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Visions of Community: Japanese Language Spread in Japan, Taiwan and Korea

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Abstract

This paper discusses language policy behind the spread of Japanese among Japanese linguistic majorities and Japanese colonial subjects. The period discussed stretches from 1868, the year of the Meiji restoration, until 1945, when Japan withdrew from all its colonies. Policies in four polities are discussed: Ainu Mosir (Hokkaidō), the Ryukyu Islands, Taiwan and Korea. In Japan, modernization included aspects of colonialism and colonialist features of modernization. Hence, the policies for spreading Japanese are found to be similar, if not identical, but the policy effects differ. Japanese modernization and colonization are best discussed in connection with each other. This paper discusses the language repertoires that emerged as a consequence of Japanese language spread in the four polities studied, the limits of language policy and planning, and the limits of imagining communities on the basis of language. This allows for some general conclusions about Japan's present-day problems with indigenous minorities and its Asian neighbours.

Keywords

Language spread, modernization, colonization, assimilation, ideology

1. Introduction

Modernizing Japan required new language choices for a great number of people. Its choice to spread its dominant language, Japanese, within and beyond the Meiji state is the subject of this paper. The following points will be discussed. Firstly, Japanese language spread started not in the colonies, but within the territory of the Meiji state. Secondly, Japanese language spread

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policy[1] in the colonies was an extension of the policy and the measures implemented in Ainu Mosir (Hokkaidō) and the Ryukyu Islands. Thirdly, while the effects and motives of Japanese language spread are well known in the case of the colonies, they tend to be played down in the case of the Japanese indigenous language minorities (Ainu, Ryukyuans and Ogasawara Islanders).

Discussing the spread of the Japanese language within the state and the colonies breaks with the understanding that the distinction between the two is arbitrary. It also contributes to our understanding of why Japanese language spread met with differing reactions in the polities studied here. In turn, these differences allow insights into the limits of ideology in the creation of imagined communities and in language planning. Finally, it paves the ground for a comprehensive understanding of what the present problems with Japanese minorities and the difficult foreign relations with Japan's neighbours have in common, and how resolving one problem will affect the other. Such insights are significant because they provide the key for ideologically repositioning Japan in a changing world.

2. The role of Japanese in the imagination of Japanese nationals

It has often been stated that Japanese nation-building and imperialism were closely related (e.g. Iriye 1970: 126). The dividing line between what was to become a part of the Meiji state and what was to be part of the empire was based on a simple date. All territories under Japanese rule before the promulgation of the 1889 constitution became part of the nation state; territories occupied afterwards became colonies. Thus, Ainu Mosir, the Ryukyu Islands and the Ogasawara Islands were part of the state, while territories claimed afterwards (Taiwan, Korea, Shakalin, the Kwantung Territory and the Pacific Islands) became colonies.

Due to the many similarities between nation-building and colonization, Japanese colonial history is in many ways unique. Most unusual perhaps were attempts to spread Japanese in the colonies as the 'national language' (*kokugo*). In doing so, colonial language policy stressed the ideological linkage between language, spirit and culture to an extent unknown in other colonial empires (Shi 1993: 199). Japanese language spread policy aimed at

[1] The meta-language on language policy and planning is somewhat fluid. In this paper 'language policy' refers to the changes envisioned in language use, that is, to objectives and goals, while 'language planning' entails all considerations and measures implemented towards these ends.

producing loyal subjects of the Japanese empire by spreading moral virtues through knowledge of Japanese.

Language planning was conducted in Tokyo as well as in the colonies. It is also remarkable that an institution to coordinate affairs between the Japanese homeland and the colonies was established only in 1929 with the Ministry for Colonial Affairs. Until then, matters concerned with Japanese in the colonies were supervised by a bureau attached to the office of the prime minister. In 1942 the Greater East Asian Ministry was created, replacing the Ministry for Colonial Affairs, which had also been responsible for the administration of the Japanese occupied territories (e.g. Manchuria and other Chinese territories). Despite the lack of a coordinating institution for many years, the language policies in the colonies were similar from the start. This is due to the fact that language policy in the colonies followed the model of Japanese language spread in the nation state.

2.1 The start of Japanese language spread in the Meiji state

The sudden exposure to the outside world in the mid-nineteenth century led to Japanese efforts of creating strictly defined 'borders' in place of the former loose 'frontiers'. Ainu Mosir in the north (Walker 2006), Ogasawa in the east (Ishihara 2007) and the Ryukyu Islands in the south (Kerr 1958) were incorporated into the Meiji state, and with that their linguistically, culturally and ethnically distinct people into the Japanese nation.

The spread of Japanese among the non-Japanese-speaking population started with the Ainu, who numbered around 20,000 people at the time of the Meiji Restoration. Even though contact between mainland Japanese and the Ainu predated the Meiji Restoration, prior to it linguistic issues had largely been ignored (Walker 2006). Standardization of the Japanese orthography of Ainu place names in 1869 marks the start of linguistic assimilation (Maher 2001: 328). The teaching of spoken and written Japanese was promoted from 1871, when Ainu became 'Japanese citizens' (*heimin*) (Oguma 1998: 54). Japanese schooling for Ainu children was introduced in 1875 (Maher 2001: 329). In 1879 Aborigine Education Centres (*dojin kyōikujo*) were established and special language textbooks were compiled as a means of transforming Ainu into Japanese nationals (Kondō 2004). Two more such centres were set up in Shakalin in 1909 (Kuroda 2002: 14). Efforts to spread Japanese among the Ainu, however, remained fairly ad hoc and low key. Assimilationist fervour was much more prominent in the case of the Ryukyu Islands.

The Ryukyu Kingdom was invaded and forcibly incorporated into the Meiji state in 1872 (Kerr 1958). As migration to the densely populated

Ryukyu Archipelago was limited, Ryukyuans remained the majority population there, a situation that set Ryukyuans apart from the Ainu. Consequently, control over the Ryukyus proved more challenging. During the first eight years of Japanese rule a policy of 'preserving ancient customs' (*kyūkan onzon*) was implemented. At this time efforts to teach Ryukyuans Japanese were driven by the need to close the communication gap between Japanese and Ryukyuans, a consequence of the mutual unintelligibility between the Ryukyuan languages and Japanese (Heinrich 2004). In 1879, the first two exceptions to the policy of preserving ancient customs were made. The Meiji government ordered that "non-intervention in keeping with the policy of preserving ancient customs shall not apply to the two issues of education and industrial development" (Okinawa Kyōiku I'inkai 1965–1977, vol. II: 20). As in the case of the Ainu, Japanese language spread was mainly carried out through school education.

Following the reorganization of the Ryukyu domain (*Ryūkyū-han*) as Okinawa Prefecture (*Okinawa-ken*) in 1879, Vice Minister of Education Tanaka Fujimaro (1845–1909) was dispatched to Okinawa in order to develop an educational policy there. Upon visiting the prefecture, Tanaka decided of his own accord that Ryukyuans had to learn Japanese and accordingly ordered the establishment of a Conversation Training Centre (*Taiwa denshūjo*) (Okinawa Kyōiku I'inkai 1965–1977, vol. II: 20). The Conversation Training Centre was responsible for teacher training and the compilation of a bilingual Japanese language textbook titled *Okinawa taiwa* ('Okinawa Conversation'). The textbook, written by mainland officials (Fujisawa 2000: 193), was the very first Japanese second-language textbook.

Compulsory school education was introduced in June 1879. The Conversation Training Centre was dissolved and reorganized as a 'normal school' (*shihan gakkō*), i.e., a school to train prospective teachers. In the same year 19 elementary schools and one middle school were established in Okinawa Prefecture. The efforts to render Ryukyuans Japanese through Japanese language spread grew more systematic after the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. Attention shifted from the need for communication to 'national citizen education' (*kokumin kyōiku*) and 'imperial subject education' (*kōminka kyōiku*). These attempts grew more intensive after the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 (Shinzato 2001: 239).

2.2 The start of Japanese language spread in Taiwan and Korea

Given the fact that Japan chose to include the culturally and linguistically distinct inhabitants of Ainu Mosir and the Ryukyus in the Japanese nation through linguistic assimilation, it is unsurprising to see that the same policy was also applied to its first colony, Taiwan. Apart from the geographic proximity, a cultural affinity between Japan and its colonial subjects in Taiwan were an influential factor in the choice of such a policy. This perception was captured by the slogan 'same culture – same race' (*dōbun dōshu*), which the Japanese and their colonial subjects were proclaimed as sharing. Japanese emphasis on cultural and racial similarities also found expression in the designation of the colonies as 'outer territories' (*gaichi*) rather than 'colonies' (*shokuminchi*), a Dutch calque, which became the standard designation for 'colony' only after 1945. The outer territories were juxtaposed with the 'homeland' (*naichi*), and henceforth colonial rule, including Japanese language spread, was seen as part of a 'homeland extension' (*naichi enchō*).

Home Minister Hara Takashi (1856–1921), influential in designing a colonial policy for Taiwan, forcefully argued that Taiwan should be regarded as a part of the Japanese territory, comparing Japanese rule there to German rule in Alsace-Lorraine (Lee 1999: 27). Already in 1895 Hara pointed out that it was necessary to decide what kind of Japanese rule should be established and identified three basic options. Japanese rule could be modelled (1) on the colonies in the Western empires, (2) on the nations within Great Britain, or (3) on the basis of states in the US. In other words, a decision needed to be made whether differences between Japanese and Taiwanese should be emphasized or played down. In the latter case, which Hara strongly recommended, Japanese policy should follow the assimilation policies implemented in the nation state (Oguma 1998: 83–84).

Taiwan was subject to high expectations on the part of its colonizers, who sought to duplicate the accomplishments of nation-building in the Meiji state. But while it was declared that Taiwanese were to be regarded as on a par with Japanese nationals, the reality was more complex. Real equality would have required, as Kerr (1974: 21–22) notes, that Taiwanese "must first be made (…) 'true Japanese,' speaking the national language and behaving and thinking as proper Japanese subjects." Such radical transformation was perceived to require more time in Taiwan than in the Meiji state, which led to the formulation of a hundred-year plan to bridge the cultural gap between Japanese and Taiwanese (Heylen 2001: 83).

Japanese language dissemination policy in Taiwan started with the establishment of a Civil Administration Bureau for Education in June 1895, of which Izawa Shūji (1851–1917) was appointed director. Izawa shared the

view that Taiwan ought to be seen as a part of Japan and, therefore, supported a strict assimilationist policy (Oguma 1998: 94–99). Tsurumi (1984: 280, emphasis in the original) writes that Izawa "hoped to duplicate *all* the functions of education that the home islands were now familiar with". Consequently, he propagated Taiwanese mass education and ordered the spread of Japanese through school education. Here, too, the model of Okinawa Prefecture was to be followed (Kyogoku 1991: 239–240). In 1896, 16 learning centres were set up with the aim of establishing Japanese language education. These were initially called Japan Learning Centres (*Nihon denshūjo*) but shortly afterwards renamed National Language Training Centres (*Kokugo denshūjo*). At these centres prospective teachers and government employees received six months' training in Japanese (Shi 1993: 31).

Public school regulations were enacted in 1898. The first paragraph stated that education aimed at fostering imperial loyalty through a thorough knowledge of Japanese (Hsiau 2000: 35). From 1898 onwards, Japanese influence was extended to private Chinese schools. School curricula and the number of lessons were regulated, teacher training was reorganized and the use of non-government-approved textbooks was prohibited (Tsurumi 1984: 284–285). These measures made the Chinese schools very similar to the Japanese public schools in Taiwan (Chen 2001: 98). The private Chinese schools were tolerated until 1919, although pressure was put on parents to send their children to the newly established Japanese public schools. Japanese language spread policy was applied more vigorously from 1909 onwards, when languages other than Japanese were banned in Japanese language classes and the number of classes in 'written Chinese' (*kanbun*) was gradually reduced. From 1920 onwards, all languages other than Japanese were entirely banned in school education.

Korea came under Japanese control next. Japan had quickly learned its lesson from the forced encounter with the Western powers and applied gunboat diplomacy to force Korea to open itself to the outside world. Following the Japanese challenge, Korea started its own modernization efforts, as manifested in the institutionalization of compulsory school education in 1895. Japanese rule in Korea interrupted such early modernization efforts. Already in the years between 1905 and 1910, Japan made initial attempts to spread Japanese in Korea. These efforts went hand in hand with attempts to reduce the study of other foreign languages there, most notably Chinese (Inoue 1992).

Korea was formally annexed and incorporated into the Japanese empire in 1910. At the time, Korea had a population of 23 million – four times larger than that of Taiwan. The sheer number of people upon whom Japanese rule was to be imposed was to have a decisive influence on coloniza-

tion policy. From the start, Japanese rule in Korea was much more pervasive and repressive. However, as in the case of Taiwan, policymakers noted a cultural affinity between the colonizers and the colonized, and the first governor-general, Terauchi Masatake (1852–1919), also claimed a shared cultural and ethnic linkage between Japanese and Koreans (Robinson 1988: 40).

Educational objectives and school curricula in Korea were largely identical with those in Taiwan (Tsurumi 1984: 294). The proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in Korea in 1911 laid the basis for the colonial education system. Paragraph Four stated that Japanese was the 'national language' (*kokugo*) of Korea. Consequently, Japanese language textbooks were introduced and more than one third of the total hours of schooling were devoted to teaching the Japanese language (Lim 1996: 127–130). A dual education system, one for mainland Japanese residents and one for Koreans, was justified on the grounds that Koreans were not yet sufficiently cultivated to participate in the education system for the Japanese (Dong 1973: 156).

As in the cases of Ainu Mosir, the Ryukyus and Taiwan, language spread policy centred on the school. In 1911, the 'national language' (*kokugo*) was made the principal medium of instruction in all school subjects and classes. Teachers were instructed to speak only Japanese to their pupils and Korean colleagues and to ignore questions addressed to them in Korean. In addition, with a few exceptions for 'moral' (*shūshin*) and agriculture, all textbooks were written in Japanese (Kim 1973: 138).

While assimilationist policy within and outside Japan sought to imagine a unified Japanese-speaking community throughout the Japanese state and its colonies, these Japanese-speaking subjects were not treated as equals. Discrimination exposed language policy to be mainly about controlling, not empowering, the new speakers of Japanese. This undermined the efficacy of Japanese language spread policy and led to resistance against it. This in turn required an adjustment of the measures implemented to spread Japanese.

3. The limits of imagination

The rationale for the Japanese language spread policy was that becoming imperial subjects would bring progress and equality. For many, however, being an imperial subject was deemed undesirable; others were not convinced that Japanese domination and rule constituted progress, and even those who complied with the assimilation policy found themselves assimilated at the lower levels of the imagined community they were joining. As

this awareness grew, Japanese language spread policy had to be steadily intensified.

The years between 1899 and 1901 mark a major turning point in the linguistic assimilation of the Ainu. In 1899 the Hokkaido Former Aboriginal Protection Act was promulgated and in 1901 the Ainu Education System was enacted. A total of 21 National Schools for Former Aborigines (*Kokuritsu kyūdojin gakkō*) were established (Peng and Geiser 1977: 184). Henceforth, education was conducted entirely through the medium of Japanese (Maher 2001: 329). Segregated school education was abolished in 1908, but reintroduced from 1916 to 1922. Ainu pupils were encouraged to give up what were portrayed as 'inferior habits' of the Ainu, and consequently many started to develop negative attitudes towards their culture (Siddle 1995: 87). Data compiled by the Hokkaido Prefectural government suggest that natural intergenerational language transmission among the Ainu began to be interrupted between 1900 and 1920 (see Heinrich 2012: 140–143). As a consequence, the Ainu language has been endangered ever since and is today in a stage of 'critical endangerment' (Moseley 2009).

In the Ryukyu Islands, too, linguistic assimilation did not end discrimination. Speaking Japanese in public did not suffice. Efforts were made to suppress Ryukyuan in all spheres of life and to erase all traces of Ryukyuan influence on the Japanese spoken in the archipelago (Kondō 1994: 66–70). To this end, Ryukyuan languages were banned from schools in an Ordinance to Regulate the Dialects in 1907 (ODJKJ 1983, vol. III: 443–444). Starting in the 1920s, Ryukyuans were also encouraged to change their family names and read Chinese characters in Japanese, instead of in Sino-Japanese or Ryukyuan (Nakamatsu 1996: 59). Japanese language dissemination activities attained a new quality in 1931 when a popular movement called Movement for the Enforcement of the Standard Language (*Hyōjungo reikō undō*) was established. The movement received much support from teaching staff across the prefecture and was, from the late 1930s onwards, supported by the local Department of Education (Itani 2006; Kondō 2006).

As a result of the language spread policy, Japanese replaced the Shuri/Naha variety of Okinawan as the lingua franca in the multilingual Ryukyuan Archipelago. Due to increasing population mobility, growing exogamy and infrastructural expansion, other Ryukyuan dialects also came under pressure and were increasingly replaced by Japanese. Natural intergenerational language transmission was, however, interrupted much later in the Ryukyus than in Ainu Mosir. The language shift was not complete before the end of the 1950s, which is why Ryukyuan languages are less endangered than Ainu today (Moseley 2009).

In Taiwan, too, attempts to spread Japanese through schools and to educate pupils as imperial subjects were intensified. In 1915, the first middle school in Taiwan was founded, albeit with lower standards than the middle schools on the Japanese mainland. This situation remained unchanged until the promulgation of the Taiwan Education Rescript in 1922 (Tsurumi 1984: 287). Already with the Education Decree of 1919, first attempts were made to create a unified and regulated education system (Heylen 2001: 168). Chinese language education in public schools ceased to be compulsory. The start of Japanese-Taiwanese coeducation after 1922 went hand in hand with the suppression of Chinese private schools, whose number gradually decreased from more than 1,000 to just 17 in 1940 (Chen 2001: 97). In 1928 Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University was established. It focused primarily on research and had only a few dozen students (Heinrich 2002: 43).

Although Japanese language spread met with resistance in Ainu Mosir, the Ryukyus and Taiwan, resistance was nowhere more pronounced than in Korea. Among the Ainu, Kannari Tarō (1866–1897) addressed a petition to local authorities in which he asked for the funding of Ainu education. Another noteworthy Ainu activist of that time was Iboshi Hokuto (1902–1929), who gave a rousing speech at Kindaichi Kyōsuke's (1882–1971) famous research circle on Ainu culture in 1925 (Siddle 1999: 128–129). However, voices that spoke up for Ainu emancipation were few and far between, and at the time they were ineffective. Resistance can also be noted in the Ryukyus, where students in mainland universities were for many years regarded as 'traitors' by Ryukyuan society (Thompson 1997: 49). Ifa Fuyū's (1876–1947) compilation of an Okinawan second language textbook can also be seen as an act of resistance. Ifa's (1969: 2–3) opening remark that "due to the similarities in pronunciation and grammar it is very easy for Japanese to study Ryukyuan" can be read as a criticism of the one-sided language accommodation by Ryukyuans. By far the best known example of resistance is the so-called 'dialect debate' (*hōgen ronsō*) of 1940. The debate originated in a visit by a delegation of the Japan Folk Craft Society, which commented in discussions that it felt that the measures implemented to spread Japanese were exaggerated. These harmless comments triggered a debate in which the Department of Education defended its policy of spreading Japanese by all means, while the mainland visitors took the view that Ryukyuan should not be suppressed in the way it was. The subsequent debate continued for more than a year and included detailed criticism of the Japanese language spread policy and the accompanying efforts to suppress the Ryukyuan languages (Heinrich 2013).

In Taiwan, the murder of 6 Japanese teachers by guerrilla forces in 1896 (Tai 1999: 511) was a drastic manifestation of resistance to Japanese

colonization and language spread. Furthermore, the Taiwanese New Cultural Movement called early on for the preservation of Taiwanese languages and cultures (Klöter 2005: 153), and petitions were submitted which requested Chinese language education in public schools (Chen 2001: 97). In Korea, resistance against assimilation sprang up immediately after the Japanese annexation and was more pronounced than in any other territory subject to Japanese language spread. The biggest revolt occurred in March 1919. The Japanese authorities reacted forcefully to peaceful demonstrations for Korean independence during the so-called March First Movement. More than 40,000 Koreans were arrested and about 7,500 killed in the weeks of unrest that followed (Oguma 2002: 125). Kim (1973: 139) summarizes the motives for revolt against Japanese rule as follows: "First, the Japanese policy totally ignored the cultural tradition and the pride of Korean people. Second, the Korean spirit of independence was miserably deprived and, finally, the Korean students rebelled against being indoctrinated to be loyal subjects to a foreign emperor." Such rebellion highlighted the failure of the assimilationist policy in Korea. As a result, a so-called 'cultural policy' (*bunka seiji*) was implemented in an effort to appease the Korean population. Peattie (1988: 235) writes about the effects of this policy: "Korea was granted a number of reforms of a kind never conceded to the more docile colonial population of Taiwan. In 1920, the Japanese government announced a number of social, political, and economic changes designed to permit greater self-expression for Koreans, to abolish abuses in the juridical system, to eliminate discrimination in the treatment of Japanese and Koreans in public service, to equalize educational and economic opportunity, to promote agriculture and industry, and generally to give Koreans greater voice in the management of their own affairs."

The propagation of the new policy led to educational reforms. From 1920 onwards, Koreans were, in principle, granted the same educational rights as Japanese. Compulsory school education was extended from 4 to 6 years, and educational opportunities were expanded to include post-primary education. A normal school was established in Seoul and one in each of the 13 Korean provinces. Furthermore, measures were taken to ensure higher school attendance rates (Dong 1973: 158). The 1920s also saw the relaxation of regulations for publications in Korean. Such reform notwithstanding, Japanese authorities strengthened control over Korean society at the same time (Devine 1997). In 1922, the Second Imperial Edict on Education in Korea declared *kokugo* language education and moral education to be the main educational objectives in the colony (Lim 1996: 133). In 1924, Keijō (Seoul) Imperial University was founded. As in the case of Taipei Universi-

ty, Seoul University served primarily as a research institution (Heinrich 2002: 43).

Discrimination and unequal treatment of Japanese minorities and colonial subjects made it obvious that assimilation was forced, and that such assimilation policies were to the advantage of the mainland Japanese. This was a problem for policymakers, because once imbalances of power and interest are apparent, such imbalances can no longer be reproduced through ideology. Hence, policymakers were left with two choices at this stage, (1) either base Japanese language spread on a new ideological foundation, or (2) stubbornly press ahead with existing policies. There were arguments for both sides, but those speaking in up in favour of assimilation through the spread of Japanese language as a national language kept the upper hand (Yasuda 1997a). However, by now this policy could no longer be legitimized on ideological grounds. Coercion replaced ideology.

4. Coerced assimilation

From the 1930s onwards, and in particular after the start of efforts at 'national mobilization' (*kokka sōdōin*) in 1937, assimilation efforts became extremely oppressive. Language and cultures other than those of mainland Japan were prohibited in both Japanese and non-Japanese schools.

Native schools in Ainu Mosir were banned in 1937, leading to further erosion of Ainu customs and life styles (Maher 2001: 330). Notwithstanding this, assimilationist policy lacked much of the fervour characteristic of the other polities discussed here. The Ainu were never high on the agenda of Japanese policymakers. They were at best perceived as a marginal problem – a problem expected to vanish in time. Such expectations are best encapsulated in the view that the Ainu constituted a 'dying race' (*horobiyuku minzoku*). Of course, the Ainu did not vanish. They were forcibly assimilated into the lower strata of Japanese society. Such assimilation resulted in continued economic, social, cultural, political and linguistic discrimination by mainland Japanese.

In the Ryukyus, the Movement for Enforcement of the Standard Language compiled a policy platform called Programme for Education in Okinawa Prefecture (*Okinawa-ken kyōiku kōryō*) in 1939. It proved influential in setting up a system of supervising Japanese language dissemination in all municipalities. At the same time, a new ordinance prohibited the use of Ryukyuan languages in government and other public offices. People addressing the staff of post-offices or governmental offices in Ryukyuan languages had to be refused service and employees caught using Ryukyuan

languages risked being penalized (Kondō 1997: 41). Use of a punitive 'dialect tag' (*hōgen fuda*), worn by pupils who spoke Ryukyuan dialects in the classroom, increased dramatically in the 1920s and 1930s, peaking at the time of the general mobilization campaign (Kondō 1999, 2000).

Japanese language spread policy was also intensified in the colonies. In Taiwan its express aim after 1937 was 'making imperial Japanese subjects' (*kōmin-ka*). All Chinese language classes were abolished, and Chinese language columns in local newspaper were banned (Tani 2000: 77). Japanese became the sole language of education and administration (Chen 2001: 98), and public institutions such as government offices and banks were accordingly required to employ only Japanese-speaking personnel (Hsiau 2000: 36). In addition, new measures were introduced to promote Japanese as the language used in the family. This new policy is best encapsulated by the keywords 'everyday use of the national language' (*kokugo jōyō*) and 'conversion to the language of daily life' (*seikatsugo-ka*). Language courses for adults were offered, and families who spoke Japanese were granted certain privileges such as a better category of wartime ration tickets (Tsurumi 1977: 151, 157). In 1940, a ten-year plan was developed to secure the spread of Japanese across the entire population (Tai 1999: 518). In 1940, Taiwanese were ordered to adopt Japanese names (Gōtsu 2001: 63), and more vigorous efforts were made to spread Japanese among the aboriginal population of Taiwan (Shi 1993: 35). Taiwanese settings in textbooks were replaced by mainland Japanese settings (Tsurumi 1977: 143).

In Korea, Japanese language spread policy also became more coercive. A campaign was launched to foster 'unity between the homeland and Korea' (*naisen ittai*), and a strict Japanese monolingual policy was established (Yasuda 1997b: 175–178). According to the third Imperial Edict on Education in Korea of 1937, all school subjects had to be taught exclusively in Japanese (Kim 1973: 142). In 1940, Koreans were forced to adopt Japanese names. Korean was abolished as a school subject in 1941 (Kim-Rivera 2002: 266–268). An Outline for Movements Spreading the National Language (*kokugo fukyū undō yōkō*) was compiled. It sought to strengthen awareness of being imperial subjects via enhanced Japanese language proficiency. The target group of this policy identified companies, factories and mines as well as theatres and concert halls as spaces where the use of Japanese ought to be more thoroughly enforced. It also recommended that Japanese language instruction should be made available to the entire population through popular print media and broadcasts. In addition, awards for Japanese-speaking families were handed out (Yasuda 1997a: 107–112). Publications in Korean were prohibited (Lee 2002), Korean linguists were arrested and jailed for promoting and standardizing Korean (Rhee 1992: 94–95), and

Korean pupils were encouraged to report any use of Korean by their fellow students (Kumatani 1990: 90).

The coercive language spread policy affected the language repertoires in the four polities discussed here. But the effects differed.

5. Effects of Japanese language spread policy

The different reactions to what was basically one and the same language spread policy carries important lessons for our understanding of (1) the language repertoires that emerged as an effect of Japanese language spread, (2) the limits of language policy and planning, and (3) the limits of imagining communities on the basis of language.

(1) While Japanese was added as a new language to the repertoires of many people in the four polities studied here, the case of the Ainu stands out in that natural intergenerational language transmission of Ainu was interrupted so quickly. In general, societal bilingualism cannot be upheld if the languages involved do not maintain distinct social functions for the communities speaking them. For Ainu no such popular function survived. As an effect of the stigma attached to the Ainu language, Ainu born after 1920 have lived with Japanese as their first language. Ainu ceased to function as a community language in the early 1960s (Kayano 1994: 106). While linguistic assimilation was rationalized as an 'act of benevolence' (*buika*) granted by mainland Japanese to an 'inferior race' (*rettō no jinshu*), domination, linguistic assimilation and language replacement were in fact the result of a huge difference in power between the Ainu and the mainland Japanese. As I have written elsewhere in discussing the case of the Ainu (Heinrich 2012: 96–97): "When lacking power, difference is interpreted as obsolescence, and progress is associated with assimilation to the dominating community."

The introduction of Japanese also changed the language repertories in the Ryukyus, albeit not as drastically as among the Ainu. Japanese challenged the function of the Okinawan Shuri/Naha dialect as an interregional variety. Domain after domain of language use was lost to Japanese. In the mid-1950s Japanese entered the homes. Shortly afterwards Japanese also became the default language in neighbourhoods (Anderson 2009). Ryukyuan language accommodation of Japanese monolinguals constitutes an instance of Ryukyuan language marginalization. Marginalization is a process in which the subordinate status of language resulting from the narrowing of the language in question to restricted functions is reproduced. Such marginalization is the direct effect of Japanese language spread policy (Heinrich 2004: 166–172). Using Ryukyuan language became increasingly regarded as

marked language use in an ever-growing number of domains. But Ryukyuan was still used in the domains of the family, the neighbourhood, religion and 'entertaining arts' (*geinō*) in 1945.

Among the Japanese colonies, Japanese language dissemination policy was most pervasive in Taiwan (Shi 1993: 42). By the end of the colonial period, the majority of Taiwanese had at least basic skills in Japanese (Chen 1983: 336). While it proved impossible to perpetuate Japanese in private domains such as the family, Japanese language spread nevertheless led to some early instances of language shift. Chen (2001: 98–99) states that by 1945 "Japanese was the only language in which most educated people on the island could read and express themselves effectively on formal occasions and topics. Local Chinese dialects like Southern Min and Hakka were confined to family and informal functions in the community. It was observed that at the time no local Taiwanese brought up on the island had a functional literacy in Chinese on topics beyond the trivialities of everyday life." Gōtsu (2001) shows that there were considerable differences in Japanese language proficiency between the rural and the urban population in general and, more specifically, between farmers and workmen on one hand and the educated classes on the other. In particular the Taiwanese elite embraced the Japanese language because they perceived it as a stepping-stone for social advancement (Hsiau 2000: 47).

By contrast, Japanese language dissemination efforts in Korea proved less successful. A survey conducted by the Japanese authorities in 1933 revealed that approximately 80% of the population remained illiterate, and could read neither Korean nor Japanese (Lim 1996: 164). Despite this, the influence of Japanese on Korean is still noticeable today. Baik (1992) and Kumatani (1991) discuss Japanese influences on contemporary Korean at the levels of morphology, syntax and the lexicon.

(2) In considering the limits of language policy within the Japanese state, two things are striking. Firstly, ad-hoc language planning for the Ainu speech communities continued for a long time. It was only at the turn of the twentieth century that planning efforts grew more organized. Secondly, the implementation of radical language spread measures from the 1930s onwards cannot be observed for the case of the Ainu for the very simple reason that they had already shifted to Japanese. However, since the Ainu could not be easily ideologically included into the ethnic Japanese nation, they were portrayed as a dying race. The situation was quite different in the case of the Ryukyus, where the superintendent responsible for the assimilation of the Ryukyus, Matsuda Michiyuki (1838–1882), declared without much ado that Ryukyuans and Japanese shared the same language, culture and customs (Oguma 1998: 28–29). Hence, Ryukyuan languages were declared to be vari-

ants of Japanese before any research into such interrelationships was conducted (Kinjō 1944: 6). This proved handy because language spread could thus be declared to be part of Japanese language standardization, despite the fact that the sociolinguistic effects of language modernization in the Ryukyus differed considerably from other parts of Japan (Arakaki 2013).

Taiwan and Korea diverge both from Ainu Mosir and the Ryukyus and from one another. Whereas a policy of careful pacification was implemented in Taiwan between 1895 and 1918, colonial policymakers adopted repressive measures for the first decade of Japanese rule in Korea. In general terms, the Taiwanese cooperated more than the Koreans, and Korean resistance continuously forced policymakers to implement new measures. It is thus not coincidental that the radical policy of stamping out all local culture and language was most drastic in Korea.

(3) Given the insights attained above, it is rather unsurprising to find that there are limits in the imagining of communities on the basis of language when they initially do not speak this language. Consider the Ainu first. The Ainu did not develop any ideas about forming a nation of their own before they came under Japanese domination, nor had they made any attempts at modernization. In spite of the fact that there was resistance to the assimilationist policy, such resistance did not result in any policy changes. With very few exceptions, the Ainu lacked a modern educated class that could have drawn attention to their issues and interests. The case of the Ainu was simply brushed aside. Assimilation of Ryukyuans on the other hand was facilitated by the fact that the Ryukyu kingdom had been a vassal state of the Japanese Satsuma domain for many centuries before Japanese annexation. Before their incorporation into the Meiji state, Ryukyuans did not make any attempt to modernize, nor is there any evidence of popular Ryukyuan nationalism in this period. The absence of an indigenous Ryukyuan vision of modernity considerably facilitated Ryukyuan Japanese language spread. The linguistic relationship between Ryukyuan and Japanese also allowed for the classification of Ryukyuan as ‘greater dialects’ (*dai-hōgen*) of Japanese (Tōjō 1938). This consequently enabled the ideological integration of Ryukyuans as ‘full members’ into the Japanese nation.

Since Taiwanese had not developed any popular ideas of Taiwanese nationalism either and did not envision Taiwanese independence, resistance to Japanese colonial rule merely sought to improve the rights and liberties of the colonial subjects. Widespread Taiwanese acceptance of the Japanese language spread policy was crucially facilitated by the fact that Taiwan was not an independent polity before the Japanese annexation. Domination from outside was nothing new. Development in terms of economy and infrastructure under Japanese colonial rule was another influential factor that fostered

cooperation on the part of the Taiwanese. In the case of Korea, however, Japanese interruption of Korean modernization efforts resulted in the view that nothing less than independence was acceptable. In contrast to Taiwan, Korean society was also more strictly stratified and had in the *yanba* scholar-officials a traditional ruling class whose social position was challenged, if not abolished, by Japanese rule. As a result, Japanese colonization was opposed by this former elite from the very beginning. Japanese language spread policy did not produce the loyal imperial subjects as envisioned, but created anti-Japanese activists instead. Peattie (1988: 269) aptly writes that "Japan provided the negative and yet the most powerful symbol of Korean nationalism, a national enemy." None of the measures policymakers chose could stifle the aspiration for Korean independence. The opposite was true: Japanese colonialism encouraged the vision of a Korean nation.

6. Discussion

A comparison of the histories of Japanese language spread in Ainu Mosir, the Ryukyus, Taiwan and Korea reveals many parallels. It is worthwhile stressing these parallels as they tend to pass unrecognized because the Ainu and the Ryukyuans were successfully assimilated. Japanese language spread in the Japanese nation state and in the Japanese colonies, however, cannot be discussed separately. The many parallels with the colonies make it abundantly clear that Japanese language spread in the Japanese state is not to be confused with language standardization in the Japanese-speaking regions of Japan.

The events depicted above also remain relevant for our understanding of present-day Japan and its difficult relations with its indigenous and migrant minorities on the one hand and its former colonies on the other. Japanese nation-building had features of colonization, and colonization had traits of nation-building. That is, Japanese colonization included the same attempts to replace locally bound identities with that of a larger imagined community as in the nation state.

Ignoring the invention of the Japanese as a people united in language and culture is an impediment to understanding Japan's present difficulties in accepting large–scale, organized immigration – despite the country's declining population, labour shortages and shrinking domestic markets. We saw above that the image of a Japanese nation united since ancient times in a shared language, culture and history is an invention, not a fact. Taking such invention as the point of departure for discussions of immigration, i.e., the juxtaposition between the invented view of the 'homogenous Japanese' and

the heterogeneity that migrants represent creates artificial boundaries. It would be much more beneficial to stress that Japan has always been multicultural. However, its historical experiences, and the missing reflection about modernization at its margins, remain an obstacle to this. Such history should be reflected upon and not serve uncritically as a template for discussing the effects of immigration and globalization on Japan. Ignoring the issues discussed in this paper inhibits our understanding of what Japan is today, and what it could be in the future. This, in turn, has significant implications for all minorities in Japan, and for Japan's relations with its East Asian neighbours.

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Neologisms in Japanese and Vietnamese Focusing on New Chinese-based Vocabulary

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Abstract

In modern East Asia, including Vietnam and Japan, many Chinese-based neologisms combining two Chinese characters have been coined to indicate new scientific and abstract concepts derived from the West. Even today, these new terms, both national and regional, continue to be used throughout East Asia. Previously, such a large-scale reconstruction of vocabulary without loanwords was rare. For the last 30 years, many Japanese, Chinese and, recently, Korean scholars have investigated this phenomenon, especially the role of Japanese intellectuals in the invention of several important terms. In this article, I will briefly introduce the process of coining these neologisms, in particular focusing on Vietnam, to which few outside scholars have referred. I will concentrate on the diversity rather than the parallelism within this phenomenon.

Keywords

Chinese characters, East Asia, modern neologisms, loanword, Vietnam

1. Historical background

Vietnam and Japan share a common cultural background with China, unlike other Southeast Asian countries. In both countries, classical Chinese was used as the formal written language and, subsequently, the countries developed their own original writing systems based on Chinese characters. With its polysyllabic morpheme structure, Japanese invented *hiragana* and *katakana* (syllabic phonograms). In contrast, Vietnamese, having a monosyllabic morphology similar to that of Chinese, independently combined radicals of Chinese characters and created new characters, called *chữ nôm* (字喃, “vulgar characters”) in Vietnamese, for the local vocabulary. In the second half of

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the nineteenth century, East Asian countries, including Vietnam and Japan, were occupied by Western powers, not only militarily but also culturally. The East Asian literati translated many works on Western ideas into classical Chinese; these works were widely shared among the supranational intellectual community in East Asia at the time.

To designate Western scientific concepts, many new words consisting of two or three Chinese characters, such as *seiji* (政治 ,“politics”), *keizai* (経済 ,“economy”), *jiyū* (自由 , “liberty or freedom”), *shakai* (社会 , “society or community”), and *byōdō* (平等 ,“equality”), were coined by authors and journalists in China and Japan. In China, Yán Fù (嚴復 , 1854–1921) translated *Evolution and Ethics* (originally published in 1894) by Thomas Henry Huxley and published it in 1895. In the book, he coined many original Chinese-based terms for concepts of social Darwinism. Meanwhile, in Japan many writers, such as Nishi Amane (西周 , 1829–1897), Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉 , 1835–1901), Nakae Chōmin (中江兆民 , 1847–1901) and Katō Hiroyuki(加藤弘之 , 1836–1916), competitively coined new words.

Some of the neologisms varied among authors, and they certainly differed between Chinese and Japanese. For example, the term “evolution” was translated as *tiānyǎn* 天演 (天 = heaven; 演 = enlargement) by Yán Fù, whereas in Japanese it was translated as *shinka* 進化 (進 = advance; 化 = change); “natural selection” and “struggle for existence” were *tiānzé* 天擇(天 = heaven; 擇= selection) and *wùjìng* 物競(物= creation, things; 競= competition) in Yán Fù’s translation, and *shizen-tōta* 自然淘汰(自= naturally; 然= a particle for adjectivalization; 淘 = wash; 汰 = pour) and *seizon-kyōsō* 生存競争 (生 = life; 存 = existence; 競 = competition; 争 = struggle) in Japanese, respectively. There was much opposition among conservative intellectuals in both China and Japan to these strange, newly coined words. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, when many Chinese intellectuals, politicians and students, such as Liáng Qǐchāo (梁啓超 , 1873–1929) and Zhāng Bǐnglín (章炳麟 , 1869–1936), emigrated to Japan after the failure of the Hundred Days’ Reform, these neologisms in Japanese came to be used in (classical) Chinese books and magazines published in Tokyo and Yokohama to spread their messages of anti-Manchurian nationalism and revolution, which were illegal in China.

Interestingly, at the time, the Japanese language was in the process of developing a more colloquial written style, different from the traditional style influenced by classical Chinese. All of the Japanese intellectuals mentioned above were well acquainted with the Chinese classics, and some even wrote articles in classical Chinese. However, they gradually shifted to using the more colloquial style of the new Japanese national language (国語 , *Kokugo*), which was considered to be a combination of written and spoken

styles and easier to understand. This colloquializing process was soon imitated in other East Asian countries.

East Asia, and especially Japan, was thus in a transition process of merging mutually different and mixed language styles into a so-called unified language. As a result, Chinese neologisms were easily absorbed into both the literary and colloquial styles of Japanese. These words were also borrowed by Chinese, Korean (given further impetus by the Japanese occupation), and Vietnamese.

Some Japanese scholars, Ōno Susumu (1983: 9–12) and Suzuki Shūji (1981: i–vi) among them, have insisted that the spread of a "made-in-Japan" vocabulary was the country's great contribution to East Asian intelligentsia. However, I am sceptical about this view. This phenomenon involved many complex and even random factors with regard to not only the domestic situation in Japan, but also the manner in which information circulated throughout the whole of East Asia, which was going through major changes at the time.

2. Vietnam in the nineteenth century

French colonial rule (1867–1954) divided Vietnam into three regions: Tonkin to the north, Annam in the centre, and Cochinchina in the south. The government of French Indochina suppressed a rebellion by Vietnamese royalists approximately 30 years after the beginning of the French occupation.

The French administration tightly controlled the Vietnamese literati, who had an intellectual background in classical Chinese, which was incomprehensible to the French officers. The administration attempted to abolish Vietnamese scholarship based on classical Chinese by replacing it with Western, in particular French, civilization. Vietnamese intellectuals were thus advised to use French or a Romanized Vietnamese script as alternatives. Resisting this pressure from the French regime, the Vietnamese literati continued to seek to obtain information about the outside world from publications written in classical Chinese by Japanese and Chinese reformists.

Although Romanized Vietnamese script had begun to be known as *chữ quốc ngữ* (国語字, "letters for the national language"), the majority of traditional Vietnamese intellectuals neither understood it, nor had any intention of learning it. At the same time, it appears that the French colonizers avoided sharing the ideas of the French Enlightenment with the Vietnamese. In Table 1 below, I provide a few examples of French terms used in the social and natural sciences along with their Vietnamese translations, as found in the French-Vietnamese dictionaries compiled by the French or their Vietnamese collaborators in the nineteenth century. For the more abstract and modern meanings of these terms, there are also interpretations.

TABLE 1: Examples of Vietnamese translations of French words in the nineteenth century*

French (translation in contemporary Vietnamese and written in Chinese characters)	Trương, Vĩnh Ký (1884)	P.–G. V (1898)	Dronet, J. B. (1903)
liberté (<u>tự do</u>, 自由)	*thong thả*, *thong dong* [gentleness, softness]	*Sự thong dong*, *phép ở mặc ý mình* [gentleness, to be suited to one's will]	*Sự thong dong*, *phép rộng* [softness]
égalité (<u>bình đẳng</u>, 平等)	*Sự bằng nhau*, *sự đều (đồng-đều) nhau* [equality]	*Sự bằng*, *sự bằng phẳng* [equality, flat]	*Sự bằng*, *sự bằng phẳng* [equality, flat]
fraternité (<u>bác ái</u>, 博愛)	*Tình anh-em*, <u>*nghĩa-thiết*</u> 「義切」 [warm relationship among brothers]	*Tình anh em*, *sự* <u>*thân huynh*</u> 「親兄」, *cùng nhau* [warm heart among brothers, coexistence of parent and brother]	*Tình anh em*, <u>*tình nghĩa*</u> 「情義」 [warm relationship among brothers]
nature (<u>tự nhiên</u>, 自然)	<u>*Tự nhiên*</u> 「自然」, *trời đất muôn vật*, *tính (tánh)*, <u>*tính khí*</u> 「性気」 [all things under the sun, characters]	essence des choses; <u>*Bản tính tự nhiên*</u> 「自然本性」 [essence of things]	*Tính*; *sự* <u>*tự nhiên*</u> 「自然」, *giời đất*; *đấng tạo hóa* [characters, the sun and the earth, God]
religion (<u>tôn giáo</u>, 宗教)	<u>*Đạo*</u> 「道」 [the way]	<u>*Đạo*</u> 「道」, <u>giáo</u> 「教」 [the way, the teaching]	*Sự* <u>*đạo*</u> 「道」, *sự thờ phượng*, *lòng* <u>*đạo đức*</u> 「道徳」, *nhà dòng*, *lòng ngay* [to pray and offer, morality, heart, sincerity]
société (<u>xã hội</u>, 社会)	<u>*Hội*</u> 「会」 <u>*phường*</u> 「坊」, <u>*công-ti*</u> (<u>*công-xi*</u> *v.*) 「公司」 *bọn, phe*; *sự chung nhau*; *sự làm bạn* (*làm quen*) [colleague, to possess jointly, to make friends or to get acquainted with]	<u>*Hội*</u> 「会」, <u>*phường*</u> 「坊」	<u>*Hội*</u> 「会」, <u>*phường*</u> 「坊」, *sự ở chung*, *phép mọi người giữ cùng nhau* [to coexist, the state in which everyone coexists in the same place]

* Underlined words (_) are Chinese-based, followed by their equivalents written in Chinese characters. Bracketed words ([ ]) are English translations of Vietnamese or French interpretations.

Recently, Murakami Ryūtarō and Imai Akio (2010) published a thesis on the Chinese-based words in modern Vietnamese, concluding that most of the neologisms in Japan were not used by Romanized Vietnamese before the twentieth century. According to their research, of the 188 terms originating from Japan, only ten examples (機械, "machine" , 具体, "concrete" , 鬪争, "struggle" , 化学, "chemistry" , 原子, "atom" , 方法, "method" , 生理[various meanings], 生産 , "birth of a child" [different from other East Asian languages], 知識 , "intelligence" and 意味, "meaning") appeared in the French-Vietnamese dictionaries published in the nineteenth century; 25 were found in textbooks in the 1900s; and only 102 were in use after 1931. I think this was because the Vietnamese literati initially seldom referred to publications in Romanized script and only began to become acquainted with *chữ quốc ngữ* after they realized the importance of spreading advanced scientific knowledge and patriotism among the masses who read neither Chinese characters nor *chữ nôm*.

In the 1900s, the Vietnamese literati no longer hesitated to use Chinese-based vocabulary in Romanized Vietnamese. Phan Bội Châu (潘佩珠, 1867–1940) and Phan Chu Trinh (潘周楨, 1872–1926) were typical anti-French nationalists who travelled to Japan to seek political and financial aid from the Japanese. Phan Bội Châu also sent roughly 200 young students to Japan (*Đông-Du 東遊*, the "Visit the East!" Movement). Although these students were all expelled by the Japanese government at France's request, it is difficult to examine whether they introduced Japanese neologisms directly into the Vietnamese language or not.[1]

3. The difficulty of unifying romanized and Hán nôm[2] Vietnamese

In modern East Asia, where intellectuals began writing in a more colloquial style, they commonly faced criticism from the masses, who found it difficult to understand the terminology. This conflict often led to language purism

[1] One of the candidates for the last Imperial Examination (科挙, *kējŭ* in Chinese, *khoa cử* in Vietnamese) at the court in Hue in 1919 returned from Japan and took the examination under a pseudonym (Ngô Đức Thọ 2006: 811).

[2] *Hán nôm* (漢喃) means "Chinese characters and *chữ nôm*", consisting of two morphemes *hán* (Chinese characters) and *nôm* (domestic and "vulgar" Vietnamese). Originally *nôm* only implied "vulgarness", but after the appearance of the Roman alphabet the Chinese characters began to denote "ideographicity" or "abstruseness". Thus, *hán nôm* has ambivalent connotations because the two morphemes could be either antonymous or synonymous, depending on the context.

movements that refused to accept borrowed words (especially those from Chinese characters).

Students in Vietnam continued to sit the Imperial Examination until 1919. As new subjects such as essay writing on contemporary issues were regularly added, the new Chinese-based loanwords became more familiar to the traditional (but pro-French) literati than to the masses and the new Vietnamese elite, who were well trained in French and Romanized Vietnamese.

A division thus occurred between Romanized Vietnamese and *Hán nôm* Vietnamese. Whereas the former was written only in the Latin alphabet, the latter was written in Chinese characters and *chữ nôm* (see Figure 1). One could be transliterated into the other, but the two styles were rooted in different cultural communities. People using Chinese-based loanwords in Romanized Vietnamese were accused of pedantry. If a person was using a Western pronoun in *Hán nôm* Vietnamese, the Latin alphabet could not be used because it could not be understood; instead, the form had to be borrowed from Chinese, the pronunciation of which was completely different from that of the original French (or other Western languages).

To fill this gap and create a single unified Vietnamese language, some intellectuals began to compile a comprehensive Vietnamese dictionary written and explained in Romanized Vietmanese, which contained the entire group of abstract terms borrowed from Chinese characters. The first of these achievements was the lexicon of neologisms by Phạm Quỳnh (范瓊, 1892–1945), published serially in the journal *Nam Phong* in 1917–1918. I compared all of the 1,074 terms recorded in the lexicon with the interpretations found in the *Vietnamese Dictionary* (Viện Ngôn ngữ học 1992), which is the authoritative dictionary in contemporary Vietnam. The results are presented in Figure 2.

FIGURE 1: Romanized Vietnamese text and *Hán nôm*-based Vietnamese text*

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Nghị-định quan Toàn-quyền Đông-pháp ngày 30 Juillet 1923, tuyên-bố và thi-hành các đạo Thượng-dụ ngày 7 Juin 1923 tổ-chức lại ngạch quan-lại an-nam ở Bắc-kỳ và sửa-đổi các điều 12 và 13 trong quyền luật Pháp-viện Biên-chế.

Chiểu Chỉ-dụ ngày 20 Octobre 1911 định quyền quan Toàn-quyền và tổ-chức các việc cai-trị và lý-tài ở Đông-pháp ;

Chiểu Chỉ-dụ đức Giám-quốc ngày 10 Mai 1896 ;

Chiểu Tờ Thông-tư Bộ Thượng-thư Thuộc-địa ngày 20 Juin 1911 ;

Chiểu Chỉ-dụ ngày 12 Avril 1922 ;

Chiểu tờ Hòa-ước ngày 6 Juin 1884 điều-định nước Pháp và nước An-nam ;

Chiểu Thượng-dụ ngày 26 Juillet 1897 bãi Nha Kinh-lược ở Bắc-kỳ và chuyển-giao sự-vụ Nha ấy sang Phủ Thông-sứ ;

Chiểu Nghị-định ngày 29 Décembre 1913 định điều-lệ lương hưu-trí an-nam ;

Chiểu Nghị-định ngày 22 Février 1902 về khoản lộ-phí và khoản xa-thuyên cho quan lại an-nam, do các nghị-định ngày 24 Mai 1904, ngày 18 Septembre 1906, ngày 9 Octobre 1909, ngày 14 Mai 1912, ngày 2 Avril 1920 và 12 Août 1921 sửa đổi;

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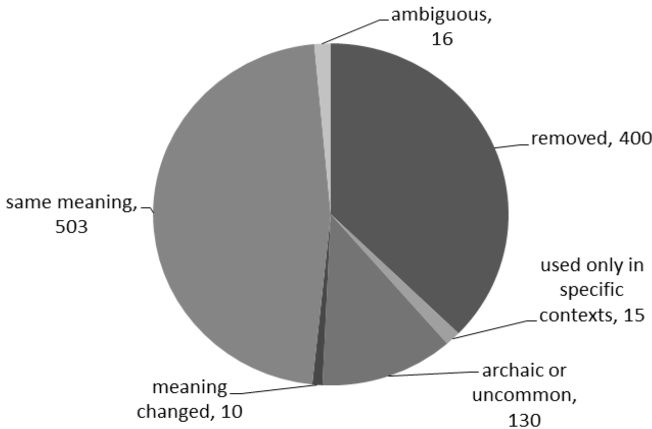
* Quoted from the Governor-General of French Indochina (1923). The Vietnamese text is the same in all cases. On the left, it is printed in Roman alphabet (*chữ quốc ngữ*) and on the right written, possibly by hand, in Chinese characters and in *chữ nôm* after publication. The attachment of *Hán nôm* manuscripts to printed official Romanized text suggests that many Vietnamese traditional literati were still unable to read Romanized Vietnamese at that time.

Although this lexicon includes many terms that do not derive from Japanese neologisms, Vietnamese abstract vocabulary appears to have still been rather unstable at the time, because only half of the lexicon is still in use 100 years later. (Another factor may be the linguistic purism movement in North Vietnam from 1966 onwards.) Some of the words show an interesting change in meaning, contrary to the major process of accepting Chinese-based neologisms from Japanese. For example, as a result of the transformation of its meaning by modern Japanese intellectuals *bác sĩ* 博士 was in-

troduced as "doctoral degree (from modern universities)" in the *Nam Phong* lexicon, with similar meanings currently found in other East Asian languages (*hakushi* in Japanese, *bóshì* in Chinese, and *paksa* in Korean). However, today it has the meaning of "medical doctor" in contemporary Vietnamese, whereas "doctoral degree" is *tiến sĩ* 進士, which corresponds to the name of the degree awarded for the highest grade of the Imperial Examination.

FIGURE 2: Usage in Vietnam in 1992 of modern Chinese-based words used in Vietnam in 1917



The first comprehensive Vietnamese dictionary was published in 1931 based on this *Nam Phong* lexicon (Hội Khai Trí Tiến Đức (ed.) 1931). However, most of the Vietnamese specialists in the natural sciences, who were gradually increasing in number despite the reluctance of the French administration, preferred to communicate in French, which means that they did not write in or translate their findings into Vietnamese. A breakthrough occurred in 1942, when the interdisciplinary scholar Hoàng Xuân Hãn (1908–1996) published a lexicon entitled *Vocabulaire Scientifique* in French and *Danh từ Khoa học* in Vietnamese (Hoàng Xuân Hãn 1942). He compiled and compared many specialist terms in French and Chinese in the fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics and astronomy in order to introduce them into Vietnamese. This achievement contributed to the rapid substitution of Vietnamese for French in all of Vietnam as the medium of instruction in primary education after 1945 and subsequently in higher education in the North after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements.

Interestingly, Hoàng Xuân Hãn mentions in the preface of *Vocabulaire Scientifique* his use of certain Japanese specialist lexicons and textbooks[3] in addition to many Chinese ones. Hence, we find further evidence of the direct influence of Japanese terminology on the development of Vietnamese vocabulary.

4. Current situation and conclusion

The vocabulary-building process observed in Vietnam occurred simultaneously in other East Asian countries; at the same time, the process in each country gradually became increasingly independent of developments in other countries as intellectuals began to rely more on their own national languages and less on the classical Chinese that had been common in East Asia. Thus, some Chinese-based neologisms began to take on different meanings in each language, as I noted in the case of the examples 博士 and 進士 above. It is difficult for us to clarify the stabilizing process of each word. However, we can still find some interesting examples. The word 配合, *haigō* in Japanese, *pèihé* in Chinese, *paehap* in Korean, and *phối hợp* in Vietnamese, originally meant "to compound, to mix (medicine)," but it also means that two or more organs cooperate to complete their common duty. Today, the second meaning is common only in the Communist bloc (China, North Korea, and Vietnam), so it seems that the meaning spread as jargon among communists in East Asia, perhaps not through classical, but contemporary Chinese.

Furthermore, as mentioned above regarding Vietnam, a language purism movement that rejected Chinese-based vocabulary developed in Korea (both North and South) and North Vietnam, and some words were replaced by native equivalents, for example in Vietnamese, *nhà nước* instead of *quốc gia* (国家, state or nation) and *máy bay* instead of *phi cơ* (飛機, "airplane"). However, since the *Doi-moi* ("renovation") reforms in 1986, the status of Chinese-based vocabulary in contemporary Vietnamese has gradually revived. The Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (Viện Khoa hoc Xã hội Việt Nam: 院科学社会越南) was renamed as the National Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities (Trung tâm Khoa học xã hội và Nhân văn *Quốc gia*: 中心科学社会 và 人文国家) in 1993;[4] the Vietnam National University in

[3] He referred to three Japanese lexicons, 理化辞典 (*Lexicon of Physics and Chemistry*), 幾何辞典 (*Lexicon of Geometry*), and 代数辞典 (*Lexicon of Algebra*), the bibliographical information for which has not been identified.

[4] The old name "Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences (Viện Khoa học Xã hội Việt Nam)" was restored in 2003, and a word, "Hàn lâm 翰林 (academy)", was added (Viện Hàn lâm Khoa học Xã hội Việt Nam) in 2013.

Hanoi (Đại học *Quốc gia* Hà Nôi: 大学*国家*河内) was established in 1996; and the Vietnam National Bank (Ngân hàng *Nhà nước* Việt Nam: 銀行*Nhà nước* 越南) was left unchanged. It is possible that this tendency is associated with the restoration of traditional customs, such as rituals and festivals of ancestor worship, or with Confucianism.

Numerous Chinese-based terms have been coined and spread independently in contemporary Vietnamese. For example, *khả thi* 可施 means "feasible" in Vietnamese but is unintelligible in other East Asian countries. It is translated as *kěxíng* 可行 in Chinese and *jitsugen-kanō* or *shilhyeon-ganeung* 実現可能 in Japanese and Korean (although the English loanwords *fījibiritī* in Japanese and *p'ijibillit'i* in (South) Korean are more popular). "Digital" is *kỹ thuật số* 技術数 in Vietnamese, whereas it is *shùmǎ* 数码 in mainland China, *shùwèi* 數位 in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and *dejitaru* and *tijit'eol* in Japan and Korea, respectively. Thus, East Asian countries are coining their own new words within their national languages, regardless of whether they use Chinese-derived stems or not. Japanese and (South) Korean prefer loanwords, that is to say, phonetic transcriptions of foreign, especially English, words, whereas Chinese and Vietnamese tend to use loan translations by substituting native (or Chinese) words or etyma because of the constraints of their monosyllabic morpheme structures.

As seen above, Vietnam and Japan once shared the same linguistic approach as they introduced scientific terms by coining Chinese-based vocabulary, a rapid process during the period of language transition from universal classical Chinese to more colloquial, but nationally distinct languages. It thus appears that the four East Asian Countries, including Vietnam and Japan, still constitute a linguistic community, but that we should pay more attention to the complex variety in the semantics of Chinese-based vocabulary than to the homogeneity or the one-way influence from Japan to other nations.

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