in this section.

speaker's own family, work or social domain: *ageta* 'I/we gave) or out-group (outside the speaker's domain: *kureta* 'he/she/they gave').

However, when contextual and grammatical cues become contradictory or insufficient, we enter more tortuous territory, where even native speakers may become disorientated. Such ambiguities may be less problematic when native readers or listeners of Japanese are left to determine (or leave undetermined) in their own mind the provenance of the subject; but translators into English do not have that luxury. English demands an explicit grammatical subject. To extend the earlier metaphor, when playing the English 'game', one must make an unambiguous move with one's piece when it is time to make a 'subject' move. Once one has committed to the move, not only can it not be retaken (except in a retranslation), it directly affects subsequent moves—in other words, the concatenation of lexical choices from then on—until some clear point of separation is reached and the cascade is brought to a halt.²⁵

One sustained excerpt from the ST²⁶ will serve to elucidate the problematic aspects of ambiguity for JE translation. In this scene, the entertainers call on the narrator in his inn room. The key point of ambiguity is who the speaker of the words is in §314 and 315:

²⁵ The immediate cascade effect may be localised, often petering out within a few sentences or paragraphs, and does not necessarily spread throughout the entire text—but then again, it may have an insidious global effect, particularly when a given word choice is consistently repeated.

²⁶ The Japanese text comes from the Horupu Shuppan edition (Kawabata 1985); sentence (§) numbers refer to this text.

ST	Seidensticker	Holman
309. ¶間もなく栄吉が私の宿へ来た。	¶A short time later Eikichi appeared.	¶Before long Eikichi came to my room.
310. ¶「みなは？」	¶'Where are the others?'	¶"Where is everyone?" I asked.
311. ¶「女どもはおふくろがやかましいので。」	¶'They couldn't get away from Mother.'	¶"The old lady is so strict with the girls."
312. ¶しかし、二人が暫く五目並べをやっていると、女たちが橋を渡ってどんどん二階へ上って来た。	¶But the three of them came clattering across the bridge and up the stairs while we were at the Go board, playing the simpler game.	¶However, we had been playing "five-in-a-row" only a short while when the girls came across the bridge and upstairs.
313. いつものように丁寧なお辞儀をして降下に座ったままためらっていたが、一番に千代子が立上がった。	After elaborate bows they waited hesitantly in the hall. ¶Chiyoko came in first.	They bowed politely as always and hesitated, kneeling in the hallway. First, Chiyoko, the oldest, stood up.
314. ¶「これは私の部屋よ。」	"Please, please," she called gaily to the others.	¶"This is my room.
315. さあどうぞ御遠慮なしにお通り下さい。」	"You needn't stand on formality in my room!"	Don't be so formal. Come on in," I said.
316. ¶一時間程遊んで芸人達はこの宿の内湯へ行った。	¶An hour or so later they all went down for a bath.	¶The entertainers stayed about an hour, then went down to the inn bath.

Seidensticker decides the speaker is Eikichi's young wife Chiyoko, while Holman opts for the narrator. The evidence supporting Seidensticker's decision partly lies in the propinquity of Chiyoko's action at the end of the preceding §313. He interprets 立上がった *tachiagatta* 'stood up' as "came in", which is not a direct translation (while Holman's is), but rather an apparent conflation of "stood up" and "entered", based on the context and on the echo of the socially formal base verb 上がる *agaru* 'enter someone else's place of residence'. In Seidensticker's interpretation, Chiyoko enters the room ahead of the others, and this initiative is immediately followed by her monologue.

Further, absence of the copula *だ* *da* before the particle *yo* at the end of §314 suggests a female speaker in Japanese sociolinguistic convention (Shibatani 1990: 373). Moreover, the mere fact that the speaker feels the need to indicate

whose room it is supports the notion that the girl is speaking. There would be little need for the narrator himself to point out such a thing, as the entertainers have called on him where he is staying, and thus are quite aware whose room it is. If Chiyoko wished to make a joke, pretending to take possession of it, which Seidensticker suggests with his archly italicised “*my room*”, she could have done so in just such a fashion. Seidensticker is so sure of his attribution that he injects the entirely fabricated phrase “she called gaily to the others”, not only providing an explicit subject but furthermore indicating to whom the subject is talking, and in what tone of voice.

Holman, on the other hand, chooses as his subject the narrator rather than the girl. There is no indication in the story as a whole that Chiyoko is the playful sort; indeed, she is largely portrayed as subdued, weighed down by the burden of the death of her baby during the journey. However, the narrator treats the entertainers well throughout their acquaintance, thus it would be in character for him to ask them to abandon formality and enter his room. He is aware that many people have a low opinion of such itinerant performers, but he is charmed by them, and no matter what other guests at the inn may think of his inviting them in, it is, after all, his room, and he can welcome them unreservedly. But none of this entirely explains why the narrator would feel the need to mention that it was his room.

Other linguistic elements are unhelpful for disambiguation. The 私 *watashi* ‘I’ subject in §314, while formal, is appropriate for either a male or female speaker in this situation. 御遠慮なしに *go-enryo nashi ni* ‘without reserve’ is perhaps suggestive of Chiyoko in the sense that 御遠慮なく *go-enryo naku* is the more

common, educated form, but this characterisation is by no means definitive.

Both translators thus have valid arguments to support the conflicting disambiguation moves they make here. However, it is questionable whether there is any need to disambiguate in the first place. Although the source text does not attach a subject to the monologue, in this case there is no requirement in English to do so either, as stand-alone quotations with no quotative verb or subject are acceptable in (modern) English prose. The translators are perhaps so used to inferring subjects from context and adding them to subject-demanding English that even in a case where it is not necessary they have done so, consequently creating a new problem for themselves. Here, then, TL expectancy norms are undermining the potential of resolving the issue of disambiguation in a felicitous manner.

Implications for JE Translation

One can see from the above example that the selection/combination process of translating involves the translators' making decisions based on both the immediate linguistic and wider cultural context. Where the Japanese rulebook and English rulebook—what Levý calls the definitional instructions—differ, translators must make use of the personal playbook, or set of selective instructions, that they have assembled over the years, to find a way to harmonise the two. But when English requires a subject that is absent in the original, the translators' first impulse (prompted by expectancy norms) is to make an unambiguous move. That has more immediate implications than the original move, and exposes the translator to the danger of creating a succession of

further moves that carry the translation too far away from the original. Venuti references such a hazard in his comments on the imposition of TL norms on the ST, condemning “the violence that resides in the very purpose and activity of translation: the reconstitution of the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and representations that pre-exist it in the target language” (1995: 18).

At the same time, disambiguation is an unavoidable part of the JE translation process, and the translator should not be afraid to resolve ambiguity where it helps to preserve the overall integrity of the original by presenting it in a form more acceptable to the target language. Occasionally translators may need to resolve an ambiguity in a way that cannot be justified solely by linguistic and contextual cues in the source text, for the greater goal of textual cohesion in the target text.

Venuti resists such fluency strategies as cohesion, instead calling for translators to employ a strategy of “resistancy”, using foreignisation to highlight formal and cultural aspects of the foreign text rather than erase them (1995: 20, 41-42, 305ff.), but in practice this seems to amount to little more than suggesting that “contemporary translators of literary texts can introduce discursive variations, experimenting with archaism, slang, literary allusion and convention to call attention to the secondary status of the translation and signal the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text” (1995: 310-311).

Resistancy may indeed have its place in the translator’s repertoire of responses to the challenges of Japanese literature, but it seems largely irrelevant to the issue of disambiguation, since while one can perhaps occasionally bend TL conventions to reflect SL conventions, TL grammatical

rules, such as the requirement for an explicit subject, are rarely so negotiable. On the other hand, by viewing disambiguation through the lens of game theory, and seeing how oversensitivity to selective instructions, or TL expectancy norms, may distort the translator's response to specific issues, even unnecessarily closing off potentially navigable avenues of approach, the translator may become better at processing the definitional instructions into a translation that not only respects the Japanese source, but also well serves the English-language reader.

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