

**A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Japanese
Children's Official Songbooks, 1881-1945:
Nurturing an imperial ideology through the
manipulation of language**

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Abstract

This sociolinguistic and historical study aims to identify ideologies reflected in the official school songbooks (*Monbushō-shōka*: MS-S hereafter) of the Empire of Japan and to trace possible pedagogical and ideological shifts during 1881-1945. Through detailed qualitative and quantitative analyses of the texts, with and without context-based approaches, the study demonstrates the important role that socio-cultural contexts may have played in children's coherent interpretation of the MS-S texts. The findings point to the possibility that ideological intensification through MS-S occurred through a synergy between the linguistic and thematic adaptation of the lyrics to suit the target audience, on the one hand, and the pedagogical policy of cross-curricular teaching that encouraged children's association-based text comprehension of the MS-S, on the other.

This study proposes an 'assimilation-association model' of ideological transfer and, using the framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach within Critical Discourse Analysis, demonstrates how the characteristics of MS-S texts in different historical periods of the Empire reflected the contemporary educational policies that in turn reflected the socio-political contexts of the given time. Over the course of development an increasing number of stories in MS-S were set in the everyday-life of children, while the amount of recurrent references to imperial and militaristic facts and symbols multiplied overtime, and most prominently, towards the end of the Empire, not by ostensive lexical mention, but mainly by indirect, semantic associations. Such associations were encouraged by pedagogical emphasis on children's autonomous-spontaneous response to the learning-input through cross-curricular teaching. This, with constant *kokutai* ('national polity') indoctrination ideologies inferred from MS-S, intensified to produce *kōkokumin* ('imperial subjects') who were imbued with the spirit of *chūkō* ('loyalty and filial piety') towards the imperial homeland and were ready to be mobilised. This resultant wartime effect appears to mirror the pedagogical aim as described in the preface of Japan's first MS-S published in 1881.

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**Multi*: a term used in this dissertation to refer to a linguistic item that appears to be associated with more than one ideological concepts, which is treated as a ‘double/triple’ count entry in the statistical analyses.

Note

1. Definitions – *Monbushō-shōka* (the school curriculum subject: MS), *Monbushō-shōka-shū* (an official Japanese children’s songbook: MS-S), and *shōka* (a piece from an official Japanese children’s songbook, or general concept).
2. English translation for the names and contents of all Japanese statutes and guidelines, including Imperial Orders, are by the author unless stated otherwise. English translation is given first, followed by the Japanese in parenthesis.
3. The modified Hepburn system is used to Romanise Japanese names whereby a long vowel is indicated by a macron. Personal names are given in the order of the family name first followed by the given name.
4. All figures and tables in this dissertation are by the author unless stated otherwise.

Imperial-Dominical Year Converter

Imperial	A.D.		M38	1905		S18	1943		S56	1981
Meiji 1	1868		M39	1906		S19	1944		S57	1982
M2	1869		M40	1907		S20	1945		S58	1983
M3	1870		M41	1908		S21	1946		S59	1984
M4	1871		M42	1909		S22	1947		S60	1985
M5	1872		M43	1910		S23	1948		S61	1986
M6	1873		M44	1911		S24	1949		S62	1987
M7	1874		M45	1912		S25	1950		S63	1988
M8	1875		Taishō 2	1913		S26	1951		S64·H1	1989
M9	1876		T3	1914		S27	1952		Heisei 2	1990
M10	1877		T4	1915		S28	1953		H3	1991
M11	1878		T5	1916		S29	1954		H4	1992
M12	1879		T6	1917		S30	1955		H5	1993
M13	1880		T7	1918		S31	1956		H6	1994
M14	1881		T8	1919		S32	1957		H7	1995
M15	1882		T9	1920		S33	1958		H8	1996
M16	1883		T10	1921		S34	1959		H9	1997
M17	1884		T11	1922		S35	1960		H10	1998
M18	1885		T12	1923		S36	1961		H11	1999
M19	1886		T13	1924		S37	1962		H12	2000
M20	1887		T14	1925		S38	1963		H13	2001
M21	1888		T15·S1	1926		S39	1964		H14	2002
M22	1889		Shōwa 2	1927		S40	1965		H15	2003
M23	1890		S3	1928		S41	1966		H16	2004
M24	1891		S4	1929		S42	1967		H17	2005
M25	1892		S5	1930		S43	1968		H18	2006
M26	1893		S6	1931		S44	1969		H19	2007
M27	1894		S7	1932		S45	1970		H20	2008
M28	1895		S8	1933		S46	1971		H21	2009
M29	1896		S9	1934		S47	1972		H22	2010
M30	1897		S10	1935		S48	1973		H23	2011
M31	1898		S11	1936		S49	1974		H24	2012
M32	1899		S12	1937		S50	1975		H25	2013
M33	1900		S13	1938		S51	1976		元号	西曆
M34	1901		S14	1939		S52	1977		Meiji 45: till 7/30	
M35	1902		S15	1940		S53	1978		Taishō 1: 7/31-12/31	
M36	1903		S16	1941		S54	1979		Taishō 15: till 12/25	
M37	1904		S17	1942		S55	1980		Shōwa 1: 12/25-12/31	

Glossary and Abbreviations

Romanised Japanese term	Japanese term	English equivalent & brief description
Kyōkasho-gigoku jiken	教科書疑獄事件	1902 bribery scandal concerning textbooks' approval
shichi-go-cho	七五調	7-5 syllabic tone
bunmei-kaika-shisō	文明開化思想	Cultural Enlightenment Movement
chokugo-haidoku-shiki	勅語拝読式	Ceremony to cite the Imperial Rescript
Chūgakkō-rei	中学校令	Middle School Order, 1886
Dai-tōa-kyōei-ken	大東亜共栄圏	The Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere
dōyo-fukkō-undō	童謡復興運動	Nursery-rhymes revival campaign
Gakusei	学制	educational school system, promulgated in 1872
geijutsu kyōiku undō	芸術教育運動	Arts education movement
geinō-ka	藝能科	performing arts (school subject in Kokumin-gakkō)
genbun-itchi	言文一致	A movement advocating that shōka lyrics be written in a natural colloquial style
GHQ	連合軍最高司令官 總司令部 (連合軍總司令部／ GHQ)	The General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (General Douglas MacArthur)
Gishiki-yō-shōka	儀式用唱歌	Ceremonial shōka, formally designated as such in 1893
Gunbu-daijin-gen'eki-bukan-sei	軍部大臣現役武官制	The Law of Military Ministers on Active Service in the Military Department
jinjō-shōgakkō	尋常小学校	Elementary school, lower four grades, established in 1886
Jinjō-Shōgaku-Shōka	尋常小學唱歌	Ordinary-Elementary School Songbooks, 1911
Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka	尋常小學讀本唱歌	Jinjō Elementary School Songbooks to accompany the Readers for the study of National Language, 1910.
jitsugyō-gakkō	実業学校	vocational school
jiyūminken-undō	自由民権運動	The Freedom and People's Rights Movement
Kaiten	回天	A name given to the manned torpedo suicide attack unit and the vessels used. <i>Kaiten</i> literally means 'turning the heavens' referring to the act of changing the tide to one's advantage.

Kamikaze	神風	The wind of the gods. Originated as the name of major typhoons in 1274 and 1281, which dispersed Mongolian invasion fleets.
kazoku-kokka	家族国家	Confucian-inspired concept of a family-state
Kokka-sōdōin-hō	国家総動員法	General Mobilisation Order, 1938
kōkokumin	皇国民	Imperial subjects
Kōkoku no michi	皇国の道	Imperial Way
Kokugo-tokuhon	国語読本	Japanese language textbooks
kokumin	国民	people / the nation / people of the country / people of the nation / a member of the state
kokumin gakkō	国民学校	National Elementary School / People's school: nomenclature for elementary school adopted in 1941
Kokumin-gakkō-rei	国民学校令	Shōwa16, (1941) March 14 Education Ministry Ordinance No.4
Kokumin-gakkō-rei Shikō-kisoku	国民学校令施行規則	National Elementary School Order Implementation Rules
Kokumin-gakkō-rei Shōwa16-nen Choku-rei Dai148-go	国民学校令昭和 16 年勅令第 148 号	The National Elementary School Order: Imperial Ordinance No.148 (1941)
Kokumin-gakkō-shōka	国民学校唱歌	National-School Songbooks, 1941
Kokumin-shōka-shū	国民唱歌集	Songbooks for the children of the nation, 1891
kokutai	国体	National polity
kōtō-jogakkō	高等女学校	junior-high school for girls, 5 years
kōto-shōgakkō	高等小学校	lower-secondary school, 4 years in 1886, but reduced to 2 years as of 1907
Kyōiku chokugo	教育勅語	Imperial Educational Rescript, promulgated in 1890
Kyōiku Kihon-hō	教育基本法	Fundamental Law of Education, 1947
Kyōiku-rei	教育令	Education Order, 1879
Kyōkasho-kentei-seido	教科書検定制度	Textbook Screening System, established in 1886
Kyōkasho-yō-toshō Kentei Jōrei	教科書用図書検定条令	Textbooks Screening Law, promulgated in 1886
Kyōkasho-yō-toshō Kentei Kisoku	教科書用図書検定規則	Regulations on Textbooks Screening Procedures, 1886
kyūsei-chugakkō	旧制中学校	junior high school, 5 years
minkan-shōka	民間唱歌	non-official shōka
Monbusho-Kunrei Dai-Shichi-go	文部省訓令第七号	Ministry of Education Instruction No.7, issued in 1894
Monbushō-rei	文部省令	The Ministry of Education Regulations

Monbushō-shōka (MS)	文部省唱歌	Official children's songs published in state-textbook by the Ministry of Education
Monbushō-shōka-shū (MS-S)	文部省唱歌集	Children's Songbooks: designed and disseminated by the Ministry of Education as compulsory textbooks.
Nihon kyōiku ongaku kyōkai	日本教育音楽協会	Japan association for musical education, established in 1922
Ongaku-torishirabe-gakari	音楽取調掛	Research Department for Music of the ministry of education, founded in 1879
seinen-gakko-futsūka	青年学校普通科	supplementary schools for young working adults
Seinen-gakko-rei	青年学校令	Provision of education for working children legalised in 1935
seishin-kyōiku	精神教育	spiritual inculcation
Shihan-gakkō-rei	師範学校令	Normal School Order, 1886
shinmin	臣民	imperial subjects
Shintei Jinjō-Shōgaku-Shōka	新訂尋常小學唱歌	New Ordinary-Elementary School Songbooks, 1932
Shintei-Kōto-Shōgaku-shōka	新訂高等小學唱歌	Songbooks for the higher grades, 1935
Shogakkō Shukujitsu-Taisajitsu Gishiki-Kitei	小学校祝日大祭日儀式規定の小学校祝日大祭日儀式規定	Regulations on Elementary School Ceremonies on Holidays, 1891
Shōgakkō-Kyōiku-Taikō	小学校教則大綱	Outline of Elementary School Education, 1891
Shōgakkō-kyōsoku-kōryō	小学校教則綱領	Guidelines for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools, 1881
Shōgakkō-rei	小学校令	Elementary School Order, 1886
Shōgakkō-rei chū-kaisei	小学校令中改正	Revision of the Elementary School Order
Shōgakkō-rei Shikōkisoku	小学校令施行規則	Regulations for the Enforcement of the National School Order, 1941
Shōgakkō-rei-kaisei	小学校令改正	Revision of the Elementary School Order
Shogaku-shōka-Dainihen	小學唱歌集第二編	Elementary school songbook vol. II, 1883
Shogaku-shōkashu-Daisanpen	小學唱歌集第三編	Elementary school songbook vol. III, 1884
Shogaku-shōkashu-Shohen	小學唱歌集初編	A selection of songs for elementary students, 1881
shōka	唱歌	A piece of song to be sung in unison
shōka-ka	唱歌科	Denomination of shōka as official school subject
shōka-shū	唱歌集	Shōka songbook
Shukujitsu-taisajitsu kashi oyobi gakufu shinsa-	祝日大祭日歌詞及び楽譜審査委員会	Review Committee for the shōka for holidays

iinkai		
Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka	祝日大祭日唱歌	Imperial Ceremonial Songs, 1893
Tokubetsu kōgeki-tai (Tokkōtai)	特別攻撃隊 (特攻隊)	Special Attack Squad (the Kamikaze & Kaiten squad)
Tokuhon	読本	Reader (textbook)
tokuiku	徳育	nurture a person of virtue
Yōchi-shōka-shū	幼稚園唱歌集	kindergarten songbook, 1887

Note

1. In this dissertation ‘kokumin’ is translated primarily as ‘people of the country’ (Gordon 2013: 134), and depending on the context either as ‘people’ (Duus 1988: 686), ‘the nation’s’ (Jansen 2000: 471), or ‘national’ (Kushner 2006: 31, 94, and 686). Gordon (2013: 134) mentions all these possibilities.

2. Definitions of ‘kokutai’ (national polity), ‘kōkoku no michi’ (Imperial Way), and ‘kōkokumin / shinmin’ (Imperial subjects) are given by: Tokutomi Inoichiro (1939) ‘Showa kokumin tokuhon’ (Showa People’s Reader), Tokyo Nichi-Nichi-Shinbun-sha; Nose Hisao (1937) ‘Senji-joshiki’ (Wartime Common Knowledge), Ichigo-sha; and Ueda Kinzo (1932) ‘Dare demo kokoroubeki komin no chishiki’ (Essential knowledge for every citizen), Miyamae-shoten, and their English translations are consistent with: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), Japan. (1981). ‘*Japan’s Modern Educational System*’, online at: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317220.htm, accessed 13 June 2013.

Statistical Terminology

Statistical significance: A statistically significant risk probability confirms the tested hypothesis. When verifying a hypothesis using statistical tests, the risk probability for a hypothesis to be false is calculated. In practice, when the risk probability, or the P-value, is less than a predefined value, the tested hypothesis is considered as 'probable' or 'likely to be true'. In our study the risk probability is set at 0.05 or 5 per cent, under which the hypothesis is considered as significant, while the hypothesis is not significant when higher than 0.05. In other words, in this study, the hypotheses are considered as statistically proven when there is over 95% chance that they are true, i.e., less than 5 per cent risk of being a matter of coincidence.

Component: PCA uses a number of variables (7 in our study) to calculate 1 or more sets of the said variables that are influential to the model. The influence of each of the 7 variables, i.e., how they are contributing to the given set, is calculated. Such sets of variables obtained by PCA are called "principal components". As there are more than one principal component, each of them is given a number by the degree of influence it has on the model, or how much it "explains the variance". The number of principal components never exceeds the number of variables.

Explained variance: The analysis is based on how the statistical model accounts for, or 'explains' the way the data are dispersed. This is called 'explaining a variation'. In practice, the 'variance', which is a descriptor of probability distribution, is used as a measure of data variation. Hence, the percentage of variance explained by a component shows how much influence the group of variables has on the model.

Variance: Variance is a statistical measure that tells us how measured data vary from the average value of the set of data. Variance is a measure of dispersion. It is the average squared distance between the mean and each item in the population or in the sample. In other words, variance is the mean of the squares of the deviations from the arithmetic mean of a data set. In probability theory and statistics, the **variance** is a measure of how far a set of numbers is spread out. It is one of several descriptors of a probability distribution, describing how far the numbers lie from the mean (expected value). In particular, the variance is one of the moments of a distribution. In that context, it forms part of a systematic approach to distinguishing between probability distributions. While other such approaches have been developed, those based on moments are advantageous in terms of mathematical and computational simplicity.

http://www.statistics.com/index.php?page=glossary&term_id=365 accessed 18 June 2013.

http://www.icoachmath.com/math_dictionary/variance.html accessed 18 June 2013.

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Note: All figures and tables are produced by the author unless stated otherwise.



Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Preamble

When Japan's Prime Minister Abe Shinzō joined the three 'long live the Emperor' (*tennō heika banzai*) cheers at the annual 'Restoration of Sovereignty Day' (*shuken kaifuku no hi*) ceremony on 28 April 2013, it attracted domestic and international criticism. The incident was later explained as a spontaneous audience reaction to the event's closing speech with which the PM 'naturally' joined (Suga, Minister of International Affairs and Communications at the press conference, 30 April 2013), but for many, this was a public demonstration of the government's further move to the right and an ominous sign of the revival of militarisation backed by imperial ultra-nationalism harking back to Japan's regrettable past. It also shows a disregard of Okinawan sentiments (Hook and Siddle 2003; Hook, forthcoming). Photos of the ceremony show a large Rising Sun flag (*hi-no-maru*¹), which, together with the national anthem (*Kimi-ga-yo*), was inherited from the Imperial government that dissolved with Japan's surrender in 1945. Discontinuation of the use of these controversial items was considered after the war, but eventually they were made official symbols of the Japanese state by the 1999 Act on National Flag and Anthem². Despite protests by concerned parties such as Japan Teachers' Union members, these symbols have also gradually returned to the heart of public education. For example, the 2011 Ordinance No. 83 passed by the Osaka Prefectural Assembly now obliges all school employees, including teachers, in Osaka to stand and sing when *Kimi-ga-yo* is played during school ceremonies. The views of the Japanese general public about the singing of this song are mixed³. The ambivalence may come from the different associations each citizen has of the anthem, such as Japan's war of aggression, the sacrifices made to protect the homeland, Japan's military past, national unity, or simply, the beauty of traditional Japanese poetry⁴. To consider the origin of the complex, and conflicted, associations surrounding the song is the

¹ 日の丸 (*hi-no-maru*) is an affectionate term given to the national flag, whose official name is 'nisshōki' (sun-mark-flag).

² It is noted that *hinomaru* itself was, in fact, inherited from the Tokugawa Shogunate, which introduced it after Commodore Perry as a naval ensign to distinguish Japanese vessels from foreign ones.

³ Kyodo News International, Inc. (1999). 'Japanese divided over flag, anthem bill: survey', July 19, 1999. (accessed online on 13 August 2013 at:

www.thefreelibrary.com/Japanese+divided+over+flag%2c+anthem+bill%3a+survey.-a055275744).

⁴ Public Relations Department of the Cabinet Office, (1974). Opinion poll. 内閣府政府広報室、「年号制度・国旗・国家に関する世論調査」(Survey on the Imperial Year System, the National Flag, and the National Anthem), accessed online on 13 August 2013 at: <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/s49/S49-12-49-14.html>

Public Relations Department of the Cabinet Office, Secretariat to the Prime Minister, (1964). Opinion poll. 内閣府総理大臣官房広報室、「世論調査報告書：オリンピック東京大会について」(Survey: Tokyo Olympics) accessed online on 13 August 2013 at: <http://www1.jca.apc.org/anti-hinokimi/archive/chronology/sengo1/yoron64b.htm>).

motivation for this study of Japanese Children's Official Songbooks (*Monbushō-shōka-shū* henceforth MS-S) in which *Kimi-ga-yo* was first disseminated nationwide through compulsory music education. Just as *Kimi-ga-yo* is, in the political discourse of Japan's international relations in East Asia, often linked to Japan's militarist imperial expansionism during WWII, MS-S as a whole is also associated with such ideologies (Karasawa 1956), and, in fact, the majority of its songs were banned by the Allied Forces in their efforts to democratise and demilitarise post-war Japan. Did these songbooks manifest ideologies, and if so, what were they and how were they conveyed? Did they change through the course of the socio-political shifts undergone by the Empire of Japan? This dissertation posits that the songbooks served as an instrument used by the government to imbue children with a specific ideology. Four questions arise from this assumption: what was the content of the ideology embedded in the songs? Was the ideology transformed during the life of the Empire? What mechanisms were used to convey the ideology to the children? Finally, why are these songs still loved by many today?

This dissertation is, therefore, a cross-disciplinary investigation into the nature and educational roles of Japanese MS-S published by the government of Japan and taught at elementary-level schools nationwide between the inception of the MS-S in 1881 and 1945 when it was banned at the end of WWII. In particular, this diachronic and text-based study investigates the discourse contents of these songbooks and explores the sociolinguistic characteristics of the texts and their ideological content and compares this to the contents of official documents and statutes depicting relevant educational policies and, at the same time, also considering the teaching methods applied in a particular socio-historical context. Based on the outcome of this empirical analysis, this study explores likely psychological effects on the social consciousness of those who were exposed to them as part of Japanese imperial and wartime education. Drawing on theoretical, methodological and empirical insights from Japanese history, sociology, applied linguistics, and education, the dissertation attempts to explain the discursive processes of ideological education through the MS-S. In particular, this empirical study aims to demonstrate *how* language is used to create assimilations between and amongst the discourses of education policy, MS-S and the relevant social groups, as well as to assist the creation of associations between ideological concepts and children's everyday life nurturing in their minds militarism and nationalism based on imperial ideology.

1.2. Research purpose

This dissertation explores the educational roles of MS-S in shaping the discourse of pupils

and their social consciousness between 1881 and 1945. An MS-S is a compilation of selected official songs for school children devised by the Japanese government. In particular, the dissertation analyses the government's educational policy (or purposes) in devising MS-S at different historical periods, focussing on the prefaces, official teaching guidelines, and other relevant official documents, against the socio-political background at the time of each publication. The texts of MS-S are analysed quantitatively using basic statistics and Principal Component Analysis (PCA) to identify the linguistic components of the MS-S texts that characterize the MS-S of four different historical subperiods in accordance with the year of publications, namely, 1891-1909, 1910-30, 1931-40, and 1941-5. Subsequently, the discourse of MS-S texts is analysed qualitatively to elucidate how the governments' educational policies were reflected in the textual contents of these songbooks in conjunction with the pedagogical methods employed to teach them.

In view of the above, this study examines the processes involved in ideological education using MS-S, drawing from sociolinguistic theories of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to explore how language use in the discourse of the MS-S may have shaped the children's social consciousness, and how such consciousness may have influenced the children's understanding of the ideological messages⁵ in the MS-S, reinforcing these children's social consciousness regarding their own roles in wartime Japan. Finally, I will argue that this recursive process may have shaped children's self-image and aspirations cumulatively, resulting in their voluntary participation in wartime efforts. The discursive processes of communicating and nurturing ideologies and the propaganda effects that are associated with MS-S are explained with a focus on the synergy between the following factors:

- the manipulation of language in MS-S (input, in CDA terminology), individuals' voluntary interpretation of the message(s) of MS-S in line with the social context, and the process in which such message(s) are produced and interpreted (discursive practice, in CDA terminology)
- these individuals' responses to the message, that in turn affected the society, causing social change (output / the social practice), and
- the social change that feeds back into the discourse of MS-S through manipulation of language.

The prefaces of those MS-S suggest that they were not originally intended solely to be media of militaristic propaganda, nor did they ever turn out to be such (detailed discussion in

⁵ The content of communicated information from one interlocutor to another.

Chapter 3). They were originally intended for the healthy development of pupils' pro-social consciousness and appreciation of cultural values, alongside the teaching of children to become 'good Japanese citizens' of the Empire based on *kokutai*⁶ *seishin* ('national (polity) spirit'). Such education nurtured empathy and sensitivity for the needs of the members of society. However, upon introducing militarism to the discourse of MS-S, the sensitivity nurtured in the children's minds may have turned into acute emotions of gratitude and commitment to those to whom they owed their lives. The other side of the coin was grief and anger at the injustices carried out against the nation by the 'enemy', since the children were being raised to be part of the same national polity. In addition, the spontaneity, autonomy and decisiveness taught by MS-S also became the basis for a strong desire to participate in wartime efforts to protect the mother nation. This study tests a hypothesis (2.4.) part of which is based on the premise that it was this combination of three concepts (ethical values inspired by belief in the *kokutai*⁷, militarism, and autonomy) in the discourse of MS-S, when interpreted in the wartime social context, that resulted in effective ideological education through MS-S. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to study this mechanism of nurturing ideologies in children through the MS-S education. The findings may answer the question of why the same MS-S can have directly opposing associations – belligerence and war of aggression on one hand and nostalgia for the beauty of nature and tradition on the other – to the people concerned.

1.3. Research background

From the early Meiji (1868-1912) era until the end of WWII school children were taught to sing songs from MS-S. Numerous editions of this classic were published over time. The first version of MS-S, published in 1881, relied heavily on the Western musical tradition. Japanese lyrics were often set to tunes of Christian hymns, European and American folksongs, or popular sections of classical pieces. However, from the 1911 publication of MS-S until the end of WWII, use of Western tunes ceased and they were replaced by original tunes created by domestic composers. Many of the songs from the MS-S are still sung by Japanese people today who cherish the romantic nostalgia that their poetry and music evoke, but, at the same time, MS-S have attracted controversy and socio-cultural,

⁶ Defined by: Tokutomi Inoichiro (1939) 'Showa kōkumin tokuhon' (Showa People's Reader), Tokyo Nichi-Nichi-Shinbun-sha; Nose Hisao (1937) 'Senji-joshiki' (Wartime Common Knowledge), Ichigo-sha; and Ueda Kinzo (1932) 'Dare demo kokoroubeki komin no chishiki' (Essential knowledge for every citizen), Miyamae-shoten, and their English translation are consistent with that of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. (1981). *Japan's Modern Educational System*. 文部科学省学制百年史. Online at http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317220.htm, accessed 13 June 2013.

⁷ To maintain the spiritual solidarity that makes the land and people a nation (Benner 2006: 21) is a fundamental purpose of MS-S education (6.4.).

political, historical and ethical discussions (1.1). One of the most striking characteristics of MS-S is their timeless appeal to Japanese people. Although some of them are more than 100 years old, they are still popular and sung on various occasions. Several audio-visual compilations of MS-S are still produced and sold, while selected tunes are uploaded to video websites where new postings continue to appear⁸. Now, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, the older generations of Japanese people remember the wartime songs, which include the same MS-S that they learnt by heart a long time ago, with some nostalgia and a sense of unease (Kushner 2006:1-2). Unease because of their regret for the loss of life on all sides, or at least on the side of the members of the national polity, and nostalgia because these songs depict an idealised notion of Japan and Japanese society that they once thought was theirs, whether it was the virtues, high moral standards or community spirit as depicted in the MS-S.

1.3.1. MS-S, ideologies, and propaganda

The teaching of MS-S has often been associated primarily with the mobilisation of young Japanese in the war effort (Nishikawa 2010: 7) and certainly that element, along with nationalism, would be found in the MS-S throughout the era of imperial Japan as discussed by Karasawa (1956) and Kurokawa (2007), to name but a few studies. However, the degree of emphasis between these ideologies changed over time, and indeed, originally, when MS-S was designed by the early Meiji imperial government the primary aim was to educate Japanese children to become loyal imperial subjects and unify them, as part of the effort to build a strong new imperial state after the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Therefore, when the need for emphasis on militarism arose at the time of the Sino-Japanese (1895) and Russo-Japanese (1904-05) wars, special collections of songbooks were devised for school education as supplementary textbooks (Karasawa 1956: 178-182), which were the earliest attempt to introduce outright militarism into the MS-S discourse as part of the campaign to consolidate people's allegiance to the imperial government. The concept of all citizens as 'imperial subjects' was reinforced through a special compilation of eight imperial songs, published in 1893, the singing of which became part of the obligatory school ceremonies. During Japan's fifteen year war (1931-45) official guidelines instructed teachers to use MS-S, partly to imprint ideas that may be described as ultra-nationalist into children's subconscious minds through their sensibility to music, and partly to develop good auditory

⁸ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2UvY1a-aZzc>
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WVVS56hWx30>
<http://www.youtube.com/user/niponpolydor1/videos?view=0&sort=dd&flow=list>
<http://www.amazon.co.jp/声に出して歌いたい日本唱歌大全集-童謡・唱歌/dp/B00006AUQF>
<http://www.u-canshop.jp/jinjyou/>
<http://item.rakuten.co.jp/cfc-co/d940/>

senses for national defence⁹ (Fujii 2009: 13-14; Matsui 2012: 115). Thus, MS-S as textbooks, after 1941, were turned into ‘mere means to glorify and propagate Japanese militarism and imperialism’ (Karasawa 1956: 539). However, ‘children enjoyed singing a small selection of artistic songs from the MS-S’ (Karasawa 1956: 539), and, therefore, ‘even though the MS-S education was forcibly governed by the war leaders, children’s hearts were never completely controlled by them’ (Karasawa 1956: 540). If that was the case, the MS-S that modern Japanese enjoy on YouTube might be understood as a collection of that ‘small selection’ of the artistic, peaceful songs. However, numerous reports attest to the MS-S’s ideological function in conveying the militarism, imperialism, or nationalism that penetrated Japanese society, leading to the mobilisation of its people in the war effort. Indeed, Japanese propaganda ‘exerted a broad and powerful influence’ (Kushner 2006: 7) encompassing public education (Kokuni 2006: 23). An educationalist, Nishio Minoru, who was influential especially in ‘national language education’ during the period of the *Kokumin gakkō*¹⁰ system (1941-45), wrote, in an article entitled ‘Japanese Language Total War Order’¹¹:

‘The true nature of the Greater East Asia War is a *Thought-War*¹². In the *Thought-War* the vanguard is language, and the rear guard is also language. The main purpose of this war is to propagate the Japanese language throughout the Greater East Asian territory’ (Nishio 1943: 20).

Other forms of propaganda involved lingo-audio group activities, such as Banzai calls in unison, in which Japanese citizens at all levels of society participated spontaneously (Kushner 2006: 94. 123). A variety of spontaneous group activities and exchanges provided opportunities for individual Japanese to share the ideological sentiment and experience. Gradually, patriotic communities were formed. Ordinary people were not necessarily belligerent, but, in fact, ambivalent about their involvement in the war, yet they honoured loyalty to the Emperor, who embodied everything that the country meant to them¹³, and some of them were also somewhat resigned to their fate. However, through the experience of shared sentiment and the build-up of solidarity, an individual and locally-bound sense of ‘self’ gradually blossomed into a more global, ‘national sense of self’, as in the case of

⁹ Auditory education for ‘recognising bombardment or identifying friendly and enemy planes’ (爆撃や敵機の音を聞き分けるための音感教育) (Matsui 2012:115).

¹⁰ National Elementary School (also commonly translated as People’s School), 1941-1945.

¹¹ 日本語総力戦体制: nihongo-sōryoku-sen-taisei

¹² 思想戦: shisō-sen discussed further in 6.2.1.

¹³ Nose (1937: 66) in his ‘Senji-jōshiki (Wartime Common Knowledge)’ states: ‘Our National polity’s fundamental ideal dictates the complete unity of the monarch and the subjects, and thus the purpose of and benefit to the Emperor are congruent with that of his subjects. (我が國體はその淵源する所固より君民一致合一を以て理想とし、天皇の目的利益は即ち臣民のそれと合一する。)

soldiers drafted into the Russo-Japan War (Shimazu 2006: 209). These facts suggest that wartime propaganda in Japan was supported by the citizens' spontaneous participation and via exchanges between the members of the society, so that an individual's consciousness as a member of that society was nurtured and evolved into a group consciousness in the sense of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) whereby members of the community hold a sense of affiliation and solidarity through having something in common, without having met every other member and despite differences in social attributes such as occupation, age-group, and so on. Such evolution of group consciousness in imperial Japan is closely linked with cultural hegemony and education, and this point will be discussed in more detail in the next section (1.3.2.). Further, establishing cultural hegemony through language and education also suggests that the lingo-audio medium was involved in the processes of the propagation of these ideologies. Here, the afore-mentioned wartime language education advocated by Nishio and others may have played a part (Ōhira 1997; Kurokawa 2007). In other words, language and music played important roles in propaganda, but, simultaneously, MS-S are closely associated with ethical education (Amamiya 1998: 37), and the contents of the MS-S themselves present both of these conflicting features. Apparently, there are also conflicting educational approaches associated with the MS-S: teaching of ideology and autonomous spontaneity. How, then, could MS-S be effective in mobilising people? To find out the missing link between these seemingly opposing educational approaches, we need to know exactly how and to what extent these dual aspects are manifested in the texts of MS-S and what rationale and educational intentions were behind this duality. However, this is problematic, because there is no existing study that quantifies and explains the degree of ideological influence on the texts of MS-S with a view to the possible shifts of ideological influence, both qualitatively and quantitatively, over time, during the era of Imperial Japan.

The usefulness of this pioneering study of the combined qualitative and quantitative research in the case of MS-S is implied in other studies. The educational advantage of using MS-S was that the songs texts (i.e. lyrics) were more accessible to children than the texts in reading or lectures. Educational content (including ideology) was incorporated into the lyrics, set to familiar or accessible tunes and inculcated into the school children's minds by repeated singing (Santo 2008). The textbooks of MS-S and Japanese language during the war were 'particularly influential on the sentiments of Japanese citizens' (Karasawa 1956: 178-179), and a thorough qualitative study of Japanese language textbooks during the WWII period (Kurokawa 2007) attests to the strong influence of militarism and imperialism, as well as patriotic nationalism continued from the Meiji era, that glorifies the beauty of Japan (Kurokawa 2007:123-124). One of the interesting findings here is the paucity of depictions of fighting scenes themselves (Kurokawa 2007: 121), and descriptions of soldiers and the

military were given in such a way as to feel ordinary and familiar to the children, which encouraged them to become soldiers themselves spontaneously, while a sense of loyalty to the Emperor and the State was nurtured within them (Kurokawa 2007: 121-22). Here is an example of language taking on a political role to legitimise militarisation processes, whereby political leaders act to “direct mass opinion towards acquiescence... (and) ... acceptance... of militarisation processes” through manipulating “the mode of discourse and rhetoric selected” (Hook 1996: 129). It is also implied that vocabulary denoting militarism, imperialism, and nationalism increased in the textbooks of Japanese language during the WWII period, but the actual proportion of ideological vocabulary in the entire MS-S of that period is not reported, nor is the correlation between groups of ideological vocabulary or their changes over time. Therefore, this study aims to break new ground by quantifying the occurrence of ideological vocabulary in the MS-S text throughout the Imperial period and carry out quantitative comparative analyses of possible discrepancies between the sub-periods. The statistical results will serve as a basis for further qualitative analysis; the discursive context of the MS-S (that is to say, historical, socio-political, cultural, ethnic, contexts, and so on.) will be considered in detail, to analyse the intentions of ideological education and its manifestation in the texts of official documents and MS-S textbooks. The discursive contexts also include the contents and teaching methods of school subjects that were taught in tandem with the MS-S. The characteristics of MS-S, as a medium of ideological discourse, will be analysed and identified using a pilot framework based on Critical Discourse Analysis. The educational role of the MS-S in Imperial Japan as it shaped the discourse of pupils and their social consciousness are explored in detail.

While MS-S was published for different school levels from kindergarten (3-5 years) to *Kōtōka* (13-14 years), as mentioned later, the core empirical studies focus exclusively on the elementary level MS-S. This is because the governments of imperial Japan placed special importance on elementary education (Duus 1988: 402): the school system for this level was established at an early stage in 1872 by the Education System Order (*Gakusei*) and became compulsory for 6-9 year-olds by 1900 and by 1907 for 6-12 year-olds with the attendance rate exceeding 95 per cent in 1905. All pupils were taught under the same curriculum using the same state-controlled textbooks regardless of their gender except for the 4-6th grades at the *Kokumin-gakkō* (1941-1945), when girls did a home-making course while boys did manual training courses. Once they graduated from elementary school girls and boys entered different single-gender schools where different textbooks and curricula applied according to their gender. However, MS-S used for elementary school levels were always the same for both. For this reason, gender issues, including the differences in the rate of attendance between boys and girls, are not dealt with in this dissertation, but saved for future research.

This was also the approach taken by Kurokawa (2007) in his empirical study of wartime textbooks.

1.3.2. MS-S and propaganda

As mentioned earlier, the MS-S evokes a strong sense of being Japanese and is often referred to as *kokumin*¹⁴ *no uta* ('the national songs' or 'songs for the people of the country'), also because it contains a variety of historical and legendary topics, but the word *kokumin* was not in the vocabulary of ordinary Japanese until the late nineteenth century. Shimazu states that the concept of a *kokumin* ('national subject'¹⁵) who is loyal to the *kokka* ('state') was a newly formed political concept of the Meiji government, and it was established and propagated at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. The modernist political agenda of the Meiji era encouraged the extolling of the 'honourable war death' of national subjects in order to awaken patriotism among the Japanese people. The ultimate purpose was to 'change people into 'Japanese people', by shifting their collective consciousness from their predominantly locally based identity to the centralised national identity of the 'New Japan' (Shimazu 2006: 41). Her detailed study of the diaries of seven drafted Japanese soldiers revealed that many were not pro-war. In those days, ordinary Japanese people were conscious of a social code which dictated that resisting the draft was not acceptable for a 'good citizen of the state', but many felt ambivalent, or held 'elated resignation' (Shimazu 2006: 43). However, their minds were gradually changed during the journey from their hometown to the Ujina port from where the troops departed for Russia. Those who stayed behind were expected to cheer and encourage the soldiers and to see them off with gratitude for their sacrifice. Committed volunteers formed grassroots support groups throughout Japan. They helped to prepare soldiers for departure and supplied help to those left behind. They organised enthusiastic and heartfelt farewells for the soldiers. The soldiers met people from 'other' communities nationwide. They received warm farewells and were cheered by strangers in the towns they passed by, and they witnessed the raw emotions of separation between mothers, fathers and sons displayed in other regions just like their own. The diary of one soldier noted that, on one day of the journey, he saw, in the cheering crowd, a woman of humble background who might be of his own mother's age. She must have travelled far, wearing a pair of straw sandals and carrying a hand-made straw hat that she wanted to give to her son who was scheduled to depart that day. Sadly, she finds out that her son was made to leave the day before. The soldier sees his own mother in her and senses his responsibility

¹⁴ In this dissertation 'kokumin' is translated primarily as 'People of the country' (Gordon 2013: 134), and depending on the context either as 'people' (Duus 1988: 686), 'the nation's' (Jansen 2000: 471), or 'national' (Kushner 2006: 31, 94, and 686). Gordon (2013: 134) mentions all these possibilities.

¹⁵ As translated into English in Shimazu 2006.

to protect the country. There were children waving flags, too, in whom the soldiers saw their own little brothers and sisters. To encourage and reassure them, the soldiers did Banzai calls, which ‘played a pivotal role in uniting the people and the soldiers’ (Shimazu 2006: 46). Throughout this journey, and through these exchanges, soldiers come to gain the consciousness of what it means to be a ‘good Japanese’, a member of the state, and depart for the battlefield. Here, the Russo-Japanese War was a turning point in forming an imperial Japanese nationalism (Yonehara et al. 90-100). Many scholars consider that Banzai calls are a part of Japanese propaganda, and Japanese propaganda ‘exerted broad and powerful influence’ (Kushner 2006: 6), although it took a different form from that of the Nazis. The main reason for this was the lack of a central organization in Japan, such as a ministry of propaganda, which was in command; nor was the indoctrination conducted in a top-down manner. Rather, the characteristics of Japanese propaganda were that they ‘evolved from multiple centres of production’ and had a long-lasting influence (Kushner 2006: 184). In other words, Japanese at all levels of society (The Cabinet Board of Information, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, military propaganda platoons sent to the Chinese mainland, the Special Higher Police, private individuals, advertisers, comedians, publishers, and writers for example) participated in the creation and dissemination of propaganda through mutual collaboration (Kushner 2006: 184). Its central message that touched the hearts of the Japanese people was ‘Japan as organised, clean, and in pursuit of modernity’, a notion which endured even after the war (Kushner 2006: 184).

The notion of ‘modern Japan’ was integral to the new mobilisation of Japanese people for the recovery effort after the defeat of WWII. The defeat threw the public into confusion. School children experienced the shock of a sudden wave of changes. Newly appointed democratic teachers instructed them to ‘purge their textbooks of militarist and nationalist passages by striking them through with a pen’ (Hook et al. 2012: 83), which also happened to MS-S (3.1.). Yet, within the agenda of including Japan in the capitalist camp against communism, the Allied Forces moved to ensure the security and democratization of Japan under Occupation through rehabilitating the emperor as the ‘symbol of the state’ (Hook et al. 2012: 83) and the SCAP (Supreme Command of Allied Powers) hired professional propagandists from wartime Japan, such as Koyama Eizō, to extract the public from the post-war chaos (Kushner 2006: 180-181) towards democratization, demilitarization and economic development (Hook et al. 2012: 66-67). Thus, Japan’s wartime militarism cum ultra-nationalism was replaced with economism (Hook et al. 2012: 67-8), which the public committed themselves to with fervour, fanned by the new propaganda, under the same imperial national symbol and the same national anthem from the wartime MS-S, that is to say, *Kimi-ga-yo*.

1.3.3. Propaganda vs. Ideology and the role of language

The way in which MS-S differ from other textbooks is that they use poetic language (lyrics) set to a tune: school children sing MS-S in the language of the text and the discourse interpreted by these children is repeated, thus facilitating memorization (Santo 2008). The discourse of MS-S that children interpret is contextualised by the text of the MS-S and related texts, such as textbooks of history, geography, and so on. used in school at the micro level, as well as by the larger socio-historical context of the period in which the children live at the macro level. Both propaganda and MS-S connect the macro and micro levels of contexts, but in different domains and layers as the former encompasses the latter in the children's sociocultural awareness of ideological and cultural hegemony, while the latter serves the former in ensuring children's text-level awareness, or at least familiarisation of ideological expressions. Learning is a cognitive phenomenon and it begins with the awareness of the existence of a particular concept (such as ideologically loaded words) and familiarisation through repeated exposure to the concept as discussed in 2.2.

Propaganda appeals to the cognitive senses of those who receive it by using language, as well as images and sounds associated with it. Language serves to create an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983/2006) where its citizens hold the idea that the community of the nation to which they belong exists without verifying it exhaustively, and it 'plays a vital role in the operation of ideology and in the framing of ideological consciousness' (Billig 1995: 17) and in forming a collective national identity (Wodak et al. 1998/2009: 22). In fact, the Meiji government considered that Japanese people would be unified through 'speaking and writing a common national language under an ethnocentrism with the Emperor at its core' (Sauzier-Uchida 2008: 54). This policy was introduced as a result of the fact that pre-Restoration Japan possessed a variety of widely used written languages which were comprehensible to people all over the country with appropriate levels of education, but the spoken language was too diverse in dialectal variations and indeed different languages for people of different regions to communicate at all. Thus, the success of the Meiji imperial government was partly based on the systematic dissemination of a common language in a written form (Anderson 1983/2006: 95-96), which subsequently succeeded in becoming a nationwide prestige dialect. This is an example of cultural hegemony through language as discussed by Gramsci.

Gramsci (in translation by Hoare and Smith 1999: 816) discusses the power that language exerts in creating hegemony according to which 'language is transformed with the

transformation of the whole of civilisation, through the acquisition of culture by new classes and through the hegemony exercised by one national language over others, and so on., and what it does is precisely to absorb in metaphorical form the words of previous civilisations and cultures'. A new standard language of Japan was introduced and taught nation-wide in the new system of universal compulsory education, which achieved high attendance rate of 95 per cent by 1905. If the level of success of cultural hegemony can be measured by the speed and the extent of coverage in which a language comes to be used by a target population, then this was a clear case of success. How the population use the language may also reflect the sociopolitical purpose behind the cultural hegemony.

Japan's wartime propaganda campaign reflects 'the social psychology that helped Japan pursue its war time aims', and it also 'demonstrates that the Japanese populace in general were active participants and not mere followers of their government officials and military commanders' (Kushner 2006: 3). This statement clearly suggests that the Japanese people were not passively controlled robots, but autonomous actors in the propaganda effort, which in turn suggests that the Japanese public shared a common ideology upon which they acted, and that this ideology was communicated between and among these social actors through language. Considering the above and, as we embark on a historical analysis in this study, it is noted that the language we can study will be recorded language in a text, that is, MS-S and related documents such as official statutes and guidelines. Therefore, for the sake of our analysis, an important terminological distinction should be made here: propaganda and ideologies are related, but different, entities, as the former is an outward public expression of the latter. Ideologies in this study are defined as 'cognitive structures combining beliefs, values, norms and goals' (Koller 2009). The people of imperial Japan may have carried ideologies to varying degrees of maturity and depth of understanding, but, in all cases, the holding of ideologies was an inward mental activity whereas the outward expression of ideologies was performed in a variety of ways notably, for example, in different forms of propaganda. Since the main purpose of propaganda is 'to cause action, not reflection' (Kushner 2006: 4), this is also the reason why the resultant action may not always be rational and thus, what an ideology, propaganda based on the ideology, and people's responses to the propaganda as manifest may be related, but different. For example, there can be a discrepancy between what an ideology holds as a higher objective of civic society, such as autonomy in national security, prosperity, universal literacy, modernity, solidarity, on one hand, and their forms of expressions through propaganda, such as campaigns for national mobilisation to support war efforts, on the other. Furthermore, peoples' emotive response to such propaganda may be twice removed from the ideology on which the propaganda is based. Consequently, even if the original intention of an ideology is for the public good, the

outcome of ideological transfer among the members of a society and propaganda can bring devastating consequences for the society as a whole. Japanese wartime propaganda is an illuminating example of this. Therefore, it is important to remember that propaganda is not about forcing on its recipients an ‘irrational web of deceit and lies’ nor is it ‘persuasion’ that follows from ‘a dialogue based on reason that satisfies both parties’, but it is ‘a deliberate attempt to shape perceptions to activate a response that furthers a desired action’ by appealing to emotion (Kushner 2006: 4) and education through the music and poetry of MS-S had that potential.

1.3.4. Propaganda and education

The central purpose of Japanese wartime propaganda, in particular from the 1930s to the end of WWII, was ‘unifying the battlefield with the home front’ and to be ‘a tool for integrating Japan’s wartime empire’ (Kushner 2006: 6). This empire operated on the foundation of a nationalistic sentiment of a unified Japan that had emerged during the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) (Shimazu 2009) and continued to dominate the society’s psyche until its defeat. So, Japanese wartime propaganda can be seen as an extension of nationalism in its promotion of nationwide militarisation. However, the picture is more complex. The wars were fought for ‘imperial’ Japan. Citizens died ‘honourable deaths’ as Imperial subjects (Shimazu 2009: 98-99) and the nationalism was based on this imperialism. Therefore, it is important to view Japanese wartime propaganda as one that ‘evolved over decades, as the product of empire-building’ (Kushner 2006: 14). This view opens up the possibility of studying ideological transitions and developments that motivated the propaganda diachronically as well as synchronically. Moreover, this view invites a question as to how these ideologies may have interacted and manifested themselves in the minds of Japanese people during the course of the development of imperial Japan, and in particular for this study, through school education. Further, questions arise as to what the ideological concepts were, who promoted and transferred them, and by using what means of communication. Concerning the ‘what and who’ of the ideological transfer, records suggest that the central government frequently intervened to guide the propaganda’s direction through public education. For example, a document issued by the Department of Education Research Institute for the Studies of National Spirit and Culture¹⁶ (1937) is one of many educational guidelines given to teachers nationwide. This was a joint-ministerial initiative among the Ministries of the Army, Navy, Home Affairs, Education, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Commerce and Industry, as well as the Bureau of Tax, Social Affairs and Resources. It

¹⁶ 国民精神文化研究所研究部教育科.

introduces a ‘National Mobilisation’ campaign (1-19), and lays out its rationale and objectives as follows: ‘loyalty and service’ to the Imperial Nation (20-23), the ‘harmonious cooperation of the people of the nation with one heart’ (24-30), and the ‘international significance of the security treaty¹⁷’, ‘the Treaty in view of our Thought-War’ (42-58), the ‘protection of resources’ (59-75), the ‘goal of parsimonious economy’ (76-81), ‘optimising the international relations’ budgetary and civilian cooperation’ (82-93), the ‘North-China Incident Special Taxation Act’ (94-104), the ‘Air Defence Act’ (105-115), the ‘necessity of military aircraft protection’ (116-144), and finally, ‘Home Front Support’ (131-144). These contents cover imperial, national, as well as military concepts, and some appear to belong to more than one such category. Thus, teachers of compulsory schools were instructed by the government to teach children accordingly.

Unlike the present era of mass and social media, means of public communication in pre-war Japan was limited to face-to-face oral public performances (speech, theatre, comedy, other entertainment), writing (e.g. imperial rescripts read aloud by an intellectual leader of the region at a village school), and radio (as of 1926 in Tokyo, but not until the mid-30’s in most remote regions), and the majority of the population had limited exposure to the dialects used in other parts of the nation. Therefore, basic universal public education, introduced by the Meiji imperial government, was the only way of learning designated as the standard Japanese language that would enable communication between Japanese people of diverse dialects, enabling the propagation of imperial doctrine¹⁸. Language was taught primarily by using readers nationwide. Reportedly, some ideologies were observed in the language textbooks from the start: one of the first publications, ‘Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon reader’ (1887), had a ‘strongly nationalistic’ content (Ōta 2006: 23). However, regional differences were so great that the Ministry of Education issued official ‘National Language Readers’ (1904) to replace the earlier uncensored language textbooks and to reinforce a nationwide, standard, Japanese education (Ōta 2006: 24-5). Without such an emphasis on the ‘national language’ through basic public education, propaganda messages in standard Japanese, whether spoken or written, could not have been readily communicated to the majority of citizens in pre-war Japan. Therefore, basic language education was of paramount importance for the unification of regionally autonomous and diverse Japanese people into a centralised community of the nation of Japan. Through this basic education, Japanese people became equipped to later digest the nation-wide propaganda and its underlying ideologies, propelling them to join spontaneous acts of propagating ideological discourse themselves. This takes our investigation to the textbooks, of which MS-S is a prototypical example.

¹⁷ 1937 Anti-Comintern Pact (Antikominternpakt)日独防共協定.

¹⁸ cf. 1.3.3. discusses cultural hegemony.

Kurokawa (2007) found that both the wartime Japanese textbooks (readers) and their teaching guidelines present two seemingly contradictory, but equally distinct, features, namely imperialist militarism and student-centred learning, to nurture independent thought and spirit. These features were, in fact, complementary in producing pupils who were committed to participating in the wartime efforts. Kurokawa found that wartime teaching encouraged pupils to develop their own independent thoughts and decision-making powers, while supplying an ample input of both militarism and ethical as well as cultural aesthetics. This combination of factors in education may have resulted in a generation of Japanese who made logical and conscious decisions to support the war-effort by sacrificing their own needs to what they perceived as a greater cause. To test this hypothesis, Kurokawa's study examined readers (*tokuhon*) for 5-10 year old students, and identified the 'conflicting' aspects of *Kokumin gakkō* language textbooks: the education in ideology on one hand and children's spontaneity and autonomy in learning on the other, and clarified the fact that this bilateral characteristic was effective in training children to become imperial subjects.

For example, Japanese textbooks during the *Kokumin gakkō* period have been described as 'ultranationalistic/militaristic textbooks placed on a war footing' (Karasawa 1956; Nagahama 1985, 1987), but conversely, they are also regarded as 'forward-thinking textbooks based on the language activity-oriented method' (Nishio 1943; Ohira 1997), and these are two opposing approaches. However, the very duality of these approaches was complementary, or formed natural counterparts, in enforcing ideology in education. Language-activity based education helped children to develop sensitivity and they spontaneously responded to militaristic stories in the textbook with a firm willingness to go to war one day and also to participate in the war efforts on the home front. In this regard Kurokawa explains that the language-activity based educational approach was 'designed to offer the opportunity to children to learn autonomously in the familiar everyday setting', hence providing motivation. For example, if the topic was '*tenchō-setsu* ('Emperor's birthday')' the material was designed in such a way that children would be taught to 'become conscious of their own mission for the sake of the Imperial state', and if the topic was about war or soldiers, the text was designed to 'support children to respond spontaneously with the desire to support the war efforts or to participate in fighting' (Kurokawa 2007:354). The protagonists of the texts are of the same age as the learners, so that they would 'imagine oneself in the protagonist's shoes, empathise with him, feel the emotions, and imagine what one would do in that situation'. The textbooks went through various editing processes so that the contents were appealing to the children to 'cultivate *kokumin-seishin* (national spirit) through thoughts and emotions appropriate for *kokumin*

(citizens of the state). The language was taught through censored textbooks, therefore:

It was their textbooks that created the Japanese. There has never been anything like the textbooks that has had such a universal influence on the citizens of Japan. Textbooks touched the lives of each and every one of the Japanese people in every corner of the nation, not just one particular group. It was particularly so in the past era¹⁹, because Japanese education was centred on its textbooks. For those who had received compulsory education, only textbooks had a lifelong influence on their conduct in the real world. Those who had the opportunity to receive higher education continued to develop after graduation, but their personalities had been already formed during their compulsory education. Therefore, the history of Japanese textbooks is the history of Japanese elementary schools, which mirrors the history of education for ordinary Japanese citizens, and this in turn is, in fact, the history of the formation of the nation of Japan itself (Karasawa 1956: 1).

The discourse of textbooks such as MS-S impacted on Japanese children, instilling in them certain ideological belief systems in their formative years, generation after generation, equipping them with the knowledge and language which assisted them to understand ideologies and propaganda, enabling them to share the discourses of propaganda, and finally leading to nationwide mobilization. This is the premise of this study, and we will set out to investigate how that occurred and by what mechanisms. All these findings would seem to point to the power of language to influence collective social consciousness, which reciprocally shapes the language to reflect the social agenda.

1.4. Research questions

There appears to be a dialectical relationship (Hyatt 2010; Mulderrig 2011a; Mulderrig 2011b) between the discourse of MS-S and the society in which the discourse was used at any given time. What MS-S represented exerted an influence on the world-view of the recipients of MS-S education, and, conversely, the social context in which the discourse of MS-S occurred affected the interpretation of what the discourse represented at the time. Simultaneously, the content of the discourse was shaped by the authors to suit the purposes for which the discourse was created in the first place – that is to say, an ideological world-view that the discourse was meant to represent. This leads to the following five research questions:

¹⁹ Karasawa (1956) refers to the generations of pre-war Imperial Japan.

1. What was **the purpose** for which the discourse of MS-S was designated? What concepts were communicated?
2. What are **the conceptual and linguistic contents of the text** that link to the purpose of the MS-S discourse?
3. How was the text (of the discourse of MS-S) produced, disseminated, taught and consumed (as in the concept of discursive practices in CDA)? (i.e. What **methods** were used in these practices of education and dissemination of ideology?)
4. How can **the social context** (in which the discourses were instantiated) be characterised and in what way did **the social context affect the text** itself or its purpose? How did **the shifts in the social context** affect the texts and interpretation of the text-discourse?
5. Based on the answers to Research Questions 1-4, what **role** did MS-S play in the **mechanism of (purposed) communication within the larger socio-historical context?**

At this point, it seems appropriate to clarify the meaning of text and discourse as adopted in this dissertation whereby we treat text and discourse as closely linked, but different, objects of study. Text is an audible (spoken) or visible (written piece) object, but in itself carries nothing more than a set of organised symbols. These symbols are identifiable by the semantic and grammatical functions assigned to each of them, but their meaning comes into being only when the text is interpreted by a reader / listener according to the context. In other words, this contextualization of a text is, in fact, the reader (or listener)'s 'reconstruction of the writer (or speaker)'s intended message' in the discourse (Verdonk 2002: 18). The reconstruction, however, is not necessarily the same as what was actually intended by the originator of the discourse. This point will be discussed in more detail later (2.2.) in relation to cohesion and coherence. In order to investigate the ideological associations created and communicated by MS-S, cases of traceable evidence of language manipulation need to be scrutinised and their volume of dominance and patterns need to be quantified in all relevant texts. Therefore, the study of the discourse of MS-S requires both descriptive and quantitative analyses of the primary corpus (the texts of MS-S), comparative descriptive and quantitative analyses of the primary and secondary corpora (relevant texts produced by the recipients of the MS-S), as well as explanatory and qualitative analyses of the findings of these corpus analyses against the historical records concerning the MS-S and the relevant social context.

1.5. Theoretical framework, hypothesis, and evidence

Based on the studies of language and power as represented in the framework of CDA²⁰ (Fairclough 1989, Wodak 2001, van Dijk, 1993/2009a and b, and so on.), studies of wartime Japanese textbooks by (Karasawa 1956; Kurokawa 2007), and of wartime Japanese propaganda (Kushner 2006, 2009) this dissertation employs a hybrid theoretical framework as found in works in the domain of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA²¹) (Wodak et al. 1999/2009; Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Reisigl and Wodak 2009; Koller 2012). The premises of our hypothesis are as follows:

- MS-S contain three distinct elements (ethical values, ultra-nationalism, militarism, and autonomy), which are seemingly contradictory but, in fact, complementary ingredients in teaching the ideology of wartime Japan.
- These elements themselves do not form an ideology, but when interpreted by individuals, in line with the social context of the time, an ideological interpretation was formed.
- As a result, actions by these individuals (e.g. writing) reflect the ideology, and in turn these actions influence the social context.

The hypothesised **mechanism** by which this process worked is explained below and, in the course of this explanation, three educational concepts in MS-S and five factors that affect ideology will be described (indicated in bold). Ideology is truly effective when it is disguised (Fairclough 1989:107) allowing the audience of an ideological discourse to make *inferences* voluntarily. Therefore, in the texts of wartime MS-S, militaristic totalitarian ideology (- **the purpose**) is manifested explicitly, partly through a vocabulary of belligerence and intolerance, but mainly through implicit associations between militarism and affirmative views of the nation of Japan and her people (- **the methods**). The associations are a product of *inferences*²² in the comprehension processes of the wartime discourse, which was designed to evoke nostalgic adoration for the nation of Japan, whereby Japan was represented in the discourse of MS-S as a long-suffering and beautiful motherland (- **the methods**²³). At the same time, the same discourse helped to elicit a spontaneous response from the audience in the form of participating in patriotic actions (- **the effect**). The juxtaposition of the two seemingly contradictory sets of vocabulary (- **the text**) – militaristic

²⁰ Discussion of CDA framework is given in 2.3.

²¹ ²¹ The abbreviation follows the convention used in the studies of CDA (Wodak and Meyer 2009a: 26; Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 87-121).

²² Used in the technical sense of making sense of a discourse, processing information in a manner that appears to be coherent to oneself, and/or constructing a coherent mental picture of the discourse.

²³ The length of time this inculcation takes is included in the plan for future research (2.1.1. and 6.3).

ideology, on the one hand, and the language of peace, virtue and harmony, on the other – resulted in the evocation of a strong emotional attachment to the land, and condemnation of the enemies that threatened the peace. This was turned into an urge to protect the nation by an additional, third set of vocabulary, which depicted senses of solidarity, cooperation, reliability, unification, volition, and spontaneous voluntary participation (- **the effect**). If the above hypothesis is correct, these three groups of vocabulary may be textually identified and their educational purposes may be categorised as: 1/ sentiment education; 2/ militarism, ultra-nationalism, and 3/ spontaneity and voluntary participation in actions (- **the purpose traced in the text**). Including these three groups of vocabulary MS-S convey information of any kind, but mainly in a simple discourse and primarily in line with the government's educational policy (- **the purpose**) at the time, but on their own MS-S do not display overt ideology. Potentially ideological concepts are communicated to the children through making of associations between and among known facts and ideas based on the socio-political contexts provided (- **the methods**) either by the text of MS-S or in their immediate educational and social environment.

As social contexts change, shifts of social consciousness (e.g. pro-imperialism, pro-militarism, pro-democracy, and so on.) may occur and these changes may be reflected in the shifts of balance in vocabulary choices in the discourse of MS-S published in different historical periods, namely from the post-Meiji Restoration to the end of WWII. The proportion of each vocabulary group relative to the text, or to each other, may have changed over time, reflecting the government's educational agenda as depicted in relevant official documents and laws (- the shifts in **the social context** affecting the discourse). For example, shifts in the focus of importance among the concepts expressed by three main vocabulary groups (virtue, militarism, and voluntary participation) may be observed between MS-S of the *Meiji* (1868-1912), *Taishō* (1912-1926), and *Shōwa* (1926-1989) eras. If such trend shifts are observed, this can be taken as evidence of a dialectic relationship between the discourse interpretation and social context as predicted by the theories of CDA. Based on the above premises, and given the psychological and linguistic **mechanisms** of discourse comprehension through making sense of information by building a mental picture of a 'message' (explained in detail in Chapter 2), this dissertation proposes a hypothesis that the central driving force of the communication of ideology in the MS-S was the making of 'associations' between ideological concepts and children's everyday life through manipulation of language, as well as the sharing of the same kind of discourse between all parties involved (the government, the educationists, the children and society). We will use the shorthand 'assimilation-association model' hereon to refer to this relationship.

1.6. Research methods for corpus-based analysis

This empirical study employs a hybrid approach bringing both quantitative and qualitative analytical methods under the discipline of CDA. First, an analytical framework is defined. Second, the corpus for qualitative analyses is described, and third, the corpus for quantitative analyses is described.

1.6.1. Analytical framework

This current study employs a variety of linguistic and socio-cognitive analytical frameworks used in or inspired by the discipline of CDA. This includes frameworks for quantitative analysis using statistics, on the one hand, and a variety of linguistic and psychological analytical frameworks for qualitative analyses, on the other. The rationale for this hybrid, cross-disciplinary framework is given in detail in the next chapter. Employing Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (1965) as a basic linguistic tool for textual analysis, this study will draw from sociolinguistic frameworks developed by CDA scholars, chiefly, Fairclough (1989/2009) and Wodak (2001/2009), and analyses of discourse processing and comprehension as demonstrated by van Dijk (1993/2009a and b). Each of the research questions, focusing on the five factors of ideology (the purposes, the text, the methods, the shifts, and to some degree, the effect in a variety of social contexts) will be analysed either quantitatively or qualitatively in the framework of CDA. This empirical study tests the aforementioned 'assimilation-association' hypothesis on corpora of quantitative and qualitative analyses as described in the sections below.

1.6.2. Corpus for qualitative analyses

This study conducts two types of qualitative analyses: descriptive analyses of the contents of the official documents for MS-S (Chapter 3) and descriptive, stylistic and linguistic analysis of the texts of MS-S. For the inquiry into *the purposes* of MS-S education, we will first consult the literature on ideology in combination with the historical background of the creation of a series of MS-S. There are five sets of official MS-S for elementary level issued by the government of Japan and each of them has a preface, and/or accompanying documentation containing implementation guidelines that describe the purposes of the publication and use of the MS-S. These will be reviewed against Japan's socio-historical background in order to explain the mutual relationship between the socio-historical-cultural context and the purposes in creating and teaching MS-S. At the same time, evidence found concerning the purposes of MS-S education and the socio-historical-cultural contexts

associated with each MS-S will be examined in chronological order. Any shifts in the trends of the socio-political-cultural context will be identified and their possible influence on the purposes for each of the five sets of official MS-S will be considered²⁴.

The texts of these MS-S will first be analysed quantitatively, as described in the next section. The proportional balance of vocabulary denoting types of ideology in the discourse of all MS-S are analysed, and used to characterise each of these MS-S datasets published in Periods 1-4 (1881-1909, 1910-30, 1931-40, and 1941-5). These data will be also used for the comparison of the linguistically-analysable similarities and differences between the texts of MS-S sets in different historical periods. Based on the statistical results and characterization of MS-S sets in Periods 1-4, case studies are conducted on the song texts (lyrics and titles) that are representative of each MS-S dataset, exploring how such characteristics may have been given by the linguistic choices. In particular, the lexical groups associated with Japanese imperialism, militarism, nationalism, and autonomy are qualitatively studied to explore Kurokawa's claim (2007) concerning the duality of educational approaches found in the wartime Japanese textbooks, as discussed in 1.3.4. above.

1.6.3. Corpus for quantitative analyses

In order to analyse the ideology manifested in the discourse of MS-S quantitatively as objectively as possible, we will explore through our literature review and discussion in Chapter 2 what linguistic items may reflect certain psychological processes and how. For example, lexical items found in the texts are observable, and thus quantifiable. However, due to various theoretical and empirical challenges, literature using statistics that would guide our study is extremely scarce, with a small section in Kurokawa's (2007) study of Japanese wartime readers being one of the very few available, and examples of investigations based on quantitative variables building from a statistical linguistic standpoint are harder yet to obtain. Hence, we will need to construct an original analytical method for which purpose Chapter 2 is devoted, and in the process we will consult corpus-based studies in the domain of CDA (e.g. Mulderrig 2011b), employing coding schemes of lexical items.

Our data, on which statistical analyses will be performed, consists of all the pieces of MS-S for elementary levels issued by the government between 1881 and 1945, and thus it is the general population of the target group of MS-S, and not just a representative sample group. This dissertation aims to explore patterns of phenomena concerning MS-S education within a set of socio-historical periods. Statistically, such patterns are sought in the interrelationship

²⁴ This triangulation approach of context analysis (Koller 2012) will be explained in 2.3.

of variables, each of which represents characteristics of MS-S in a specific socio-historical period. Given this research purpose, the Chi-square (χ^2) test and Principal Component Analysis (PCA) are the most appropriate statistical methods for this study: the former method allows us to verify whether differences between the periods are probable or not, while the latter method is useful in finding patterns of association between and among the variables²⁵.

1.7. Dissertation structure

Following on from this Introduction, this dissertation is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature relevant to define the focus of the research, to constructing a hypothesis, and to building an analytical framework and methodology for testing the hypotheses of this study. The chapter discusses how they might be adapted to conduct this empirical study. Concepts of Japanese imperialism, militarism, and nationalism are discussed and defined in the scope of this research so as to investigate the changes of these ideologies reflected in the MS-S texts over the time course. It also examines past studies in language learning and comprehension processes, ranging from word recognition to discourse processing, along with the roles of inference in discourse interpretation to memory. These are brought under the analytical framework of CDA adopting an evidence-based, hybrid approach that integrates quantitative (morpheme-level) and qualitative (discourse-level) analyses. These would provide the foundation to the study hypotheses, namely ‘assimilation-association hypothesis (1.5.)’ for ideological education.

Chapter 3 provides an historical overview of all sets of MS-S published during the period of 1881-1945 and the circumstances in which each of them were created and used. The chapter describes how and with what intention they were created, disseminated, and taught, which relates to research question 1. Subsequently, it examines relevant statutes and official documents, such as gazettes, the guidelines and prefaces of each of the five MS-S. It also describes MS-S features in comparison to each other. The data, thus obtained, are used in the qualitative analysis in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the statistical data analyses of MS-S texts. After explaining the rationale and methodology of the statistical analyses, the chapter examines the occurrences

²⁵ This study does not use text mining methods based on ‘fuzzy logic’ theories like Markov Chains or Bayesian Classifiers, for it is a retrospective study and does not necessitate projection of statistical models into future events.

and proportions of lexical items expressing the three main ideological concepts (Japanese imperialism, nationalism and militarism as discussed in 2.1.2.) in each of the four sub-periods; the changes in the expressions of the three concepts through the different periods and, finally, the differential association patterns formed by selected lexical items that emerge as characterising a given period. The results are discussed also qualitative viewpoints in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 5 focuses on the qualitative analysis of MS-S texts in the hybrid framework inspired by the CDA framework. Representative texts of MS-S from each of the four historical periods will be analysed in detail, referring to the evidence of relevant historical records, which includes both official documents concerning MS-S and historical events, and drawing from theories on discourse comprehension, memory and other relevant psychological processes.

Chapter 6 discusses the results of the quantitative (Chapter 4) and qualitative (Chapter 5) analyses in the light of the socio-historical contexts of MS-S examined in Chapter 3 and theories and interpretations of psychological language processing reviewed in Chapter 2. Through the discussion linguistic and discursive factors involved in the ideological interpretation of MS-S and its effect on the pupils' social consciousness are identified. Against the above the hypotheses put forward in Chapter 2 are verified. Based on these key findings and the discussion of their broader implications, the contribution of this study to the relevant field of research will be described, leading to the final conclusion and suggestions for future study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Discussion for Constructing a Cross-Disciplinary Research Framework

The aim of this chapter is three-fold: to define the types of ideologies to be examined in the corpora of this study, to study cognitive processes that might be involved in ideological transfer as well as to find a way to analyse traces of the transfer as objectively as possible (Research question 1), and to construct a research framework and analytical methodology for this study of MS-S education (Research question 2). As mentioned in the previous chapter, this empirical study seeks to trace the three ideologies associated with MS-S education, namely Japanese imperialism, militarism, and nationalism, in the texts of corpora. It also seeks to objectively quantify them for statistical analysis, and then describe the patterns first statistically and then qualitatively in detail so that the mechanism of ideological transfer in MS-S education may be systematically considered. Of course, the implementation of a scientific study of ideological education has obvious challenges and limitations, because human minds and emotions are transient and are not readily quantifiable. Also, ideology involves a variety of disciplines: sociology, history, psychology, and linguistics to name but a few. Knitting them together for the sake of this study naturally poses theoretical, methodological and empirical challenges, and so this study attempts to construct a hybrid cross-disciplinary analytical framework drawing on CDA and relevant disciplines through the literature review and the discussion in this chapter. In short, this chapter is a prelude to the empirical study of ideology manifested in the discourse of MS-S. The chapter is divided into three sections. First, the objects of the empirical study – the three ideologies – are defined based on the literature review and discussion of studies in ideology. Second, facts and theories in applied linguistics and psychological language processing are reviewed in the light of analysing the MS-S texts while considering the rationale for deciding on the linguistic units for our quantitative and qualitative analyses. Third, CDA and the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)²⁶ are briefly described as the theoretical foundation framework for our empirical study, leading to a proposal of a cross-disciplinary analytical framework and methodology used for this study. Finally, a set of research questions, leading to the assimilation-association model of ideological transfer, is posited.

²⁶ The abbreviation follows the convention used in the studies of CDA (Wodak and Meyer 2009a: 26; Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 87-121).

2.1. Ideology in Monbushō textbooks and children's songbooks

MS-S was originally devised as a textbook for music classes as a part of the school curriculum. Therefore, it would seem logical to begin with a review of *Monbushō*-textbooks and how educational policies may have had an influence on them.

2.1.1. Ideologies in Japanese education 1881-1945

Wartime education in Japan is characterised by its highly militarised content and teaching methods (Ōe 1974, Yamanaka 1977, Kakinuma 2002: 37, Kurokawa 2007) based on nationalist (Crawcour 1988: 406) or supra-/ultra-nationalist (Kakinuma 2002: 52, Hirata 2008: 45) ideology and imperialism (Karasawa 1956; Beasley 1987; Murakami 2011: 66) with a Confucian-inspired concept of a family-state (*kazoku-kokka*²⁷) combined with indigenous ancestral worship (Yoshino 1992: 91). The common Japanese people were taught, with a literalised metaphor of 'family nation', that the imperial lineage had been unbroken since time immemorial, making the emperor divine (Imperial Rescript on Education 1890), and that his subjects belonged to the nation of Japan as if they were all members of the same family (Yoshino: 90-92; Ruoff 2001: 27). Essentially, they were given 'education based on the emperor-centred history' (*kōkoku-shi-kan-teki kyōiku*) (Ishii 2002: 219) whereby textbooks, including the MS-S, were provided as 'manuals for the purpose of training and nurturing imperial subjects' (*kōkokumin*²⁸ *no rensei no tame no kyōzai*) (Yamanaka 1977: 6). Therefore, the emperor must be revered in the same way as the 'father' of the family. Such an education system may have nurtured extremist patriotism among the 'imperial subjects' making them into 'excellent imperial fascists (*yūshūna kōkoku no fashisuto*)' (Yamanaka 1977: 6), and eventually culminating into their self-sacrificing devotion to the deified nation, as expressed in various wartime efforts – with the *kamikaze* suicide pilots being an extreme example.

²⁷ The *kazoku-kokka-ron* ('family-state thesis') advanced by Hozumi Yatsuka (1860-1912), Takayama Chogyū (1871-1902) among others and incorporated into the National Polity (*kokutai*) claims that the Emperor as the head of the state is of the purest blood of the Japanese race and all of his subjects are ultimately his blood relatives and thus, as a member of the family – or *ie* (a basic legal, economic, and social unit in Japan before the end of WWII) – the subjects belong to the nation through the Emperor. This later developed into a racist concept of superiority over other nations and people.

²⁸ Definition is given by: Tokutomi Inoichiro (1939) 'Showa kokumin tokuhon' (Showa People's Reader), Tokyo Nichi-Nichi-Shinbun-sha; Nose Hisao (1937) 'Senji-joshiki' (Wartime Common Knowledge), Ichigo-sha; and Ueda Kinzo (1932) 'Dare demo kokoroubeki komin no chishiki' (Essential knowledge for every citizen), Miyamae-shoten, and the English translation is consistent with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. (1981). *Japan's Modern Educational System*. 文部科学省学制百年史. Online at http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317220.htm, accessed 13 June 2013.

This ideological teaching came in many forms, but the most prominent form was through the teaching of the ‘national language’ using a reader (*tokuhon*) in combination with classroom exercises in the performing arts (*geinō-ka*) (Kurokawa 2007). In particular, the wartime government of Japan promoted the singing of ceremonial and other selected songs at schools because of the songs’ educational effectiveness (Irie 1994: 3). Indeed, the singing of songs proved pedagogically effective: even today, older Japanese remember these wartime songs well, and also claim that the songs still evoke strong emotions within them (Takano 2006). On the one hand, this fact itself could be regarded as a result of effective ‘wartime propaganda’ (Kushner 2006: 3), although, on the other hand, the main reason could be nostalgia, for much of the MS-S’ contents depict the natural beauty of the land and family-community values. Alternatively, the effect of the ideological discourse may have weakened over time as the memories of wartime Japan have faded in the minds of the recipients of wartime discourse. In other words, perhaps, changes in social context have negatively impacted the ideological power that the discourse (of MS-S) once exerted on the recipients, and the same discourse began to represent a different world-view in a new social context. This is, of course, speculation and it calls for a longitudinal study of the relation between the shifts in social context and the effect of power through manipulation of discourse. In this regard, Nishijima (1997: 35) explains that the shifts in the teaching methods of MS-S also reflected and enforced its role as the vehicle of ideology. The following summarises his argument. First, during the early Meiji era, MS-S was taught to demonstrate the result of learning. That is to say, because children in those days were not familiar with group activities in music, teachers and children were encouraged to discuss the lyrics together in order for the children to grasp the concepts of the advanced vocabulary and to decode the messages in the texts. In this way, imperial messages within the MS-S were internalised. By the middle of the Meiji era, new teaching methods appeared whereby group activities were performed using MS-S. In particular based on Herbart’s newly introduced pedagogy²⁹, rules for social integration and correct social behaviour were taught through singing in unison standing upright. Pupils learnt the correct language and way of life through MS-S and experienced group activities that ‘gave a sense of reassurance and trust, strengthening social cohesion’ and which ‘facilitated the dissemination of ideology and socio-cultural codes, and thus MS-S acquired the ‘function of transferring ideology’ (Nishijima 1997: 35).

²⁹ Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776 – 1841) was a founder of pedagogy as an academic discipline with a background in psychology and philosophy. His pedagogy is built on the teaching methods that were originally devised by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1846-1827), but Herbart’s contribution is to build a psychological basis in facilitating children’s learning and their character development through educational experience. He emphasised the importance of teaching the children to observe the external and real objects and compare them to knowledge they have acquired so far.

At the end of the Meiji era, the teaching of MS-S itself became the mainstream approach under ‘the educational theories that are more applicable to the *Kokumin-sei* (‘national character’) than the earlier approaches borrowed from the west (Nishijima 1997: 32), and which encouraged the awareness of being a national citizen. Nishijima (1997: 38) points out that the fact educationists exchanged heated discussions on how to approach MS-S to reflect the national character of *Nipponjin* (‘Japanese people’) in itself is a proof of nationalism, in that it demonstrates the process of the ideological construction of a nation called *Nippon* (‘Japan’) through discussion about MS-S. These mental, spiritual and physical experiences of the group activity of singing the MS-S enhanced the sense of ‘nation-consciousness’ that facilitated the transfer of ideology from the public authorities to the citizens through the assimilation of discourse by singing in unison and memorising the lyrics. Therefore, MS-S itself is a ‘meta-ideology of nationalism’ (Nishijima 1997:38) and is likely to have played an important role in disseminating the imperial government’s cultural hegemony³⁰. Gramsci (1979: 142) states:

one of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to conquer “ideologically” the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals.

The Meiji imperial government assimilated citizens socially through the abolition of the premodern caste-like, class system, the centralisation of governance, the dissemination of a new standard Japanese language, as well as through the establishment of an education system with a main focus on elementary education. New intellectuals were nurtured, as attested to by the rapid rate at which the Japanese elementary school system developed, achieving an attendance rate of over 95 per cent by 1905 (National Institute for Educational Policy Research, MEXT 2012). So, children, as the new intellectuals-to-be, were taught MS-S, and through these, the government’s desired ideologies.

2.1.2. Definitions of Japanese imperialism, militarism and nationalism in this study

Ideologies can be transferred by language, and some Japanese terms denote more than one ideology in one word. An example is *kōkoku*, which literally means ‘imperial-nation’. Further, songs in MS-S often address three ideologies at the same time. For example,

³⁰ cf. 1.3.3. discusses cultural hegemony of Meiji government through dissemination of a standard Japanese language.

Sotozono (1970: 69) reports that a title called *Utsukushiki* ('Beauty' or 'Loving') in an MS-S published in 1881 is a song about the singer's loving thoughts of a man who has gone to the battlefield to protect the Emperor and his nation and, therefore, the song addresses loyalty to the Emperor and to the State as well as the protagonist's love for the soldier and her loyalty to the imperial nation. Here we see a case of metonymic transfer from the soldier to the nation. In fact, a large number of metonymic as well as metaphoric references are used in MS-S (Ōmoto 2009: 36-37). There is also an interesting imperial twist to this piece. It was actually based on 'The Blue Bells of Scotland' and was sung using the original tune. Japanese lyrics were written by a well-known poet, Inagaki Chikai and, similar to the Scottish original, a woman longs for her beloved. However, Inagaki's pen introduced into the lyrics a purpose to the man's sacrifice: it was not just for the woman he loves, but primarily for the Emperor for whom the young man was to offer himself up (Mimura 2002: 425). Also, the woman in the MS-S version evokes the image of a mother, rather than a young lover (Mimura 2002: 425). Moreover, the Emperor and the war referred to in this song are unknown, thus the theme is presented as timeless, relevant to anyone who sings or listens to the song. This example demonstrates that the analyst needs to take into account the fact that linguistic representations of ideologies in MS-S can be conceptually multi-layered as well as anchored to particular or undefined historical time periods.

Evidently, from the empirical viewpoint of data analyses it is necessary to accept that no one ideological concept can fully express the characteristics of the Empire of Japan. Therefore, the period 1868-1945 has been described as 'ultra-nationalist, fascist, totalitarian, militarist and Japanese imperialist' (Morris 1967: vii), with ideological shifts over the course of this period (Marshall 1994). Likewise, the presence of various ideologies in Japanese textbooks have been identified by scholars as follows: imperialism (Karasawa 1956; Sotozono 1970; Wakatsuki 1983; Tanaka 1982; Beasley 1987; Irie 1994; Sugie 2006; and Fujii 2009), militarism (Karasawa 1956; Saito 1986; Sugie 2006; and Kurokawa 2007), nationalism (Nishijima 1994; Iida 2001; Stegewerns 2003; Hasegawa 2007; Ōmoto 2009), and ultranationalism³¹ (Yamanaka 1975, 1977, 1979; Kokuni 2006; Kurokawa 2007). This suggests that multiple ideologies were indeed identifiable in the textbooks (including MS-S) of pre-war Japan and that they manifested themselves in the text of the MS-S in a somewhat overlapping manner. For this reason, this study regards the three ideologies as characteristically distinct, but inter-related. The discourse contents of the data will be linguistically analysed to identify which of the linguistic items might be associated with these

³¹ Or literally, 'beyond the state' (Doak 2001: 3), and thus translated as 'extreme statism' (Doak 2001: 2). This study uses the term 'ultranationalism' as the study focuses on the historical development of ideologies from a less defined form of nationalism at the early stage of the Japanese imperial government to a more complex form of ideologies concerning the nation at later stages.

three ideological concepts. Since each of these ideological terms has been applied to a wide variety of situations across the world's history, the ideologies are defined hereafter in specific Japanese contexts in the scope of this study and in accordance with the study's objectives. The relevant historical period, beginning with the publication of Japan's first MS-S, is close to the establishment of the Meiji imperial government as well as Japan's first Constitution, which states that sovereignty rests with the Emperor (Article 1) and that his divinity is inviolable (Article 3). Therefore, we will begin with defining of Japanese imperialism in the following section.

2.1.2.1. Japanese imperialism

Japanese imperialism evolved over time (Ōishi 1994; Beasley 1987), influenced by a multitude of contextual factors: although it shares some aspects of Western imperialism, which was largely motivated by economic factors, the newly-formed Empire was less industrially advanced at the time and was concerned with earning a place among the group of Great Powers for political reasons, including defence (Benner 2006). Hence, in order to distinguish it from Western imperialism, this study specifically refers to 'Japanese imperialism' throughout the analyses. It refers to the emperor-centred belief and social system, which can sometimes be equated to emperor-worship based on Shintoism and Confucian ideas. It exalts the emperor as the sovereign under the Meiji constitution, as the core of the *kokutai* ('national polity'), and as the father-like benefactor and protector of the *ie* ('family')-nation. This view was backed by the Shinto-religion that defined the emperor as a descendant of the sun-god, who in turn was a child of the creator of the heavens and the earth. A moral re-enforcement to this world-view was provided by a somewhat 'warped' interpretation of Confucius' teaching (Jansen 2000: 96-97; 204) that became the foundation of the new Education System through the 1891 promulgation of the Imperial Rescript. This was the system of thought and conduct imposed on the people of the Meiji era, meaning that a mind-set to admire and beautify the imperial household is strongly associated with Japanese imperialism. Japanese imperialism also refers to a policy or action of extending the country's power, control and influence over the territories of other countries, races, or communities through colonization, use of military force (including wars of aggression), use of political, legal or economic power, or other means. Therefore, Japanese imperialism until 1945 also includes the concept of expansionism as in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (4.2.4). While this section is devoted to the definition of 'imperialism', in this study, for the sake of categorisation in the textual analysis, it should be noted that a sufficient understanding of advanced vocabulary depicting imperial ideology and its connotations would have been beyond the everyday conceptual lives of the children of the time, without a

more accessible leaning aid, such as *kamishibai* (paper play) (Kushner 2009). That was precisely the reason why elementary school education might have been used to familiarise children with complex ideological terms. Imperial terminologies were explained and taught in language and reading comprehension classes (Kurokawa 2007; Ōta 2006) in conjunction with history (Kimata 2006a), ethics (Murata 2006), geography (Kimata 2006) and social studies (Kimata 2006c), as well as music (Satō 2006; Sugie 2006). The lyrics of MS-S were designed to reflect such educational content and train the children to memorise them verbatim with the aid of music (Santo 2008). The contents of textbooks depicting Japanese imperialism were often juxtaposed with texts depicting militarism (Karasawa 1956; Kurokawa 2007; Murata 2006: 21; Ōta 2006: 28), Facism (Murata 2006: 20) and nationalism (Karasawa 1956; Murata 2006: 16) or ultra-nationalism (Kurokawa 2007; Kimata 2006: 44), but the emphasis on militarism intensified over the course of time and reached its peak in 1941-45 (Karasawa 1956; Kurokawa 2007; Kimata 2006 a, b, and c).

2.1.2.2. Japanese militarism

Yet the Japanese militarism of the Imperial era was perhaps introduced to the Meiji Imperial government at its inception by the group of anti-Tokugawa samurai warriors who were the driving force of the Meiji reformation ‘under the banner of Sonnō Jōi (Revere the Sovereign, Expel the Barbarians)’ (Anderson 2006: 94) in the context of the mid 19th century geopolitical threat from the advance of Western imperialism in East Asia. The samurai rebels took power in order to become Meiji oligarchs, but the new government struggled to unite the citizens, who had been divided for over two and half centuries by the Shogunate’s policy of maintaining a caste-system, as well as differences in geographical make up, culture, and language. Due to the necessity of securing the domestic and international position of the new Japan, the concept of the Emperor as the national figurehead was vital hence the emphasis given to imperialism. Thus, the Meiji government’s imperialism was established in close connection with domestic and international security concerns (Benner 2006) and, therefore, militarism was an underlying feature of the Imperial government, even though it was underplayed at the start. Education was of paramount importance in disseminating the government’s messages and uniting the country. Soon the Imperial Rescript on Education (Appendix 1) was promulgated, emphasising the teaching of virtues that included instructions on making efforts to ‘advance public good and promote common interests’ and to ‘offer (one)self courageously to the State’. The former was interpreted in the context of the *fukoku kyōhei* (‘rich nation strong army’) policy, the objectives of which were to consolidate the position of the new imperial nation of Japan among the Western imperial powers through economic and military development. Again, the development of Japanese

militarism was closely linked to imperialism with capitalist interests, and these ideologies were introduced into the education system at an early stage. The emphasis on militarism in the textbooks was highlighted both during and after the periods of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), World War I (1914-8) to some extent and, in particular, during Japan's fifteen-year war (1931-45), starting with the Mukuden Incident (1931) which was followed by a short period of superficial calm, and regaining intensity with the start of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), leading to the extreme emphasis on militarism with ultra-nationalism during the Second World War (1941-45) (Kurokawa 2007; Ōta 2006; Kimata 2006 a, b, and c; Murata 2006). This study is concerned with how such militarism is represented in the texts of MS-S and other relevant materials, and thus it would seem appropriate to define Japanese militarism from both general and Japanese historical perspectives in relation to education.

Education influences the way that people think. Christian Louis Lange in his Nobel Peace Prize Lecture (1921) said: 'Militarism is basically a way of thinking, a certain interpretation of the function of the state; this manner of thinking is, moreover, revealed by its outer forms: by armaments and state organization'. Militarism in this study, therefore, refers to the belief that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests. It also refers to the actions resulting from this belief, and a socio-political system whereby military personnel and military forces have a privileged and superior status as the protectors of the nation's welfare, and militarise various aspects of social life, such as politics, economics, education, culture and people's lives in general. Two major traditional views on militarism include those of Marxism and liberalism. The former asserts that imperialist powers employed the military to gain colonies in the late-nineteenth century, while the ruling class profited from increasing investment in the military sector (Hook 1996: 15-16), whereas the latter considers militarism to be 'the product of the military's predominance over the civilians in state affairs. In short, 'militarism arises when the legal and political constraints of the military are not functioning in accordance with the dictates of civilian control, leading to an excess in the military's political influence' (Hook 1996: 16), and 'the popularity of military service, uniforms, insignia and songs, as well as the strength of the martial spirit, are representative indicators of the extent to which militarism has taken root in civil society' (Hook 1996: 16). Thus, militarism can be described as a 'condition' (Maruyama 1954 cited in Hook 1996: 17) whereby every aspect of citizens' lives is subjected to military considerations. In other words, militarism creates the condition of 'civil society's subordination to the military, as manifest in the behaviour, attitude and ideology of the people'. (Hook 1996: 17-18). Therefore, in defining Japanese militarism, a closely related term, 'militarist' is also considered. Morris

(1967: viii) states: “militarist” is an ambiguous term which can refer either to a country’s objectives (i.e. a policy of military strength and expansion) or to the nature of its leadership (i.e. government by military men) or to both’. Therefore, when analysing the dataset, both the militarist policy and the nature of the militaristic leadership will also be considered. In addition, historical changes in militaristic attitudes and their social manifestation need to be taken into account, given the history of Japan pursuing ‘a militaristic policy for a considerable part of her modern period; and, as political practice evolved under the Meiji Constitution, the military enjoyed certain advantages (notably the power to force the resignation of the Cabinet and to veto the formation of any new Cabinet not to their liking)³² that gave them a stranglehold over the civilian government. In the early 1930’s the strength of the military came to supersede that of the civilian leadership, but it was not until about 1940 that civil authority entirely collapsed and Japan became, properly speaking, a militarist state’ (Morris 1967: viii).

So far we have discussed, in general, how Japanese militarism is understood in this study; an understanding which we will apply when classifying linguistic items in this study’s dataset for quantitative analysis (Chapter 4). Moreover, in the qualitative analysis we will also take into account how Japanese children may have interpreted the vocabulary of militarism within their sociocultural and educational contexts. Furthermore, we will also consider the afore-mentioned shifts of emphasis on militarism in education when defining Japanese militarism in this study as well as the shifts of balance in ideological influence on the MS-S over time. As we do so, it is important that we focus on the ideological influence as a dynamic process as explained by Hook (1996: 6). He states: ‘the concept of militarization frequently is used interchangeably with “militarism”, a term employed by both Marxists and liberals’ but, ‘we draw a distinction between these two concepts – namely, that “militarism” essentially refers to excess, both quantitatively and qualitatively, whereas “militarization” refers to a dynamic process of increasing military influence. The concept of militarization thus can be employed to study a society where militarism has not yet taken root’. This is applicable to late nineteenth century Japan, when the first MS-S was created and when Japan was keenly aware of the possible threat of the Western powers. In that context, the afore-mentioned 1890 Rescript instructed school children, in the name of the emperor, to ‘offer (one)self courageously to the State’, should an emergency arise. The Rescript also instructed them to ‘always respect the Constitution’, which mandated military conscription. So, Japanese militarism also has a psychological dimension of readiness to serve the nation, the concept of which might have been a part of the education objectives of imperial Japan.

³² 軍部大臣現役武官制: Gunbu-daijin-gen’eki-bukan-sei.

Psychologically, militarization involves ‘fear, pride, and logic’ of the legitimacy to militarise (Winter, Pilisuk, Houck, and Lee 2007: 5) and a society militarises itself ‘to reduce vulnerability by excessive arms build up... to soothe national fears’ (Winter, Pilisuk, Houck, and Lee 2007:5). However, it does not stop there, because ‘war originally undertaken out of fear can be easily continued by pride because so often ... proving one’s courage and determination by continuing to fight becomes an end in itself, more important than gaining the object of the fight’ (Frank 1982) cited in Winter et al. 2001: 5). The concerns for ‘international defence and standing’ also characterise Japanese Nationalism of the late nineteenth century (Benner 2006: 10). The ‘will-to-sacrifice’, taught clearly in the Education Rescript, is, in fact, ‘uppermost in the items on the patriotism scale’ (Billig 1995: 58), because it is not hatred of the enemy that propels people to war, but ‘the willingness to die in the cause of the homeland’ which ‘precedes a motive to kill’ (Billig 1995: 58) and it is ‘the love of the flag, great pride in that land that is our’ own and that it is important ‘for me to serve my country’ (Billig 1995: 58). Clearly, there is a psychological dimension of militarism/militarisation that is embedded in nationalism, which leads us to the next ideology.

2.1.2.3. Japanese nationalism

In defining Japanese militarism, Beasley (1987) refers to Japan’s aspirations to be accepted as one of the Great Powers³³. This was for reasons of defence as well as identity. Japan asserted its national identity by placing the Emperor at the core of mythical legitimacy, which is similar to the ethno-nationalism type of nationalism in Europe (Benner 2006: 20-21), but the uniqueness of Japanese nationalism lies in *kokkyō*, an official state-sponsored ideology of which there are ‘four distinct, partly overlapping, patterns of national thinking’ – i.e. ‘defensive’, ‘cautious engagement’, ‘enlightened international leadership’, and ‘radicalization’ (Benner 2006: 13-17). While all these four patterns were incorporated into pre-1945 Japanese national thinking, and the patterns are dynamic and not mutually exclusive, nineteenth century Japan can be characterised most closely by the approach of ‘cautious engagement with the dominant powers’ (Benner 2006: 14). This approach refers to Japan’s undertaking of a variety of reforms for modernisation based on the assumption that if they do so, ‘there is a fair chance of becoming a major international player’ (Benner 2006: 14). Even though ‘involvement in an international order based on sovereign, competitive states, is an unwelcome necessity’, reform was adopted as an ‘opportunity to improve the nation’s technological, economic, and constitutional expertise’, leading to prosperity. However,

³³ The Great Powers that Meiji government aspired to join were: the United Kingdom, the Austrian Empire, Prussia, France, Russia and Italy in Europe, plus the United States.

Japan was aware that the Great Powers still posed a threat, and therefore remained ‘preoccupied with establishing a militarily strong state’ (Benner 2006: 14). Therefore, the concept of Japanese nationalism is closely linked with militarisation and imperialism as discussed above. Moreover, Japanese nationalism concerns patriotism as well as a variety of symbols that represent the ethno-centric concept of nation.

As a result of the above discussion, a set of recurrent themes has emerged: the Japanese imperial government’s conscious effort to establish the status of Japan through a reliance on, and manipulation of, ideologies. Education was used as a tool to disseminate and imprint on imperial subjects the ideologies of Japanese imperialism, militarism and nationalism. In the light of Gramsci’s (1971) concept of cultural hegemony it can be said that the intellectuals of the Meiji government, the new ruling class after the fall of the Tokugawa feudal society, established universal public education through which the majority of the rich variety of regional languages and cultures of the Japanese people were overridden by that of the standard model presented by the government. Under the ‘fukoku kyōhei (enrich the nation, strengthen the military)’ policy, capitalist, imperialist and militarist ideologies were incorporated into education. As the ideologies were gradually naturalised to become the norm, the acquired values were expressed in language and symbols and systems (for example, as depicted in the school textbooks), which were then shared by the citizens belonging to the same imagined community called the Empire of Japan (Anderson 1983/2006). Once the acquired values and symbols or systems to uphold those values were naturalised the state of ‘banal nationalism’ emerges (Billig 1995) by which citizens developed the sense of belonging to a nation and possessing it (as in the language of ‘our homeland’) simultaneously.

At this point, it is useful to differentiate between the three closely related terms; country, state and nation. In this study ‘country’ is understood as a generic term for a self-governing political and geopolitical entity with a sovereign territorial boundary. In this sense, country is synonymous with ‘state’, but, in this study, the term ‘state’ is used to refer to the legal, political, bureaucratic, and public characteristics of such an entity. In contrast, the word ‘nation’, in this study, refers to the ethno-cultural representation of the people’s perception concerning a socio-psychological entity.

2.1.2.4. Definitions of the two types of nationalism in this study

According to Smith (2010: 11), ‘nation’ has both objective and subjective properties: it is defined objectively by language, religion, customs, territory, institutions and other tangible

objects, while it is also defined subjectively by people's attitudes, perceptions, and sentiments. Therefore, facts are symbolised to represent the people's perception of 'nation', as in the case of 'commemorative rites and ceremonies, especially for those who fell in battle on behalf of their nation, as well as those who brought great justice' (Smith 2010: 11).

Both the objective and subjective properties of the concept of 'nation' are used by the nation-state (*kokumin-kokka*) to unify people with voluntary consent (*jihatsuteki-dōi*), but to achieve that purpose Nishijima (1995; 1997: 25) argues that both of the following two aspects of 'national identity' need to be established: the 'consciousness of state'³⁴ (*nēshon-ishiki*) for unifying the people of a nation-state by ideology of a public authority' and the 'consciousness of nation (*kantorī-ishiki*) for integrating the cultural standard' (Nishijima 1997:25). This point is particularly relevant to this study, because Japanese nationalism appear to be intertwined with imperialism or militarism or both in many aspects, but of different dimensions of nationalism such as 'state', 'nation', 'ethnicity', and so on. Therefore, these two aspects of nationalism, expressed in MS-S texts, will be analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 as 'state-oriented' vs. 'nation-oriented' expressions of nationalism.

Based on the above, Japanese nationalism in this study refers to social cognition (van Dijk 2009: 30), which is to say, psychological and behavioural phenomena including beliefs, aesthetics (Iida 2001), actions, attitudes, or campaigns that are orientated towards the independence and development of the nation and unification of its people (state-oriented nationalism). It also refers to the emotional attachment to the motherland and one's ancestry, natural and social environment, culture, and so on (nation-oriented nationalism), but is specifically encouraged by the nation's leaders for political purposes, often used to nurture people's loyalty to the government. When it refers to an extreme form of patriotism, marked by a feeling of superiority over other countries, it is called ultra-nationalism (*chōkokka-shugi*) in this study. Adding to our initial hypothesis (1.5.) the above discussion leads us to hypothesise that these three main ideologies – Japanese imperialism, militarism, and nationalism with the two subcategories for the last ('state-oriented' and 'nation-oriented' adapted from Nishijima's two categories mentioned above) – are present in the MS-S throughout the Imperial period of 1881-1945, but the balance of emphasis on each or combinations of them may have varied over the course of time in accordance with the socio-political circumstances. To test our hypothesis effectively, this study will require both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the primary corpus (the text of MS-S consisting of

³⁴ Nishijima (1997:25) uses loan-words, '*nēshon* (*nation*)' and '*kantorī* (*country*)', but rather than using their word-for-word direct translations, Nishijima's definitions of these terms were rendered into the English translation, according to which, '*nēshon-ishiki*' is translated as 'state-oriented' and '*kantorī-ishiki*' as 'nation-oriented'.

entire lyrics and titles of MS-S for elementary schools), comparative descriptive and quantitative analyses of the second corpus (relevant statutes, prefaces of MS-S and official guidelines), and explanatory and qualitative analyses of the findings of the analyses of primary and secondary corpora against the historical records concerning the MS-S and the relevant social contexts. It would seem best to begin the inquiry into the textual characteristics of MS-S for the purpose of quantitative analysis.

2.1.3. Textual characteristics of the discourse of Japanese wartime textbooks

As mentioned earlier, MS-S was designed to share pedagogical objectives with the ‘national language (Japanese)’, taught in tandem with it, from 1941-5 (Karasawa 1956; Kurokawa 2007) and they were intended to be complementary to each other. Therefore, it is most likely that MS-S and the Japanese language textbooks share overall characteristics in terms of contents. One of Kurokawa’s most striking findings concerns the second of our inquiries – the contents of the textbooks. During the period 1941-5, when Japanese militarism was at its height, the textbooks contained, surprisingly, a smaller amount of militaristic vocabulary than expected, and instead, there was a vast amount of ‘positive’ vocabulary, depicting peace-loving, pro-life, pro-nature concepts, which he calls expressions of sentiment (Kurokawa 2007). These were juxtaposed with a considerable amount of ‘constructive’ vocabulary expressing the senses of nationalism, voluntary participation in the militarised society, and of the duty to serve the *kazoku-kokka* (‘family state’), with the rest of the text chiefly containing expressions of ideology such as militarism, imperialism, and ultra-nationalism. This finding is, at first, counter-intuitive, but Kurokawa (2007) argues that militaristic ideology was effectively taught when combined with ethical and positive concepts, perhaps more so than when teaching all-militaristic contents. This is because the consistent and repeated juxtaposition of ethical and militaristic concepts throughout the textbook helped create strong associations between these concepts, masking the negative notion of militarism, legitimising it and making it easier for the students to swallow, as ‘ideology is truly effective only when it is disguised’ (Fairclough 1989: 107). This study will consider Kurokawa’s hypothesis, incorporating it into the items of inquiry stated earlier in the framework of CDA developed by Fairclough, among others. Before we discuss CDA, the theoretical framework that we will adopt, we will review, below, other relevant facts concerning Japanese wartime textbooks.

The idea of linking music education to other school subjects is first found in the preface of the *jinjo-shōgaku-shōka*, and in particular it was strongly emphasised in the 1941 *kokumin-gakkō-shōka* that the official guidelines stressed the importance of the integrated teaching of

language and music. The 1941 Education Ministry Ordinance No.4 (1) instructions and organisational matters 1(5) General rules, Ordinance for the enforcement of the National School Order to supersede the revised Ordinance for the enforcement of the Elementary School Order³⁵ states:

‘While ensuring that students will benefit from the unique properties of each subject, organise their teaching matter to interrelate, stressing their unity as a whole, all of which should ultimately amount to the training required of Imperial subjects’³⁶.

The teaching of the Japanese language in National Studies (*kokumin-ka kokugo*) involved two pedagogical approaches: ‘militaristic education for the training of imperial subjects (*kokokumin-rensei no tame no gunkokushugi-kyōiku*) and ‘child-centred modern education with emphasis on activity-based language learning (*jidō-chūshin no gengokatsudō wo jūshi shita shinkyōiku*)’. Although, on the surface, these two approaches were contradictory, in fact, they were complementary, having a synergetic effect.

The intention of educating students to become able to take actions spontaneously and proactively is clearly observed in the ‘integrated-teaching and activity-based language learning (*sōgō-shugi to gengokatsudō-shugi*)’ that characterised the Japanese language classrooms in the compulsory subject of the elementary school curriculum called National Studies (*Kokumin-ka*). Suffice it to say, the pedagogical methods of National Studies nurtured citizens who would sympathise with nationalism and militarism voluntarily (Kurokawa 2007:111). Moreover, militarism may have been instilled into young minds through studying the textbooks (Kurokawa 2007: 111). The content of the teaching materials used for Japanese language in National Studies is better characterised as militaristic than nationalistic, since it contained a large quantity of vocabulary concerning soldiers and military life (Karasawa 1956; Kurokawa 2007). The texts of these materials depicted the thoughts and emotions of soldiers in a familiar setting, in a way that had been designed to appeal to the students’ empathy, and thus promote militarism. Thanks to the familiar themes interwoven into the militaristic stories, gradually students would begin to be familiarised with the idea of soldiers, armaments and other related notions and eventually begin to affirm militarism voluntarily. Further, ethical concepts were combined with militarism to establish the legitimacy and desirability of ‘patriotic’ actions (Kurokawa 2007: 118). In particular,

³⁵ 1941 小学校例施行規則改正(kokumin-gakkō-rei sekōkisoku, shogakkō-rei Sekōkisoku kaisei, Shōwa 16-nen 3-gatsu 14-nichi monbushō-rei dai 4-gō, dai 1-shō kyōsoku oyobi hensei, dai1-setsu sōsoku dai5-kōmoku).

³⁶ 各教科並ニ科目ハ其ノ特色ヲ發揮セシムルト共ニ相互ノ関連ヲ緊密ナラシメ之ヲ国民鍊成ノ一途ニ帰セシムベシ

using heroic stories, strong commitment and devotion to the nation, were taught to the students. For example, ‘*Tone, the military dog*’ (*Gunken Tone*) tells of the heroic actions and death of a military dog and of the bond between the dog and the girl who brought him up. The story was especially appealing to young students (Kurokawa 2007: 118; Takahashi 2002: 71), as they projected themselves onto the girl-protagonist, appreciating the friendship between the dog and its mistress, the best friends who were separated by the war, but united in spirit for both are fighting to protect the motherland in the conditions in which each of them was placed. Such a story can evoke an internal sense of solidarity and strong patriotism. This leads to an eagerness to participate voluntarily in ‘honourable’ self-sacrificial military efforts (Kurokawa 2007:118). This is a well-established technique of mind-control used by rulers, and ‘any ruling class finds it less costly and less risky to rule if possible by consent’, whereby ‘ideology is the key mechanism of rule by consent, and because it is the favoured vehicle of ideology, discourse is of considerable social significance in this connection’ (Fairclough 1989: 34). This type of coercive influence is relatable to ‘the third dimension of power’ (Lukes 2005) that shapes the beliefs and desires of the recipient, securing their compliance. It can be described as ‘soft power’ that ‘secure[s] volition rather than merely obedience’ (Mulderigg 2011a: 47) and is ‘more capable than coercion of absorbing potential opposition by instead offering choice, opportunity, possibility and so forth’ (Mulderigg 2011a: 47). This points to our third and fourth research questions discussed in Chapter 1 (1.3.) concerning how MS-S was presented and taught to the students and how that was interpreted. Both Kurokawa’s findings and our items of inquiry can be considered within the theoretical framework of CDA (discussed in 2.3.), but first let us consider what linguistic and psychological processes may be involved in the ideological communication through the discourse of MS-S.

So far, we have assumed psychological effects of MS-S in regard to the transfer of ideology somewhat intuitively, and thus, a need for systematic discussion and evidence arises. Hence, the next section examines the literature in the field of text and discourse analysis and psychological processes related to text comprehension and memory, which will provide a basis for exploring the mechanisms of propaganda through the discourse of MS-S. In addition to the content of ideology the frequency of exposure to ideological discourse plays an important role in ensuring its effectiveness. The more frequently students are exposed to a particular word, the more likely they are to remember it, with vivid, deeper impressions of the material concerned (Kurokawa 2007: 124). This claim relates to the third, fourth and fifth items of our research questions (1.4.). Kurokawa conducted a small-scale statistical analysis of the Japanese language textbooks (*kokugo-tokuhon*) by computing the frequency of either individual words or semantically-grouped words in the texts. In other words,

frequency is a strategic method of presenting ideologically-charged discourse to the public. Although frequency does not necessarily mean agency in itself, frequent exposure to a specific conceptual item can lead to memorisation through priming and other relevant cognitive processes as we shall review linguistic and cognitive theories of psychological processes. Finally, in the light of the theories we will decide on the analytical parameters of quantifiable linguistic units in the text.

2.2. Interpretation of the discourse of MS-S and psychological processes

Studies of psychological processes explore what we perceive (i.e. recognition processes) and understand (i.e. comprehension processes) in the way we can make sense of the perceived information / event (i.e. coherence and inference), and remember it (i.e. memory). Each of these processes has potential implications for our study of the effects of MS-S education. One of the effects is the long-lasting memory of MS-S music and lyrics. Therefore, it seems appropriate to begin the discussion with memory, followed by whole-text comprehension, and then comprehension of smaller linguistic chunks such as words and phrases. In this way the focus of the discussion can be narrowed down gradually to the textual level of the MS-S itself, so that possible psychological effects at word-level can be considered, and if it appears theoretically logical, to decide on the quantifiable linguistic item to be employed for our empirical study.

2.2.1. Memory

Songs are a musically-aided verbatim recall of poetry. MS-S lovers have good memories of the lyrics and can often recall them verbatim even many years after learning the songs at school, suggesting that MS-S could be an effective vehicle of propaganda and ideological transmission. Verbatim recall is usually very difficult, because we tend to abstract our sensory experience (Neisser 1981), for example, through categorising it into a familiar concept for example, so when we recall the experience we rely on that abstraction, and thus the recollection comes as our own personal version. This is analogous to eyewitness testimony, which can be influenced by many factors, such as leading questions by police, lawyers, and so on (Loftus 1979). Without any context, one tends to remember the semantic aspects more accurately than the word order and sentence structure, or syntax of what we hear or read (Sachs 1967). However, we can sometimes recall a natural conversational sentence (spoken in a soap opera, for example) verbatim, including the syntax (Bates, Maslin, and Kintsch 1978), when it is embedded in a context that attracts our attention, and particularly when it is important (Johnson 1970), ‘emotionally salient’ (Hartley 1995: 211)

or if its contents and form are highly interactive. For example, a sentence using second person pronouns, and addressing the reader/listener directly (Keenan, MacWhinney, and Mayhew 1977) is more readily recalled than sentences using first or third person pronouns. These features of memorable texts (henceforth, text refers to those in either spoken or written media) may also be found in MS-S.

2.2.2. Effect of context on comprehension and recall

Moreover, what we understand is influenced by what we already know. An experiment by Bransford and Johnson (1973) used a highly abstract and unfamiliar passage describing some technical procedure. They gave the passage to three groups to read, and studied the effect of providing or depriving them of prior contextual knowledge in recall. The context, which in this case was different forms of semiotisation rather than contextualisation, was provided in the form of a picture expressing the procedure described in the passage. The picture was given to the first group, prior to the reading of the passage, but not to the second group, which received the picture *only after* the reading. The third group did not receive the picture. The first group scored best in the recall test, and the results of the other two were comparable. Clearly, providing a context prior to reading had a positive effect on memory retention, and possibly on comprehension. This is because, ‘context provides a *frame* for understanding text’ (Hartley 1995: 212). Similarly, background knowledge and the titles provide the context for understanding a text (Dooling and Lachman 1971; Bransford and Johnson 1973: 400). These findings suggest the need to answer the following three questions as regards the MS-S texts:

- Did the children have enough background knowledge to comprehend the topics in the texts?
- Were the children given enough contextual information about the topics of the songs when they learnt MS-S?
- Were the titles and the texts of the MS-S themselves given enough contextual information?

If the answer to all three questions is ‘yes’, then this may explain why MS-S has had a lasting effect on memory.

While context can assist the comprehension and memorisation (or storage) of new input, other factors are involved in recalling the stored information. Perspectives relate to what is important in a given context. The person trying to comprehend a text is more likely to make

inferences related to the important components of a story, such as the protagonists, their actions, and events that carry the story, and not to incidental details (Seifert, Robertson, and Black 1985). Our perspectives can affect what we can recall, to the extent that changing our perspectives will lead us to retrieve completely different details of the same text. Anderson and Pichert (1978) demonstrated this with the following experiment: two groups of subjects read the same text about an old house. Group A was told that the text was about 'house buying' and Group B was told that it was about 'burglary'. After reading the same text the subjects were asked to relate what they remembered from the passage. The members of Group A recalled only the important features of the house for potential buyers (leaky roof, damp basement, and so on.), while members of group B predominantly recalled which day of the week the house was empty, or in which room the valuables were kept. Further, each of the two groups was halved, making a control group and a second experiment group. Members of the experiment groups in both A and B were given the other perspective and were then asked to recall the story again. The new perspectives helped the second experiment groups in A and B to recall what they had not been able to remember in the first round. However, the control groups did not recall much more than in the first round. These experiments show that our comprehension processes are dependent on the context and so is our retrieval of learnt information. Our ability to retrieve the information is also susceptible to the perspectives provided for us at the time. This is termed 'framing' rather than 'contextualisation' in CDA and the perspectives given are called 'frames'.

In the case of MS-S texts, prior context can be provided by both internal and external information concerning the MS-S texts. Internally, the title of the particular song can give an idea of what the verses might be about. Externally, the political or socio-cultural environment and related information learnt at school during other curriculum subjects (e.g. language, history, ethics, and so on.) can have an influence as well. The 'prior information' lets the reader/listener form certain preconceptions about the text. These preconceptions can exert a strong influence on our comprehension and information retrieval that can be manipulated by the provider of the information. For example, the education authorities could have manipulated the perspectives that they gave the children with the intention of teaching imperialism or some other ideology. However, at the same time, psychological processes are ultimately governed by the information-receiver's own mind, since s/he must make sense of the given information in order to comprehend it. Further, that comprehension is based on what we already know (background knowledge) and other contextual information, which means that different people understand the same information differently 'both in the sense of verbal context (co-text) and in the sense of situational context' (van Dijk 2009b: 102). This relates to Piaget's theory of children's intellectual growth (Piaget 1973: 36). He calls the

existing knowledge base a 'schema' (Bartlett 1932), which works like a framework for a project, or building blocks of knowledge that children can combine to create a shape (of mental structure). When the child receives and perceives a new piece of information, she compares it to the schema and if it fits 'equilibration' occurs and the knowledge block is built on. The more similarities there are between the existing and the new information, the smoother the process. However, if the new information does not readily fit in, disequilibrium occurs, and the child adjusts her current schema to 'accommodate' the new information. Piaget's model is exclusively for explaining child cognitive development, but our MS-S also concerns the adults sharing the discourse with children. Therefore, our discourse can also have complex influence of the world in which the discourse takes place. Thus, in order to discuss the influence of discursive socio-linguistic elements, this study employs, additionally, the process of 'association of ideas to obtain/maintain a coherent discourse'. This is an ad hoc term proposed by the author and is subject to correction and improvement as this study develops. In this study we will call this the 'discourse assimilation-association model for ideological communication'. The model is tentative, and used in this pilot study for testing my hybrid theory of how ideology may be transferred through discourse. Therefore, it is noted that the hypothesis here is used in the sense of psychological processes in discourse comprehension and production, but not in the sense of 'cultural assimilation' in colonialist or immigration policies of a ethnic/national group such as immigrants (Wolfram 1974) or colonised (Betts 1961/2005; Conklin 1998). Perhaps, it is useful to use an architectural analogy to explain 'choices' in psychological processing of shared discourse as below.

2.2.3. Structure Building Theory

Individual differences in comprehension can be explained by the 'structure building theory (SBT)' (Gernsbacher 1990) of psychological processes. SBT posits that comprehension can be compared to architecture. It builds on information extracted from an initial text segment, which forms a foundation. Onto this foundation, each subsequent piece of information is mapped in accordance with its relevance and, layer-by-layer, pieces of information begin to form a mental structure for comprehending the message. The structure continues to build as long as the new incoming information is perceived as relevant to the currently activated structure. However, when a new input is deemed irrelevant, or it does not make sense in relation to what has been understood so far, then the current structure is abandoned (albeit temporarily) and, with the new input, a new foundation for a new structure is created. Onto this new foundation a new structure will be built. The old and new structures may become

parts of a newer, larger structure, if at some point relevant connections between the two are suggested by the latest incoming information³⁷.

The structure-building process is controlled by a mechanism with two opposing functions: enhancement and suppression. ‘Enhancement’ of the current structure occurs when the new information is contextually relevant to it (and thus what has been understood so far), and ‘suppression’ occurs when the new information is less relevant or irrelevant. While the enhancement of the current structure leads to a coherent grasp of the information gathered so far, suppression can lead to abandonment of the current structure, and thus more effort is required to understand what has been said/read. These mechanisms suggest that there can be individual differences in discourse comprehension. A skilled listener/reader can discern the relevance of new input quickly, and thus will map information accordingly and shift between building structures only when necessary. Less skilled listeners/readers are not as efficient and may shift too much or too little, and fail to map correctly, perhaps owing to limitations in memorising the earlier information. In addition, they may also be unable to suppress information when necessary, and hence may fail to reject the irrelevant meanings of an ambiguous word, in light of the context, for example, which leads to confusion. This has important ramifications for the current study, as what is suggested here is that individual differences will be found in interpreting and comprehending the intended message of MS-S, and that will lead to individual differences in the degrees of effect that MS-S can have on its recipients. In this view, children who are exposed to MS-S education are treated as active consumers of language, music, images, and all relevant information. This view is supported by the fact that pedagogical approaches, such as *genko-katsudō-shugi*, as discussed in 2.1.3, were applied to the teaching of MS-S.

The SBT is one of the models in psychology devised to explain the mental representation of discourse (Graesser 1981; Graesser et al.1995; Johnson-Laird 1983; van Dijk and Kintsch 1983). The relationship between the mind and the discourse of written or spoken text has been long explored by psychologists and linguists, including researchers working in the CDA framework. For example, van Dijk (1977: 93) approached discourse as a psychological process whereby a piece of discourse consists of sentences. He claimed that the reader/listener interprets each individual sentence in relation to other sentences and through the ‘semantic properties’ of the discourse that are formed to create a meaningful idea of the text, which enables the reader/listener to understand the message in the text. In his view, this ‘interpretation’ implies some kind of interaction between the text and the reader. In other

³⁷ This theory resonates with Lipmann’s theory of stereotype (1922), which the public rely on to make judgements of incoming (limited) information. Mass media act as gate-keepers of information available to the public and thus, possibly able to manipulate the public’s perception of events.

words, judging the contextual-relevance of the input, mapping, and building a structure are mental (and, therefore, internal) activities of the information receiver, so that s/he can make sense of the message in the text. The result of this mental activity is called *coherence*.

2.2.4. Context, coherence, and inferences

We have seen above that the reader/listener uses the context that is associated with the text to work out the message conveyed. The reader/listener tries to make sense of the text, because he believes that the text should be coherent or should have some degree of coherence. Coherence is defined as ‘the network of semantic relations which organise and create a text by establishing continuity of sense’ (Baker 1992: 284). It is essentially ‘a mental phenomenon’ (Gernsbacher and Givon 1995: vii), since it is not an inherent property of a text in the sense that no specific parts of the texts themselves confer coherence, and yet readers of the text can agree that one text is more coherent than another. This distinction between the mental activity and the text (which carries a piece of message) is important, because it enables us to see that a text is a physical property and in itself does not create comprehension, but when the reader/listener actively tries to interpret the text s/he can comprehend it. In terms of MS-S this distinction enables us to analyse the quantitative properties of the MS-S texts, with or without interpretation, based on the context: the hard fact of the text containing words of dictionary definitions versus ideological meanings that those words can convey, based on the context provided.

Further, the mind-text distinction also implies that the text is the result of an action by the writer/speaker who has tried to linguistically encode his/her message. The speaker/writer and listener/reader are separated, and their only connection is the physical text. Hence, when the encoding or decoding of the message – or both – is unsuccessful, miscommunication can occur between the giver and receiver of the text. Of course, the writer/speaker may try to encode his/her intention in such a way that the relevance of the discourse is clear to the listener/reader, and such messages are a case of encoding ‘ostensive stimuli’ (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 153) that evoke successful communication called ‘Ostensive-inferential communication’ (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 153) whereby the speaker/writer engages in ‘ostensive behaviour’ (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 50) to express a message with certain intentions, based on which the listener/reader makes inferences in order to understand the message. The reader/listener ‘constructs a connected mental representation of the text that is consistent with the representation intended by the author/speaker’ (Lorch and O’Brient 1995:1). However, intention is subjective to both the one that intends and the one that infers from that intention. Experiments have shown that ‘unless the speaker offers overwhelming

linguistic or paralinguistic evidence of a specific intention' (Brown 1995: 233) the extent to which the listener/reader can infer the intended message of the writer/speaker is limited to what the listener/reader him/herself would have intended if s/he were to use the same wording in the given context. Interpretation of a discourse is always limited by what the receiver of the information is ready to understand from it. In fact, in communication, the onus of comprehending given information is ultimately on the receiver of the information. The receiver must assume that there is a message in the (written or spoken) text for him/her to be motivated to understand the text. This relates to the afore-mentioned experiment by Anderson and Pichert (1978), concerning perspectives that we reviewed earlier. In the recall experiment the result demonstrated that knowing the title prior to the reading of the passage facilitates the reader's memory retrieval on the details of the passage, although the content of the retrieved information was limited to details that are semantically and contextually associated with the title only. Clearly, titles direct the readers' attention to specific details of the discourse. Here, the title served as a type of 'frame' (van Dijk 2008b: 135), presenting the discourse in a particular light. In fact, (social or other) contexts influence the interpretation of discourse, because readers/listeners take an active role in communication and they use the context to link parts of the text. They assume that any printed/spoken sentences are coherent even when there is no clear linkage between the sentences, as illustrated in the following example (Brown and Yule 1983: 196).

A: There's the doorbell (*A, Yobirin da*).

B: I'm in the bath (*Ima ofuro*).

Here, we assume B's response should be interpreted as the reason as to why B cannot come to the door. This would be the same in Japanese, too (as translation in the brackets above show). Similarly, on hearing the sentence:

Vlad burned his mouth on his coffee. It was too hot (*Furad-san ga kōhī de kuchi ni yakedo shita. Sore, atsusugitanda*).

We assume that 'it' (*sore*) refers to coffee, rather than 'mouth' (*kuchi*), even though nothing in the text determines that interpretation (Hartley 1995:216). These examples suggest that, as we strive to maintain *coherence*, we make *inferences* to that end by going beyond the literal meaning of the text (Brown and Yule 1986, *passim*). Therefore, the linguistic cues in the text itself should be studied, not as the meaning represented in our minds (i.e. discourse as process or *coherence*), but as concrete facts (i.e. discourse as product or *cohesion*) open to interpretation (Widdowson 1979: 71). This position both builds on, and departs from, the use

of these terms by Halliday and Hasan (1976) opening up the possibility of the same text being interpreted differently, by different audiences, under different circumstances at a different time and within different historical contexts. That may help explain the shifts in the effects of MS-S education. Further, the interpretation can be manipulated by the way ‘facts’ are presented. The producer of the discourse can control the recipients’ inference, to some extent, so that he can exercise power over them.

2.2.5. Cohesion and textual cues for the exercise of power

CDA analyses show how a text is produced and distributed and how a reader/listener interprets a text. A reader/listener can recognise a text as being a text, instead of a series of unrelated words, because s/he sees signs of connections between the parts of the text and assumes that they belong together to mean something. The concept of cohesion was originally defined as ‘relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 4) and ‘part of the system of a language’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 5). A more elaborate view of cohesion is ‘the network of lexical, grammatical, and other relations which provide links between various parts of a text. These relations or ties organise and, to some extent, create a text, for instance, by requiring the reader to interpret words and expressions by reference to other words and expressions in the surrounding sentences and paragraphs’ (Baker 1992: 180). The important point is that cohesion is a ‘surface relation’ between things in the written text or speech that ‘we can see or hear’ (Baker 1992: 180), which are linguistic devices used by the writer/speaker to convey a message.

CDA analysts have identified a variety of cohesive devices that are used to persuade, coerce (Stein 2009: 93), or encourage willing participation (Mulderriig 2011a: 57). They are sets of cohesive ties unique to each of the analysed texts, but their linguistic classifications and semantico-functional categories are standard and thus, by extension, their equivalents in Japanese can also be discussed. Some representative examples of such cohesive devices are described below. For ease of explanation, some of the examples are in English with Japanese equivalents added in brackets. **Cohesive ‘devices’** can be words, phrases, or other linguistic items that signal to the readers which parts of the text are associated with each other. Halliday and Hasan (1976) list five categories as being the cohesive ties: **reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion**. These items can be strategically used to exercise power (Hyatt 2010, Mulderriig 2011a and b).

Reference means the relationship between linguistic expressions that identify each other as belonging to the same entity (Halliday and Hasan 1976). English references have person, gender and number to identify the referent precisely and create a tightly constructed network of meaning relations. Of the three reference types, gender is one of the most obvious cues to identify the referent (Corbett and Chang 1983). Less skilled reader/listeners would be less efficient in correctly assigning a referent to a pronoun, and thus their comprehension is hindered, leading to confusion (Shapiro and Milkes 2004). The workings of references are illustrated with a short excerpt from Agatha Christie's *Triangle at Rhodes* (Baker 1992: 182) below.

Hercule Poirot sat on the white sand and looked out across the sparkling blue water. He was carefully dressed in dandified fashion in white flannels and a large panama hat protected his head. He belonged to the old-fashioned generation which believed in covering *itself* carefully from the sun. Miss Pamela Lyall, who sat beside him and talked carelessly, represented the modern school of thought in that she was wearing the barest minimum of clothing on her sun-browned person. (Christie, 1936: 196)

There are two chains of personal references:

Hercule Poirot – He – his – He – him

Miss Pamela Lyall – she – her

In both chains, the name (proper noun) of the person is introduced first. Once the identity is established in the discourse, from the next mention of the same person, a personal pronoun is used, each of which refers back to the person with the name. This backward-referencing is called '**anaphora**' (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 14) or 'anaphoric reference'.

An example of anaphora is found in a MS-S called *Hanasaka-jōsan* ('Grandpa Flower-maker').

<i>Shōjiki-jōsan usu hotte</i>	Good-hearted grandpa made a stone mortar
<i>Sorede mochi wo tsuitareba</i>	In that he pounded rice to make rice cakes
<i>Matazoro koban ga</i>	but instead, emerged lots of gold coins
<i>Zakku zakku, zakku zakku.</i>	Gush, gush, gush, gush, they came out.

Such a chain of identification can go in the opposite direction, too, as in the next example.

‘Oh, I wouldn’t go *there* this weekend if I were you. *The place* will be too crowded. The *Montreux* Jazz Festival has just started.’

In this case, the unidentified location, ‘there’ and ‘the place’, is specified later to be ‘Montreux’. In other words, the demonstrative pronoun ‘there’ refers forward to ‘Montreux’. This type of reference is called ‘**cataphora**’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 17) or ‘cataphoric reference’, and is harder to process than ‘anaphora’ (Kenison, Fernandez, and Bowers 2009: 25-45). Again, an example of anaphora is found in a *MS-S* called *Chatsumi* (‘The Tea Pickers’).

<i>Are ni mieru wa</i>	There you see them
<i>Chatsumi ja nai ka</i>	Are they not the tea pickers?
<i>Akane dasuki ni</i>	Red sash and
<i>Tsuge no kasa</i>	bamboo hat.

References can be bound to the utterance (i.e. the production of a piece of speech, or text, termed ‘endophoric reference’) or to the real world context, which is outside the text itself. The latter type of reference is called ‘deixis’ or ‘deictic reference’ (Fillmore 1982), and should be distinguished from the Hallidayan notion of reference (Brown and Yule 1986: 40). This point was taken up by researchers later, to distinguish between the exclusively textual relations among linguistic items (reference in cohesion) on one hand and the relationship between textual linguistic items and what they refer to in the context of utterance (reference in coherence) on the other, as illustrated by the following examples.

- a/ You can eat the apples on the table. **They** are very nice. (reference in cohesion)
- b/ (Pointing at apples) ‘Can you get me one of **those?**’ (deixis, reference in coherence).

In the case of the second (b) type of reference (termed exophoric reference), the object to which reference is made is found only in the physical world (or extra linguistic/textual). Thus, when the physical context changes (e.g. by moving to another table with books on), the interpretation of the discourse also changes. Similarly, in the case of *MS-S* the interpretation of the extra-textual reference in a song can change, if its social context changes.

Substitution links parts of text through ‘the replacement of one item by another’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 88) grammatically, not semantically. Substitutions can be for a pronoun, a verb, a clause, or others. For example, in:

A: This axe is too blunt. I must get a sharper one. (Adapted from Halliday and Hasan 1976: 89)

(*Kono ono wa kirenikui. Motto surudoī no wo tottekonakucha*)

Here, the pronoun ‘one’ (*no*) substitutes for ‘axe’ (*ono*). Both the substitute and the substituted are nominal. Similarly, in the next example:

A: You think Joan already knows?

B: I think everybody does. (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 89)

The verb ‘does’ substitutes for ‘knows’ for grammatical and stylistic reasons, to avoid repetition, for example. Also, in this case, the substitute item has the same structure as that which it replaces. However, substitution may be clausal, in which case, the substitute and the substituted may have different structures as illustrated in the following example.

A: Has Barbara left? (*Barbara wa mou icchat-ta?*)

B: I think so. (*Sōda to omou yo*)

The clause, ‘That Barbara has left (*Barbara wa mou kaet-ta?*)’, was substituted by ‘so (*Sōda*)’ in this case.

Ellipsis is the omission of a linguistic item and is a ‘form of substitution in which the item is replaced by nothing’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 88). The item is ‘unsaid’ or ‘substituted by ZERO’, but ‘understood nevertheless’ because the system of the language (e.g. grammar) specifies clearly what item within the text should fill the empty slot (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 142-3). For example, as in

Joan brought some carnations, and Catherine some sweet peas.

Here, the verb ‘brought’ is left unsaid, but is understood because of the structural similarities between the first and second clauses. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 143) maintain that ellipsis, like substitution, is distinct from reference, because the former concerns the ‘structural mechanisms’ of the language, while the latter points to ‘semantic relations’ between intra-

textual items. In their view, ellipsis as a cohesive item is strictly ‘textual’ and that a ‘textual substitute’ can be found elsewhere in the same text (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 142). However, it appears that readers may be able to identify the unsaid element in the above example, with the help of the semantic relations between the two contrasted clauses, for example, Joan and Catherine (two female names), carnations and sweat peas (two names of flowers). However,

Joan brought some carnations, and Catherine (?) some sweet shops.

In this case, the clauses have the same structure as the earlier example, but the missing element no longer seems to be the verb ‘brought’, because a building cannot be casually brought somewhere. Some other word seems to be missing, such as ‘runs’, but if that is the case, the conjunction ‘and’ is out of place. This example demonstrates that it is not just the structure of the language that allows ellipsis. In fact, in some languages, like Japanese, where ellipsis is very common, the determiners are semantic, structural and/or discoursal rather than syntactic. For example, the following excerpt from a MS-S, *Hanasaka jī-san* (Grandpa Flower-maker)’, shows ellipsis of the object (that spot) of the verb (dig) in the second line as well as the subject pronoun (they = big and small golden coins) and the verb (come out) in the fourth line.

<i>Ura no hatake de Pochi ga naku</i>	In the back garden Pochi ³⁸ barks hard
<i>Shōjiki-jīsan hottareba</i>	Good-hearted grandpa digs (that spot)
<i>Ooban, koban ga</i>	Golden coins, big and small
<i>Zakku zakku, zakku zakku.</i>	Gush, gush, gush, gush, (they came out).

Again, these examples highlight the ability of a reader to work out the intended meaning from the structural and semantic contexts.

Conjunction is distinct from other types of cohesive devices because conjunctions are ‘cohesive not simply anaphoric... indirectly, by virtue of their specific meanings’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 226). This means that conjunctions are formal devices to indicate logical relations between parts of the discourse and do not substitute or refer to any particular element in the text. A list of conjunctive types drawn up by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 242-243) and summarised in Baker (1992: 191) is given below:

³⁸ A typical Japanese name for a small dog.

Additive	and, or, also, in addition, furthermore, besides, similarly, likewise, by contrast, for instance, and so on.
Adversative	but, yet, however, instead, on the other hand, nevertheless, at any rate, as a matter of fact, and so on.
Causal	so, consequently, it follows, for, because, under the circumstances, for this reason, and so on.
Temporal	then, next, after that, on another occasion, in conclusion, an hour later, finally, at last, and so on.
Continuatives	now, of course, well, anyway, surely, after all, and so on.

All of the above have Japanese equivalents, which can be classified in a similar way. Typically, some conjunctive expressions co-occur with demonstratives such as ‘instead of that’, ‘as a result of this’, and so on, which are common in Japanese such as ‘*sore-kara*’, ‘*kono-tame*’, and so on. Hence, the equivalents in Japanese will be examined in our data analyses.

Lexical relations within the text show ‘cohesive patterns’ (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 282) by repetition, reiteration (synonym, super-ordinate, or general word), comparison and collocation (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 282-292). The following examples by Baker (1992: 203) demonstrate the various types of lexical cohesion. For the purpose of explaining the concept, English examples are used here for the convenience of English language readers, but Japanese equivalents are given in brackets after each sentence.

There’s a **boy** climbing that tree (*otokonoko ga ano ki ni nobotteiru*).

- a. <repetition> The **boy** is going to fall if he doesn’t take care (*ki o tsukenai to ano otokonoko, okkochiru yo*).
- b. <synonym> The **lad**’s going to fall if he doesn’t take care. (*ki o tsukenai to ano shōnen, okkochiru yo*)
- c. <super-ordinate> The **child**’s going to fall if he doesn’t take care. (*ki o tsukenai to ano ko, okkochiru yo*)
- d. <general word> The **idiot**’s going to fall if he doesn’t take care. (*ki o tsuke-nai to ano baka, okkochiru yo*)

CDA analysts argue that choices are made within the ‘pronominal scale’ whether to use a name, a pronoun or other semantic substitution in order to express contrasting relationships,

such as distancing and inclusion vs. exclusion of a group of people, depending on their political stance, and so on. (Boyd 2009: 81-82). In addition, antonym, euphemism, metaphor, simile, and various other semantic associations also form lexical relations. As seen above, *cohesive devices give cues for coherence*. However, the mere presence of potentially cohesive devices in a text, without semantic linking, does not guarantee the coherence of the discourse, as illustrated in the example below.

Mr. Yamada went to Hokkaido and Mrs. Nihon got a new map from Mr. White. The ellipsis was as white as snow. Indeed, Snow Country can fly, and so was she, because blacks map out very wavy conjunctions like Sapporo that always lands on Mr. Yamada's air.

The above short text is hard to process, because semantic relations between the words appearing one after another are not obvious and they are used in a counter-intuitive manner. For example, an abstract concept (ellipsis) was described as having a colour (white), and an inanimate object (Snow Country) was given the role of an actor for a motion verb (fly). Therefore, it is difficult for the reader to build a satisfactory mental representation of the message during the discourse process (i.e. as he reads on), and the semantic relevance between the adjacent sentences is not evident. Consequently, communication breaks down. This suggests that discourse processing at the lexical level is crucial for the comprehension of the overall discourse and both the lexical and overall discourse processing occur simultaneously, feeding in to each other. Therefore, in the analyses of MS-S texts we will not only quantitatively examine the proportions of lexical groups, but also quantitatively explain how the order in which these lexical items appear in the discourse may affect the students' interpretation of the MS-S. This concerns localised word recognition processes, which is taken up in the next section.

2.2.6. Visual and auditory word recognition

Understanding a piece of information (MS-S, in this case) begins with recognising a word correctly. Our visual and auditory word recognition ability has been explored by psychologists of language using the methods of brain imaging (MRI, fMRI), saccadic movements, tachistoscopic identification³⁹, and by measuring the time taken for naming, categorising, or making a lexical decision on a word. The results of these experiments have

³⁹ Setting a task to identify an object, such as a word, that is shown for a very short time, and making the task more difficult by reducing the duration for which the object is displayed and increasing the speed to the extent that visual recognition is almost impossible and the subjects' subliminal (or unconscious) perception may be tested.

demonstrated that our visual/auditory recognition can be influenced by the local (morpheme-level or phoneme-level) context, called co-text (van Dijk 2009b: 2), as discussed below.

2.2.6.1. Semantic priming in visual and oral-aural modalities

In a series of lexical decision tasks, subjects recognised and identified the word ‘doctor’ more easily when it was presented immediately after a semantically related word, such as ‘nurse’, but less easily after a semantically remote word such as ‘butter’ or when the word ‘doctor’ was presented in isolation. This applies to other semantically related word combinations including butter-bread, and so on. (Meyer and Schvaneveldt 1971). Such an effect is known as *semantic priming* and is applicable to both visual and auditory modalities. When the first word *primes* the reader/listener for the second word and consequently recognition of the second word (namely, target) speeds up, the priming effect is called *facilitation*, but if priming slows down the process, it is called *inhibition*. It relates to how associations between meanings might be made.

The effect of semantic priming has been widely studied in psychology through the investigation of the N400⁴⁰ component of the event-related brain potential (ERP), measured by electroencephalography. N400 response is associated with a variety of meaningful, or potentially meaningful, stimuli, for example, pictures embedded at the end of sentences (Federmeier and Kutas 2001), acronyms (Laszlo and Federmeier 2008), videos of real-life events (Sitnikova, Kuperberg, Holcomb 2003), as well as spoken words (van Petten, Coulson, Rubin, Plante, and Parks 1999) and music (Daltrozzo and Schön 2009). These studies point to possible differences in the priming effect (or of making meaningful associations) depending on the input modality. This has implications for MS-S education that involves learning through the combination of text and music. To compare visual and auditory semantic priming effects Holcomb and Neville (1990) devised a lexical decision task using ERPs and behavioural measures (errors and reaction time), according to which: subjects made slower responses, made more errors, and their ERPs had larger negative components (N400) to unrelated words than to related words in both modalities, although the effect of priming was larger, began earlier and lasted longer in the auditory modality than in the visual modality. Priming processes that occur in auditory and visual modalities are not identical, but possibly overlapping in some way. The results also demonstrated that the N400 component might be

⁴⁰ In contrast, syntactic priming is typically associated with P600 (Osterhout and Holcomb 1992). N400 is a distinct wave-form pattern of electrical activity observed on the human scalp, indicating negative electronic potential in a time window ranging from 250-500ms, that peaks around 400 ms post-stimuli onset (Kutas and Hillyard 1980).

specifically responsive to language, or potential language, events (Holcomb and Neville 1990: 312). These results may imply that singing an ideological message (*shōka*) and being exposed to it through reading (in a reading textbook) share some comprehension processes, but the former may yield more effective learning outcomes.

Other studies indicate that music transfers considerably more semantic information than previously believed in terms of activating particular associations between the music and the language that goes with it (Koelsch, Kasper, Sammler, Schulze, and Friederici 2004). To put this point in the context of MS-S education, the singing of an ideological text actually helps the students to learn it. This endorses the assumption expressed by the Ministry of Education that teaching of national (Japanese) language and music in tandem was effective (Ishida 2007: 194-199). Indeed, there is a close association between musical and semantic sensory systems as suggested in studies of brain activation using fMRI, according to which certain brain regions, involved in basic aspects of auditory processing, are also engaged in reading, even when there is no environmental, oral or auditory input at the time (Haist, Song, Wild, Faber, Popp, and Morris 2002). Furthermore, study results of brain activation during reproduction of words that were sung, spoken and hummed, showed that neural activation occurred in shared regions in both hemispheres for all three types of vocal production, but additional and distinct regions were activated in singing (Özdemir, Norton, and Schlaug 2006). This is why it is difficult to ignore prosodic cues in a speech or to ignore words uttered with prosody-like features in music: it would seem that musical structure modulates semantic priming (Poulin-Charronnat, Bigand, Madurell, and Peereeman 2005: 67-78): A message sung grabs the attention faster and stronger than a message read.

In the absence of experimental results demonstrating the contrary, this study accepts these outcomes. Hence, we have pedagogical implications for our MS-S. First, using word association in teaching may be a more effective way to reinforce learning than trying to remember words in isolation. Second, if visual and auditory recognition processes are overlapping, but non-identical, learning MS-S in both visual (reading of the texts) and oral-aural (listening and singing) modes may mean that students are simultaneously exposed to these two types of complementary media for learning a text, which may facilitate the reinforcement of learning.

2.2.6.2. Frequency and familiarity

Another aspect of priming is the effect of frequency. Commonly used words are easier to recognise and respond to than less common words (Howes and Solomon 1951) and the

degree of frequency determines the speed of response in lexical decision tasks (Whaley 1978) as well as in naming tasks (Foster and Chambers 1973). In any case, recognising a word that one has seen before is easier, a phenomenon that is called *repetition priming*. The effect is long lasting and more apparent with less commonly used words than commonly used words (Forster and Davis 1984). These established findings may have implications for the use of teaching methods such as drilling. Inevitably, drilling practice was employed when students practiced singing MS-S. Since frequency of exposure to a particular word may differ from person to person, familiarity (as a measure of personal frequency) was put forward as a more fundamental processing variable than frequency (Gernsbacher 1984). Yet, even more fundamental might be the age of acquisition – i.e. when the subject first learnt the word (Brown and Watson 1987; Morrison, Ellis, and Quinlan 1992). Concerning lexical decision tasks, Whaley (1978) found that frequency, meaningfulness, and the number of syllables had the most effect, while Rubin (1980) concludes that frequency, emotionality, and ease of pronunciation were the determining factors for the ease of recognition. Both combinations of factors listed by Whaley and Rubin fit with the characteristics of the wartime discourse of Japanese textbooks (Kurokawa 2009) and also possibly the MS-S discourse.

Further, studies of automatic innate processing (Hasher and Zacks 1979, 1984) suggest that people are especially sensitive to information about the frequency, location and time of events. For example, in experiments involving the random appearance of words, people learned how often, where, and when a word appeared through *intentional* and *incidental* learning schemes. Notably, the subjects recalled such information very accurately in both of the schemes. This suggests that automatic storage mechanisms seem to dominate the encoding of information concerning the frequency, location and time of events. People's ability to store this information does not vary significantly across the subject population (age, educational background, and so on.) (Hasher and Zacks 1979, 1984). Moreover, people can strategically control their ability to remember information of frequency, location and time, at least to some extent (Barsalou and Ross 1986; Begg, Maxwell, Mitterer and Harris 1986; Greene 1984, 1986, 1988; Jonides and Naveh-Benjamin 1987; Naveh-Benjamin and Jonides 1986; Williams and Durso 1986). In other words, the processes that store this information adapt themselves to current contextual factors (Barsalou 1992: 67). Frequency results in collocational associations of words, while spatial and temporal information contributes to setting the background to a narrative, making semantic associations between the two types of information throughout it. These factors mutually strengthen the likelihood of word-level recognition and retrieval. Therefore, MS-S that contain textual features such as recurrent, spatial and temporal information may be more likely to be remembered by children. Other

features may include: familiarity, emotionality, ease of pronunciation, musicality, narrative appeal, sense of importance, sense of personal involvement, and so on, as discussed above.

In the light of the above it would seem that the smallest linguistic unit of a manageable size that may carry an ideological meaning is particle, for example, in case of Japanese language. These can be quantifiable and thus, our quantitative analyses are carried out on morphemes in a text to investigate the textual representation of the discourse of MS-S at the micro-level. Such quantitative analysis forms a part of a larger picture: an investigation into the multiple facets of contextual influence on children's understanding of the message carried by MS-S, whereby a detailed 'linguistic analysis is paramount because it is the foundation upon which further context analysis relies' (Koller 2012: 20). Understanding the message in MS-S relies on macro-level as well as many meso-levels of contextual information. Therefore, this study analyses the texts of MS-S as well as relevant documents against their relevant socio-historical contexts, and by comparing them we will explore the link between the macro-level of sociocognitive representations (such as propaganda) and the micro-level of SCR such as linguistically coded ideologies traced in the texts, and explain the link using the working model of the 'assimilation-association' mechanism of ideological transfer situating it within the framework of DHA-CDA.

2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis – the analytical framework

This section briefly reviews representative literature on CDA and outlines the theoretical framework offered by CDA and its principles and tenets as well as its analytical architecture.

2.3.1. Overview

CDA has been developed to study language and power in social contexts and it encompasses a multidisciplinary approach (van Dijk 2003: 352-3). It is multidisciplinary in the sense that the theory studies the discourse beyond language at different levels of context, not as independent of the context, but as a phenomenon that goes beyond language and whose meaning is given always in relation to the context in which it appears. Discourse in this study is understood as a communicative entity that is instantiated in, but is not equal to, language and text. The context itself is multifaceted and can be studied employing a variety of disciplines. CDA aims to describe the discourse structure (text) and to explain the discourse structure in terms of social interactions in which the discourse takes place with intention, purpose and effect. In particular CDA focuses on 'the way discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in

society' (van Dijk 2003: 353). The principles of CDA were summarised by Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280) as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems,
2. Power relations are discursive,
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture,
4. Discourse does ideological work,
5. Discourse is historical,
6. The link between text and society is mediated,
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

Most importantly, CDA views 'text as artefacts that do not occur in isolation', but 'socio-political, socio-historic contexts contribute to production and interpretation of text and are crucial aspects of the analysis' (Hyatt 2010). CDA does not 'merely describe discourse structures', but instead it strives to 'explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure' (van Dijk 2003: 353). This approach enables an analyst to study the discourse at multiple levels of context from a variety of parameters (Koller 2012), and the same data can be studied using different forms of analyses, say quantitative and qualitative, to elucidate the extent of contextual influence on discourse interpretation as in the case of this study. For example, in the first form of analysis, textual contents are quantitatively analysed and the linguistic facts are described. In the second form, the same text will be reanalysed, but qualitatively this time, against the social context, in an attempt to explain what possible influences the social context may have had on the interpretation of the discourse. That is the approach this study takes in order to clarify possible differences between context-independent (dictionary definitions) and context-dependent (children's interpretation) MS-S texts so that the extent to which MS-S played a possible role in ideological education will be revealed.

The theoretical propositions of CDA are summed up as follows:

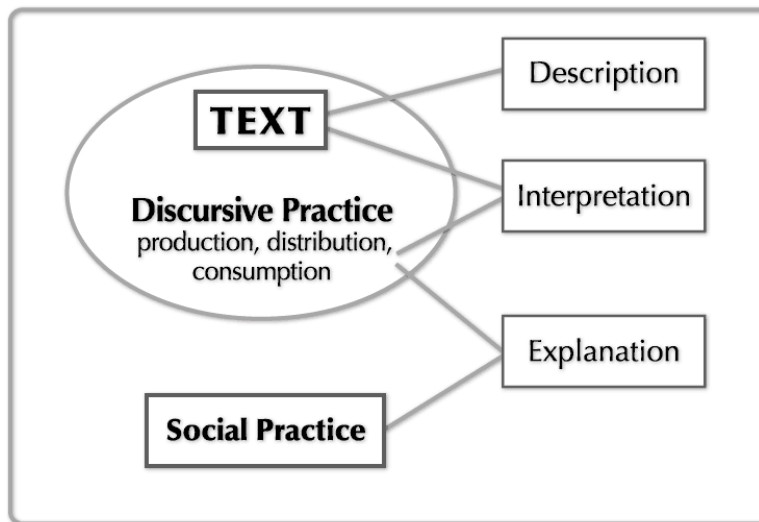
1. Discourse and society affect each other. Discourse as language use as social practice is dependent on the context in which it appears and the context (e.g. people's attitudes or behaviour) can be influenced by language use (e.g. advertisements, news),
2. Discourse contributes to the forming and changing of knowledge, social relations and social identity through affecting the way in which the world is represented. (e.g. the pro-life campaign entails the labelling of opponents as anti-life),

3. Discourse affects, and is influenced by, relations of power and ideologies. (e.g., Values attached to different varieties of accents and dialects),
4. Following on from the premise of 3, above, discourse is shaped and used for social control, and thus it is contested and contestable.
5. CDA aims to describe and explain the mutual influence between society and language.

(Fairclough 1992; Hyatt 2010).

Analytically, CDA operates on three levels of analysis: the discourse text, discursive practice (of production, distribution, consumption), and the social practice-context in which the discourse is found. The following is a schematic representation of this concept adapted from Fairclough (1992).

Figure 2.1 CDA Framework (Based on Fairclough 1992: 73 and 1995: 98).



The three levels of analysis are called *micro* (text) level, *meso* (discursive practice) level, and *macro* (social practice) level (van Dijk 2003: 354) and they interact with each other. The text and the discourse, that the text instantiates, have a meaning, in the sense of the dictionary definition that is associated with each word/expression in the text. However, we are concerned with the meaning attributed to the discourse by individuals (interpretation), and the interpretation differs from individual to individual to a lesser or greater extent. The text may be described in terms of its linguistic contents, and it may be interpreted in terms of what that text represents for the individual recipient. The interpretation of the text can be shaped by the local context, such as the way the discourse is presented to the audience, in accordance with a purpose for which the discourse had been designated, the way it is

consumed by the audience, and so on. Crucially, CDA differentiates various levels of context. For example, ‘given the interconnections between text and contexts, any critical analysis of discourse will combine the description of linguistic features at the micro-level of text with their interpretation at the meso-level of discourse context and their explanation at the macro-level of social context’ (Koller 2009). To apply this approach to our study of MS-S, the following conceptual layout is adopted: we will study the MS-S songtexts at the micro-level; children’s interpretations of the songtexts within the school education system, with reference to the relevant teaching methods, curriculums, education policies, contents of related subjects (history, geography, ethics, etc.) at the meso-level, and wider propaganda movements in the backdrop of particular sociohistorical incidents at the macro-level. Then the links between and among these levels are considered. Within this structure the current study will give special focus to detailed manual analyses of Micro as well as Meso levels, and situate the outcomes in the existing studies of mobilisation efforts using education, language, media, and a variety of means of communication at the Macro-level (Kushner 2009; Kushner 2006; Shimazu 2009; Shimazu 2006; Kurokawa 2007; Karasawa 1956) through discursive practices.

The context that influences the interpretation of the text is discursive, and this itself can be interpreted differently by different individuals. Both the text (discourse) and its context are also influenced by the larger, socio-political, socio-cultural, or socio-historical context, namely social practice. CDA aims to explain how the social practice may affect the discourse as well as its interpretation (and vice versa) in order to gain insights into the mechanism of language and power that is exercised by means of language use. For a systematic description of textual features, in this dissertation primarily, Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar is employed, and the relations between the text, discursive practice and social practice (e.g. socio-political-cultural context) are explained drawing on theories of pragmatics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics).

Since this is an observational, retrospective study, it is impossible to reproduce and verify the exact *intention* of the creators of MS-S, or conduct experiments to demonstrate the psychological effects on the students of MS-S, in a truly objective manner via first-hand access to human minds or brain functions. Accepting these limitations, this study attempts to deduce the Japanese government’s intentions from relevant legal documents and official educational guidelines. The features and content of these documents will be analysed and compared to the MS-S texts themselves, which are the source, or cause, of likely psychological effects in children. In turn, features of MS-S texts will be analysed against the model described at the end of this chapter. MS-S will be compared to the purposes and

effects that were ascribed to them by the authorities and state-supported educationists between 1881 and 1945, during the period of the Empire of Japan. Thereby this study examines if the shifts in social context affected the interpretation of MS-S discourse over time. In an attempt to maximise analytical objectivity and balance this study adopts the principle of triangulation (2.3.4.) using the framework of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) within CDA.

2.3.2. Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

DHA can be seen as a variety within the framework of CDA and is the most historically orientated of a number of theoretical and methodological approaches within CDA. It aims to establish a theory of discourse by means of elucidating the links between and among the objects of study such as texts, discourse, genres, and fields of action (Wodak and Meyer 2009a: 26) situated in a particular time and space in the past, present or future. To critically analyse these objects the CDA-DHA framework integrates the following three aspects:

1. Text or discourse-immanent critique aims to discover inconsistencies, self-contradiction, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal structures.
2. Socio-diagnostic critique is concerned with demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive or ‘manipulative character of discursive practices’, that are studied drawing from various relevant disciplines, and
3. Future-related prospective critique seeks to contribute to the improvement of communication (for example, by elaborating guidelines against sexist language use or by reducing ‘language barriers’ in hospitals, schools and so forth). (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 32-35; Reisigl and Wodak: 2009: 88).

The CDA-DHA typically combines theoretical research and empirical analyses of texts, employing an interdisciplinary approach. The CDA-DHA primarily focuses on text analysis and rhetoric. It employs argumentation theory (Wodak and Meyer 2009a: 26) and, to a lesser degree, Hallidayan Functional Systemic Linguistics as well as an elaboration of the concept of Social Actors (van Leeuwens: 1996, 2008), among others, as analytical tools. As an analytical framework CDA-DHA is a robust tool for this study, because its aim is to investigate, using a large database of children’s official songs, the linguistic manifestation of ideologies in discourse as a form of ‘social practice’ (Wodak and Meyer 2009a: 5), and it discusses evidence obtained from quantitative and qualitative analyses of the historical socio-political contexts in order to draw conclusions on the educational role of the MS-S. In addition, this study aims to elucidate the mechanism of ideological transfer through MS-S and related discursive practices between and among the stakeholders such as the authorities,

educators and pupils. Ideological transfer here refers to dynamic shifts of discourse over a historical period. For example, the study explores the possible spread and evolution of ideologies disseminated through MS-S mediated communication via expressing, representing, distributing, receiving, copying and modifying the contents of the MS-S. Viewing ideologies as constellations of socio-cognitive representations (2.3.2.2.) this study employs a socio-cognitive approach to historical data within a framework inspired by the CDA-DHA.

2.3.2.1. The DHA and socio-cognitive approach to historical data

Texts themselves, standing alone, do not create discourse nor do they facilitate communication, but it is people, called ‘social actors’ in CDA, who facilitate communication via the discourse that the texts instantiate. Social actors use their individual experiences and strategies based on collective ‘frames’ of perceptions, called ‘social representations’. It is important to differentiate the text, which is a physical object, from the social actors’ interpretations of the text, which is a mental construct or socio-cognitive representation (SCR). SCRs comprise ‘beliefs and/or knowledge, including second-hand knowledge gained through media consumption, the norms and values held by members of a discourse community, the attitudes and expectations deriving from the combination of beliefs/knowledge, on the one hand, and norms and values, on the other, and the emotions that accrue to all of these elements’ (Koller 2012: 20). Thus, SCRs are ‘partly constituted intertextually...by relevant text being circulated within and across the discourse community’ (Koller 2012: 21) or constituted inter-discursively when the ‘author of a text that instantiates a particular discourse draws on another discourse’ (Koller 2012: 25). Thus, SCRs are socially shared among the participants of the communication influencing each other through forming ‘the link between the social system and the individual cognitive system, and perform the translation, homogenisation and coordination between external requirements and subjective experience’ (Wodak and Meyer 2009a: 26). Such cognitive activities are dependent on the participation of the aforementioned social actors, because comprehension occurs as an internalised action by individuals who make efforts to link up information (or associate the information pieces) in order to ‘make sense’ of the discourse input. This is attested to in psycholinguistic research where listeners (and readers alike) tend to ‘construct a mutually agreed anchor-point from which they can attempt to adopt the speaker’s perspective within a constrained search field’ (Brown 1995: 236). For example, children as listeners/readers of the lyrics of MS-S would not only try to understand them within the range of related information (given by the teachers or out-of-school activities) situated in (micro-, meso-, and macro-levels of) co-text and context, but also mentally search for an

anchor-point to which they can link what they already know. In doing so, the children's discourse interpretation can arrive at an SCR similar to that of the text producer as well as their peers in the discourse community. The sharing of SCRs may also lead to the construction of a 'collective identity' (Koller 2012), and assimilation can be efficacious, particularly if an emotional factor, such as peer-pressure, is involved. Such assimilation of SCRs can eventually create networks of SCRs, which may then culminate in a transfer of ideologies, if we tentatively equate networks of SCRs as forms of ideologies (Koller 2012: 27).

2.3.2.2. DHA and ideology

According to Koller (2014) ideology can be defined in terms of its structure, contents, origin and functions. In essence, it is 'a network of beliefs that leads to expectations, norms and values, [which] can entail emotional effects and [it] is a crucial means of organising social life' (Koller 2014: 19). Thus, empirical analysis of ideological discourse in data using a CDA approach begins with distinguishing between ideologies and the means of communicating them (Koller 2014: 4), whereby an ideology can be conceptualised using the metaphor of 'a network of constituent elements' (Koller 2014: 5) each of which consists of an SCR that can be influenced by a variety of physical or mental experiences in social life. Each experience of one's emotive response towards social life, undergoes 'conventionalization' (Koller 2014: 8), leading to the establishment of certain beliefs, which eventually form expectations, norms, and values about the given society and which will be consequently shared as SCRs among community members. The state of SCRs is fluid and susceptible to further experiences, and thus, this study posits that ideologies can be transferred between and among the community members. As such, ideology can be involved in cultural hegemony through 'inculcation of specific mental models [of the social reality among a certain social group] that serve the interests of specific, usually dominant, social groups' (Koller 2014: 10).

Hence, CDA-DHA generally views an ideology as a frequently 'one-sided perspective or world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group' (Wodak and Meyer 2009b: 88). Ideologies can have a socio-political function of serving as a means of 'establishing and maintaining unequal power relations through discourse: for example, by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public spheres ('gate-keeping')' (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 88). This function of ideologies can radically transform power relations, and its relevance to this dissertation is the

way in which ‘linguistic and other semiotic practices mediate and reproduce ideology in a variety of social institutions’ (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 88) through intertextuality and interdiscursivity of ideological discourse.

2.3.2.3. Ideologies, Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

DHA characteristically studies a text in relation to other texts in a specific context within layers of contexts. The rationale is that texts are ‘linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present’, through, for example, ‘explicit reference to a topic or main actor; through references to the same events; by allusions or evocations; by the transfer or main arguments from one text to the next’ (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90). When elements of the text are transferred to new contexts it is called ‘recontextualisation’ or, if the elements were taken out of context, it is ‘decontextualisation’. Either way, these processes will influence the interpretation of the same text, because the element acquires a new meaning by changing or losing the original contexts. Quoting to fit the purpose of writing is an example where recontextualisation or decontextualisation occurs, and thus in both ways, elements of a text are newly ‘framed’ (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90). Likewise, the discourses that texts instantiate are also linked to each other in a variety of ways. For example, if we consider discourse as ‘primarily topic-related (as ‘discourse on X’), we will observe that a discourse on say climate change frequently refers to topics or subtopics of other discourses, such as finances or health. Discourses are open and often hybrid; new sub-topics can be created at many points’ (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 90). Associations between related discourses reinforce the creation of networks of SCRs and, in turn, ideologies may be disseminated through the association of topical concepts as well as the assimilation of discourse in individuals’ comprehension and reproduction of shared discourses. Eventually this may lead to cultural hegemony.

2.3.2.4. Language and power

Hegemony, by which a dominant cultural group may achieve and maintain its status through the manipulation of discourse, is an instance of power exercised through language use (Fairclough 1989). Under certain socio-political conditions, ‘discursive power’ may be ‘abused’ through the use of language (van Dijk 2008a: 821) and certain social groups may be systematically and routinely prejudiced against, leading to ‘exclusion and domination’ (Wodak and Reisigl 1999: 180) of particular groups within the given society. Critical discourse analysts attempt to address such social problems, but as Wodak and Meyer (2009a: 9) point out ‘how CDA researchers understand power and what moral standards allow them

to differentiate between power use and abuse – [is] a question which has so far had to remain unanswered'. Further, technical terms that discourse analysts employ need to be made more precise (Billig 2008: 829-841) so that the agency and actions of language use that may exert influence on society may be clearly defined. Therefore, the terms used in this study such as 'power' and 'domination', which are both closely related to hegemony, and 'discipline', which is related to education and hence relevant to this study, are tentatively defined as follows. Weber (1978: 53) states:

'Power' (Macht) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests. 'Domination' (Herrschaft) is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons. 'Discipline' is the probability that by virtue of habituation a command will receive prompt and automatic obedience in stereotyped forms, on the part of a given group of persons'.

Therefore, propaganda and, in particular, use of language in a variety of media for mobilising Japanese citizens, including children, during the second Sino-Japanese War (Kushner 2006, 2009) and the emergence of wartime nationalism observed during the Russo-Japanese War (Shimazu 2006, 2009) are examples of power exercised to dominate a particular group of people with a disciplinary response. However, Weber's definition of 'power' expects it to meet 'resistance', which was not always the case with the reported Japanese cases of propaganda. Rather, Japanese citizens were willing partners in mobilisation efforts as well as in the creation and dissemination of ideological discourse through propaganda (Kushner 2006). At the same time, this society-wide, macro-level effect may have been the result of the conscious educational strategy of the imperial government that had created an environment in which children would normalise and internalise ideologies (Karasawa 1956; Kurokawa 2007; Murata 2006; Ōta 2006; Kimata 2006; Sugie 2006; Kakinuma 2002) and arrive at a state of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995), having gone beyond the stage of questioning the abuse of power. Therefore, this study focuses also on the transitional stages in which language power may have been exercised over the course of MS-S education. Based on the discussion above, this study considers that language power relates to 'an asymmetric relationship among social actors who assume different social positions' (Reisigl and Wodak 2009) and that power is exercised through discursive practices.

2.3.2.5. Discursive practice of power in MS-S

In the framework of CDA the discursive practice or the way in which a discourse is presented, distributed and consumed is viewed as affecting the interpretation of the discourse, thus influencing the extent to which the discourse can affect the world-view of its recipients. Examples of discursive practice can be found everywhere, but characteristically in the media. Fairclough (1989: 54) argues that the effects of media power through inference are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth. Thus through the way it positions readers, for instance, media discourse is able to exercise a persuasive and powerful influence in social reproduction because of the very scale of the mass media and the extremely high level of exposure of whole populations to a relatively homogenous output. Although current media forms, such as social media, produce more heterogeneous input than the traditional mass media to which Fairclough refers, his observation is still relevant to this historical study. Mass media used in wartime Japanese compulsory education were *Tokuhon (Reader)*, the textbook for reading Japanese language, and MS-S, the official children's songbooks. Further, as a medium, MS-S differs from the *Textbook for Reading*, because MS-S appeal to both visual (via the text) and auditory (via the music) senses which double the input. This makes MS-S a unique medium of education. As learning MS-S involves two modes of input - reading and listening - students take on the roles of both readers of the text and listeners to the songs. The psychological effect of music was discussed extensively by education authorities such as Izawa, who wrote the prefaces for Japan's first MS-S, explaining the 'miraculous benefit (of music, which sets) people's minds correctly through edifying and cultivating virtue' (see Appendix 1) (Ishida 2007: 194-199). As the policies shifted over time, the music of MS-S also underwent various transformations alongside the text contents.

The first MS-S, *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*, published in 1891, was largely composed of Western folk music tunes to which Japanese lyrics were attached. This was part of the Meiji government's modernisation policy through adopting Western cultural models. The government first sent Izawa Shūji to the Bridgewater Normal School and Harvard University in the USA to study Western music, and later invited his former teacher, an American music educationist, Luther Whiting Mason, to be the music advisor during the establishment of Japanese music education, of which MS-S was the primary result. The Ministry of Education took notice of 'the extremely useful nature of the western songbooks such as Christian hymns for unifying and integrating the citizens of a nation' (Oda 2009: 450) and 'imbuing the children with the concept of territory and homeland' (Mimura 2002: 420), because they

are ‘easy to remember and sing for the common folk thanks to [their] melody line. Lyrics are set to a tune with relatively simple rhythms forming a pattern, and the pattern is repeated’ (Oda 2009: 449). Moreover, the ‘equal temperament scale used in the hymns has a practical and functional advantage, for it is easier to follow the song’ (Oda 2009: 449).

After the promulgation of the 1890 *Kyōiku-Chokugo* (‘Imperial Rescript on Education’⁴¹), imperial nationalism took a strong hold in education policies. With the publication of the eight MS-S selected for the Imperial Holidays in 1893⁴², the Education Ministry demonstrated its preference for traditional pentatonic scales instead of the western diatonic scales, and thus the precedent for the subsequently issued MS-S was set. This shift to a traditional style proved a political success. Matsui (2007: 177) explains that the pentatonic scales were readily used in Japanese popular music, hence widely accepted in popular culture. In this style of music the melodic constituent of MS-S sounded familiar to the ears of ordinary people, and the majority of MS-S lyrics were written within the framework of traditional poetry, *waka*, using *shichi-go-chō* (7-5 syllabic tone) (Omoto 2009: 34). Many of the songs in this version of MS-S proved popular, with a conspicuous example being *Ware-wa-umi-no-ko* (‘Child of the Sea’) a version of which is still sung by people even today⁴³. Their popularity came from the fact that these songs were easy to remember and to sing along to (Matsui 2007: 177). These MS-S in traditional styles also served to reinforce students’ familiarity with traditional artistic and cultural values. Clearly, the musical component of the MS-S also forms a crucial part of discursive practices in creating cultural hegemony.

In order to investigate the close link between the cultural hegemony and language as its vehicle (as discussed in 1.3.1., 1.3.3. and 4., 2.1.1., 2.1.2.3., 2.3.2.2. to 4. and 6.1.4.2.) CDA-DHA offers a theoretical framework, as briefly summarised in 2.3.1. The framework is designed to describe the interaction of *micro* (text), *meso* (discursive practice), and *macro* (social practice) levels of contexts in which ideologies are manifested in the discourse instantiated in language-mediated communication. This study investigates the multifaceted discourse contexts using a variety of primary and secondary data following the principle of triangulation as summarised in the next section.

⁴¹ Appendix 1: 1890 (M23) *Kyōiku-Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education).

⁴² Appendix 9: 1893 (M26) *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka* (祝日大祭日唱歌: Songs for Celebrations and High Holy Days), Preface.

⁴³ cf. 5.5. in Period 3.

2.3.2.6. Triangulation approach of DHA

Following the conventions of CDA-DHA, this study employs ‘the principle of triangulation, which implies taking a whole range of empirical observations, theories and methods as well as background information into account’ (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 89). This approach takes into account the following: (1) the immediate language – or text-internal co-text (i.e. Japanese 1891-1945); (2) the inter-textual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (e.g. texts of MS-S, official educational documents, and statutes); (3) the extralinguistic (social) level, which is called the ‘context of situation’ (e.g. educational and sociocultural contexts such as relevant pedagogy, curriculum, and other factors in the school setting); and (4) the broader socio-political and historical contexts (i.e. such contexts in Japan at a relevant period for a specific set of MS-S). Wodak and Meyer 2009b: 31-32). The CDA-DHA framework considers that detailed analysis and evaluation across these levels from these different perspectives should ‘minimize the risk of being biased’ (Wodak and Meyer 2009b: 32), even though an analyst should always keep in mind that ‘rigorous ‘objectivity’ cannot be reached by means of discourse analysis, for each ‘technology’ of research must itself be examined as potentially embedding the beliefs and ideologies of the analysts and therefore guiding the analysis towards the analysts’ preconceptions’ (Wodak and Meyer 2009b: 32).

2.4. Conclusion

In the light of the literature review and discussion in this chapter we have arrived at our definitions of the objects to be analysed in our data: ideologies as well as the quantifiable linguistic items that can be reasonably assumed to manifest the ideologies in view of psychological language processing. We have identified and defined the three ideologies: Japanese imperialism, militarism, and nationalism (state-oriented and nation-oriented) to be examined in the data. We have also explored how ideological concepts may be manifest intra- and extra-textually across language levels; from the more abstract end of the higher level of manifestation such as the discourse in memory, or a mental picture of a story, to the textual items such as paragraphs, sentences, all the way down to the lower end of the language system, such as words or even smaller – morphemes. For these reasons, we have decided on a two-pronged approach: first, to analyse the texts of our corpora at multi-linguistic levels, but quantify them at the word/morphemic level. Second, to analyse these linguistic items with and without the context-dependent reading. This was because the literature review suggested that there are intra- (including referential expressions such as pronouns or relevant descriptions in the same passage) and extra-textual (including relevant

stories, or some shared social knowledge) contexts that can provide additional information to assist the comprehension of a discourse and thereby the successful communication of a message (such as ideology). If the children were supplied with rich contextualisation for the ideology in the MS-S, they are more likely to comprehend it along the line of argument that the contextual information suggests. As part of the contextualisation we have learnt that titles can provide a crucial key to establishing a frame for the comprehension of a story (as in the case of ‘burglary’ or ‘house-buying’). Suffice it to say, a title can steer the course of direction in the way children may understand a message, since any input that follows on from the title will be adjusted to fit the frame. In general the above review pointed to a tendency in people’s discourse comprehension mechanism of making sense by making associations between the information input, and looking for some similarities and connections between the known and new information pieces whether consciously or unconsciously in search of a coherent picture of a story.

From the examination of the past studies described above, the following premises are constituted:

<Premises>

1. When investigating the weight of ideological influences affecting a text (such as the lyrics of a song in this study), measuring the proportion of words relying on dictionary definitions alone is not enough. The proportion of the text affected by context-dependent reading needs to be taken into account, too.
2. The extent to which any reader of a text can perceive context-dependent meaning depends on what information, knowledge and experience s/he can summon up at the time of interpretation. Similar interpretations of a text are, therefore, more likely to be obtained among a group of people sharing similar learning experiences and knowledge, social circumstances and temporal context.

These premises are applied to the context of MS-S leading to the following interlinked research hypotheses for this study:

<Hypotheses>

1. The purpose of MS-S education may be observed in the co-texts of the MS-S such as prefaces, statutes and guidelines and, if so, intertextual links may be observed that in

turn instantiates discourses of certain ideologies communicated. (This links to Research Questions 1 and 2)⁴⁴.

2. Texts of MS-S may be studied by children at schools at least two or more levels of comprehension; context-independently (literal, dictionary-definitions of words only) and context-dependently, using knowledge of metaphoric expressions, sociohistorical or socio-political background information gained from related school subjects as well as after-school experiences. (This links to Research Questions 1, 2, 3, and 4).
3. Discursive elements of the discourse interpretation are crucial in shaping a person's (or pupils in the case of this study) discourse interpretation and, by extension, influencing the effectiveness of the propaganda as suggested by the CDA framework. This may be observed in teaching methods concerning MS-S. (This links to Research Question 3).
4. Historical background and education policies are also part of the discursive elements. Relevant information that pupils receive, in conjunction with the MS-S, in other subjects (such as history, ethics and reading) can also shape the pupils' contextual-interpretation. (This links to Research Questions 1, 2 and 4),
5. Ideological concepts may be perceived, comprehended and transferred by making associations between pieces of information and through assimilating discourse between and among the provider(s) and receiver(s) of the discourse. This process is tentatively called 'assimilation-association model of ideological transfer' in this study (as discussed in 1.5). (This links to Research Question 5)

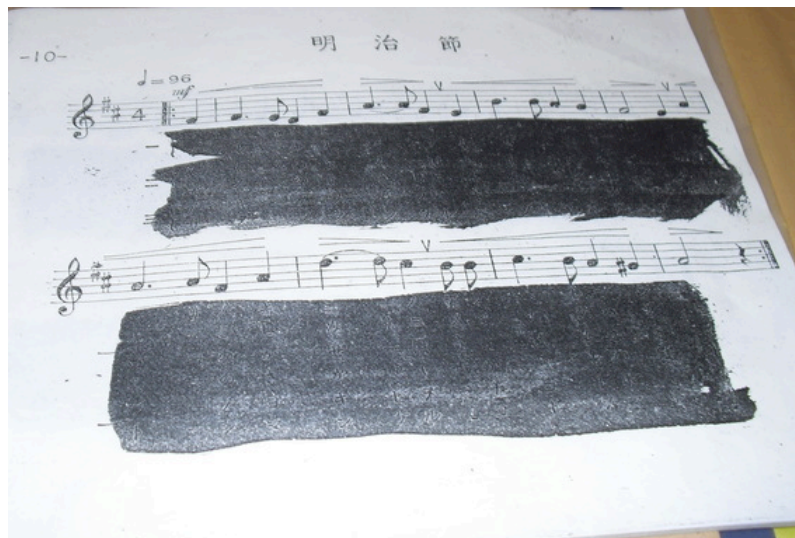
In light of the above, the texts of MS-S for elementary school children in 1881-1945 may be said to reflect a degree of ideological education, the content of which in principle should be consistent with the educational purposes for MS-S as described in the government's documentations such as the prefaces of the MS-S.

⁴⁴ Research questions are discussed in 1.4.

Chapter 3: The Purposes of MS-S Education

Within the overall characteristics of wartime education in Japan, which might be described as ultra-nationalism, imperialism, and militarism, there may be shifts in policies as to the kind of ideologies that characterised MS-S education in the course of its history. In this chapter we will study the official documents related to MS-S that might mirror the educational policies, contemporary culture and society of Japan as a backdrop of MS-S education at a given time. As we begin our empirical investigation of Children's' Official Songs (MS: *Monbushō-shōka*) from the time of their inception up to 1945, when they were temporarily banned at the end of World War II due to their depiction of militarism (Shimazaki 2009: 85-6) and sections of textbooks, including MS-S, that were deemed inappropriate were blackened out (Yokote 2006). It is practical to divide the period into sub-periods from a historical standpoint. Broadly, the history of MS can be classified into two parts: 1868-1925 and 1926-45. The former period encompasses the Meiji (1868-1912) to Taishō (1913-25) eras, and the latter period starts with the beginning of the Shōwa era (1926) and ends at the conclusion of World War II (August 1945). During the former period, children's songs commonly known as '*shōka*', which includes both state-devised (MS) and privately created ones, were introduced into the education system as part of the national curriculum. Their educational possibilities were explored, and they were established nationwide. In the latter period, *shōka*, as a subject in the school curriculum, underwent a series of transformations in accordance with the socio-cultural or political demands of the time (Sugie 2006: 155).

Figure 3.1. An example of *Suminuri-Shōka* (blackened MS-S)



The above image is of the song text of *Meiji-setsu* (the birthday of Meiji Emperor)⁴⁵

3.1. The purposes of MS-S – Inception and developmental changes

MS-S (Japanese school children's songbooks) underwent dramatic changes over the course of their development in the period 1881-1945. Originally, the Japanese educational authorities appear to have intended *shōka* to help nurture the students' sentiment through music (Preface, *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* 1881), but *shōka*'s functions became increasingly linked to militarism and voluntary participation in the war-time efforts, as Japan's involvement in international wars intensified during this period. However, *shōka* was not only deployed for militaristic education. It was also intended to foster healthy bodies and minds in children with its focus on 'sentiment education' (*jōsō-kyōiku*) (Konoma 2008: 1-2) and to serve the 'cultural reformation policy' (*fūzoku-kairyō*)⁴⁶ through music education (Kobayashi 1981). How, then, did *shōka* come to be strongly associated with the ideology of militarism? The answer to this question may be found in the official guidelines, but first we need to understand the context in which such guidelines and textbooks were used in the teaching of the next generation.

The modern Japanese education system was created by the Meiji government and was 'rationalised, secular, and state-oriented' (Reischauer 1981: 108), but this came after much argument between the intellectual leaders of the time. At the start of the Meiji imperial government there were many competing schools of thought. Among these, a heated rivalry grew between the pro-Western liberals and Confucianists. The former rapidly gained intellectual popularity in response to the arrival of Western industrialised civilisation, along with the expansion of the Western imperialism in East Asia that had indirectly toppled the older, feudal system of Japan. The latter had a solid foundation among traditional intellectuals, including advisors to the imperial household. Clashes between the two groups hindered policy making, creating divisions rather than unity. So, when the first Prime minister, Itō Hirobumi, organised his cabinet in 1885 and appointed Mori Arinori as Japan's first minister of education, Mori had the challenging task of moderating between these intellectual factions. He carefully opted for a compromise, and until his assassination by a young far-right activist in 1889 'his brief tenure in that post left Japan with its pre-World War II education system: the lower schools rigidly

⁴⁵ Accessed on 7 August 2013 online at: http://manago.exblog.jp/iv/detail/index.asp?s=16649160&i=201107/26/69/c0011169_21461234.jpg

⁴⁶ This was an educational policy aiming at reforming Japanese popular culture and raising the moral standards of the people in order to rank with the cultures of the European nations (Kobayashi 1981: 62-63). Japan viewed the Western civilisation as superior mainly due to their industrialisation and military capabilities.

centralised and emperor-centred, the upper reaches less controlled, focused on scholarly inquiry, and struggling for autonomy’ (Jansen 2000: 402). The prime objective of the system was to meet ‘the needs of the state; its main goals were the provision of skills and patriotic morality among the many to produce a literate and pliable workforce, and the production of a skilled élite with a highly sophisticated training’ (Hunter 1989: 193). This practical pedagogy was combined with moral education in accordance with the 1881 directive for elementary school teachers that emphasised ‘loyalty to the imperial house, [and] love for country’ among other virtues. The combination of practical and moral education was prioritised in the school curriculum (Jansen 2000: 406).

Clearly, education was regarded by the early imperial government as an important strategic tool for uniting the people and equipping them with skills for the purpose of building a new nation.

3.1.1. The Meiji government and the education system

After 265 years of feudal reign the Tokugawa Shogunate was brought down by an alliance of imperial loyalists, and on 3 January 1868 modern Japan was born with the imperial restoration and the establishment of the Meiji government. Subsequently, a series of reforms began, the first of which was the promulgation of the Five Charter Oath (*gokajō-no-goseimon*). It outlined the five main aims that should guide the reign of Emperor Meiji. The fifth item in the Oath states: ‘knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule’ (McLaren 1979, quoted in De Bary *et al.*, 2005: 672). The modernisation of Japan, with western influences, soon followed, which included the establishment of a modern school system with the proclamation of the Education System Order (*gakusei*) in August 1872. Music, or, more precisely, *shōka* (literally, ‘singing songs’) for the lower grades and instrumental performance (*sōgaku*), for the higher grades, was included as one of the school subjects, but a note in Article 27 of the Order stated that ‘it is pending’⁴⁷ due to the shortage of facilities and musically trained teachers. Subsequently, the 1879 *Kyōiku-rei* (‘Education Order’) designated *Monbushō-shōka* as an optional subject with a call for it be taught ‘in accordance with the local circumstances’⁴⁸. The 1879 *Kyōiku-rei* was revised in 1880, increasing the authority of the Education Minister, while allowing local governments to exercise greater discretion. It was revised again in 1885, offering simplified instructions to the schools in those areas that could not support regular elementary schooling. However, the *Kyōiku-rei* was superseded by the 1886 *Shōgakkō-rei* (‘Elementary School Order’), the 1886

⁴⁷ 当分之を欠く

⁴⁸ 土地ノ情況ニ随ヒテ

Chūgakkō-rei ('Middle School Order'), the 1886 *Shihan-gakkō-rei* ('Normal School Order'), and the *Teikoku-daigaku-rei* ('Imperial University Order'), devised by the first Minister of Education, Mori Arinori. Mori introduced the ceremonial use of songs to revere the emperor, and is considered to be one of the key figures in making *shōka* an integral part of Japanese compulsory education (Tanaka 1982; Irie 1994; Hasegawa 2007). A brief account of his relevant work follows.

As a teenage samurai, Mori witnessed the superiority of the European powers over Japan through the events surrounding the Anglo-Satsuma War of 1863, in particular, the massive bombing of Kagoshima (known as Satsuma in those days) and the subsequent fire which wiped out his hometown. The experience taught him and Japan the impending necessity of ensuring naval defence and shortly after the war he was sent by the governor of Satsuma to study the ways of Europe in England. Upon returning to Japan, his knowledge of western civilisation proved useful to the new government. Mori served as the first ambassador to the US (1871-3) and ambassador to England (1880-4), and toured Europe for further study before becoming Japan's first Minister of Education in 1885. Immediately, Mori found himself at the centre of controversy over the role of moral education: Mori's reforms were met with strong opposition by the supporters of Neo-Confucian morality, as well as progressive educationalists with an interest in child developmental psychology. The influence of Fukuzawa Yukichi's enlightenment writings that rejected both feudalism and the revival of Confucius' teachings, was also still strong (Duke 2009: 317). As a statesman, Mori's goal was in keeping with the aim of his government: to establish a strong nation state on a par with the western imperial powers, under a powerful figurehead, the emperor. Mori tried to bring the people of Japan together as a *kokutai* (a 'national body / national polity') that belonged to the Emperor, but faced a conceptual obstacle, since the Emperor was a 'remote' figure in the minds of ordinary citizens (Hasegawa 2007: 408), and so he began planning to educate the people of Japan with the concept of *shinmin*⁴⁹ *no tennō* ('His subjects' Emperor') and to engrave this concept 'deep into the citizens' bones and bone marrows' (*kotsuzui ni irashime*) as stated in his opinion paper on *kokutai*-based education submitted to a ministerial meeting ('Mori-bunsō to shogakkō-rei no kōfu (Minister Mori and Issuance of School Orders)' in ministry of Education White Paper. (MEXT 1981c II(1)). The term 'his subjects' emperor' created by Mori brings the Emperor closer to the hearts of

⁴⁹ Definition is given by: Tokutomi Inoichiro (1939) 'Showa kokumin tokuhon' (Showa People's Reader), Tokyo Nichi-Nichi-Shinbun-sha; Nose Hisao (1937) 'Senji-joshiki' (Wartime Common Knowledge), Ichigo-sha; and Ueda Kinzo (1932) 'Dare demo kokoroubeki komin no chishiki' (Essential knowledge for every citizen), Miyamae-shoten, and the English translation is consistent with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. (1981). *Japan's Modern Educational System*. 文部科学省学制百年史. Online at http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317220.htm, accessed 13 June 2013.

ordinary people in a similar way to the former British prime minister, Tony Blair's use of the term, 'people's princess'. Furthermore, Mori intended that people would feel that closeness with reverence to the Emperor deep within their hearts, which implies some religious undertones. Mori saw the need to establish a ritual, using music and body language, to be performed at every ceremonial occasion. In the days leading up to the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889, days before his assassination by an extreme-right activist, Mori encouraged the students of Teikoku University (Imperial University, now the University of Tokyo) to cry *Banzai* ('10 thousand years!') in unison at a royal parade, even though the protocol of those days dictated that total silence should be observed in the presence of the Emperor (Wakatsuki 1983: 26-27). Despite opposition from traditionalists, the cry of *Banzai*, originally an outright expression of adoration, caught the public's imagination and soon became the established manner of showing reverence to the Emperor⁵⁰. At the same time, under Mori's ministerial management, a compulsory education system was established. Music education was introduced, together with songs to beautify the nation and the Emperor, laying the foundations of the link between *shōka* and nationalism, as well as *shōka* and imperialism that continued to be strengthened in the subsequent decades. Mori was the driving force of various, often drastic, educational and cultural reforms until his assassination by a dissatisfied ultra-imperialist in 1889, on the day of the promulgation of the constitution.

Mori was criticised as a Westerniser by the traditionalists, in particular over his preference for modernising the education system by borrowing from Western models and his critical views on Confucius' teachings (Nie, 2002), and after his death the ministry's emphasis shifted towards education with strong Neo-Confucian morality. Nevertheless, the government continued the policy of the unification of the nation, with centralised control and the education system established by Mori continued to serve that purpose. The aforementioned 1886 *Shogakkō-rei* established *jinjō-shōgakkō* ('elementary school, lower four grades') to provide three or four years compulsory elementary education and *kōto-shōgakkō* ('elementary school, upper two grades') for an additional two years of further education. In the same year, 1886, *Kyōkasho-yō-toshō kentei jōrei* (the 'Textbooks Screening Law') came into effect, establishing the *kyōkasho-kentei-seido* ('textbook screening system'). The screening procedures themselves were legally controlled by the *Kyōkasho-yō-toshō kentei kisoku* ('Regulations on Textbooks Screening

⁵⁰ The *Banzai* call as the sign of adoration to the Emperor (*tennō heika banzai*) was forbidden by GHQ and subsequently "*Banzai*" lost the imperial connotation and the meaning became nearly synonymous with "hurray". However, the recent performance of a *Banzai* call by PM Abe in the imperial context of "Sovereignty Day" invited international controversy.

('Abe unable to read situation - People's Daily Online' <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90777/8234384.html> 08:41, May 07, 2013) and ('Japan's Abe says "restoration of sovereignty day signals hope', Business & Financial News, Breaking US & International News. <http://www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USBRE93R01G20130428> Sun, Apr 28, 2013)

Procedures’) issued in the following year. After this, only textbooks authorised by the government were permitted for use at schools nationwide. Subsequently, teaching materials for music education were restricted to the songbooks officially published by the ministry of education, which were called, *Monbushō-shōka-shū*.

The Ministry was keen to standardise not only the textbooks, but also the teaching methods and the quality of teachers. Hence, for music education the *Ongaku-torishirabe-gakari* (‘Research Centre for Music’), now Tokyo National University of Fine Arts, was established in 1879 at the insistence of Izawa Shūji, who laid the foundations for modern musical education in Japan. In November 1881 Izawa and Luther Whiting Mason, an American specialist in elementary music education, co-edited and published *Shōgaku-shōkashū - shohen* (‘A selection of songs for elementary students’). Shortly afterwards, in March 1883, the second volume, *Shōgaku-shōkashū-dainihen* followed. Then came the third volume, *Shōgaku-shōkashū-daisanpen*, in March 1884. Under Mason’s guidance, the first official children’s songbook included a variety of western musical tunes, perhaps reflecting the *bunmei-kaika-shisō* (‘cultural enlightenment movement’⁵¹) of the time. Also, in 1883, the first Western-style government guesthouse, *Rokumeikan*, was opened, where foreign delegates were entertained with Western music and dance. The preface of the *Shōgaku-shōka-shohen* talks of music having ‘the miraculous benefit of setting people’s minds correctly through edifying and cultivating virtue’⁵², and seeks historical credibility by pointing out that ‘thorough research of Japanese, Chinese and Western historical documents has revealed that since ancient times wise rulers have promoted musical art so that the entire nation may benefit from it’⁵³. The teaching of *shōka* (lit. ‘songs for singing’) as a school subject was said to be educationally beneficial because of its effect on the students’ psychological well-being, helping ‘to nurture a person of virtue’ (*tokuiku*) (Kobayashi 1981: 62), and in 1881 *Monbushō-shōka* (‘children’s songs by the Ministry of Education’) was recognised as a school subject in the *Shōgakkō-kyōsoku-kōryō* (‘Guidelines for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools’). However, classroom implementation was postponed until ‘teaching methodology and facilities have been put in place’⁵⁴.

Between 1887 and 1890 a variety of non-official *shōka* (*minkan-shōka*) were published, but they were not used in schools, although some of the songs contained in these unofficial

⁵¹ *Bunmei-Kaika-Shiso*: A popular movement circa 1860-1900 that aimed at obtaining enlightenment and civilisation often through liberalisation and westernisation.

⁵² 今夫レ音楽ノ物タル性情ニ本ヅキ、人心ヲ正シ風化ヲ助ケルノ妙用アリ

⁵³ 古ヨリ明君賢相特ニ之ヲ振興シ之ヲ家國ニ播サント欲セシ者和漢歐米ノ史冊歴々徴スベシ

⁵⁴ 但唱歌ハ教授法等ノ整フヲ待テ之ヲ設クヘシ

songbooks also appeared in the Official *shōka* books. One such example is Manabe Teizō's *Yōchi-shōka-shū* ('Kindergarten Songbook'), which was privately published in 1887 for children at kindergarten. Later in the same year the first songbook for pre-school children was issued and the similarity between the two songbooks was striking. Around this time, the government began to tighten control over the content of the school curriculum, including music education. The 1886 *Shōgakkō-rei* was revised on October 6 1890, to standardise compulsory education as four years at *jinjō-shōgakkō*⁵⁵ ('elementary school'). Graduates of *jinjō-shōgakkō* could move on to attend one of the following schools, depending on their gender and academic or vocational aptitude. Academically able and financially supported male and female students could proceed to *kyūsei-chugakkō* ('junior high school', five years) or *kōtō-jōgakkō* ('junior high school for girls', 5 years) respectively. Either for financial or academic reasons, many students chose to study at *kōto-shōgakkō* ('lower-secondary school', four years, but reduced to two years as of 1907) for general education, or at *jitsugyō-gakkō* ('vocational school') to pursue a specialist education in the field of agriculture, technology, commerce, and so on, or otherwise many children sought employment straight after graduating from *jinjō-shōgakkō*. The provision of education for working children was legalised as late as 1935 by *Seinen-gakko-rei* ('The youth-school Order'), which established *Seinen-gakkō-futsūka* ('supplementary schools for young working adults')⁵⁶.

On 30 October 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku chokugo*) was signed by Emperor Meiji and copies were disseminated nationwide with an accompanying dignified portrait of him. The minister of education at the time, Yoshikawa Akimasa, issued instructions⁵⁷ to schools that a ceremony to cite the Imperial Rescript (*chokugo-haidoku-shiki*) must be held at appropriate times, such as on Imperial Holidays, and that the 315 characters-long document should be read in front of the assembled pupils. At the same time, students were required to study and memorise its text (Irie 1994: 211). The ceremonial procedure involved deep-bowing in worship towards the Rescript and the singing of a complementary *shōka*. Once this 'religious' ceremonial format was established, it continued to be followed until the end of World War II (Irie 1994: 211). In other words, from this time on, *shōka* began to be increasingly used for exalting imperial Japan. The text of the Imperial Rescript was written in a dialogic style, as if the Emperor were speaking directly to his subjects (see Appendix 1 for a full English translation by the Ministry of Education, Japan). The Emperor reveals that his Imperial Ancestors founded the Empire and that they also laid the foundations of virtue. He

⁵⁵ A literal translation is 'ordinary-elementary school'.

⁵⁶ The development of Japanese education system is in pattern with that of the European system on which the former was modeled.

⁵⁷ 1890年10月31日官報第2203号文部省訓令第八号教育に関スル勅語ニ係ル件.

continues that his subjects, being united in loyalty and filial piety, are themselves the glory of the Empire, and the source of education. He instructs his subjects to be filial to their parents, affectionate to their brothers and sisters and live in harmony with their spouses. He lists twelve virtues in total, which include an instruction to pursue learning, to cultivate the arts, to develop intellectual faculties and to perfect moral powers. Further, he tells his subjects to offer themselves courageously to the Nation in order to protect it and maintain the prosperity of the Imperial Throne, which is the tradition of their forefathers and the teaching bequeathed by the Imperial Ancestors. The Emperor invites his subjects, together with himself, to strive to attain such virtues. The contents of the Imperial Rescript later became recurrent themes employed in subsequent Official *shōka-shū*. In fact, since the early stages of educational reform, the Ministry of Education in the Meiji government had been keen to explore the possible effects of the ceremonial use of *shōka* (albeit unconsciously) on children's psychology (Irie 1994: 210). Ceremonial *shōka* were devised in 1888 for special use at school ceremonies on the occasions of Imperial Holidays, and instructions to local educators concerning the use of *shōka* were given in the Order for Local Governments (*Fuken no kunrei*)⁵⁸. The education minister responsible for this regulation was Mori Arinori. He wrote: 'In order to improve upon the dignity and quality appropriate for the people of Japan⁵⁹, students should learn to 'hold ceremonies on imperial holidays such as the National Foundation Day and the Emperor's Birthday⁶⁰', and this should be 'branded on their minds'⁶¹.

This manner of reverence was nearing the deification of the Emperor and, as mentioned earlier, it was Mori's political plan to create *shinmin* ('imperial subjects') who were devoted to the country and the sovereign Emperor (Hasegawa 2007: 417), and to that end he saw the use of a western style worship model as an effective tool. This idea was shared by statesman and educationist, Tanaka Fujimaro, who accompanied the Iwakura Mission to study Western civilisation in order to modernise Japan. Tanaka later invited an American music educationist and a Christian evangelist, Luther Whiting Mason⁶², to aid Izawa Shūji in creating Japan's first MS-S (Oda 2009: 435-6). Decades had to pass before such educational efforts bore fruit, but according to Inoue Kowashi, a statesman and leading figure in the drafting of the Meiji Constitution, Mori established 'the philosophy of education for the national polity' (MEXT 1981 III1(1c) 'The Educational Policy of Education Minister Mori

⁵⁸ 1890年10月31日.官報.第2203号本文(文部省訓令第八号 教育ニ關スル勅語ニ係ル件)

⁵⁹ 国民ノ保持スベキ品位資質

⁶⁰ 紀元節天長節ノ大祝日ニ当リテハ、祝賀ノ式ヲ奉ゲ

⁶¹ 生徒ノ腦裏ニ印銘セシメ

⁶² Mason's involvement introduced religious songs (music and lyrics) to the early MS-S, although not necessarily for evangelism (3.1.1.).

Arinori') where 'education is not for the sake of the student but for the sake of the state' (MEXT 1981 III(1c)). It has been suggested that Mori may have created this format of Imperial worship in the image of the Christian Sunday worship that he observed during his time in the States and in Europe (Irie 1994: 210; Hasegawa 2007:417). According to Irie (1994: 210) Mori would have witnessed 'how the singing of Hymns at the church created a sublime atmosphere, freeing consciousness to return to the divine God', which might have led him to see the possibility of unifying the people of Japan under a divine figure. Mori did not, however, play a direct role in the deification of the Emperor, but rather, it was a consequential result of the course of the government's fundamental policy, based on the *kokutai* doctrine, although the development of MS-S was an integral part of it. In fact, Mori was one of the first statesmen to publically advocate religious freedom in Japan (Kawata 2010) and, although he was known to be a Christian, he said in an interview in English that he did not subscribe himself to any particular religion (Duke 2009: 318). Neither did he directly contribute to the writing of the Imperial Rescript that deified the Emperor, and which was promulgated a year after his death. Rather, Mori's legacy was in the introduction of the musical and gestural adoration of a national figurehead, which borrowed from ritual singing in the manner of a Western religious service. Later, deification of the emperor became an integral part of the ultra-nationalism that characterised wartime imperial Japan (Gordon 2013: 104; Jansen 2000: 96; Reischauer 1990: 14), and the use of *shōka* for that purpose may have begun at this early stage.

In June of the following year, 1891, the Regulations concerning Elementary School Ceremonies on Holidays (*Shōgakkō shukujitsu-taisaijitsu gishiki-kitei no shorei*⁶³) were issued. It required the people of Japan to 'sing songs that are appropriate for such occasions'⁶⁴ at the assemblies on the ten annual national celebration days⁶⁵. However, at this stage, educators were not certain what songs should be sung, as is evidenced by the fact that a Review Committee for the *shōka* for holidays (*'shukujitsu-taisaijitsu kashi oyobi gakufu shinsa-iinkai*) was formed, and the following year thirteen songs were provisionally designated for these occasions, eight of which were selected and formally designated as ceremonial *shōka* (*gishiki-yō-shōka*) in 1893. In the following year, 1894, with the issuance of the Ministry of Education Instruction No.7 (*shōgakkō-yō-shōka kashi oyobi gakufu saiyō ni kansuru ken*⁶⁶) all *shōka* were brought under the legal authority of the Ministry of

⁶³ 1891年06月17日.官報.第2388号 (文部省令第四号 小學校祝日大祭日儀式規程).

⁶⁴ 其祝日大祭日二相応スル唱歌ヲ合唱ス

⁶⁵ i.e. 紀元節, 天長節, 元始祭, 神嘗祭, 新嘗祭, 孝明天皇祭, 春季皇靈祭, 神武天皇祭, 秋季皇靈祭, 一月一日.

⁶⁶ 1894年12月28日 官報.第3452号 (訓令 文部省第七号 小學校唱歌用歌詞及樂譜採用ニ關スル件) .

Education, although the extent of the nation's compliance may not have been that high at this stage (Irie 1994: 214). However, in the following year, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War prompted the publication of *Kyōkasho-tekiyō-taishō-shōka* ('The Educational Songbook to commemorate the Great Victory')⁶⁷, and a collection of *shōka*, which came to be sung nationwide. The songbook's preface was written in the form of a letter from the chief editor to the readership, and exalts the emperor and his bravery and virtue, while at the same time criticising the cowardly acts of the enemy, and inviting the audience to stand in solidarity to protect the nation. Its narrative style is highly emotive, appealing directly to the readership. The same style was used for the text of these *shōka*, and became the standard style for later ones.

In 1907 the *Shogakkō-rei* was revised again, and this fourth version (after 1886, 1890, and 1900) provided for six-years of compulsory study at elementary school (*shōgakkō*) and two-years schooling at *kōtō-shōgakkō* ('junior-high school'). In the same year, the *Monbushō-rei* (the 'Ministry of Education Regulations'), and the *Shōgakkō-kyōsoku-taikō* ('Outline of Elementary School Education')⁶⁸ were issued. Concerning *shōka*, the latter states that: 'nurturing aesthetic sense, developing high moral character, and providing songs that are easy to sing are the main purposes of the songbook'⁶⁹. Once again, MS-S was intended to have a direct influence on children's personal development. Although MS-S was designated as one of the compulsory school subjects, an additional clause stated that: 'implementation will be postponed for the time being'⁷⁰. Similarly, some ten years later, in 1919, MS-S became a compulsory subject at *kōtō-shōgakkō*, but it was delayed for another seven years for elementary school. Finally, in April 1926, with the 6th Revision of the Elementary School Order (*shogakkō-rei-kaisei*), the additional clause (on the subject being postponed) was deleted and *shōka* became a full-fledged subject, *shōka-ka*. The number of elementary schools was circa 24,500 in 1875 in comparison to 21,715 in 2010⁷¹, while the attendance rate was 35.4 per cent in 1875, 53.1 per cent in 1883, and achieved over 95 per cent in 1905 (NIIR 2012).

Years before *shōka* came to be established as a compulsory subject, however, *shōka* textbooks had already been produced, with the earliest dating from as far back as 1881.

⁶⁷ Example available with English translation in Appendix 2.

⁶⁸ 1891年11月17日 官報 第2516号本文 (文部省令第11号小學校教則大綱).

⁶⁹ 唱歌ハ平易ナル歌曲ヲ歌フコトヲ得シメ兼テ美感ヲ養ヒ徳性ノ滋養ニ資スルヲ以テ要旨トス

⁷⁰ 当分ノ内之ヲ欠クコトヲ得

⁷¹ Chapter 22(2) on Education: Teaching staff and students by prefectures. Statistics Bureau, Ministry of International Affairs and Communications, Japan. (総務省統計局・政策統括官(統計基準担当)・統計研修所) available online at; <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/nihon/22.htm>, accessed 1 December 2013.

Some were published by private publishers, under the supervision of specialists selected by the ministry of education. However, a 1902 bribery scandal concerning textbooks' approval (*kyōkasho-gigoku jiken*)⁷² prompted the government to tighten its control on the publication of all textbooks, leading to the establishment of a state-designated textbook system in 1903⁷³. New state textbooks were hastily compiled and entered into use as of 1904 (Mita 2010: 161), and all the future textbooks became subject to censorship and state-approval. These provisional textbooks were replaced by a second set of state-textbooks by 1910-11, which represented a more developed 'value and belief systems of the Meiji regime' as illustrated in the Imperial Rescript (Mita 2010: 161). The textbooks were published around the time of 'the annexation of Korea, the launching of the *Shirakaba* (White birch) humanistic artists movement, and the High Treason incident'⁷⁴ and thus, the textbooks were used by the government as 'the vehicle of opposition to the modern sense of self and socialist thought' representing 'the anchoring and the self-confirmation of the dominant value and belief systems of the Meiji order' (Mita 2010: 161). In this ideological and political climate the first fully state-compiled *Monbushō-shōka-shū* ('song textbook of the Ministry of Education'), namely *Jinjo-shogaku-shōka* was published.

3.1.2. Textbooks for teaching MS-S

The *Jinjo-shogaku-tokuhon-shōka* (Jinjō Elementary Songbook to Accompany the Readers for the Study of National Language) was the first thoroughly original and Japan-made official children's songbook. Issued in 1910, by the Ministry of Education, it is 'the first' in the sense that all the music borrowed from western songs in the previous *shōka-shū* was replaced by newly-composed scores by Japanese composers. As the name suggests, it was created to accompany the Japanese language textbook, the *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon*, and its lyrics were taken from 27 poems in the textbook (*inbun-kyōzai*). This *shōka-shū* was replaced by a complete 6-volume set of the *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* in the course of 1911-4, starting from the volume for the first grade going up to the sixth. Each volume contained 20 songs and included those from the *Jinjo-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka*. Almost all Japanese children sang the songs in this textbook at the time (Sugie 2006: 156). The *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* became very popular and some of the songs that depict nature and the land, such as *Haru ga kita*

⁷² 1902 (M35) *Kyōkasho gigoku jiken*: arrests were made after a textbook graft scandal.

⁷³ 1903年(M36) 四月二十九日文部省令第二十二号第24条小学校令中改正ノ件「小学校ノ教科用図書ハ文部省ニ於テ著作権ヲ有スルモノタルベシ」.

⁷⁴ The High Treason Incident (*Taigyaku Jiken* 大逆事件, which is also known as the *Kotoku* Incident or 幸徳事件 *Kōtoku Jiken*), was a socialist-anarchist plot to assassinate Emperor Meiji in 1910, leading to a mass arrest of leftists, and the execution of twelve alleged conspirators in 1911.

(‘Spring has Come’), *Haru no ogawa* (‘Spring Brook’), *Fuyugeshiki* (‘Winter Scenery’), *Oboro’zukiyo* (‘Hazy Moon’), and *Furusato* (‘My Hometown’)⁷⁵ are still loved and sung today by Japanese people (Sugie 2006: 156). The *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* also contained various militaristic, heroic, or historical songs such as *Hirose-chūsa* (‘Lieutenant Colonel Hirose’), *Tachibana-chūsa* (‘Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana’), *Nyūei wo okuru* (‘Sending Out the Soldiers’), *Suishiei no kaiken* (‘The meeting at Suishiei’), and *Dōhō koko ni gosenman* (‘Here Stand Five Thousand Fellow Countrymen’) and so on⁷⁶. This first, state-designed, *Monbushō-shōka* had a set of themes that were repeated throughout the subsequent *Monbushō-shōka-shū*, namely nature and the land, morality, and stories inspired by militaristic, heroic, or historical facts. Although these themes were found in all later MS-S, the proportion of each theme in the actual contents was influenced by the socio-political climate of the time of publication, as will be discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.1.3. From the Meiji to the Taishō era

The *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* was published towards the end of the Meiji era, and the aim of its publication, as well as the content, reflected the aspirations of the Meiji government. In particular, the building of the nation and the unification of the people were the central objectives behind the songs. Less than two years after its publication, Emperor Meiji died and his crown prince took the throne, thus opening the new era, Taishō, on 30 July 1912. This era saw Japan prosper economically and intellectually and the socio-political and socio-cultural climate of those days is now nicknamed ‘*Taishō* democracy’. Having gone through the Meiji enlightenment, citizens had become more aware of the larger world, new technologies and knowledge, as well as possibilities and choices. The Liberty and Civil Rights Movement (*jiyūminken-undō*), led by the politician Itagaki Taisuke in the 1880s, had only been partially successful, as it failed to loosen the control of the Satsuma-Chōshū oligarchy, or to establish true democracy and civil rights, including universal suffrage, but at least it had moved the Meiji government to create the Constitution in 1889 and a national diet in 1890. Political parties were formed, socialist movements evolved advocating social welfare, the reduction of tax, workers’ rights, and so on, but the government tried to quash the leftists. In the background of these developments, Japan, anxious to expand its power in China, entered World War I in 1914 by declaring war on Germany on 23 August. Japan occupied territories in Asia that had been earlier leased to Germany (Chinese Shandong Province, Mariana, Caroline, and the Marshall islands), and later Japan expanded its

⁷⁵ 春が来た, 春の小川, 冬景色, 朧月夜, and 故郷.

⁷⁶ 広瀬中佐, 橘中佐, 入営を送る, 水師營の会見, and 同胞ここに五千万.

holdings to Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and mines in China. Fighting on the side of the victorious Allies, but not involved in the actions in Europe, Japan came out of World War I, relatively unscathed, as a major power in international politics. It was granted a seat on the Council of the League of Nations and enjoyed the post-war prosperity. However, inflation continued to exacerbate and national debt grew, leading to severe recession. The public was dissatisfied and socialist movements intensified. The conservative government gave universal manhood suffrage in 1925, but almost simultaneously issued the Peace Preservation Law, emphasising the subject's obligation to the Emperor and criminalising any disturbance of the *kokutai*, and thus practically suppressing any socialist-communist movement (Menton et al 2003: 96-98). These domestic and international conflicts and developments were reflected in educationists' views, and naturally in their writings about MS-S education. The government needed to emphasise the unity of the Imperial nation and citizens' obligations to the nation, while the public called for reform, freedom and civil rights.

3.1.4. Taishō democracy and children's songs (*shōka*)

During the period of *Taishō* democracy the *geijutsu kyōiku undō* ('arts education movement') gained popularity among artists, intellectuals, and educationists (Murauchi 1971). As part of this movement, the nursery-rhymes revival campaign (*dōyō-fukkō-undō*), led by poets and writers such as Kitahara Hakushū, advocated that *shōka* lyrics be written in a natural, colloquial style (*genbun-itchi*), while depicting a child's natural feelings in everyday life and promoting artistic merit (Ishida 2007). The earlier lyrics of MS-S were criticised as being too convoluted for children to understand. In 1918 Suzuki Miekichi published *Akai tori* ('Red Bird'), a magazine of children's songs and stories, which became a symbolic statement of this movement. In the magazine's preface Suzuki criticised the popular *shōka* of the time as 'prosaic and monotonous'⁷⁷, (Aoi 1972: 24-25), and many soon followed his suit. Teachers themselves expressed concerns over the lyrics and vocabulary of *shōka* that appeared to be beyond the children's age (Ishida 2008: 193-4). In 1922 the *Nihon kyōiku ongaku kyōkai* ('Japan association for musical education') was established by leading educationists to consider the pedagogy of *shōka*. Aoyanagi Zengo and Tamura Torazō were both key members of the association with experience as teachers and, later, instructors at *shihan-gakkō* ('teacher-training schools'). By 1923 the nursery-rhymes revival campaign (*dōyō-fukkō-undō*) was at its height when Aoyagi published an essay *Ongaku-kyōiku no shomondai* ('Various issues of musical education') in which he challenged the existing state-designated *shōka* as a scripture of utilitarian views that offered very

⁷⁷ 散文的で無味乾燥な歌ばかり。

few songs that could capture children's imagination⁷⁸, but at the same time, he also noted that the efforts by the renowned authors of children's tales, such as Kitahara Hakushū, were not entirely satisfactory either, because their works 'only pretend to depict childlikeness, but in fact, both their lyrics and music rely on excessive artistic techniques'⁷⁹ (Aoyanagi 1923 quoted in Ishida 2008: 196-7). Aoyanagi proceeded to argue that in order to fulfil the original purposes of MS-S, i.e. 'to nurture the ability to appreciate aesthetic concepts and to cultivate virtues'⁸⁰ *shōka* must meet the following three conditions: 1. Children can sing the *shōka* with a good understanding of their contents; 2. The topic of *shōka* should be taken from the daily life of children, from the environment that they live in; and 3. The topics of *shōka* must be poetised and beautified⁸¹ (Aoyanagi 1923 quoted in Ishida 2008: 196-7).

The campaign, and the songs, created privately by these activist-artists, became so popular that the Ministry gave in to public demands and approved some of the privately-created *shōka* for school use, as supplementary materials to the official *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka*. However, over time, even the strongest supporters of the campaign began to express concerns about the lack of control over the quality of privately produced popular *shōka*. Tamura recollected in his 1933 publication *Ongaku-kyōiku no shisō to kenkyū* ('Thoughts and Studies of Musical Education'): 'some of the (privately-published) *shōka* are too pessimistic, sentimental, or even evocative of decadence... from them flowed out poisonous influences on the development of musical education'⁸² (Tamura 1933 quoted in Ishida 2008: 194-5). The Ministry of Education considered these public needs and eventually published a new series of *shōka*, called *Shintei-jinjo-shōgaku-shōka* ('New ordinary-elementary school songbooks') in 1932–1933. The contents of this MS-S were based on the previous *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka*, but unpopular pieces were replaced with new songs, reflecting the society and everyday life of the time⁸³. The book contained twenty-seven songs for each grade. Some of the unpopular songs - blatant hero-worshipping or expansionist songs, for example - were deleted, and the militaristic or ultra-nationalistic tone was somewhat subdued. Two versions were created - one for the students and another as a teacher's guide, which included the instrumental accompaniment scores. Songbooks for the higher grades, *Shintei-kōto-shōgaku-shōka* were created in 1935. These had two versions - one for boys and another for girls - each having

⁷⁸ 「功利的観念を教える経典のよう...児童の興味を喚起する歌が少ない」.

⁷⁹ 「子どもらしさを装うが、歌曲とも大人らしい技巧が余りに弄れて」.

⁸⁰ 「審美的情操を養い、特性の涵用に資すること」.

⁸¹ 「1. 児童の能力で理解できて歌えるもの、2. 児童の生活及び環境に取材した歌曲であること、3. 詩化され、美化された事象であること」.

⁸² 「悲観的、感傷的な作品もあり、又退廃的気分を醸成する様なものさえある（中略）教育音楽の発展上由々しき害毒を流していた」.

⁸³ See Appendix 13 for the comparison of *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (*Jinjō* elementary school songbook) and the *Shintei* (revised) *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka*.

three volumes in total, one volume per grade. Again, the teachers' guidebook contained the scores for instrumental accompaniment. Some of the songs introduced a chorus, a new style of musical performance for Japanese children.

3.1.5. Shōwa era and 'People of the Nation-State'

Under its imperialist policy, Japan invaded Manchuria following the Mukuden incident in 1931 and continued to expand its military domination over China, aiming to secure raw materials and other economic resources. A series of local conflicts culminated in the second Sino-Japanese war with the breakout of the Lugouqiao Incident⁸⁴. In 1939 the Second World War broke out and in the same year Ministerial ordinance No. 23 was issued, providing for ministerial control over every *shōka* for elementary school use, which meant that school songs, privately-created and already in use, had to be resubmitted for official approval by the government. This regulation was also applied to lower-secondary schools in 1943. However, this initiative was not entirely successful, due to the lack of resources in schools, since, by this time, Japan was losing the war. In the summer of 1939, Japan was fighting against the Soviet Union over the possession of Changkufeng Hill, at the disputed Manchurian-Siberian border⁸⁵. The Japanese army was smashed in a 20 August attack, and an armistice was agreed in mid-September 1939. The Soviets were materially superior and had more scientific operational tactics, but 'the Japanese army sought refuge in post-mortem analyses, stressing the power of the Japanese spirit and cold steel' and with 'unshakable faith in spiritual inculcation (*seishin-kyōiku*)' (Coox 1988: 322). Japan's military leaders argued that 'Japan's inferiority in raw materials, finances, and its demographic base was counterbalanced by its moral and psychological superiority' (Coox 1988: 322). This emphasis on psychological strength intensified as the Japanese continued to struggle with the conflict in China, and this was expressed through propaganda. In fact, 'problems on the Chinese mainland influenced the development of Japanese domestic propaganda' (Kushner 2006: 119), which would have impacted on MS-S education. This was also the period when Japan was engaged in a 'thought-war' of propaganda (1.3.1.) with the Chinese Nationalists (KMT), and later with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Propaganda produced by the CCP was more effective than that of the KMT and the Japanese, to the extent that Japanese troops were affected by it, in response to which the Japanese further intensified the thought-war both internationally

⁸⁴ The conflict's immediate background was a dispute over a land controlled by Chiang Kai Shek's Nationalist Party (KMT: Guomindang) that the Imperial Japanese Army tried to use as an airfield.

⁸⁵ The conflict over the borders of Manchuria is known as 'Nomonhan Incident' in Japanese referring to the small Manchuria-Mongolia border village. Another name is 'Battles of Khalkhin Gol' after the name of a river that runs through the battlefield.

and domestically with varied degrees of success (Kushner 2006). Children of those days were born into a society where propagandistic discourses were ubiquitously given.

1941 to 1945 is a period known as the *Kokumin-gakkō-jidai* ('era of the National School', literally, 'school for the citizens of the state') (Rubinger 2011: 59-72). It began with the enactment of the Law to establish 'Kokumin-gakkō' in March 1941 and ceased with Gakusei-kaikaku (educational system reform) in 1947 under the Allied Occupation, but this study focuses on the period 1941-45 during which time the last set of imperial MS-S were in use. During this period the Ministry of Education sought to 'broaden the impact of compulsory schooling and tighten the control', and 'an important new administrative post in the schools, vice principle (*kyōtō*), became the liaison between public authority and the teachers and enforced government policies in the classroom' (Rubinger 2011: 64-65). During this period, the MS-S saw a major overhaul of its contents. Its place in elementary education was also elevated to one of the major compulsory subjects⁸⁶. The major change was the increased emphasis on nationalism as the new name given to the schools – *kokumin* ('people of the nation' / 'citizens of the state') suggests. On the basis of recommendations by the 1937 Education Council, on 1 March 1941, the National Elementary School Order: Imperial Ordinance No.148 (*Kokumin-gakkō-rei shōwa16-nen choku-rei dai148-go*) was promulgated. On 14 March of the same year, the *Shōgakkō-rei shikōkisoku* ('Regulations for the Enforcement of the National School Order') were also issued. Both the new Order and Regulations came into force on April 1 1941, replacing the 1900 Elementary School Order and its enforcement regulations. Evidently, the educational reforms were motivated by the need to unify the nation in the latter part of World War II:

The basic ideas behind the reform were clarified in the Ministry of Education's instructions, which were issued in March, 1941, when Hashida Kunihiko (1882-1945) was the Minister. The instructions noted the unprecedented hardships Japan was confronted with and hence the need to establish a uniquely Japanese form of education which would inspire the people and prepare them for the future. (MEXT 1981(k): V2(1) 'From Elementary Schools to National Schools').

⁸⁶ Compulsory subjects for *shotō-ka* (elementary level) were: *Kokumin-ka* (*People's studies*, comprising of moral training, national language, national history and geography); *Risū-ka* (mathematics and sciences); *Tairen-ka* (physical training, including gymnastics and martial arts); *Geinō-ka* (artistic subjects, comprising of music, calligraphy, drawing, and handicraft). On top of these, vocational training and one more subject of choice (e.g. a modern languages) were compulsory for *kōtō-ka*.

According to its first article, the National Elementary School Order aimed ‘to carry out elementary general education in accordance with the Imperial Way and to provide our people with the basic training required of Imperial Subjects’⁸⁷. When the Order came into force, it provided for the establishment of the National Elementary Schools (6 years, compulsory) and the National Middle Schools (2 years), while abrogating the Elementary School Order revisions (1886, 1890, 1900, and 1907), and discontinuing *Jinjō-shōgakkō* and *Kōtō-shōgakkō*. The new education system was characterised by its strong emphasis on imperialism, militarism, and totalitarian ideology. To this end, the 1941 Order was ‘most effective in clarifying and making more explicit nationalist and militarist goals for elementary education and for consolidating the formal curriculum. That the primary schools were envisioned in dramatically new ways, vis-à-vis wartime aims, is suggested by the change in nomenclature: from *shōgakkō* (elementary schools) to *kokumin gakkō* (people’s schools), the first such change since the modern school system was established in 1872’ (Rubinger 2011: 65).

In order to teach the *Kōkoku no michi* (‘Imperial Way’), the curriculum of the *Kokumin-gakkō* was thoroughly revised to emphasise basic training in the following five principles: 1) To fully comprehend the national spirit, maintain strong faith in the national polity and foster an awareness of the Imperial Mission. 2) To develop penetrating intellectual powers so as to realise the spirit of scientific creation and thus contribute to the Imperial Fortune. 3) To practice physical and mental training so as to keep oneself fit and prepared to offer one’s services to the nation. 4) To be refined and cultured in one’s sentiment and mode of expression and develop the ability to express oneself artistically, thereby enriching the quality of national life. 5) To appreciate the value of productivity for the nation by respecting labour and devoting one’s work to the cause of the Empire. To realise these principles, the following five subjects were set up: national studies, science and mathematics, physical training, the arts and vocational training (for higher courses only). (MEXT 1981(I): V2(3) ‘Education in National Schools and Pupil Evacuation, Curriculum Reforms’). Thus, *Monbushō-shōka* was integrated into *Geinō-ka* (‘performing arts’) and taught in combination with a variety of other performing arts, such as music appreciation, playing instruments, music dictation and sound detection, and in this way the learning of *shōka* and their contents were reinforced. For example, students were given sound detection practices with the aim of sharpening their listening ability to detect the sounds of aeroplanes or submarines. Here, imperial education has taken on militarism. They were also asked to identify the pentatonic scale of *shōka* which were characteristically modelled on traditional Japanese folk songs, by

⁸⁷ 國民學校皇國ノ道ニ即リテ初等普通教育ヲ施シ國民ノ基礎的鍊成ヲ為ス。

which nationalism was nurtured in combination with imperialism and militarism. The students were also encouraged to appreciate the lyrics of the new 1941 MS-S, *Kokumin-shōka-shū* ('Songbooks for the Children of the Nation'), which contained a greater number of militaristic themes than the previous *Shintei-jinjō-shōka* (1911-14), with the reintroduction of some of the patriotic and heroic songs from *Jinjō-shōka* (1932-33). Moreover, a set of *shōka* for the Imperial ceremonial holidays was compiled and inserted in the opening pages of each of the six volumes of *Kokumin-shōka-shū*. The fact that they were placed at the beginning emphasised their prominent position among all the *shōka* (Sugie 2006: 158-9). Listing the titles of these highly militaristic songs such as *Tokubetsu kōgeki-tai* – 'The Special Attack Squad (*kamikaze and kaiten*)', Sugie (2006: 159-60) argues that *shōka* were used by the wartime government as a 'tool to mobilise the national spirit'⁸⁸. Prior to this 1941 publication of MS-S, war-themed songs had also been included in earlier MS-S, but use of MS-S for the mobilisation of children was mostly associated with the 1941 Kokumingakkō MS-S. The reasons for the perceived prominence of militarism in the Kokumingakkō MS-S will be investigated in the data in Chapters 4 and 5.

The six-volume *Kokumin-shōka* consists of: *Uta-no-hon vol.1* for the first grade and *Uta-no-hon vol.2* for the second grade, both published in 1941; and *Shōtōka-ongaku vols 1-4* for the 3rd-6th grades, published in 1942. Notably, most of the songs from the previous *Shintei-jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* were replaced by newly composed or rearranged songs. The music and lyrics of some songs, taken from the older MS-S, were replaced or modified to depict nationalism and militarism. For example, the pentatonic scale was used instead of the diatonic one, and militaristic vocabulary items, removed from the previous MS-S, were reintroduced.

On 15 August 1945, Emperor Hirohito announced that the Japanese government had accepted the Potsdam Declaration, which in practice meant the unconditional surrender of the Japanese military and the termination of World War II. For the vast majority of Japanese, it was the first time in their lives that they heard the voice of their 'living god' and the incident was called the 'jewel-voice broadcast' (*gyokuon hōsō*). This title in itself is an example of the poetic deification so often used in wartime discourse and in *kokumin-shōka* MS-S. However, soon after the end of the war, use of the *kokumin-shōka* was banned, due to its patriotic contents, unless all the militaristic vocabulary in the *Uta-no-hon* (for the 1st grade) was blacked out (Sugie 2006: 158). This was part of the ministry of education's plan to revise textbooks by removing: 1) the emphasis on preparations for national defence; 2) the encouragement of a fighting spirit; 3) anything disruptive to international conciliation; and

⁸⁸ 国民精神総動員の手段.

4) anything which failed to accept the fact that the war had ended, or which was clearly irrelevant to the present circumstances of student life (MEXT 1981(m): VI2(2) ‘GHQ Directives concerning Supervisory Policies and Educational Administration’). Furthermore, GHQ (the General Headquarters of the Allied Occupation) directives required a fundamental reform of Japan’s educational system and, in 1946, on the advice of GHQ, the Ministry of Education announced that: the Imperial Rescript on Education that had provided the foundation for education in Japan should be abandoned altogether. Instead, educators were told to seek guidance for their work from the ‘ethical, philosophical, and religious heritage shared by all nations’ (MEXT 1981(n): VI2(6) ‘The Treatment of the Imperial Rescript on Education; and the Establishment of the Constitution of Japan and the Fundamental Law of Education’). Furthermore, the custom of reading the Imperial Rescript on Education on national holidays, and of regarding the contents of the Imperial Rescripts as divinely inspired, were to be abandoned. (MEXT 1981(n): VI2(6)).

On 31 March 1947 the Fundamental Law of Education (*Kyōiku kihon-hō*) was promulgated and put into force on the same day, prior to the enforcement of the new constitution of Japan on 3 May, 1947. According to the preamble attached to the Education Law, it was drawn up in conformity with ‘the spirit of the Constitution of Japan’ (*kenpō no seishin*) and that successful realisation of the ideals of the new Constitution depended ultimately on the effectiveness of education. Also, in May, a new set of songs were created for a newly published MS-S, reflecting the spirit of ‘new education’ under the new-born Constitution of Japan, and many of the songs from this time still remain on the music education curriculum to this day.

So far we have reviewed the historical background of the development of children’s songbooks in Japan from 1868 to 1945, with related postwar changes above. A special focus was given to the historical circumstances in which MS-S were published and how their contents and usage reflected the educational policies at the time. For this, we have reviewed criticisms on the possible intentions of the government behind the creation and teaching of each of the MS-S. These claims will be tested in Chapters 4 and 5. The next section will review the governmental policies concerning these MS-S in their own words, through the prefaces of MS-S, official guidelines and pedagogical instructions.

3.2. Monbushō guidelines and prefaces for MS-S

The first MS-S was published in 1881 by the *Monbushō-ongaku-torishirabe-gakari* (‘Ministry of Education Research Department for Music’). There are eighty-eight different (series of) *shōka-shū* (songbooks in general, including those that are not endorsed by the Ministry of Education) published, both publicly and privately, between 1881 and 1945. The total number of volumes across these series is 177, of which twenty-five volumes (ten series) were designed and published by *Monbushō*, and are called *Monbushō-shōka-shū* (MS-S). Other *shōka-shū* (‘songbooks’) were issued by private publishers and enjoyed, with varying popularity, by private consumers. There is a notable overlap of contents between the privately published *shōka-shū* and those published by the government, because earlier MS-S were compiled using a selection of privately-created songs, with modifications where necessary, under the supervision of the ministry of education. It would seem logical to include in this study all the *shōka* of both private and official origin. However, official records (historical, contextual, pedagogical, and so on.) and statistical data (e.g. target population) are accessible for the MS-S, but not usually for the privately-published *shōka*. Therefore, for this dissertation we will limit the scope of study to MS-S only.

MS-S were used nation-wide at elementary or lower secondary schools. Each MS-S was designed to reflect the policies of the ministry of education and, therefore, their publication often followed the announcement of a new law, with educational implications, or changes to an existing law, as has been outlined above. To ensure effective implementation of these policies, and fruitful educational outcomes, the ministry supplemented the MS-S with a preface explaining the purpose of the study of these *shōka*, with brief pedagogical guidance. The ministry also issued guidelines and gave seminars for some of the MS-S. Ten of these MS-S, published before the end of World War II will be examined. These MS-S were primarily designed for preschool and primary school use, for children aged 4-12 years, but, as of 1930, children of 13-15 years were also taught MS-S, with versions specifically designed for these older children.

3.2.1. Shōgaku-shōka-shū (‘Elementary school songbook’) 1881

In the sections below we will review the organisation of the MS-S and their relevant laws, as well as their pedagogical guidelines, in chronological order, by year of publication. *Shōka* became a school subject with the promulgation of the *Gakusei* (‘Educational Ordinance’) in 1872. However, due to a lack of teaching resources (qualified teaching staff, textbooks,

musical instruments, and so on.) the first MS-S, *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* (‘A songbook for elementary school children’), was not published until 1881. Further details in this regard can be found in the previous section of this chapter. This MS-S comprised of three volumes. Dates of publications as well as relevant statutes and pedagogical guidance are described in the following table.

Table 3.1. Shōgaku-shōka-shū (‘Elementary school songbook’)

	Year and Imperial	Shōka-shū	Relevant laws and pedagogical guidelines
1	1881 M14.Nov	Shōgaku-shōka-shū, Vol.1, Research Institute for Music, Ministry of Education ⁸⁹ .	1879 <i>Imperial Thoughts on Education (Kyōgaku seishi)</i> ⁹⁰
	1883 M16.Mar	Vol.II ⁹³ .	1881 ‘Shōka’ Art.24, <i>Outline for Elementary School Rules (Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō)</i> ⁹¹ .
	1884 M17.Mar	Vol.II ⁹⁴ .	1881 Nov. Preface (<i>shogen</i>) in Vol.I ⁹²

This MS-S was created in response to the 1881 (M14) *Outline for Elementary School Rules (Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō)*. This guideline ‘reiterated an ethics education that embraced the ideas of the Imperial Thoughts on Education’ published in 1879, and elevated ‘loyalty to the court and love of the country’ (Shimazono 2009:109). In Article 24 of this Outline, the Ministry of Education gives advice on the musical pedagogy of *shōka* and claims that they have physical and psychological benefits for children. For pedagogical purposes, it is advised that lower-elementary school children, aged 6-9 years, should be taught ‘easy-to-learn tunes’ (*yasashiki kakyoku*) consisting of five notes, while upper-elementary to lower-secondary school children, aged 10-13 years, should learn musical pieces consisting of 6 notes or more, and should be gradually introduced to double or triple harmonic sequences⁹⁵. As for the benefits of learning *shōka*, it is claimed that singing them helps to enlarge the diaphragm and enables children to breathe in deeply, thus enhancing their health (by strengthening the respiratory

⁸⁹ Shōgaku-shōka-shū, Vol.1, Research Institute for Music, Ministry of Education (小学唱歌集 初編, 文部省音楽取調掛). The original text of the Preface in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 5.

⁹⁰ 1879 the *Imperial Thoughts on Education Kyōgaku seishi* (教学聖旨). Original text and English translation are available in Appendix 3.

⁹¹ 1881 Art.24, *Outline for Elementary School Rules (Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō)* 小学校教則綱領第24条唱歌). Original text in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 4.

⁹² 1881 Nov. Preface (*shogen* 緒言) in Shohen, bōtō, Vol.I (初編冒頭). Original text in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 5.

⁹³ *Shōgaku-shōka*, Vol.II (小学唱歌集 第二編).

⁹⁴ *Shōgaku-shōka*, Vol.III (小学唱歌集 第三編).

⁹⁵ 唱歌初等科ニ於テハ 容易キ歌曲ヲ用ヒテ五音以下ノ単音唱歌ヲ授ケ 中等科及高等科ニ至テハ 六音以上ノ単音唱歌ヨリ漸次複音及三重音唱歌ニ及フヘシ.

system, presumably), while it has the mental and spiritual benefits of cultivating their virtue, as they are moved by the songs' (artistic and moral) beauty⁹⁶.

In the preface of the *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* (see below) we find several ideological elements embedded within the linguistic domain. The writer of the preface declares the benefit of educating children via songs as follows: 'At primary school level, the most important thing of all is the cultivation of moral character. Because of the nature of musical art, music has the miraculous benefit of setting people's minds straight through edification and cultivation of virtue. Since ancient times, wise rulers have promoted the benefits of musical art, wishing to spread them throughout their lands. And this fact is clear from a mass of records and books from Japan, China, and European-American countries'. This lengthy explanation was necessary because the Japanese of the Meiji era had no experience of music as a school subject for ordinary people. The reason is said to be 'clear from a mass of records' of the ancient practices of wise men worldwide⁹⁷. In other words, the benefits of teaching music are presented as being self-evident: If readers accept this presupposition, they are further led to accept the government's theory of music education as central, and through it the associated ideology. This can be construed as the beginning of the legitimisation process for this ideology, which we will discuss in depth in Chapter 5, but let us first review the contents of the preface. The entire preface is reproduced here so that the authoritative, but somewhat inexperienced, tone that runs through the prose may be presented in its totality. The text is also used for a fuller linguistic analysis below.

1881 (M14) *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*, Preface⁹⁸

Preface

The core of education consists of three parts: moral education; intellectual training; and physical education. At primary school level, the most important of all is the cultivation of moral character. It is the very nature of musical art that music has the miraculous benefit of setting people's minds straight through edification and cultivation of virtue. Since ancient times, wise rulers have promoted the benefits of musical art, wishing to spread them throughout their lands, and a mass of historical records and books from Japan, China, and European-American countries reveal this fact.

Prior to this, our government had set up an educational system for the first time and *shōka* was established as a compulsory subject. It has been decided to add this at every level of primary school and to teach it without fail. So, to make *shōka* effective, we acknowledge that the melody should be appropriate, and it should be sung appropriately, and it should never fail to satisfy the true spiritual goodness of education.

⁹⁶ 凡唱歌ヲ授クルニハ兒童ノ胸膈ヲ開暢シテ其健康ヲ補益シ 心情ヲ感動シテ其美德ヲ涵養センコトヲ要ス。

⁹⁷ 故ニ古ヨリ明君賢相特ニ之ヲ振興シ之ヲ家國ニ播サント欲セシ者和漢歐米ノ史冊歷々徴スベシ。

⁹⁸ All translations were by the author, unless stated otherwise.

Thus, this should not be carried out in a casual fashion. Therefore, some time ago, our Ministry of Education set up the Research Centre for Musical Studies, where Japanese professors of music, as well as a renowned music teacher invited from far-distant America, have conducted studies and discussed issues from hundreds of different aspects. Then, they adopted the system of our Japanese traditional musical scale for the songs. We selected appropriate songs for educational purposes and supplemented their shortcomings by applying good points from (European-American) music. Since then, thanks to the cooperation of everyone concerned, we obtained several good songs and conducted a trial study on the students of *Tokyo Shihan Gakkō* and *Tokyo Joshi Shihan Gakkō*⁹⁹, as well as on the students of the attached elementary schools of both. Based on these tests, we carefully made a further selection from these songs. Finally, we have arrived at the dozens of songs in this book, which we call *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*¹⁰⁰. As this is the very first of its kind, there might be some imperfections; however, we strongly hope that this will help our educational advancement as a whole.

1881, November

*Humbly,
Head of the Research Centre for Musical Studies
Izawa Shūji*

Some linguistic features of the text may illuminate the writer's intentions and these will be discussed below. However, what we see here is a translation from Japanese into English. Therefore, typological differences between the two languages need to be taken into account, and thus, only the features that are approximately translatable are selected for linguistic discussion. Below is the original Japanese text in which sections for linguistic discussion are underlined and Romanised so that it demonstrates how certain linguistic features are evenly dispersed across the original text.

緒言

凡ソ教育ノ要ハ徳育智育体育ノ三者ニ在リ。而シテ小学ニ在リテハ最モ宜ク徳性ヲ涵養スルヲ以テ要トスベシ (subeshi)。今夫レ音楽ノ物タル性情ニ本ヅキ、人心ヲ正シ風化ヲ助クルノ妙用アリ。故ニ古ヨリ明君賢相特ニ之ヲ振興シ之ヲ家国ニ播サント欲セシ者和漢欧米ノ史冊歴々徴スベシ (rekireki arawa-subeshi)。曩ニ我政府 (waga seifu) ノ始テ学制ヲ頒ツニ方リテヤ已ニ唱歌ヲ普通学科中ニ掲ケテ一般必須ノ科タルヲ示シ、其教則綱領ヲ定ムルニ至テハ亦之ヲ小学各等科ニ加ヘテ其必ズ学バザル可カラザルヲ示セリ (kanarazu manabazaru bekarazaru wo shimeseri)。然シテ之ヲ学校ニ実施スルニ及ンデハ必ズ歌曲其当ヲ得声音其正ヲ得テ能ク教育ノ真理ニ悖ラザルヲ要ス (kanarazu...tō wo e shō wo e-te yoku.....mоторa zaru wo yōsu) レバ、此レ其事タル固

⁹⁹ Tokyo Teacher-Training School and Tokyo Teacher-Training School for Women, respectively

¹⁰⁰ An anthology of songs for primary school children

ヨリ容易ニ舉行スベキニ非ズ(yōi ni kyokō-subeki ni arazu)。我省(waga shō)此ニ見ル所アリ。客年特ニ音楽取調掛ヲ設ケ、充ルニ本邦ノ学士音楽家 (honpōno gakushi ongakuka)等ヲ以テシ且ツ遠ク米国(tōku Beikoku)有名ノ音楽教師ヲ聘シ(yūmei no ongaku-kyōshi wo heishi)、百方討究論悉シ本邦固有ノ音律ニ基ヅキ彼長ヲ取り我短ヲ補ヒ以テ我学校(waga gakkō)ニ適用スベキ(tekiyō-subeki)者ヲ撰定セシム。爾後諸員ノ協力ニ頼リ稍ヤク数曲ヲ得、之ヲ東京師範学校及東京女子師範学校生徒并兩校付属小学生徒ニ施シテ其適否(teki-hi)ヲ試ミ、更ニ取舍選択シ得ル所ニ随テ之ヲ録シ、遂ニ歌曲数十ノ多キニ至レリ(tsui ni ...itareri)。爰ニ之ヲ剞劂ニ付シ名ケテ小学唱歌集ト云。是レ固ヨリ草創ニ属スルヲ以テ、或ハ未ダ完全ナラザル者アラント雖モ、庶幾クハ亦我教育進歩ノ一助ニ資スルニ足ラント云爾。

音楽取調掛長

明治十四年十一月

伊沢修二 謹識

As a representative of the government, the writer uses authoritative expressions as follows.

1. Repeated use of ‘subeshi/subeki (should)’, which is a deontic modal verb in English translation and an auxiliary verb in the Japanese original;
2. Expressions denoting factuality and necessity such as ‘kanarazu manabazaru bekarazaru wo shimeseri (literally, ‘the situation described so far indicates that it should never not have been studied’). This has been translated as ‘it has been decided... to teach it without fail’, whereby factuality and necessity are denoted using an agentless passive in English, and an agentless ‘unspecifiable’ subject¹⁰¹ (the situation) and deontic auxiliary verb with double negative emphasis in Japanese.
3. Frequent use of imperatives, as in ‘kanarazu...motorazaru wo yōsu (literally, without fail...not failing in doing... is required) which has been translated into English as ‘should never fail to’, and the deontic modal verb (should) and adverb (never) are exerting deontic authority both in English and the Japanese original.

These are a few examples of performative illocution (Austin 1962:131) in this preface and, by extension, social actors (2.3.2-2.3.3) of the discourse that the text instantiates are identifiable. The writer, as a government representative, is the expert intellectual leader of a hegemony (Fairclough 1992: 92) through MS-S education, while the readers are positioned as the totally passive receivers of ideology. An important feature of this process is making what Fairclough (1989:2) calls ‘common sense’ out of the ideological discourse. Clauses and phrases like ‘rekireki arawa-subeshi (a mass of records and books from Japan, China, and

¹⁰¹ Iwasaki 1992 discusses the role of ‘unspecifiable subject’ in Japanese that denotes the subjectivity of the writer/speaker of a text.

European-American countries reveal this fact)’ denote evidentiality. Then there are evaluative and attributive expressions of authority such as ‘tō wo e... shoo wo e-te yoku... shinri ni motorazaru wo yōsu¹⁰²’, which means literally, ‘to the point, correct, and never fail to satisfy the true goodness of X’ and was translated into English as ‘appropriate..., never fails to satisfy true X’. Similarly, expressions such as ‘yōi ni kyokō-subeki ni arazu¹⁰³ (should not be carried out in a casual fashion)’, ‘gakushi ongakuka (music professors), and ‘yūmei no ongaku-kyōshi (renowned music teachers)’ evoke SCRs (socio-cognitive representations, 2.3.2-2.3.3.) of the author’s educational superiority, as well as the powers he represents, over the readers. Creating solidarity and belonging is also an effective device used in this preface: ‘waga seifu (my/our¹⁰⁴ government), ‘waga shō¹⁰⁵ (my/our Ministry of Education)’ and ‘waga gakkō (my/our school(s)¹⁰⁶)’ categorise the author of the text and the readers as belonging to the same community (Billig 1995: 70). Further, the stylistic structure is concentric, starting from the state (our government) moving to a function of the state (the ministry of education) and to the school(s) of the readers, and thus the gradual narrowing of the focus brings the ideological message home and further encourages a sense of solidarity between the author-government and the readers. There are constant reminders of the efforts and care taken by the government to create the MS-S for the readers. For example, ‘tōku Beikoku (far distant America)’ reminds the reader of the trouble taken to invite a ‘renowned expert’ from a progressive foreign country, while ‘hyappō tōkyū ron kotogotoshi¹⁰⁷ (discussed from hundreds of aspects)’ suggest the vast amount of research carried out. Adverbs such as ‘tsuini (finally)’ in ‘tsui ni ...itareri¹⁰⁸ (finally we have arrived at the dozens of songs in this book)’_evokes an imagery of a long journey that the creators of the MS-S had taken, indicating the cost in time spent on the project as well as the personal commitment. Traditional Japanese discourse structure also contributes to this ‘empathy-evoking’ strategy. That is to say, the main message comes at the end of the discourse of the Japanese rhetorical structure called *ki-shō-ten-ketsu* (Maynard 1998; McAuley 2011):

- The introduction is a mere opening (*ki*), as in the explanation of what education consists of, in lines 1-2.

¹⁰² 当ヲ得... 正ヲ得テ能ク...真理ニ悖ラザルヲ要ス.

¹⁰³ 容易ニ举行スベキニ非ズ.

¹⁰⁴ 我政府 Japanese first-person pronoun ‘我 (pronounced as *ware*)’ and its possessive form ‘我 pronounced as *waga*’ do not differentiate plurality.

¹⁰⁵ 我省.

¹⁰⁶ Japanese does not indicate singularity and plurality grammatically.

¹⁰⁷ 百方討究論悉シ.

¹⁰⁸ 遂ニ歌曲数十ノ多キニ至レリ.

- Something related to the topic of the introduction is developed in the next segment (*shō*), as in the lengthy explanation of the benefits of education in lines 2-8.
- This is followed by something slightly irrelevant (from the viewpoint of English discourse), but effective in attracting the attention of Japanese readers (*ten*), as in the detailed description, in most of the second paragraph, of the processes of creating the songbook and the efforts of the people involved, and,
- Only in the conclusion is the purpose of the discourse made clear (*ketsu*), which was to introduce Japan's first MS-S. All these shifts are intended to invite the reader into the discourse, which 'sells' the benefits of *shōka*.

Readers are encouraged to feel sympathetic towards the writer by going through the linguistically simulated experience of the writer himself. Therefore, by the time readers reach the end of the narrative, they are well-prepared to accept the writer's views. In English, the purpose of a discourse is usually made explicit at an early stage, but not in Japanese (Hinds 1990: 87; Iida 1998: 38; Donahue 1998: 278-9). In addition, the traditional discourse structure adopted by this preface evokes empathy. This is a well-established technique of ruling 'by consent', and it is 'a favoured vehicle of ideology' used by rulers (Fairclough 1989:34).

Noun phrases like 'European-American countries', and 'far-distant America' show us the naïve view of the world held by ordinary people at that time. Apart from China, most of the world was a vague entity referred to only as *seiyō-shokoku* (the 'western countries'). It is notable that there was a positive attitude towards these here. In fact, several western musical scores were used in this MS-S, with Japanese lyrics. Such pieces include: 'Auld Lang Syne', and 'Annie Laurie', but these foreign tunes disappeared from later MS-S. Increasingly, due to the wars between Japan and its neighbours, as well as the western countries, the appreciation of western culture was banned and strictly censored by the military police (*kenpeitai*). The last sentence of the preface, the essence of the conclusion, says: 'we strongly hope that this will help our educational advancement as a whole'. This actually means that these songs should be used for teaching various subjects such as history, sociology, politics, ethics and others, as well as music. Using *shōka* across the subjects was considered possible because primary school teachers were assigned to a class for at least a whole year, and taught almost all the subjects (with some exceptions of art and physical education). This practice of cross-curricular education of the topics of *shōka* resulted in the reinforcement of studying those concepts through repeated singing of MS-S with specific

themes. An accompanying short guideline called the *shōka-reikai*¹⁰⁹ ('illustrated guide to *shōka*') defines the following principles for the teaching of the subject:

1. Teach appropriate songs that motivate the children to study (e.g. *Susume, susume* ('Go! Go!'))
2. Help the children to nurture a love for others through singing appropriate songs (e.g. *Kasumi ka, kumo ka* ('In the Haze or Cloud'))
3. Remind the children to always be grateful to their parents and for the blessings of the land and nature. Use appropriate songs for this purpose. (*Yamato-nadeshiko*¹¹⁰)
4. Help the children to nurture love and respect for their parents using appropriate songs. (e.g. *Omoi-izureba* ('As I recall the love of...'))
5. True friends
6. Gratitude to the holy masters¹¹¹ of the past and present
7. Loyal servants
8. Reverence to the Emperor
9. For the love of our country

The above list of principles shows the influence of the Confucian ethics that supported the Imperial Thoughts on Education (1879 *kyōgaku-seishi*)¹¹², and it appears that, though the primary purpose of teaching music was originally intended to be for the children's artistic merit, already by this time *shōka* had become an educational tool to teach Confucius' philosophy (Sato 2006: 67-68; Sotozono 1970: 67).

3.2.2. Yōchien-shōka-shū ('Kindergarten Songbook') 1887

Soon after the publication of *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*, plans for creating a MS-S for pre-school children began to develop, as there were already some privately-published songbooks in circulation for young children. However, it was not until 1887 that an official songbook, called *Yōchien-shōka-shū*, came out, perhaps having spent a long time in development, as can be seen from the signed date in the preface, which is four years prior (1883) to the official publication (1887).

¹⁰⁹ 唱歌例解.

¹¹⁰ *Yamato-nadeshiko* is a small Japanese wild flower with frilly pink petals. Its Latin name is *Dianthus Superbus* and it belongs to a family of carnations. This word is also a term used to denote a symbol of prudence and Japanese beauty. It is also a floral metaphor of the ideal femininity of a young Japanese woman who is modest, delicate, shy, and of good virtue. A more recent take on this is *Nadeshiko* Japan, which is Japan's women's national football team.

¹¹¹ In this case, referring to the emperors of the past, present and future.

¹¹² 教学聖旨大旨. Original text in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 3.

Table 3.2. Yōchien-shōka-shū ('Kindergarten Songbook')

2	1887 M20.Dec	<i>Yōchien-shōka-shū</i>	1883 July Preface ¹¹³
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The preface states that the purpose of this MS-S is to provide the children with songs that help nurture virtue in young minds and develop intelligence at a young age¹¹⁴. The benefits of teaching *shōka* are to ‘develop children’s character naturally and train their vocalisation’¹¹⁵. It also gives pedagogical advice. In particular, teachers are advised to pay attention to children’s tempo, rhythms and melodious tones, and correct them wherever appropriate. Otherwise, ‘too slow a tempo or rhythm will rob the children of cheerfulness and briskness, while too high or low a tune (out-of-tune) will impair the development of children’s oral-aural functions and open-hearted character’¹¹⁶.

Notably, the use of both traditional and western instruments, such as Japanese and ‘western’ *harps*, and *Chinese fiddles*¹¹⁷, to accompany the singing is recommended, because they ‘enhance harmony and touch the children’s hearts deeply’¹¹⁸. This suggests that, at this stage in history, the purpose of using MS-S for pre-school children was less political than the later MS-S, and genuinely educational.

3.2.3. Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka (Imperial Ceremonial Songs) 1893

The 1886 promulgation of the Elementary School Order (*Shōgakko-rei*) established a system for the censorship of all Japanese school textbooks, expanding the extent of the government’s control over the educational contents and pedagogy. To clarify what teachers were expected to teach the children, the Ministry of Education issued a new Outline for Elementary School Rules (*Shōgakkō-kyōsoku-taikō*)¹¹⁹ in 1891. Article 1 of this Outline sets out its purpose, which is to implement the 1886 Elementary School Order in order to

¹¹³ Original text in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 7.

¹¹⁴ 自ラ幼徳ヲ涵養シ、幼智ヲ開發センガ為ニ、用フベキ歌曲ヲ纂輯シタルモノナリ。

¹¹⁵ 自然幼穉ノ性情ヲ養ヒ、其発声ノ節度ニ慣レシムルヲ。

¹¹⁶ 拍子ノ、緩徐ニ失スルトキハ、活発爽快ノ精神ヲ損シ、調子ノ高低、其度ヲ失スルトキハ、音ニ音声ノ発達ヲ害スルノミナラズ、幼穉ノ性情ニ厭悪ヲ醸シ、其開暢ヲ妨グル恐レアリ (hyōshi no, kanjo ni shissuru toki wa, kappatsu sōkai no seishin o sonshi, chōshi no kōtei, sono tabi o shissuru toki wa, tada ni onsei no hattatsu o gaisuru nominarazu, yōchi no seijō ni en’o o jōshi, sono kaichō o samataguru osore ari).

¹¹⁷ 琴、ハープ、胡弓。

¹¹⁸ 是レ樂器ニヨリテ、唱和ノ勢カヲ増シ、深ク幼心ヲ感動セシムルノカアルヲ以テナリ (kore gakki ni yorite, shōwa no seiryoku o fuyashi, fukaku osanagokoro o kandōseshimuru no chikara aru o motte nari).

¹¹⁹ 1891(M24)小学校教則大綱. The original text in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 8.

‘nurture virtue’ in children, which is ‘the utmost purpose of education’¹²⁰ and, therefore, ‘moral education and national (character) education must be emphasised across all school subjects’¹²¹. Teachers are encouraged to ‘select topics with direct practical applications to daily life and teach them through exercises with repetition/drilling, so that students may become proficient in using these skills’¹²². They are also encouraged to ‘support each other through good communication’¹²³. The ministry’s policy seems to emphasise solidarity amongst and between the pupils and the teachers.

Article 10 of the Outline specifically concerns the teaching of music, which means MS-S. It describes the benefits of *shōka* as threefold: the ‘development of auditory functions through exercises’¹²⁴; the ‘development of the ability to appreciate music,¹²⁵ which leads to the third benefit, the nurturing of virtue’¹²⁶. Clear pedagogical advice is given. For lower-elementary classrooms, the ‘use of music scores was not expected. Simple songs should be sung in unison’¹²⁷, while upper-elementary children should ‘first be taught to sing in unison without the help of music scores, and gradually the use of music scores should be introduced’¹²⁸. It is notable that this document advises teachers to employ music and lyrics, as far as possible, which are ‘graceful and created by renowned ancient and modern Japanese specialists, which help in developing a cheerful and pure disposition in young children’¹²⁹. Some patriotic ideology can be seen here. The specific mention of choosing appropriate materials seems to suggest that, although MS-S was the official music textbook, songs which were not included in it were still being sung in schools at that time. Part of the purpose of the Outline was also to implement the Imperial Rescript on Education, issued in the previous year (1890). Further efforts were made for the dissemination of the Imperial message in the Rescript, which involved making the celebration of Imperial festive days obligatory, and the publication of

¹²⁰ 徳性ノ涵養ハ教育上最モ意ヲ用フヘキナリ (tokusei no kan'yō wa kyōikujō mottomo i o mochihubeki nari).

¹²¹ 何レノ教科目ニ於テモ道德教育国民教育ニ関連スル事項ハ殊ニ留意シテ教授センコトヲ要ス (izure no kyōkamoku ni oitemo dōtoku kyōiku ni kanrensuru jikō wa kotonori ryūishite kyōjusen koto o yōsu).

¹²² 生活ニ必須ナル事項ヲ撰ヒテ之ヲ教授シ反覆練習シテ応用自在ナラシメンコトヲ務ムヘシ (seikatsu ni hissunaru jikō o erabite kore o kyōjushi hanpukurensūshite ōyō jizainarashimen koto o tsutomubeshi).

¹²³ 互ニ相連絡シテ補益センコトヲ要ス (tagaini airenarakushite hoekishite).

¹²⁴ 耳及発声器ヲ練習シテ (mimi oyobi hasseiki o renshūshite).

¹²⁵ 音楽ノ美ヲ弁知セシメ (ongaku no bi o benchisheshime).

¹²⁶ 徳性ヲ涵養スル (tokusei o kan'yōsuru).

¹²⁷ 通常譜表ヲ用ヒスシテ容易キ単音唱歌ヲ授クヘシ (tsūjō fuhyō o mochihizushite yōiki tan'on shōka o sazukubeshi).

¹²⁸ 初メハ前項ニ準シ漸ク譜表ヲ用ヒテ単音唱歌ヲ授クヘシ (hajime wa zenkō ni junshi yōyaku fuhyō o tsukaite tan'on shōka o sazukubeshi).

¹²⁹ 歌詞及楽譜ハ成ルヘク本邦古今ノ名家ノ作ニ係ルモノヨリ之ヲ撰ヒ雅正ニシテ児童ノ心情ヲ快活純美ナラシムルモノタルヘシ (kasha oyobi gakufu wa narubeku honpō kokon no meika no saku ni kakaru mono yori kore o erabi gasai nishite jidō no shinjō o kaikatsu suminarashimuru mono tarubeshi).

the eight official *shōka* for these ceremonies supported this. The *shōka* are published as a MS-S and announced in the 1893 Official Gazette No.3037.

Table 3.3. Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka (Imperial Ceremonial Songs)

3	1893 M26	<p>8 Imperial Ceremonial Songs</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Kimi-ga-yo (Reign of Your Majesty)</i> 2. <i>Chokugo-Hōtō (Humbly Replying to the Imperial Rescript)</i> 3. <i>Ichigatsu-Ichijitsu (The New Year Day)</i> 4. <i>Genshi-sai (Day to celebrate the creation of Imperial-line)</i> 5. <i>Kigen-setsu (The National Foundation Day)</i> 6. <i>Kanname-sai (Thanksgiving Festival)</i> 7. <i>Tenchō-setsu ('Long Live the Emperor' Day / Current Emperor's Birth Day)</i> 8. <i>Niname-sai (Harvest Festival)</i> 	<p>1886 Promulgation of the Elementary School Order (<i>Shōgakkō-rei</i>).</p> <p>1890 Oct. Imperial Rescript on Education (<i>Kyōiku-chokugo</i>).</p> <p>1891 Outline for Elementary School Rules (<i>Shōgaku-kyōsoku-taikō</i>).</p> <p>1893 August. Announcement of the 'Imperial Ceremonial Songs: lyrics and music scores (Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu Kashi narabe Gakufu)' in Notification of the Ministry of Education No.3, Official Gazette Issue No. 3037¹³⁰.</p>
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The preface of the 1893 (M26) *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka* ('Imperial Ceremonial Songs') was written and signed by Inoue Tsuyoshi, the then minister of education. It declares that the selected songs must be sung at an appropriate ceremony on Imperial holidays. Subsequently, in 1900, Art. 28 of the Revised Elementary School Order prescribed compulsory ceremonial rules for the events held at schools on Imperial holidays. This included the manner in which the ceremonies should be held and the *shōka* sung. The statute was effective and practiced nationwide until the end of World War II in 1945. In 1907 the Revision of the Elementary School Order (*shōgakkō-rei chū-kaisei*¹³¹), Imperial Ordinance No.52 (*Chokurei*¹³²) was issued, extending the duration of compulsory education from four to six years. Article 19 of the Order established *shōka* as a compulsory subject, and a set number of classroom hours each week were prescribed for each grade. Within a few years of the revision of the

¹³⁰ Announcement of 'Imperial Ceremonial Songs: lyrics and Music Scores (祝日大祭日歌詞並び楽譜)' in Notification of the Ministry of Education No.3, Official Gazette Issue No. 3037 (文部省告示第三号、官報3037号付録).

¹³¹ 1907 the Revision of the Elementary School Order (*shōgakkō-rei chū-kaisei* 小学校令中改正).

¹³² 1907 Imperial Ordinance No.52 (*Chokurei* 勅令第52号).

Elementary School Order, the first songbook to accompany a *tokuhon* (a ‘reader for National Language’) was published, in 1910. This was called *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka*.

3.2.4. Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka (‘Jinjō Elementary School Songbooks to accompany the Readers for the study of National Language’) 1910

In 1902 the bribery scandal concerning textbooks’ approval (*kyōkasho-gigoku jiken*) came to light and the Ministry of Education immediately decided to nationalise almost all textbooks, including MS-S. A committee for the next MS-S was formed. The first meeting was held in June 1909 and decided to provisionally select poems from the new state-designed reader, *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon*, set them to appropriate tunes, and publish them as a songbook, *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka*. This provisional MS-S contained 27 songs.

Table 3.4. Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka (‘Jinjō Elementary School Songbook to accompany the Readers for the study of National Language’)

4	1910-45 M43.Jly	<i>Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka</i> ¹³³ .	1907 Revision of the Elementary School Order (<i>shōgakkō-rei chū-kaisei</i>), Imperial Ordinance No.52 (<i>Chokurei</i> 52) ¹³⁴ . 1910 May. Preface (<i>shogen</i>) by the Ministry of Education ¹³⁵ .
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Unlike the MS-S of Imperial Ceremonial Songs and more in line with other previously published MS-S, the preface of this songbook (Appendix 10) is written in the name of the ministry of education rather than by the minister himself. It explains that the all lyrics in the songbook were composed by the ministry of education, and they are based on the texts of the *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon* (‘Reader for the study of National Language for Ordinary-Elementary School children’) and that the music was created by the Committee for the Compilation of *shōka* at the ministry of education. According to the preface, some of the songs were taken from earlier MS-S such as *Yōchien-shōka* and six of the title entries in the reader were ‘not included in the songbook, because it was not possible to create music for those texts, that would be appropriate for the students’ level’¹³⁶. The publication of this MS-S set a precedent for cross-curricular teaching aimed at reinforcing the concepts taught (often imperialism and

¹³³ *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* (尋常小学読本唱歌). The original text in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 10.

¹³⁴ 1907 Revision of the Elementary School Order (*shōgakkō-rei chū-kaisei* 小学校令中改正), Imperial Ordinance No.52 (*Chokurei* 勅令第52号)

¹³⁵ 1910 May. Preface by the Ministry of Education (文部省、緒言).

¹³⁶ 結構學年相当ノ作曲ヲナスニ適セザルガ故ニ之ヲ省ケリ. See Appendix 10.

nationalism) by repetition and drilling. This method was widely used for the teaching of subsequently published MS-S, but most especially during the period of *kokumin-gakkō* (1942-45) (Kurokawa 2007).

3.2.5. Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka (‘Ordinary-Elementary School Songbooks’) 1911

In 1911 (M44) *Jinjō-Shōgaku-shōka* was published to supplement *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* by supplying a variety of songs and expanding the use of *shōka* at schools. This was the first comprehensive set of songbooks designed for each of the six levels of elementary children. The dates of publication are as follows:

Table 3.5. Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka (‘Ordinary-Elementary School Songbooks’)

5	1911-31 M44.May	<i>Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i> , 1 st Grade ¹³⁷	1911 June. Preface by the Ministry of Education ¹³⁸ .
		2 nd Grade	1911 June. Preface by the Ministry of Education.
	1912-31 T1.Mar	3 rd Grade	1911 March. Preface by the Ministry of Education.
	1912-32 T1.Dec	4 th Grade	1911 October. Preface by the Ministry of Education.
	1913-32 T2.May	5 th Grade	1911 February. Preface by the Ministry of Education.
	1914-32 T3.Jne	6 th Grade	1911 April. Preface by the Ministry of Education.

The preface of this MS-S declares that all the songs were produced by the Committee for the Compilation of *Shōka* at the ministry of education. The topics of the songs were ‘taken from the *Tokuhon*, but also from other subjects such as moral education, national language, history, geography, science and vocational topics [such as agriculture, industry, commerce, fishery] as appropriate¹³⁹, and ‘the language and its style are closely in line with that of the *Tokuhon*’¹⁴⁰. It also admits that some of the music can be rather difficult, but claims that this was inevitable because it was designed to fit the lyrics. The text of the preface is exactly the same for all six volumes, except for the date of publication, although, in the case of volume 5 for the fifth grade students, an additional item is mentioned. It briefly explains about the

¹³⁷ *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka*, 1st Grade (尋常小学唱歌, 第一学年).

¹³⁸ Preface by the Ministry of Education (文部省、緒言). The original text in Japanese and English translation are available in Appendix 11.

¹³⁹ 尋常小學校讀本所蔵以外ノモノニ就キテハ、修身・國語・歴史・地理・理科・實業等諸種ノ方面ニ涉リテ適當ナル題材ヲ求メ.

¹⁴⁰ 文體用語等ハ成ルベク讀本ト歩調ヲ一ニセン.

first three poems¹⁴¹ in this volume, called *Migakazuba* ('If unpolished'), *Kongōseki* ('Garnet') and *Mizu wa utsuwa* ('Water vessel') as in the excerpt from the Preface to Volume five for the fifth grade below:

VI. The opening poems, *Migakazuba*, *Kongōseki* and *Mizu wa Utsuwa*, written by the Empress Shōken, grace the fifth volume of the *Jinjō-Shōgaku-Shūshin-sho* [*Jinjō Elementary School Ethics Textbook*]. *Migakazuba* was especially selected by the Ministry of Education, and *Kongōseki* as well as *Mizu wa Utsuwa* were selected by the Gakushūin girls' school for this songbook.

1913 February
Ministry of Education

These were not additions to the Imperial Ceremonial Songs published earlier, but were to be sung with reverence, nonetheless, at appropriate occasions. The themes of these three poems are primarily ethical, valuing hard work and diligence to achieve high goals (*Kongōseki*) and emphasising the importance of mutual learning and encouragement, choosing good company and being a good influence on others (*Mizu wa utsuwa*).

Further, in 1930, an additional MS-S was compiled for the use of lower secondary-school level students and was named *Kōtō-shōgaku-shōka* (Lower-secondary School Songbooks). This does not have a preface, but it was assumed that the pedagogical guidance for MS-S for the lower-elementary level would apply.

Table 3.6. Kōtō-shōgaku-shōka (Lower-secondary School Songbooks)

6	1930 -34 S5	<i>Kōtō-shōgaku-shōka</i> 高等小学唱歌
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By the time this MS-S was issued, the process for the publication of the next version of MS-S for elementary school children was already underway. The previous MS-S was a response to the new liberal literary movement backed by the Taisho democracy, but, in the meantime, the socio-political tide had turned: the domestic economy was in turmoil and international conflicts were frequent (1.3.1., 1.3.4., 2.1.2.3., and 3.1.4.) which meant that educational needs were fast changing. Fifteen years after the publication of this MS-S, a guideline¹⁴² was

¹⁴¹ The three poems actually refer to the first two songs in the volume, since the latter two poems were set to the same music forming the first and the second verses of one song.

¹⁴² 1926(T15) 「學習本位尋一教育資料大集」、學習指導研究会、東洋図書株式合資会社。

published to ‘reconsider education from the viewpoint of the *kokumin*’. The guideline criticises the current (1920-30) contemporary culture of Japan, pointing to the moral decline whereby people are ‘self-centred, self-serving and have no regards to social rules, laws, or any authority for that matter, asserting self-interest above everything, rejecting every restriction from family, society or the state, having no respect to anyone around themselves to the extent that such behaviour and attitudes could shake the very foundation of the country... they are idle, jealous, short-sighted and live for the day... they possess no courage to sacrifice themselves for the good of the society and the country, and they are sexually corrupt... and many are murderous... this is indeed the result of bad education’ (16-7). The writer goes on to blame the situation on the teaching of ‘individualism’ (*kojin-shugi*) (15), and urges educational reform, from individualism to ‘personalism’ (*jinkaku-shugi* 人格主義), which can be attained by re-establishing ‘education for citizens of the state’ (*kokumin to shite no kyōiku*) (15-8). This hastened publication of a revised MS-S.

3.2.6. Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka (‘New Ordinary-Elementary School Songbooks’) 1932

An extensively revised version of the previous MS-S was issued in 1932 (S7) and was called *Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka*. This was the first of six volumes in total, each designed for the six levels of elementary school designated for compulsory education. The preface was the same for all six volumes, except for the dates of publication, as indicated in the following table.

Table 3.7. Shintei Jinjō-Shōgaku-Shōka (‘New Ordinary-Elementary School Songbooks’)

7	1932 -40 S7.May	Shintei-Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka, 1 st Grade	1933 Prospectus relating to the Compilation and Issuance of the <i>Shintei-Jinjō-Shōgaku-shōka</i> by the Ministry of Education, edited by <i>Dainihon-Tosho</i> .
	1932-41	2 nd Grade 第二学年用	
		3 rd Grade 第三学年用	
	1932-42	4 th Grade 第四学年用	1932(S7). March. Preface by the Ministry of Education.
		5 th Grade 第五学年用	
		6 th Grade 第六学年用	

The Preface¹⁴³ (Appendix 12) explains that this revised MS-S updates the previous MS-S ‘in keeping with the progress in music education and public needs’¹⁴⁴. It continues to say that each volume comprises 27 chapters, and that the texts and topics of the songs are taken from the *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon* (‘readers’) and *inbun* (‘Japanese poetry’), or are newly-created songs taking inspiration from songs both old and new that were deemed appropriate. Further, the preface states that ‘the topics cover a wide range of appropriate materials, but the language used (including the vocabulary and the style) closely resembles that of the *Tokuhon*

¹⁴³ Original Japanese text of the Preface and English translation are available in Appendix 12.

¹⁴⁴ 音楽教育ノ進歩ト時代ノ要求トニ鑑ミ

and *Inbun* (Reader and Poetry)¹⁴⁵. Moreover, the order of materials in the textbook is arranged to enable progress from ‘easier to more difficult ones step by step’¹⁴⁶, but at the same time ‘consideration is given to supplying seasonal topics’¹⁴⁷, to coincide with the timing of studies. ‘Two versions with music scores for the songs, one with instrumental accompaniment and another without, are provided, but the choice of which version to use is left entirely at the teacher’s discretion’¹⁴⁸. This last comment seems to suggest that, as far as the teaching of *shōka* is concerned, the Ministry’s focus was more on the teaching of lyrics and the concepts that they carry, rather than on the pupils’ attainment of musical proficiency. Publication of MS-S for the lower-secondary-level students (12-5 years old) followed and, in 1935, three volumes for the 7th, 8th and 9th grade students became available in two versions, one for girls and another for boys.

Table 3.8. Shintei Kōtō-shōgaku-shōka (‘New Ordinary-Elementary School Songbooks’)

8	1935 -42 S10.Sep	<i>Shintei-kōtō-shōgaku-shōka, for Boys / for Girls</i> 1 st Grade 新訂高等小学唱歌（男子・女子）第一学年用	1935. S11(S10).Feb. Preface Prospectus relating to the Compilation and Issuance of the <i>Shintei-kōtō-shōgaku-shōka</i> by the Ministry of Education, edited by <i>Dainihon-tosho</i> . (文部省「新訂高等小学唱歌」編纂の趣意)、大日本図書(株)編
		2 nd Grade 第二学年用	
	-41	3 rd Grade 第三学年用	

Despite seminars and notices given to the teachers, explaining the purposes and teaching methodology for *Shintei-jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (Shibata 1935: 337), and to avoid any confusion among teachers as to the pedagogy of MS-S, the ministry of education compiled extensive guidelines and published them under the title ‘Prospectus relating to the Compilation and Issuance of the *Shintei-Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* by the Ministry of Education (Preface 1933)’¹⁴⁹ (Appendix 12). A sister version of these guidelines was also compiled for the secondary-school versions, namely *Shintei-Kōtō-shōgaku-shōka*, in which a senior member of the ministry’s Committee of the Compilation of the *Shintei-kōtō-shōgaku-shōka* explains the purposes of the MS-S and the recommended pedagogy, which is in line with that of the *Shintei-jinjō-shōgaku-shōka*, as explained in the preface above. One of the complaints the editor/committee members apparently had, was the use of privately-published songbooks containing ‘inappropriate’ popular songs, and they condemned private

¹⁴⁵ 歌詞ハ努メテ材料ヲ各方面ニ採リ、文體・用語等ハ成ルベク讀本ト歩調ヲ一ニセンコトヲ期セリ

¹⁴⁶ 程度ノ難易

¹⁴⁷ 季節ニツキテモ考慮セリ

¹⁴⁸ 唱歌曲ノミノ樂譜ヲ掲ゲタルモノト、伴奏附ノ樂譜ヲ掲ゲタルモノト、二種類ヲ作製セリ。教授ニ際シテハ其ノ何レヲ採用スルモ可ナリ

¹⁴⁹ 文部省「新訂尋常小学唱歌」編纂の趣意

publishers that ‘exploited children for commercial gain’ (Shibata 1933: 340). This was used as the reason to tighten control over the state-textbooks, including *shōka*, and the ministry’s censorship of textbooks was enforced further as World War II approached. The Education Council was established in 1935, and the *Final Report of the Education Council on the Main Points Concerning National Schools* was submitted, with the emphasis on the promotion of nationalism and imperialism. Meanwhile, Japan was involved in the Second Sino-Japanese War and, in 1938, the General Mobilisation Order (*Kokka-sōdōin-hō* 国家総動員法) was promulgated, which accelerated the militarisation of subsequent educational policies. In 1940 (S15) the Ministry of Education submitted a position paper for the compilation of new textbooks for *kokumin-gakkō*.

3.2.7. Kokumin-gakkō-shōka (‘National-School Songbooks’) 1941

With the promulgation of the National School Order (*Kokumin-gakkō-rei*) in 1941 (S16), compulsory education was extended from six to eight years, comprising of six years for elementary school and two years for lower secondary school. For the sake of the effective implementation of the Order, the Rules for the Implementation of the *Kokumin-gakkō-rei* (*Kokumin-gakkō-rei-sekōkisoku* 国民学校令施行規則) were issued in the same year. Article 13 established *Geinō-ka* (‘Arts’), and article 14 defined three sub-items of this, namely the *shōka*, the appreciation of art, and learning to play musical instruments. Without delay, the first two volumes of a new MS-S, *Kokumin-gakkō-shōka* (‘National-School Songbooks’) were published. They were called *Uta-no-hon* (‘A book of songs’) volume I and II. The titles in *katakana* for volume I and *hiragana* for volume II reflect the children’s developmental stages of literacy.

Table 3.9. Kokumin-gakkō-shōka (‘National-School Songbooks’), Grades 1-2

9	1941 S16.Feb	Uta no-hon Jō (Vol. I) ウタノホン上 (国民学校初等科1年生)	1941(S16) Position Paper concerning the establishment of <i>Kokumin-gakkō</i> by the Library Agency of the Ministry of Education ¹⁵⁰ .
	1941 S16.Mar	Uta no-hon Ge (Vol. II) うたのほん下 (国民学校初等科 2 年生)	1941(S16) February The Ministry of Education, Instructions for the use of <i>Kokumin-gakkō</i> Textbooks, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Association ¹⁵¹ .

¹⁵⁰ 1941 Position Paper concerning the establishment of *Kokumin-gakkō* by the Library Agency of the Ministry of Education (国民学校方針案、文部省図書局).

¹⁵¹ 1941 February The Ministry of Education, Instructions for the use of *Kokumin-gakkō* Textbooks, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Association (文部省国民学校教科書編纂趣旨解説、日本放送協会編).

In the same year (1941) a position paper concerning the establishment of *kokumin-gakkō* (*Kokumin-gakkō-hōshin-an*¹⁵²) by the Library Agency of the ministry of education was published. Chapter 1 of the White Paper sets out the ministry's policies concerning the establishment of *kokumin-gakkō* and its educational aims. In addition, the paper gives a detailed explanation of the educational purposes and objectives in devising new textbooks for each of the school subjects. The school subjects were divided into three categories: *Kokumin-ka* ('National Studies'), *Risū-ka* ('Science'), and *Geinō-ka* ('Arts'), of which the most important was National Studies. Other subjects were to encourage a deeper understanding of National Studies.

The overarching policies, explained at the beginning of chapter 1 of the position paper, declare that 'all the textbooks for *kokumin-gakkō* are in compliance with the *kokumin-gakkō* Order and other relevant statutes'¹⁵³. Further, all the materials have been 'selected carefully, with special attention to their merit for providing the national citizens' basic education in the way of Imperial subjects, as well as for their usefulness in assisting the healthy physical and spiritual development of children of Imperial Japan'¹⁵⁴. In Chapter 4 on *Geinō-ka*, the purpose of cross-curricular learning is explained. Clear militarisation of the subject of *shōka* can be found in the last paragraph, concerning 'use of *shōka* in school ceremonies'. The main points are: 'eliciting reverence through musical dedication'¹⁵⁵; 'nurturing love for the mother land'¹⁵⁶; and 'the integration of emotions and actions through musical practice'¹⁵⁷. There is no further explanation, but the third one seems to suggest a certain degree of mind control by mantra-like repetition.

In the same year (1941) 'The Ministry of Education, Instructions for the use of *Kokumin-gakkō* Textbooks, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Association'¹⁵⁸ was published to explicate the afore-mentioned Position Paper. In the preface, Inoue Takeshi, a senior member of the textbook compilation committee, explains the background to the publication of this series of textbooks, and announces that all the textbooks for children will be accompanied by a teacher's book with detailed pedagogical instructions (Inoue 1941: 4-5). Inoue comments on the importance of understanding the purposes of selecting appropriate materials and declares that the materials were chosen, 'not based on liberal views concerning

¹⁵² 国民学校方針案.

¹⁵³ 国民学校教科書は、国民学校令及ビ同施行規則ノ旨趣ニ基キテ編纂ス.

¹⁵⁴ 教材ハ、皇国ノ道ニ則リテ普通教育ヲ施シ国民ノ基礎的鍊成ヲナスニ適切ナルモノヲ國民生活ニ即シ児童心身ノ發達ニ留意シテ精選ス.

¹⁵⁵ 歌曲ニヨル敬虔ノ心情.

¹⁵⁶ 愛国精神ノ滋養.

¹⁵⁷ 歌曲ニヨル感情及び行動ノ統一.

¹⁵⁸ 文部省国民學校教科書編纂趣旨解説、日本放送協会編.

children’s needs for entertainment purposes¹⁵⁹, but solely because of the importance of ‘training the children to become citizens of the Imperial nation’¹⁶⁰ (Inoue 1941: 7). He emphasises that, depending on their developmental phase, children must be taught to ‘become respectful of their fellow citizens’¹⁶¹ and ‘nurture the spirit of national defence at the home front’¹⁶². Therefore, materials were ‘carefully chosen and principally constructed to reflect the purpose of generating awareness of the building of the Great East Asia’¹⁶³, and all the textbooks for the *kokumin-gakkō* were ‘created in exactly the same spirit’¹⁶⁴ (Inoue 1941: 7).

The following year, volumes 3-6 were published and two years later, in 1944, a version for lower-secondary children was published. This time the ministry of education published extensive guidelines for all levels and for each individual school subject. The year of publication for each set of guidelines coincides with the publication of the corresponding textbook. The names of the publications concerning MS-S and dates are listed in the following table.

Table 3.10. Kokumin-gakkō-shōka (‘National-School Songbooks’), Grades 3-6

9	1942 S17.Feb	<i>Shōtō-ka-Ongaku</i> (Elementary music), 3 rd Grade 初等科音楽一(第三学年)	1942.S17.Jly ‘Guidelines for teaching 3 rd and 4 th grade Music’, The Ministry of Education, Instructions for the use of the <i>Kokumin-gakkō</i> Textbooks, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Association ¹⁶⁵
		4 th Grade 初等科音楽二(第四学年)	
	1942 S17.Dec	5 th Grade 初等科音楽三(第五学年)	1942.S17.Jly ‘Guidelines for teaching 5 th and 6 th grade Music’, The Ministry of Education, Instructions for the use of the <i>Kokumin-gakkō</i> Textbooks, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Association
		6 th Grade 初等科音楽四(第六学年)	

Later in 1944, a version for middle school students was published in two volumes – one for boys and another for girls. Guidelines, ‘Instructions for the use of the *Kokumin-gakkō Kōtō-ka* Textbooks, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Association’¹⁶⁶, were published in the same year.

¹⁵⁹ 決して所詮児童のための児童といった自由主義的児童観からではなく。

¹⁶⁰ 児童を國民に仕立てて行くため。

¹⁶¹ 同胞の尊嚴に目覚めさせ

¹⁶² 国防・銃後の國民的精神を養ひ

¹⁶³ 大東亜建設の自覚に立たしむべき材料を選んで、これを主題として教材を作成する

¹⁶⁴ 全ての教科書がこの精神で編纂され

¹⁶⁵ 文部省國民學校初等科教科書編纂趣旨解説、日本放送協会編。

¹⁶⁶ 文部省國民學校高等科教科書編纂趣旨解説、日本放送協会編。

Table 3.11. Kokumin-gakkō-kōtō-shōka (‘National-School Songbooks’)

10	1944 S19.Sep	<i>Kokumin-gakkō Kōtō-ka Ongaku</i> Vol.I (Boys’ version, Girls’ version)	1944 Sep Instructions for the use of the <i>Kokumin-gakkō Kōtō-ka</i> Textbooks, edited by the Japan Broadcasting Association
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In the *Kōtō-ka ongaku* (‘music for lower secondary students’) section, in the guidelines, Kadonami Genichi, a senior member of the committee for the compilation of the textbooks, describes the background and purposes of the new MS-S. He notes that young adults go through a challenging period of emotional and physical imbalance, but explains that this is normal in puberty. However, he warns that young adults ‘tend to become sentimental or show a preference for decadence, which must be strictly avoided, especially under the current phase of the war’¹⁶⁷. He says that a selection of materials was therefore chosen to ‘uplift their spirits and boost their morale’¹⁶⁸, and ‘songs for a productive contribution on the home front were increased with special emphasis on ‘the training of listening skills’¹⁶⁹, which is ‘important for the war industry’¹⁷⁰ as ‘musical refinement in itself is beneficial to production increase as evidenced by the results of student mobilisation’¹⁷¹. The examples include songs for participation in ‘group events’ and exercises to enhance practical skills, such as ‘under-water listening skills’¹⁷² to detect enemy submarines. Finally, he adds that this MS-S was painstakingly created in order to include ‘songs of high artistic merit, so that they may touch the pure hearts of the youth’¹⁷³ (Kadonami 1944: 82-83).

3.3. Conclusion

Education changed Japan, from a nation under the feudal system in the middle of the nineteenth century, to a nation that was striving to become, and, to a degree, was considered as, an egalitarian society (Doak 2007: 135) by the early twentieth century. The other side of the coin was that the government’s control of education resulted in ‘indoctrination’ (Lincicome, 1995: 119) and state-controlled textbooks and pedagogy were used for that purpose, which also applied to the use of MS-S. Most MS-S were employed to teach Elementary level and from the start of the education system, ‘the official emphasis was

¹⁶⁷ 感情の発達の弊として、やゝもすれば感傷的に流れたり、頹度的な哀調を喜ぶやうになるものもありますが、これは時局からみても深く戒しむべきこと。

¹⁶⁸ 戦意を昂揚し士気を鼓舞する。

¹⁶⁹ 銃後生産に関する歌をつとめて多くし、特に聴覚訓練に留意。

¹⁷⁰ 軍需生産の面に関して、その重要性は。

¹⁷¹ 音楽そのものとしての教養が、生産能率の上に役立つことが、学徒勤労動員の結果として明らかになりつつある。

¹⁷² 水中音。

¹⁷³ 青年前期の純真な感情に訴へるやう藝術的な香りの高いものをとり上げる

heavily on elementary education’, (Duus 1998: 402), and although music education borrowed from the West at the start (Maeda 2010: 3-4), soon educational approaches rooted in western system or Confucius teachings were taken over by the teaching of ‘Imperial Way’ (Fujiwara 1981: 24-5). Indeed, our study of the history of MS-S, as well as their guidelines, prefaces and relevant statutes echo the following observation:

“As the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1891 proclaimed, the aim of elementary education was to prepare young Japanese to perform their duties as imperial subjects, as laid down in the constitution of the previous year. The purpose of education was not only to impart literacy, numeracy, and basic skills but also to inculcate those virtues of discipline, obedience, harmony, and loyalty that have since been widely represented as traditionally, or even uniquely, Japanese’ (Duus 1998: 402).

We have also discovered that there were shifts in educational and social policies embedded within the official documents surrounding MS-S, such as prefaces, statutes, and guidelines. Further, the shifts in policy appear to be linked to historical events, which might be divided into the following three eras:

- Period 1: 1881-1911 Meiji imperialism, nationalism – (1881 Shōgaku-shōka-shū, 1887 Yōchien-shōka-shū, 1893 Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka, 1910 Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka, 1911 Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka);
- Period 2: 1912-1925 Taishō democracy movement, nationalism – (1930 Kōtō-shōgaku-shōka, 1932 Shintei-Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka, 1935 Shintei-kōtō-shōgaku-shōka), and
- Period 3: 1926-1945 Shōwa Ultra-nationalism, Militarism – (1941 Kokumin gakkōshōka).

We have so far studied the government’s educational policies for MS-S as described in the prefaces and guidelines of MS-S as well as in relevant statutes against their historical backgrounds. In the next chapter we will explore how, and to what degree, the government’s intentions for MS-S education, as described in these official documents, might be expressed and linguistically materialised in the actual texts of MS-S in each of these three periods.

Chapter 4: Quantitative Data Analysis and Discussion

We have reviewed the historical background of the development of MS-S in 1881-1945, and have also examined the educational purposes that were ascribed to each of the sets of MS-S by means of studying their prefaces, the relevant guidelines, and statutes issued at the time. This revealed that different socio-political purposes were ascribed to each of the MS-S at different times during the period of 1881-1945, reflecting the contemporary culture and society. They were broadly categorised as follows:

- 1st era (1881-1911) characterised by Meiji imperialism and nationalism;
- 2nd era (1912-1925) characterised by the Taishō democracy movement and nationalism;
and
- 3rd era (1926-1945) characterised by Shōwa Ultra-nationalism and Militarism.

4.1. Purposes of data analysis

This chapter will explore *how*, and to what degree, the government's intentions for MS-S education is expressed and given concrete linguistic forms in the actual texts of MS-S in these different periods. In order to answer the question of 'how', we will explore what linguistic forms appear to signify the ideological concepts of Japanese imperialism, militarism, and (ultra-)nationalism in the texts of MS-S. All such linguistic items will be tagged for the ideological category with which each of them is semantically associated. Some of the linguistic items may be associated with more than one of the three ideological categories, and will be counted as multiple-concept items (henceforth, '*Multi*'). The degree to which these categorised linguistic items occupy the texts of MS-S, in each of the relevant historical periods, will be assessed using basic descriptive statistics, that is, occurrences, intra and inter-group proportions and their differences. To identify which combinations of the categories are especially dominant in each of the historical periods, presenting a unique pattern that characterises that particular period, another statistical method, PCA (principal component analysis) will be used.

The data sets are composed of all MS-S published during 1881-1945, collected and those used at primary schools were selected as datasets for quantitative (Chapter 4) and qualitative (Chapter 5) analyses. There are two major quantitative studies of wartime Japanese textbooks, namely Karasawa (1956) and Kurokawa (2007). Both of these discuss the strong undercurrent of militarism in Japanese textbooks, especially in the *Kokumin-gakkō* (1941-

1945) era, which falls within Period four of our study (see the next section, 4.3. for classification of historical periods). Kurokawa says that this period can be characterised as *Gunkoku-shugi* ('military-nation-ism', usually translated as militarism), rather than ultra-nationalism, whereby an extreme form of nationalism was developed within militarism. Kurokawa's hypothesis will be tested in our quantitative (Chapter 4) and qualitative (Chapter 5) analyses. As stated above, this study will employ three distinct categories; imperialism, militarism, and nationalism, in our quantitative and qualitative analyses, even though these are not entirely distinct ideologies as discussed in 2.1.2, but overlap in various ways. In the quantitative analysis, these categories are treated as separate entries, and they are abbreviated as follows: Japanese Imperialism (I), Japanese Militarism (M), and Japanese Nationalism (N).

All tables and figures in in the following sections are by the author. Wherever a linguistic item appears to be associated with more than one of these ideological concepts, the item is treated as a 'double/triple' count entry and named as *Multi*. More details about the creation of the datasets are given below.

4.2. Data collection – MS-S and time strata

Initially, the collected data comprised all of the school songbooks (*Monbushō-shōka-shū*: MS-S) that were officially published by the Ministry of Education between 1881 and 1945 and used as part of the school curriculum. *Sensō-shōka-shū* (war songbooks) were excluded from this collection, even though some of them were published by the Ministry of Education, because they were not necessarily designed for school education only, and their use as part of the nationwide school curriculum is not sufficiently evidenced. Moreover, the contents were often specific to a particular war, which may imply that these songs were used for a short duration of time.

There are ten different series of songbooks totalling 751 songs (of which 29, in Period 4, are imperial liturgical songs to be counted separately in 4.4.7.1.2). The titles of these songbooks, intended grades, and dates of publication are as follows:

1/ 1881-1911 Meiji imperialism, nationalism.

1. 1881 *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-4, 6-10 year olds, 91 songs)
2. 1887 *Yōchien-shōka-shū* for pre-school education (3-5 year olds, 29 songs),
3. 1893 *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka* for primary and secondary schools (6 years and above, 8 songs),

4. 1910 *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds, 27 songs),
5. 1911-14 *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds, 120 songs).

2/ 1912-1925 Taishō democracy movement, nationalism

6. 1930 *Kōto-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for junior high-school (higher grades 1-2 or 1-3, 13-15 year olds, 29 songs),
7. 1932 *Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds, 162 songs),
8. 1935 *Shintei Kōto-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for junior high-school (higher grades 1-2 or 1-3, 13-15 year olds, 136 songs).

3/ 1926-1945 Shōwa Ultra-nationalism, Militarism

9. 1941 *Kokumin gakkō-shōka Uta-no-hon I-II* for primary school (grades 1-2, 6-7 year olds, 40 songs + 3 imperial liturgical songs),
10. 1942-43 *Kokumin gakkō-shōka Shotō-ka Ongaku I-IV* for primary school (grades 3-6, 8-12 year olds, 80 songs + 26 imperial liturgical songs).

Of the above, only the MS-S that were used for primary school education (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10, totalling 557 songs, including 29 imperial liturgical ones in P4) were selected for quantitative analysis so that the sample groups are coherent. The remainder were analysed qualitatively, and will be discussed in chapter five, to provide a fuller literary context. The seven MS-S (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10) for primary school children were then grouped in accordance with the periods of publication to which each of them belongs. As these publications resulted from the four major MS-S revisions that took place between 1881 and 1945, and a particular set of MS-S was in continuous use between the revisions, there are four historical periods for the four sets of MS-S. Each MS-S revision followed on from a major educational policy revision as discussed in Chapter 3.2.1-7. Therefore, the seven data sets of MS-S were stratified according to this study's periodisation, that is, the historical period in which each of the MS-S was created and continued to be used until the next revision as follows:

Period 1:

1. 1881 *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-4, 6-10 year olds, 91 songs),

3. 1893 *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka* for primary and secondary schools (6 years and above, 8 songs),

Period 2:

4. 1910 *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds, 27 songs),
5. 1911-14 *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds, 120 songs).

Period 3:

7. 1932 *Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds, 162 songs),

Period 4

9. 1941 *Kokumin gakkō-shōka Uta-no-hon I-II* for primary school (grades 1-2, 6-7 year olds, 40 songs + 3 imperial liturgical songs),
10. 1942-43 *Kokumin gakkō-shōka Shotō-ka Ongaku I-IV* for primary school (grades 3-6, 8-12 year olds, 80 songs + 26 imperial liturgical songs).

The following is a brief description of these four periods and the educational policy revisions relevant for categorising the seven MS-S series into these four periods. A fuller discussion is found in Chapter 3.

4.2.1. Period 1 (P1): 1881-1899 (Meiji 14-42).

The MS-S that fall into this period are:

1. 1881 *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-4, 6-10 year olds, 91 songs).
3. 1893 *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka* for primary and secondary schools (6 years and above).

The relevant statutes are: 1879 Education Law / 1880 Education Law, Revised / 1885 Education Law, Revised. The period is characterised by Meiji imperialism, nationalism, the Sino-Japanese War, and the establishment of MS-S education. Later in the period, the 1889 Imperial Constitution was issued, which provided for the establishment of the Ministry of Education and the issuance of the Imperial Rescript 1890. These led to the publication of the special MS-S for High Holy Days. Other relevant laws are the Elementary School Laws of

1886 and 1890. During this period the first songbook, *Shōgaku Shōka-shū*, was created and used in schools. It was published in 1881 as part of the newly-formed Imperial government's effort to provide universal education to the citizens of Japan. Since this is the first-ever MS-S, a slightly fuller description of its historical background is provided as this facilitates understanding of the general context for the use of the MS-S. The Meiji government was formed in 1868, replacing the Tokugawa shogunate with a form of constitutional government with the Emperor of Japan as its sovereign, based on the Prusso-German model. However, the constitution itself was not promulgated until 11 February 1889, after over twenty years of negotiating concepts old and new, feudalism and imperialism, traditional Japanese and Western Imperial or modern cultures and social systems. The Meiji Constitution did not directly provide for education, but contained Article 9, which referred to the issuance of necessary administrative orders by the Emperor and Article 10, which noted the Emperor's power to establish governmental organs, whereby the orders and organs included those concerning education, and thus 'within the framework of the Meiji Constitution, imperial orders rather than laws were relied on in creating the system for the government administration of education' (MEXT 1981(h): III3(1)). The most fundamental of these is the Imperial Rescript on Education, promulgated on 30 October, 1890, just a month ahead of the enactment of the Constitution. The Imperial Rescript established the educational principles of the Empire of Japan, guiding the government's policies and school curricula to follow. The Rescript was taught alongside various MS-S to children at Japanese schools until after World War II, when the Allied occupation forces banned the reading of the Rescript. Both the Rescript and the Meiji Constitution were abolished in 1947, but until then they were the moral and ethical basis of all Japanese education and thus also of MS-S.

The teaching of the Rescript emphasised public morality, with strong roots in Confucian concepts advocated by traditionalists such as Motoda Nagazane¹⁷⁴, who sought to firmly establish Imperial power by using Confucian moral teaching, but it also reflected the influence of modernists such as Inoue Kowashi¹⁷⁵, who pushed for reform to break away from the feudal past (MEXT 1981(j): III8(2)). As a result, the education of this period is often characterised by a mixture of these concepts, and so, as a reinforcement of the teaching of the Imperial Rescript (and the emperor-centred Constitution), the government published *Shukujitsu-taisajitsu-shōka* in 1893 and made it a compulsory ceremonial songbook, which

¹⁷⁴ Motoda, a renowned Confucian scholar, was appointed as an imperial tutor in 1870, and soon after became a court councillor and in 1877 privy councillor to the Emperor Meiji (1868-1912). The 1879 Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education, drafted by Motoda, became the blueprint of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

¹⁷⁵ Inoue was sent from the Ministry of Justice of the Meiji government to study law in Germany and France and, upon returning, published a translation of the Prussian and Belgian constitutions with his own commentary in 1875. Subsequently, Inoue worked on the draft of the Meiji Constitution as well as the draft of the Imperial Rescript.

was used until the end of World War II. This particular MS-S is unique in that its topics are entirely focused on the Emperor, the Imperial household and their relationship to the nation of Japan and its people, both historical and present. The songs in this MS-S were sung at every ceremonial occasion in the school calendar. This Imperial worship continued throughout Periods 2-4. Therefore, this special edition of ceremonial MS-S¹⁷⁶ is treated separately from others in the following data analyses.

4.2.2. Period 2 (P2): 1900-1930 (Meiji 43 – Shōwa 5).

The Elementary School Law was completely revised in 1900 establishing a new primary school system, *Jinjō-shōgakkō*. The law was revised again in 1907, following which, an entirely new MS-S was designed and published. This period largely falls into the Taishō era, and is characterised by Taishō democracy, cultural modernism¹⁷⁷, the Russo-Japanese War, WWI, followed by economic growth and the 1930 crisis. Two MS-S fall into this period:

4. 1910 *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds),
5. 1911-14 *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds).

The 1910 MS-S became a blueprint for the 1911-14 MS-S.

4.2.3. Period 3 (P3): 1931-1940 (Shōwa 6-15).

As a result of the liberal literary movement during the Taishō democracy¹⁷⁸ in Period 2, the Ministry of Education agreed to revise MS-S to reflect public needs and published:

7. 1932 *Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka-shū* for primary school (grades 1-6, 6-12 year olds).

Immediately after the major economic crises (1927 and 1930-31) and general unrest, this period is generally characterised by domestic and international unrest including the 2-26 Incident, which was an attempted coup d'état organised by a group of young Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) officers that took place on 26 February 1936. The IJA's coup was quashed, but the incident still resulted in the military taking control of the civilian government, culminating in the 1937 Sino-Japanese War. In the interim, conservative

¹⁷⁶ This songbook, 1893 *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka*, was used until 1945. Some pieces of songs from this book were inserted into the opening section of Period 4 MS-S for the purpose of 'nurturing devotion and enhancing patriotic love through reinforced instruction of the ceremonial songs for High Holy Days (祭日祝日等二於ケル唱歌二付テハ周到ナル指導ヲ為シ敬虔ノ念ヲ養ヒ愛國ノ精神ヲ昂揚スルニカムベシ)' (Inoue 1942: 254 referring to 國民學校令施行規則第十四條).

¹⁷⁷ Wallace, Denton, and Fulton (2013: 56).

¹⁷⁸ Taishō democracy and the 'arts education movement', the 'nursery-rhymes revival campaign', and the 'literary movement for writing in a natural, colloquial style'. (3.1.4.).

educationalists strongly criticised the influence of ‘individualism’ and the liberalism of the Taishō era on pedagogy, and this led to the next complete revision of MS-S.

4.2.4. Period 4 (P4): 1941-1945 (Shōwa 16-20).

Following the issuance of the 1941 People’s School Law, the primary education system was revised and so were all textbooks, including MS-S. The following two MS-S were published in this period:

9. 1941 *Kokumin gakkō-shōka Uta-no-hon I-II* for primary school (grades 1-2, 6-7 year olds), and
10. 1942-43 *Kokumin gakkō-shōka Shotō-ka Ongaku I-IV* for primary school (grades 3-6, 8-12 year olds).

Although the names of these books differ, they belong to the same set as they were used for both the upper and lower grades of the school system. This period saw Japan engaging in World War II, and ended with its defeat. The period is also marked by the militarisation of the nation and the Japanese government’s attempt to create a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, a term which became publically known following a remark by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Matsuoka Yosuke, in 1940. This period is characterised by imperialist expansionism, ultra-nationalism, and militarism during which time propaganda campaigns, both state-controlled and grass-roots, intensified: a variety of entertainments, including songs, which were used to mobilise people as part of a nation-wide propaganda programme (Kushner 2006). Children of MS-S education would have been aware of such information.

Pupils who received official MS-S education throughout the above four periods are restricted at the elementary education level, since the target age of compulsory education changed over time. Therefore, the sample groups used for statistical analyses for this study as described further below were limited to the elementary level. An exception is 3, 1893 *Shukujitsu-Taisaijitsu-shōka*, which was intended for both primary and post-primary education. The guidelines specify that this songbook should be treated separately, as ‘ceremonial’ songs, and should be sung at every ‘appropriate’ opportunity, according to the ceremonial calendar. Moreover, this songbook was in use until the end of WWII. Therefore, the 1893 *Shukujitsu-Taisaijitsu-shōka* is analysed separately from other MS-S of P1-P4 periods from qualitative perspectives in the next Chapter. This leaves six MS-S (1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10) containing 549 songs in total (including 29 imperial liturgical songs in P4) for this study’s statistical analysis.

4.3. Construction of datasets for statistical analyses

As described in the previous section, ten MS-Ss were chosen as the raw data for qualitative analysis (Chapter 5), which equals 751 songs (both titles and lyrics) in total, of which six MS-S (totalling 549 songs), specifically for primary schools and excluding the special compilation of MS-S for both children and adults to sing on the High Holy Days (No.3, containing 8 songs), were chosen for the quantitative analysis. Both the title and the lyrics of each song were analysed for their linguistic features and for the discourse comprehension process. This was done by breaking down each song into several lines comprised of the title and verses of the song, resulting in a total of 6013 lines for the 549 I-incl. (and 5689 for 520 I-ex.¹⁷⁹) songs. Each line represents a phrase of a verse usually sung in one breath. This manageable chunk of discourse is, in linguistic terms, either a clause or a complex noun phrase. These were further broken down into morphemes while keeping the original structure. For example, a song entitled *Chiyo-ni* ('For Thousands of Years' – i.e. for eternity) would be entered into Excel as below:

Figure 4.0a. An example of verse by verse analysis data excerpt

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>
P1	M14	Chiyo-ni	TI	2	1	0	1
P1	M14	Chiyo-ni-chiyo-ni-chiyo-mase-kimi-wa	In	8	3	1	4
P1	M14	I-mase-i-mase-waga-kimi-chiyo-ni	End	8	3	2	3

The original data is entirely written in Japanese, including the labels for each column, but for the sake of demonstration here, columns are numbered and explained as follows:

a: The Period strata (P1-P4)

b: Year of publication

c: Textual content (title of the song / line of a verse in the song) recorded in morphemes

d: Tags (TI: the title of the song, In: the first line of the song, End: the last line of the song)

e: Number of morphemes in the line

f: Number of functional morphemes (particles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs denoting tense/aspect, moods, and so on.)

g: Number of content morphemes other than nominatives (verbs, adverbs, adjectives, adjectival-verbs, onomatopoeia)

h: Number of content morphemes, nominative only (nouns, pronouns, adnominal adjective, numerals)

¹⁷⁹ Excluding a set of ceremonial songs in Period 4 (totalling 29 songs) as discussed in 4.7.1.

In this morphemic analysis, functional morphemes were defined as morphemes with a grammatical function, but do not carry any semantic meaning on their own. Examples include: particles, auxiliary verbs, exclamatives, conjunctives, expletive (‘dummy’) nouns, compound particles and auxiliary verbs. Any other morphemes are defined as content morphemes. For example: nouns, adnominal adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives and numerals are content morphemes. Honorific affixes are counted as part of the noun which they modify. Some exceptional cases of compound nouns that create a specific meaning (e.g. *tami-kusa* (‘folk-grass’) to mean Imperial subjects) are counted as one morpheme in this study. Some functional morphemes (e.g. particles, auxiliary verbs) from a part of a complex noun in Japanese, in which case these functional morphemes are also counted as appropriate.

In cases of context-dependent interpretation, a whole noun phrase or clause will be analysed as one semantic unit, and all the morphemes inside that semantic unit were counted for ideological categorisation. For example, when the unit refers to the specific factual description of an historical incident or traditional fable/legend, the whole unit is considered for determining whether it is associated with one of the ideological concepts (M, N, or I). If it is, the whole unit and all the morphemes inside the unit were classified as M, N, and/or I. In doing so, however, only the morphemes associated with the concrete facts (e.g. descriptions specifying the protagonists, the setting, the time, and so on.) are counted, whereas any additional expressions, to amplify poetic or dramatic effects concerning non-central topics, were excluded, even where they reinforce the ideological message. For example, *Tennō* (‘the emperor’) was counted as one morpheme depicting a concept associated with imperialism. *Kinjō Tennō* (‘the current emperor’) is one unit of a noun phrase, and its content would be counted as two morphemes associated with imperialism. However, in the case of *utsukushiki hana to Tennō* (‘a beautiful flower and the emperor’) only the morpheme for ‘emperor’ is counted as the rest does not necessarily represent a characteristic of the central topic, the emperor. Also, in the case of a legendary story in which artistic license was exercised, only the widely known ‘factual’ sections of the expression were counted. For example, a school history textbook was used to teach children the story of ‘Nasu no Yoichi’, a legendary archer¹⁸⁰, so they knew about the naval battle: when Yoichi’s men were nearly defeated, the enemy sent a boat, with a woman hoisting up a fan, and challenged him to shoot the middle of the fan, or surrender. From a considerable

¹⁸⁰ Images and associations of a legendary figure may change with time. Nasu-no-yoichi as represented in the manga ‘Drifters (ドリフターズ) (2009-)’ is ‘an effeminate nineteen year old, although still an archer’, and when this character is ‘cosplayed’ in Japan today, it is frequently by women as can be seen from the variety of selfies available online. (McAuley 2014, personal communication). Children today may not associate him with state-oriented nationalism, for example.

distance Nasu no Yoichi successfully shot the middle of the fan, saving the life of the woman and motivating his men. Eventually, the enemy was defeated. A song inspired by this legend is found in the *Shintei-jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* in which the natural beauty of the scene and the elegant manner in which the fan ‘danced’ in the air is poetically depicted, but this is more the writer’s artistic insertion than historical fact and, therefore, is not considered in the morpheme count. Only the morphemes associated with descriptions central to the story have been counted and analysed.

This may be too strict a criteria, but for quantitative analysis this study sets a clear limit to the extent to which morphemes may be judged as being associated with ideological concepts through inter-textual interpretation. The rationale is to minimise the influence of, as far as possible, children’s individual differences in sensitivity to the poetic message, which is an unknown factor in this analysis. As it is, of course, impossible to interview these students at the time they were educated, this study limits the boundary of ‘contextually-dependent interpretation’ to metonymy that is documented in relevant sources, such as dictionaries and textbooks for children of the relevant age-range during the relevant time period. Considering the fact that the children would have been exposed to propaganda outside schools through stories, paper plays and popular songs other than MS-S, (Kushner 2009: 243-264) the extent of ‘contextual-interpretation’ in the sense of the wider and out-of-school sociocultural layer of the contexts of MS-S texts would probably have been higher than this statistical study shows. However, to achieve objectivity, as far as possible, the stricter boundary as described above was set. Any morpheme whose association with ideology is structurally circumstantial, that is to say for example, ‘*ga* (subject-particle)’ in ‘*Teikoku ga* (Empire + subject particle)’, will be excluded. In this way, context-dependent semantic judgment can be administered under clearer, strict conditions.

4.4. Context-dependent and context-independent interpretation of ‘meaning’

Elements in the lyrics that are relevant to the notions of Japan as homeland, veneration of the imperial household and the land, and protection of Japan by force, were identified using the following two methods – with and without contextual influence on the semantic interpretation of the morphemes. The first method is ‘context-independent’ interpretation of the data. Morphemes in songs were analysed semantically to identify those that denote ideas relating to imperialism, militarism, and/or nationalism, according to the first and second entries in the word definitions given in reference dictionaries, such as those commonly used at Japanese schools. These include: *Daijirin* (Sanseidō), *Kōjien* (Iwanami-shoten), *Shin-Meikai-Kokugo-Jiten* (Sansei-dō), *Meikyō-Kokugo-Jiten* (Taishū-kan), *Nihongo-Daijiten* (Kōdan-sha),

Kokugo-jiten (Iwanami-shoten), and *weblio* (<http://www.weblio.jp>¹⁸¹) to name but a few. This is to minimise contextual influence on the interpretation of the ‘meaning’ carried by each morpheme. The number of occurrences of these morphemes were counted and used for quantitative analyses. The datasets constructed using this first method are referred to as ‘Context-independent data’, and classified in the Excel[®] worksheet as morphemes ‘directly’ denoting an ideology (as seen in columns *j, l and n* below).

The second method is ‘context-dependent’ interpretation of the data, and classified in the worksheet as morphemes ‘indirectly’ denoting an ideology (as seen in *k, m, and o* below). Morphemes in songs were analysed semantically to identify those that denote ideas relating to imperialism, militarism, and/or nationalism when the textual context is taken into consideration. The specific notion of ‘context’ applied to this study is explained below: Based on the linguistic discussion in Chapter 2 (2.3.2. – 2.3.4.) ‘context’ in this quantitative analysis is narrowly defined, focusing on the shared context (via classroom input) among the general recipients of specific MS-S, whereby the context is defined in three tiers:

1. Intra-textual context (anaphoric and cataphoric references, demonstratives, discourse deixis (including honorifics), synonyms, antonyms, word-associations, and paraphrase);
2. Historical and inter-textual contexts supplied by the narrative in any teaching material (e.g. history, geography, sociology, ethics, reading comprehension textbooks, and so on.) for the same syllabus as the relevant MS-S; and
3. Socio-political context and educational policies as described by relevant prefaces and guidelines to the MS-S, and other official documents.

The frequency of the occurrences of these words was counted and used for quantitative analyses. The datasets constructed using this second method are referred to as ‘Context-dependent data’ and classified in the Excel sheet (an extract is produced below) as morphemes ‘indirectly’ denoting an ideology (as seen in columns *k, m and o* below).

Figure 4.0b. An example of verse by verse, morphological and contextual analysis data, excerpt

<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Chiyo-ni for thousand years</i>	TI	2	1	0	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
<i>Chiyo-ni-chiyo-ni-chiyo-mase- kimi-wa for thousand years, for</i>	In	8	3	1	4	3	-	-	-	4	-	5	4

¹⁸¹ Accessed 18 June 2013.

<i>thousand years, be the majesty('s reign)</i>													
I-mase-i-mase-waga-kimi- chiyo-ni <i>eternal be thy reign, may my lord dwell for thousand years</i>	End	8	3	2	3	3	-	-	-	3	-	5	3

Note that in column *c*, morphemes that denote any of the three ideological notions (militarism, iand/or imperialism) are highlighted in bold font. Furthermore, where one morpheme denotes more than one of the three notions, it is in both bold and italicised fonts simultaneously. For example, in the title *Chiyo-ni*, the noun *chiyo* ('for thousands of years') is an expression meaning 'thousands and thousands of years of reign', and 'eternal prosperity', and is strongly associated with the reign of the imperial court and, by extension, is a metonym for the nation of Japan. Therefore, the word is checked for both the imperialism and nationalism columns and a double count of 'ONE (morpheme)' is entered in the far-right column *p*. The explanation of the columns *a-h* was given in the previous section above, while columns *i-p* are explained as follows:

i: Number of morphemes that do NOT denote militarism, nationalism, or imperialism.

The figure is arrived at by subtracting the double/triple count from the combined total of militarism, nationalism and imperialism, i.e. $i=e-((j+k+l+m+n+o)-p)$.

j: Number of morphemes that denote militarism directly

k: Number of morphemes that denote militarism indirectly

l: Number of morphemes that denote nationalism directly

m: Number of morphemes that denote nationalism indirectly

n: Number of morphemes that denote imperialism directly

o: Number of morphemes that denote imperialism indirectly

p: Double/Triple counts of morphemes denoting militarism, nationalism, and/or imperialism

All the morphemes in the songs were categorised into the above types and manually counted. This applies to all the songs in Periods 1 to 4.

4.5. Two data-sets for Period 4

The MS-S of Period 4, namely *Kokumin-gakkō-shōka-shū*, has a special layout, with extra content on imperial topics and, therefore, calls for the use of different analytical tools. A set of imperial songs (of which some are based on the 1893 *Shukujitsu-Taisajitsu-shōka-shū*, while others are from other old songbooks) is inserted at the opening of each volume of this

six-volume songbook. The number of songs and their level of complexity increases with the grades from Grade 1 to 6. The inserted songs are as follows:

Grade 1: *kimi-ga-yo (Reign of Your Majesty)*;

Grade 2: *kimi-ga-yo (Reign of Your Majesty) / kigen-setsu (The National Foundation Day)*;

Grade 3: *kimi-ga-yo (Reign of Your Majesty) / chokugo-hōtō (Humbly Replying to the Imperial Rescript) / tenchō-setsu ('Long Live the Emperor' Day / Current Emperor's Birth Day) / meiji-setsu (Emperor Meiji's Birthday) / ichigatsu-ichijitsu (January the first) / kigen-setsu (The National Foundation Day)*;

Grade 4: *kimi-ga-yo (Reign of Your Majesty) / chokugo-hōtō (Humbly Replying to the Imperial Rescript) / tenchō-setsu ('Long Live the Emperor' Day / Current Emperor's Birth Day) / meiji-setsu (Emperor Meiji's Birthday) / ichigatsu-ichijitsu (January the first) / kigen-setsu (The National Foundation Day)*;

Grade 5: *kimi-ga-yo (Reign of Your Majesty) / chokugo-hōtō (Humbly Replying to the Imperial Rescript) / tenchō-setsu ('Long Live the Emperor' Day / Current Emperor's Birth Day) / meiji-setsu (Emperor Meiji's Birthday) / ichigatsu-ichijitsu (January the first) / kigen-setsu (The National Foundation Day) / Shōken-Kōtaigō on'ka (kongō-seki / mizu-wa-utsuwa) (Songs based on the poetry of Empress Shōken; Diamond / Water is shaped by the bowl); and*

Grade 6: *kimi-ga-yo (Reign of Your Majesty) / chokugo-hōtō (Humbly Replying to the Imperial Rescript) / tenchō-setsu ('Long Live the Emperor' Day / Current Emperor's Birth Day) / meiji-setsu (Emperor Meiji's Birthday) / ichigatsu-ichijitsu (January the first) / kigen-setsu (The National Foundation Day) / meiji-tennō gyōsei (Poetry by the Emperor Meiji).*

(Total 29, of which 18 were repeated over the 6 volumes).

On the one hand, these songs can be considered as a normal part of the songbook for statistical analysis. On the other hand, these songs may have been regarded as 'ceremonial' songs, like the 1893 *Shukujitsu-Taisaijitsu-shōka-shū*, and could have been treated separately from the rest of the MS-S at schools. If that was the case, these should be excluded from the statistical analysis. Therefore, two sets of data were prepared for Period 4 – one with these additional imperial songs (4.7.1.1.) and the other without them (4.7.1.2.) – and analysed separately.

4.6. Statistical methods

The objective of the statistical analysis in this study is to find the basic patterns of the way linguistic units were used to denote an ideology or a combination of ideologies. The linguistic items here refer to morphemes, and the frequency of their occurrence in a text (a lyric) is the pattern that this study investigates. Since the morphemes are relatively clear to count, a simple frequency analysis is appropriate to perform statistical measures using conventional probabilistic methods. As said earlier, this study employs seven MS-S for the core quantitative study, or 557 songs in total (of which 8 songs are from the MS-S for High Holy Days). There are other MS-S songs ‘authorised’ by the government and published privately during the same time frame that amount to 1014 songs in total, but they were not necessarily used nationwide, and are, therefore, excluded from this study. The total number (557) of songs used for the statistics here is a sample size largely sufficient to obtain statistical power within a 99 per cent confidence level and a five per cent confidence interval (402 songs required).

The original MS-S texts contained phonetic guides (called *rubi* in Japanese) and utilised historical orthography, but as this is not semantically significant, they were converted to modern orthography throughout the data. An excerpt from a Meiji period song is given below to illustrate this point. As shown earlier in this chapter, each letter, given to the columns of the table, stand for the following:

- c*: Textual content (title of the song / line of a verse in the song) recorded in morphemes.
- d*: Tags (TI: the title of the song, In: the first line of the song, End: the last line of the song)
- e*: Number of morphemes in the line
- f*: Number of functional morphemes (particles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs denoting tense/aspect, moods, and so on.)
- g*: Number of content morphemes other than nominatives (verbs, adverbs, adjectives, adjectival-verbs, onomatopoeia)
- h*: Number of content morphemes, nominative only (nouns, pronouns, adnominal adjective, numerals)

For example, the bold and underlined symbols **ゝ** and ゑ in the extract of a song below are historical orthography. While ゑ stands for え(‘e’) in modern orthography and is thus

straightforwardly replaced with the modern character, the other symbol ㄥ and its voiced variation ㄥゝ are more complex cases. This Japanese character (ㄥ) symbolises the repetition of the devoiced/voiced character that precedes it. Therefore, in the first line, いで-ㄥ' would be written as 'いで-て (ide-te - 'come-out-and')' in modern orthography. Similarly, in the second line すㄥめ would be written as すずめ ('suzume' – 'sparrow') in modern orthography.

Figure 4.0c. An example of phonetic representation of historical orthography

<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>
ねぐら-を-いで-ㄥ-こずㄥ-に-とまり (ねぐら-を-いで-て-こずえ-に-とまり) negura-wo-ide-te-kozue-ni-tomari 'come out of the nest and perch on a twig'	---	7	3	2	2
あそべ-よ-すㄥめ-うたへ-よ-すㄥめ (あそべ-よ-すずめ-うたへ-よ-すずめ) asobe-yo-suzume-utae-yo-suzume 'play sparrow, sing sparrow'	End	6	2	2	2

The rewriting of these historical orthographic forms into the modern version clarified word formation throughout the texts, and enabled the correct morphemes for all pronounced sounds of the lyrics to be assigned to them, and thereby this operation improved the accuracy of morpheme-level representation. These texts were then inputted into the spreadsheet. Microsoft Excel® spreadsheet software¹⁸² was used as a platform to build the master database. In relation to the MS-S, 11 informative codes were generated, which include the period and year of publication, tags to identify the title, the beginning and the end of each song, and so on. Details are given above in section 4.4. This forms the master dataset. Further, the text of each set of lyrics was morphologically analysed and the numbers of functional and content morphemes were counted. They were further analysed semantically to identify morphemes denoting ideas related to any of the three ideological categories, namely imperialism, nationalism and militarism. This was first done context-independently and then context-dependently. These morphemes were also counted and, where one morpheme falls into more than one category, double/triple counts were noted. These morphemic counts are used for computing statistics. To obtain quantitative data, the number of occurrences (of morphemes) was calculated for the use of comparison by the chi-square (χ^2) test (Johnson 2008) and for a Principal Component Analysis (henceforth, PCA) (Jolliffe 2002). All statistical analysis was performed using the IBM™ SPSS®(7) version 20 software package¹⁸³. Statistics were run for each of the four time periods, and the results were interpreted to characterise each of them.

¹⁸² Microsoft™Excel® version 14.2.3 (spreadsheet software).

¹⁸³ SPSS: IBM™ SPSS® Statistics version 20 (statistical analysis software package).

Further, results across periods 1 to 4 were compared to each other to consider the reasons for any major discrepancies between the statistical patterns of each period. Further, this will be qualitatively analysed in the next chapter.

The χ^2 test is a widely used statistical technique to test whether differences between groups are significant¹⁸⁴ in terms of frequencies, counts, or other quantified qualitative data, and particularly in variations in the proportions of each parameter in the overall total. In this study, morphemes expressing the concept of I, N, or M are qualitative because, as they stand, they cannot be expressed in numbers *per se*. Therefore, I, N and M were quantified by calculating their occurrences as explained earlier, and the resultant numerical data was used for the comparisons between the periods. This method is useful in determining whether a difference observed from basic statistics or graphic representations is statistically significant. Once the difference is deemed significant, then we can start to investigate what combinations of parameters constitute the differences characterising a particular period of MS-S. For this purpose, the PCA method will be used.

PCA is a commonly used statistical technique intended for dimension reduction. Here, the linguistic elements are relevant to the hypothesis. A large set of variables is reduced to a smaller set conveying most of the information of the large set. Data from several variables are combined to extrapolate the relationship between parameters by calculating several combinations that are influential to the overall phenomenon. Such combinations are referred to as 'components'¹⁸⁵. These components do not correlate with each other. Crucially, PCA does not try to find all the underlying factors of a phenomenon, but instead it looks at how some particular combinations of variables are mathematically influential once they are completely regressed into a linear function. The final interpretation of the results is based on the researcher's own assessment. This means, in this study, that PCA provides an objective account of the linguistic patterns only, which needs to be explained qualitatively. Therefore, the quantitative results given by PCA will be subjected to qualitative analysis in Chapter 5 in an attempt to describe those patterns against the discursive socio-historical context of the

¹⁸⁴ Statistical significance: A statistically significant risk probability confirms the tested hypothesis. When verifying a hypothesis using statistical tests, the risk probability for a hypothesis to be false is calculated. In practice, when the risk probability, or the P-value, is less than a predefined value, the tested hypothesis is considered as "probable" or likely to be true. In our study the risk probability is set at 0.05 or 5 per cent, under which the hypothesis is considered as significant, while the hypothesis is not significant when higher than 0.05. In other words, in this study, the hypotheses are considered as statistically proven when there is over a 95 per cent chance that they are true, i.e., less than a 5 per cent risk of being a matter of coincidence.

¹⁸⁵ Component: PCA uses a number of variables (7 in our study) to calculate 1 or more sets of the said variables that are influential to the model. The influence of each of the 7 variables (how they are contributing to the given set) is given. Such sets of variables obtained by PCA are called "principal components". As there is more than 1 principal component, each is given a number by the degree of influence it has on the model, or how much it "explains the variance". The number of principal components never exceeds the number of variables.

time in which each of the MS-S was used. For this, as mentioned earlier, we will employ the analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the next chapter.

4.7. Statistical Results

There are two versions of the analyses concerning Period 4 MS-S: one version includes the additional imperial songs (I-incl) inserted in the opening section of each volume, while the other version excludes these (I-ex). The following reports on the results first concern version I-incl (4.7.1.1.), followed by version I-ex (4.7.1.2.). All tables and figures are by the author.

4.7.1. Basic statistics

One of the main inquiries was to discover to what extent the text (i.e. lyrics) of MS-S denotes the ideological concepts of I, N, and/or M, when taught as just lines of words. A further inquiry is that, if the MS-S were taught in a context like that of a story in the reader, to what extent the text of MS-S might be interpreted as referring to the ideological concepts of I, N, and/or M. The results show that the number of morphemes associated with I, N, and/or M is greater in context-dependent interpretations of morphemes in general.

4.7.1.1. Basic statistics including extra imperial songs for Period 4 MS-S: <Version I-incl>

As shown in table 1, in absolute counts, morphemes that are associated with I, N, and/or M in each of the 4 periods are shown in the ‘Associated (ASS)’ column, while those that are not associated with I, N, and/or M are in the ‘not associated (Non-A)’ column.

Table 4.1. ASS and Non-A morpheme statistics (direct + indirect)¹⁸⁶

Years	Percentages of morphemes			In absolute counts	
	Periods	% Non-A	% ASS	Non-A	ASS
1881-1899	P1	89.99%	10.01%	4395	489
1900-1930	P2	80.75%	19.25%	9309	2219
1931-1940	P3	86.29%	13.71%	9441	1500
1941-1945	P4-incl	63.68%	36.32%	4950	2823

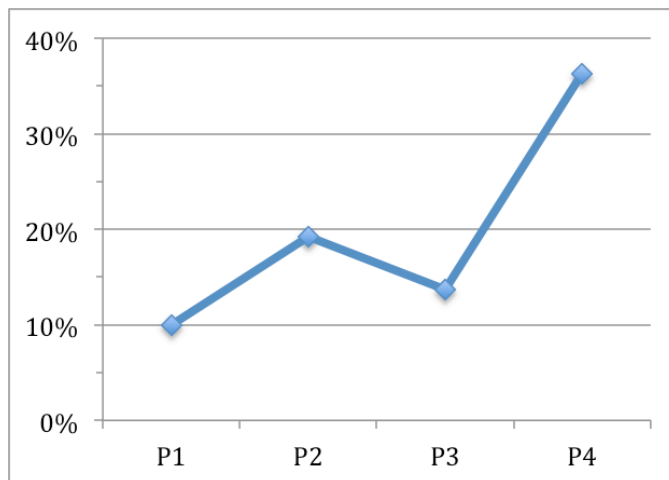
4.7.1.1.1. Proportion of morphemes associated with ideological concepts

The results shown in Table 4.1. were then considered over the four periods to see if there were any temporal changes concerning the proportion of morphemes associated with any of

¹⁸⁶ All tables, graphs, figures throughout this dissertation are by van der Does-Ishikawa unless otherwise stated.

the three ideological concepts (i.e. %ASS). Periods (P) 1-3 have a similar proportion of morphemes denoting I, N and/or M. In contrast, the proportion of morphemes associated with I, N, and/or M is markedly higher in period 4 and it is nearly 3 times higher than period 1, as observed in the table above. Change over the four historical periods is shown in Figure 1, whereby the sudden increase of ASS (morphemes associated with ideology) is clear at a glance. In other words, MS-S in Period 4 contain *circa* 3.5 times more morphemes associated with I, M, and/or N ideologies than those in Period 1, a little less than three times that of Period 3, and nearly twice as many as Period 2.

Figure 4.1. Changes in percentage (%) of ASS across the four periods



This is reflected in the Non-A-to-ASS morphemes ratio (Non-A/ASS), as shown in Table 4.2, whereby P4 is only 1.75 (that is, the smaller the ratio, the higher the number of ASS morphemes). This means that the occurrence of I, N or M morphemes in P4 is significantly higher. Further, P (probability that there is no difference) values are significantly different ($P < 0.005$ level) when P1, P2, and P3 are compared with P4 (as in Table 4.2). When P1 and P4 are compared the difference is strongly significant (< 0.001).

Table 4. 2. χ^2 test results and Non-A-to-ASS ratios

	χ^2	P	Non-A/ASS
P1 vs. P2	2.74	0.0979	8.99 vs 4.20
P1 vs. P3	0.36	0.5485	8.99 vs 6.29
P2 vs. P3	0.77	0.3802	4.20 vs 6.29
P1 vs. P4-incl	18.12	< 0.0001	8.99 vs 1.75
P2 vs. P4-incl	6.49	0.0108	4.20 vs 1.75
P3 vs. P4-incl	12.48	0.0004	6.29 vs 1.75

As seen above, again, P4 exhibits a unique character among the four periods. The statistics reveal that differences between the periods are significant when P1, P2 or P3 are compared

with P4, which means that P4 MS-S contain far more morphemes associated with I, M, and/or N ideologies than the other periods.

4.7.1.1.2. Proportion of *Multi*

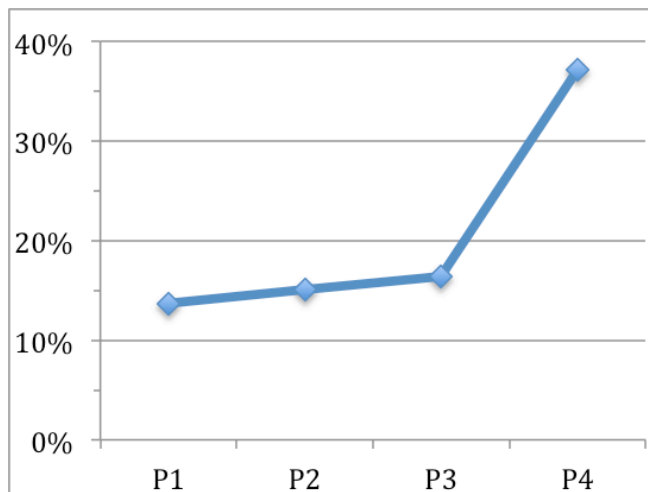
The results so far actually contain both single and double, or even triple, counts of morphemes associated with I, N, and/or M. Some of these morphemes denote Japanese imperialism only, while others may denote both Japanese imperialism and Japanese nationalism. Morphemes that can be associated with more than one of those ideological concepts are more ‘loaded’ in meaning, and their proportion in the total text should be accounted for (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3. ‘Multi’ counts and % ratio to ASS morphemes

	<i>Multi</i>	ASS	% <i>Multi</i>
P1	67	489	13.70%
P2	336	2219	15.14%
P3	246	1500	16.40%
P4-incl	1049	2823	37.16%

The figures in the table above are visually represented in the following graph to demonstrate the change over the four periods. The sharp increase in the proportion of multiple-counting morphemes (*Multi*) in MS-S from P3 to P4 is evident.

Figure 4.2. Changes in percentage (%) of *Multi* across the four periods



Differences between and across periods are also revealed, as shown in the following table.

Table 4.4. Differences in ‘Multi’ between periods

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	0.01	0.9203
P1 vs. P3	0.11	0.7401
P2 vs. P3	0.00	1
P1 vs. P4-incl	13.48	<0.0002
P2 vs. P4-incl	11.51	<0.0007
P3 vs. P4-incl	10.5	<0.001

All combinations with P4 indicate statistically significant differences, while differences between other combinations, P1, P2, and P3, are not significant. This general result points to the fact that P4 MS-S contain a significantly greater number of morphemes that are associated with multiple ideologies. It is noted that the abbreviation, P4-incl means that the additional imperial liturgical songs in P4 songbooks are included in the analyses.

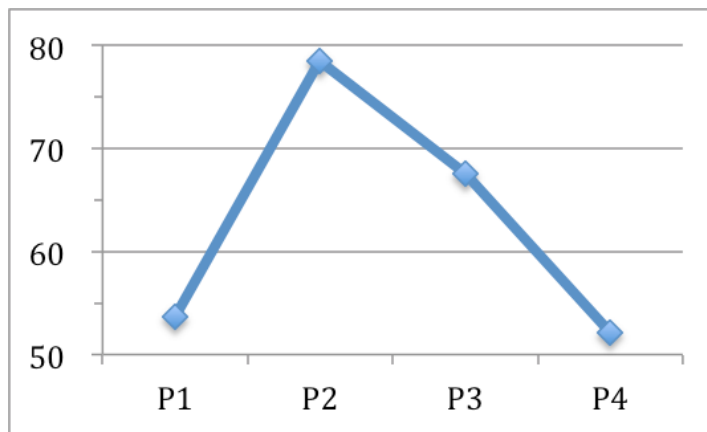
4.7.1.1.3. Length per song

As MS-S are songs, their overall structural presentation can influence learning. For example, the length and density of verses may or may not be an influential factor in characterising the songs in each period. Therefore, the textual length of each song, in terms of the ratio of the number of lines per song, morpheme numbers per line, title per song, or the number of morphemes associated with multiple ideologies (Multi) per song, in each period were also analysed as in the following table:

Table 4.5. Morphemes count statistics (MPHM: morphemes)

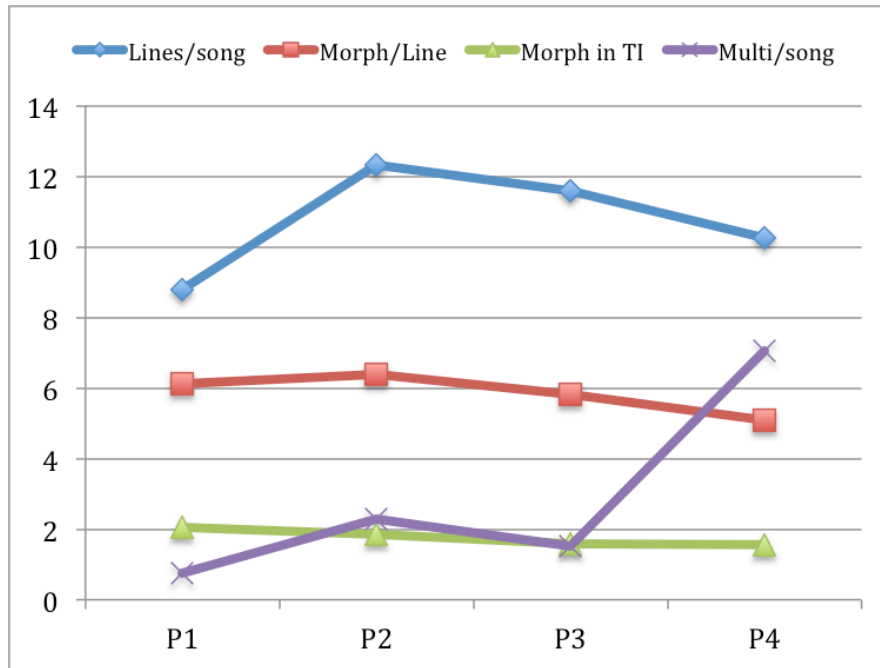
	Lines/song	MPHM/line	MPHMs in Title	Multi/song	MPHM/song
P1	7.9	6.8	2.0	0.7	54.1
P2	11.5	7.0	1.9	2.3	78.1
P3	12.5	4.8	1.6	2.7	71.7
P4-incl	10.4	5.2	1.6	8.4	53.6

The average number of lines per song increased from P1 to P2, remained similar between P2 and 3, but decreased in P4. Similarly, the average number of morphemes in each song increased from P1 to P2, remained similar between P2 and 3, but dramatically decreased in P4, going down to a level lower than P1 as demonstrated in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3. Changes in the number of morphemes in a song across the four periods

Next, these results were put together to obtain an overall picture of the characteristics of MS-S in each of the four periods as well as shifts in character over time. This is visually presented in in Figure 4.4 below. The number of morphemes per line only slightly increased from P1 to P2, but decreased from P2 to P3, and remained low in P4. The number of words in the titles did not change much across the periods, keeping to 1 to 2 morphemes per title. However, the number of multiple-count (or ‘semantically-loaded’) morphemes, called Multi in this study, kept on increasing over time from the initial 0.7 morphemes per song to 2.3 in P2, which was nearly triple, then to 2.7 in P3, and finally reaching 8.4 morphemes in P4. This means that earlier MS-S used, semantically, relatively simple expressions but, as history progressed, the semantic contents of MS-S became increasingly more complex, peaking in P4. At the same time, the total number of morphemes per line of a verse did not change much over time and, in fact, decreased in P3 and P4. Combining the facts above, we can deduce that morphemes in P4 are semantically more ‘loaded’ than in any other period. Children were singing ideologically more ‘condensed’ songs in P4. However, it is noted that these statistical results do not indicate the extent of the effect this characteristic had on learning.

Figure 4.4. Changes in the number of lines, morphemes and *Multi* across the four periods



So far we have discussed morphemes associated with ideologies in a combined (*Multi*) form, but more details on the proportions of each ideological component are also of interest to this study. Next, the frequency and proportion of morphemes associated with the ideological concepts are analysed according to each of the three concepts.

4.7.1.1.4. Frequency and proportion of morphemes associated with: Japanese Imperialism, Militarism, and Nationalism

First, the total numbers of morphemes that are associated with the ideological concepts are presented in absolute counts and in percentages below. These initial statistics do not differentiate between context-independent (direct) and context-dependent (indirect) semantic interpretations of the morpheme (table 4.6 below).

Table 4.6. Morphemes expressing ideological concepts (I, N, M)

	Total expressions in absolute counts			In percentages			
	I	N	M	I	N	M	Total
P1	184	325	97	30.36%	53.63%	16.01%	100
P2	391	1587	570	15.35%	62.28%	22.37%	100
P3	193	1125	435	11.01%	64.18%	24.81%	100
P4-incl	1288	1757	824	33.29%	45.41%	21.30%	100
P4-ex	407	1016	824	18.11%	45.22%	36.67%	100

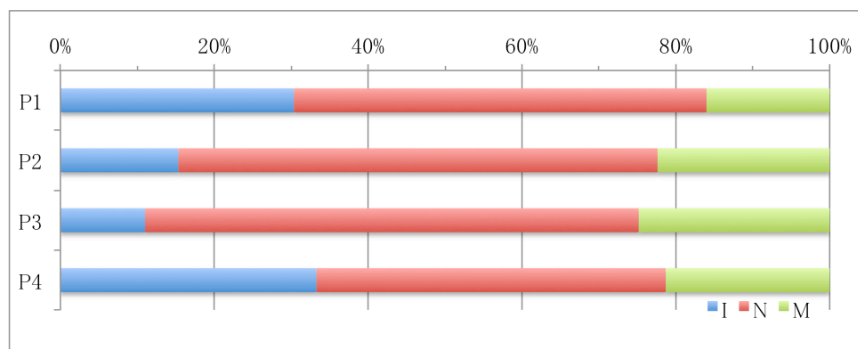
Next, each period was compared to the other periods and the significance of differences between any of the two periods was tested as follows:

Table 4.7. χ^2 test results on the proportions of I, N and M between periods

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	75.99	<0.0001
P1 vs. P3	129.18	<0.0001
P2 vs. P3	17.62	<0.0001
P1 vs. P4-incl	16.1	<0.0003
P2 vs. P4-incl	273.81	<0.0001
P3 vs. P4-incl	316.86	<0.0001

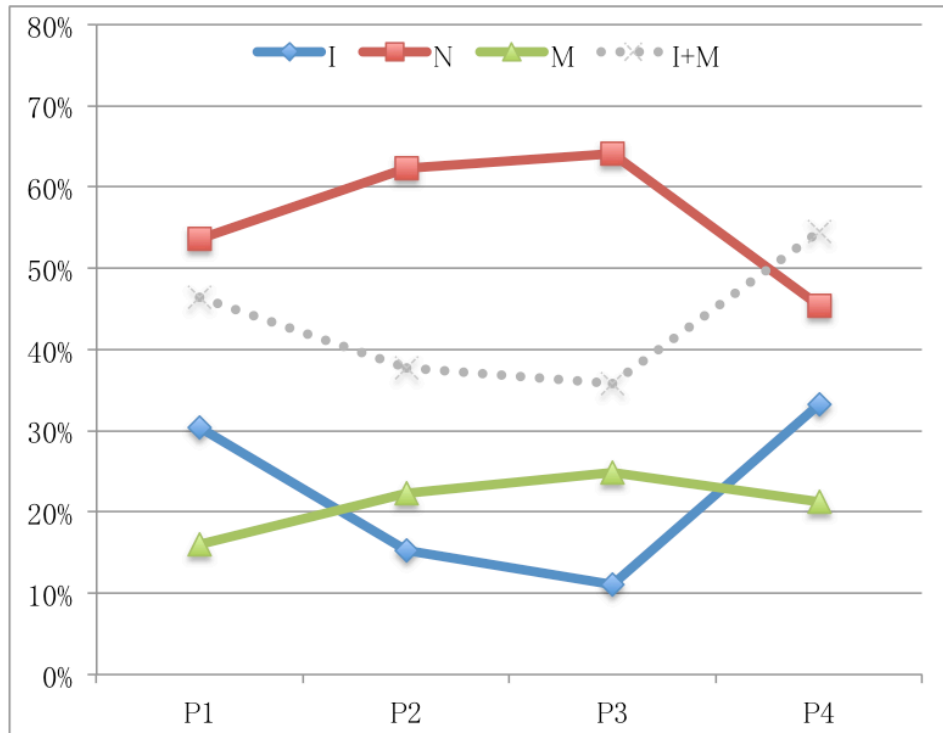
Our threshold was set at <0.05, but the results show a far greater significance (<0.0001), revealing clear changes in the characteristics of MS-S over the four periods in terms of their ideological contents. The following graph represents the proportions of I, N, and M in each of the four periods:

Figure 4.5. Proportions of directly and indirectly expressed I, M, N in P1, P2, P3, and P4-incl. represented in a 100% bar graph



In all periods, morphemes associated with Japanese nationalism (in red) are predominant. However, the proportions of M (in green) and I (in blue) change dramatically from one period to another. For example, Japanese Imperialism is higher in P1 and P4 than P2 and P3 and, at the same time, M in P1 is the lowest among the four periods. Japanese Imperialism is the highest in P4-incl., while N is the lowest also in P4-incl. in the four periods. Differences in the proportions of I, N, and M between the four periods show that they are all significantly different. Next, Figure 4.6 shows shifts of trend between and over the four historical periods (diachronic changes).

Figure 4.6. Changes in the proportions of I, N and M across the four periods (direct+indirect)



The grey dotted line shows the curve obtained by summing I and M, forming a ‘mirror image’ of the N curve. As N increases the combined value of I and M decreases and vice versa. Comparison of the shape I or M curves independently to the combined (I+M) grey curve shows which of these two – I or M – is prominent in creating the ‘mirror image’ against N curve. In this case it is I, because the shape of I curve is similar to that of the combined one. In that case, we can deduce that the increase of I (rather than M) in P4 had a greater influence on the decrease of N in P4¹⁸⁷.

Next, morphemes denoting the ideological concepts without the discourse context (‘direct’) were investigated. Here, statistically similar patterns to the above were found except that ‘direct (context-independent)’ cases showed a markedly lower I and a higher N in P2, whilst M is the lowest in P1 and steadily increases, peaking in P3 and decreases in P4 (Table 4.8 and Figure 4.8). In other words, directly-expressed militarism makes up less than 10 per cent of all the morphemes associated with ideologies in the MS-S texts in P1, but more than double the amount in P2, P3, and P4. Militarism is more often directly expressed in P3 and P4-incl. Nationalism is more often directly expressed in P3 and P4.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. 4.8, 4.10, and 4.16. of this chapter.

Table 4.8. Directly-expressed I, N and M statistics per period

	Direct expressions in absolute counts			In percentages of total Direct ASS			
	I	N	M	I	N	M	Total
P1	56	94	16	33.73	56.63	9.64	100
P2	69	408	130	11.37	67.22	21.42	100
P3	36	221	103	10.00	61.39	28.61	100
P4-incl	251	260	171	36.80	38.12	25.07	100

The significance of differences between any of the four periods was tested and the results are as shown in table 4.9. All combinations clearly revealed significant differences, though the difference between P2 and P3 was less than other combinations.

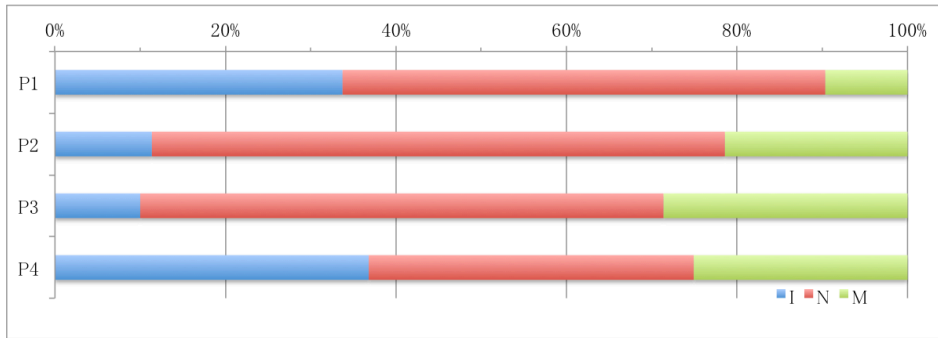
Table 4.9. χ^2 test results on directly-expressed I, N and M

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	52.15	<0.0001
P1 vs. P3	55.10	<0.0001
P2 vs. P3	6.42	0.0404
P1 vs. P4-incl	25.72	<0.0001
P2 vs. P4-incl	137.99	<0.0001
P3 vs. P4-incl	90.21	<0.0001

Contrary to the claims that militarism increased significantly in education during P4, the statistics reveal that the actual amount of morphemes associated with directly-expressed militarism only slightly decreased in P4. Meanwhile, directly-expressed imperialism increased in P4. However, this does not yet present the whole picture, because we have not investigated context-dependent cases. Moreover, we have seen that *Multi* increased significantly in P4 and that line of questioning also needs to be addressed further.

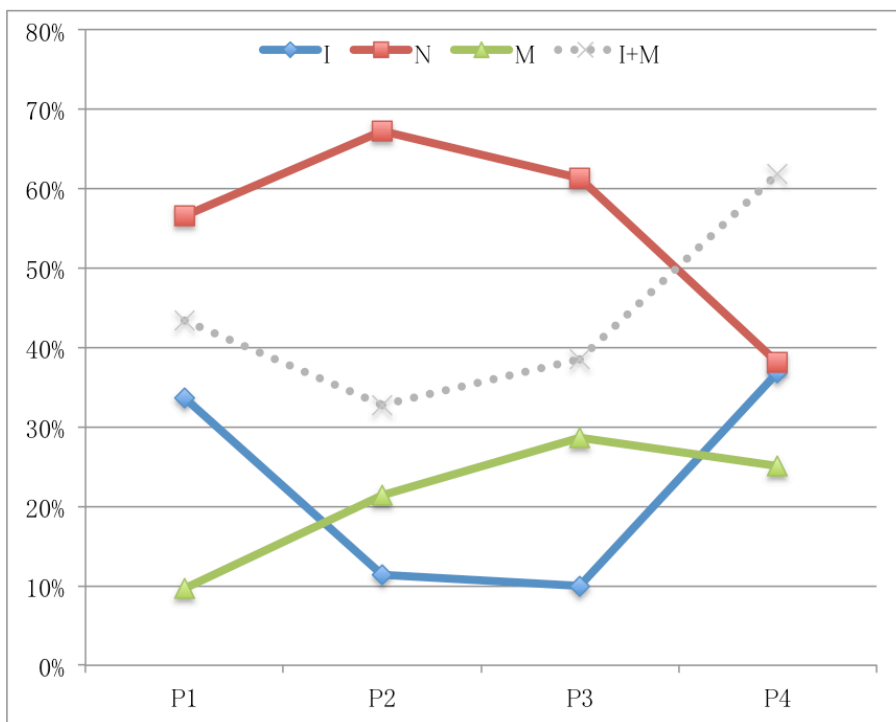
The above results are represented in graphs below. First, the proportions of M, N, and I in the total ASS for each period are shown in Figure 4.7. Secondly, diachronic changes are presented in Figure 4.8. Although N is the largest component throughout the four periods, when I and M are put together, the prominence is inverted between N against I+M in Period 4.

Figure 4.7. Proportions of directly-expressed I, M, N in P1, P2, P3, and P4-incl. represented in a 100% bar graph



Once again, the results of the above were combined and presented in a line graph, shown below, to highlight the changes in characteristics over the four periods.

Figure 4.8. Changes in the proportions of directly-expressed I, N and M across the four periods



In the case of the morphemes denoting the three ideological concepts, again N is the largest component throughout the four periods. However, when I and M are put together (as indicated by the grey dotted line), the prominence is inverted between N against I+M in Period 4.

Next, morphemes denoting the ideological concepts with the discourse context ('indirect') were investigated. Here, we find patterns similar to the above.

Table 4.10. Indirectly-expressed I, N and M statistics per period

	Indirect expressions in absolute counts			In percentage of total ASS			
	I	N	M	I	N	M	Total
P1	128	231	81	29.09%	52.50%	18.41%	100
P2	322	1179	440	16.59%	60.74%	22.67%	100
P3	157	904	332	11.27%	64.90%	23.83%	100
P4	1037	1497	653	32.54%	46.97%	20.49%	100

Once again, differences between the four periods were studied. All except the combination between P1 and P4 revealed significant differences. This means that when context-dependent reading is applied, the MS-S of P1 and P4 showed lesser differences than other combinations¹⁸⁸. To find out the reason for this, a combination of the three ideological components giving characteristics to MS-S will be investigated later in this chapter using PCA.

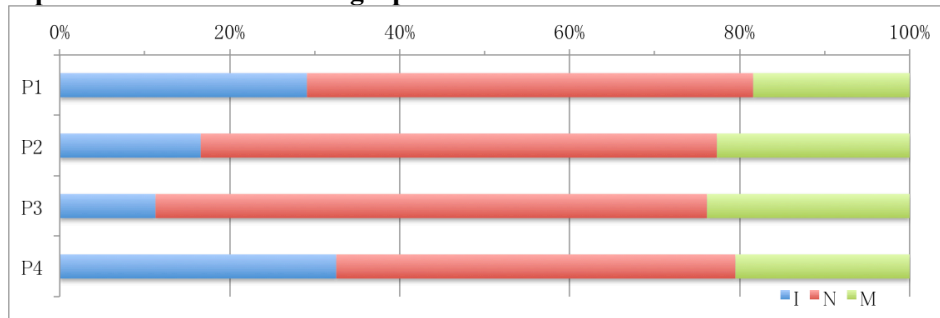
Table 4.11. χ^2 test results on indirectly-expressed I, N and M

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	36.75	<0.0001
P1 vs. P3	80.96	<0.0001
P2 vs. P3	18.68	<0.0001
P1 vs. P4-incl.	4.74	0.0935
P2 vs. P4-incl.	162.30	<0.0001
P3 vs. P4-incl.	232.62	<0.0001

Figure 4.9 shows the proportions of each of the three components (I, M, N) in each of the four periods. When context-dependent reading is applied proportion of imperialism is markedly small in P3, but relatively larger in P1 and P4. Again, the data shows striking similarities between the indirect (context-dependent) ASS and the overall trend (direct + indirect) across the four periods.

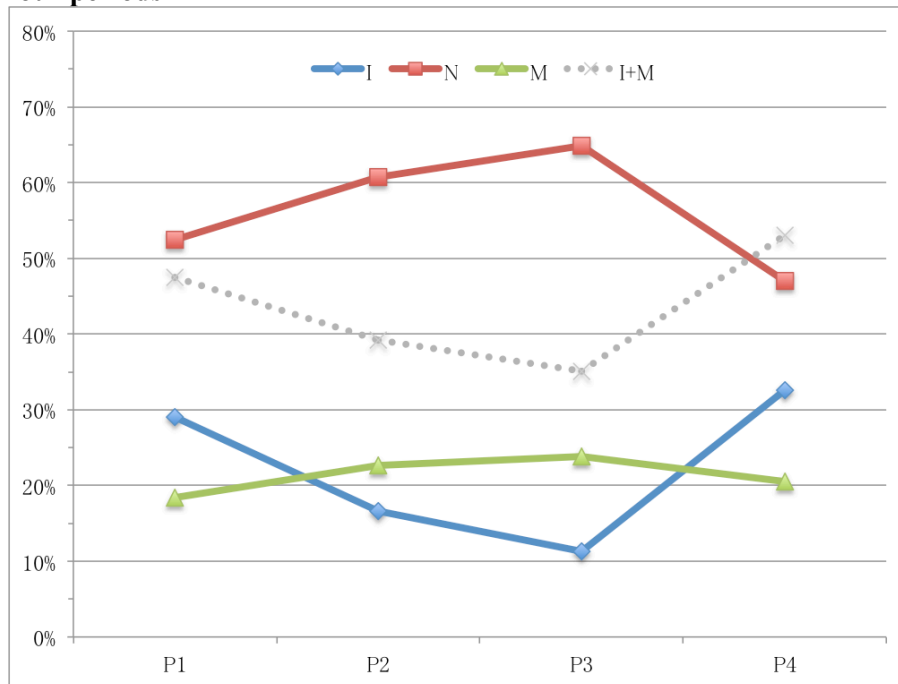
¹⁸⁸ Note that the imperial-liturgical additional materials in P4 are included in this statistic.

Figure 4.9. Proportions of indirectly-expressed I, M, N in P1, P2, P3, and P4-incl. represented in a 100% bar graph



Next, Figure 10 shows the shifts of trend between the historical periods whereby it is evident that the prominence of N is inverted by I+M in P4.

Figure 4.10. Changes in the proportions of indirectly expressed I, N and M across the four periods



The overall pattern of this proportion of ‘indirectly-expressed’ ideological morphemes is closer to the overall trend¹⁸⁹ (i.e. direct and indirect combined) as shown in the initial statistics of this section. This means that the overall trend is for the predominant occurrence of morphemes that are associated with ideological concepts through context-dependent interpretation, compared to the context-independent ones (Table 4.8). In other words, the ideological characteristics of MS-S texts are mainly expressed by context-dependent reading. Therefore, if an analyst counts the number of morphemes associated with ideologies relying on dictionary-definitions only, the statistical results

¹⁸⁹ The variation through the periods of expressions classified into I, N or M, respectively, whether expressed directly or indirectly.

are likely to differ from a reader's impression of the same texts, which tends to be context-dependent (because the intra-textual, inter-textual, or extra-textual contexts play a part in their comprehension of the text). This concludes the basic statistical analysis of the MS-S corpus including the imperial ceremonial (or imperial-liturgical) songs in the MS-S of Period 4. The next sections analyse data excluding these ceremonial songs in Period 4.

4.7.1.2. Basic statistics excluding extra imperial songs for Period 4 MS-S: <Version I-ex>

This is a mirror version of basic statistics in the previous sections, but analysed without the additional imperial songs in P4. First, we compared the proportions of I, N, and M in P4-incl. and P4-ex. in terms of the direct, indirect, and combined (direct+indirect) as well as the proportions of ASS and *Multis* within ASS. The following is the results of χ^2 test.

Table 4.12. χ^2 test results on the direct, indirect, combined (DIR+IND), and the proportions of ASS and *Multis* in P-4 incl. vs. P-4 ex.

Variables tested	χ^2	P-value
Direct vs Indirect, total	4.52	0.033
Proportions of I, N and M, total	242.84	<0.0001
Proportions of I, N and M, direct	42.79	<0.0001
Proportions of I, N and M, indirect	202.54	<0.0001
Proportion of <i>Multis</i> in ASS	1.95	0.1626
Proportion of ASS	121.46	<0.0001

When P4-incl and P4-excl are compared with each other, the results show that, while there are more indirect expressions in P4-incl, the proportions of I, N and M differ: the lower I and N makes M more prominent in P4-excl. The proportion of *Multis* in ASS does not change but the proportion of ASS in all morphemes is significantly higher in P4-incl.

These indicate that including imperial-liturgical songs introduces a bias to the dataset, for these songs show a strong association with imperialism cum nationalism through lyrics praising the emperor (and his household), which leads to a significantly higher proportion of ASS. The bias is also clear from the proportion of M. Inclusion of imperial-liturgical songs, containing morphemes associated with imperialism and nationalism, introduces an increase of I and N, causing a relative paucity of morphemes expressing militarism.

4.7.1.2.1. Proportion of morphemes associated with ideological concepts

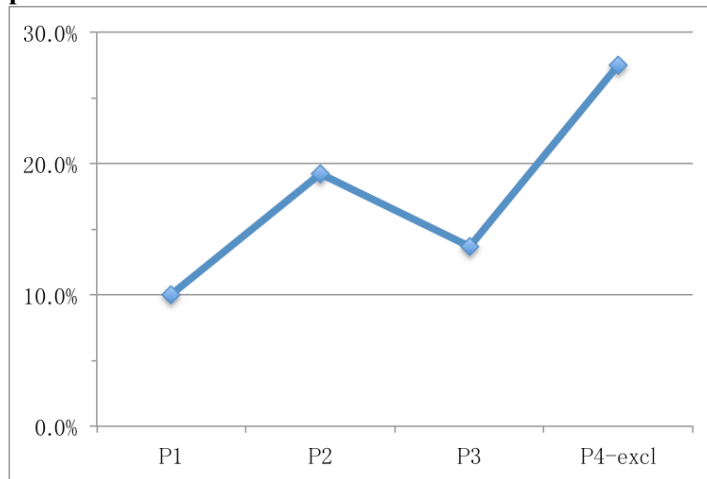
In absolute counts, morphemes that are associated with I, N, and/or M are given in the 'ASS' column, while those that are not associated with I, N, and/or M are given in the 'Non-A' column (Table 4.12). Periods 1-3 have a similar proportion of morphemes denoting I, N and/or M. In

contrast, the proportion of morphemes associated with I, N, and/or M is significantly higher in Period 4, over two-fold compared to Period 3, being 2.7 times higher relative to period 1 as observed in the table above. This change over time is shown in Figure 4.11.

Table 4.1.3. ASS and Non-A morpheme statistics <I-ex>

Percentages of morphemes			In absolute counts		
Periods	% Non-A	% ASS	Periods	Non-A	ASS
P1	89.99%	10.01%	P1	4395	489
P2	80.75%	19.25%	P2	9309	2219
P3	86.29%	13.71%	P3	9441	1500
P4-ex	72.52%	27.48%	P4-ex	4428	1678

Figure 4.11. Changes in the percentage (%) of ASS in total morphemes across the four periods <I-ex>



This is reflected in the ratio between Non-A words and ASS words, calculated by dividing the absolute count of Non-A of a period by that of ASS of the same period. Here, the Non-A/ASS is only 2.64 for P4 (i.e. the smaller the ratio, the higher the number of relevant morphemes). This means that the occurrence of I, N or M words in P4 is outstandingly higher. This pattern is similar to Version I-incl (4.7.1.1.1.) in absolute counts and percentages. Further, χ^2 tests show significant differences between P1 and P4 as well as P3 and P4.

Table 4.14. χ^2 test results and Non-A-to-ASS ratios <I-ex>

	χ^2	P	Non-A/ASS ratios
P1 vs. P2	2.74	0.0979	8.99 vs 4.20
P1 vs. P3	0.36	0.5485	8.99 vs 6.29
P2 vs. P3	0.77	0.3802	4.20 vs 6.29
P1 vs. P4-ex	9.01	0.0027	8.99 vs 2.64
P2 vs. P4-ex	1.48	0.2238	4.20 vs 2.64
P3 vs. P4-ex	5.01	0.0252	6.29 vs 2.64

Although the difference between P2 and P4 was not significant, there was a similar trend with P4-incl except that, in Version I-incl., the level of significance (P-value) was much higher for P2 vs. P4-incl when compared with the two other combinations. Also of importance is that excluding imperial-liturgical songs results in a significantly lower proportion of ASS: 36.32 per cent in P4-incl. (Table 4.1) versus 27.48 per cent in P4-excl (Table 4.13). Hence, including the said songs induces a bias in the results.

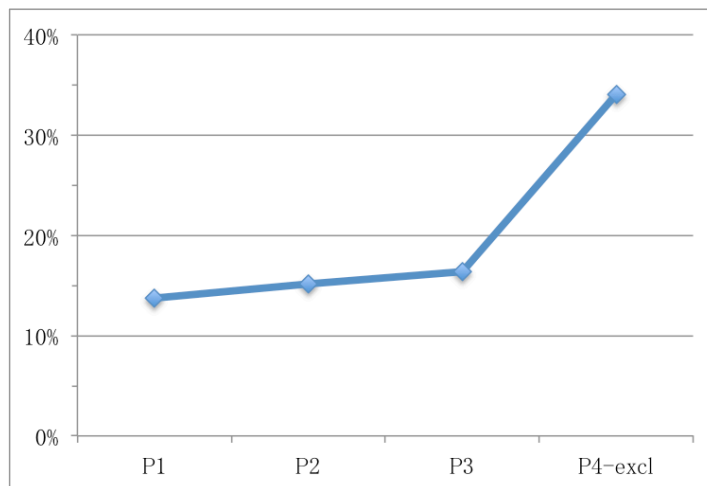
4.7.1.2.2. Proportion of *Multi*

Morphemes that are associated with more than one of those ideological concepts, or those ‘loaded’ in meaning, were counted as shown in Table 4.15. Figure 4.12 clearly indicates that *Multi* items increased from P1 to P4, but notably showing more than two-fold rapid increase between P3 and P4.

Table 4.15. ‘Multi’ counts and % ratio to ASS morphemes

	Multi	ASS	% Multi
P1	67	489	13.70%
P2	336	2219	15.14%
P3	246	1500	16.40%
P4 ex	572	1678	34.09%

Figure 4.12. Changes in the percentages of *Multi* across the four periods



The proportion of multiple-counting morphemes in MS-S increased over the four periods, showing a resemblance to the pattern of Version I-incl (4.7.1.1.2.). Differences between each period and P4-ex. were significant, while other combinations were not as shown in the following table.

Table 4.16. χ^2 test results on difference in *Multi* between periods

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	0.01	0.9203
P1 vs. P3	0.11	0.7401
P2 vs. P3	0.00	1
P1 vs. P4-ex.	44.57	<0.0001
P2 vs. P4-ex.	1851.72	<0.0001
P3 vs. P4-ex.	1438.37	<0.0001

Compared to Version i-incl. (Table 4.4.) the degrees of significance in differences between P4-ex and other periods were higher. Again, it is statistically demonstrated that *Multi* increased from one period to the next, but especially between P3 and P4.

4.7.1.2.3. Length per song

Characteristics of the textual length of each song, in each period, were also analysed as shown in table 4.17 and it was found that the patterns were generally very similar to Version I-incl (4.5) except P-4, which means that excluding extra imperial ceremonial songs change the pattern of length per son in P4. The number of morphemes per song showed a marked increase in P2, after which it sloped down until P4. However, P4-ex displays a lesser decrease in the number of morphemes per song compared with P4-incl and remains higher than in P1 (Figure 4.13).

Table 4.17. Morpheme frequencies in songs, lines, titles

Morpheme count statistics					
	Lines/song	MPHM/line	MPHM in TI	<i>Multi</i>/song	MPHM/song
P1	8.79	6.11	2.04	0.74	53.67
P2	12.31	6.37	1.86	2.29	78.42
P3	11.58	5.83	1.59	1.52	67.54
P4-ex	10.03	5.08	1.58	4.77	50.88

The results show that MS-S texts in P4 tended to be shorter and less ‘wordy’ than P2 and P3. Combining these results with those on the density of ideological morphemes (Table 4.11) reveals that MS-S texts in P4-excl are shorter than other periods, but ideologically denser.

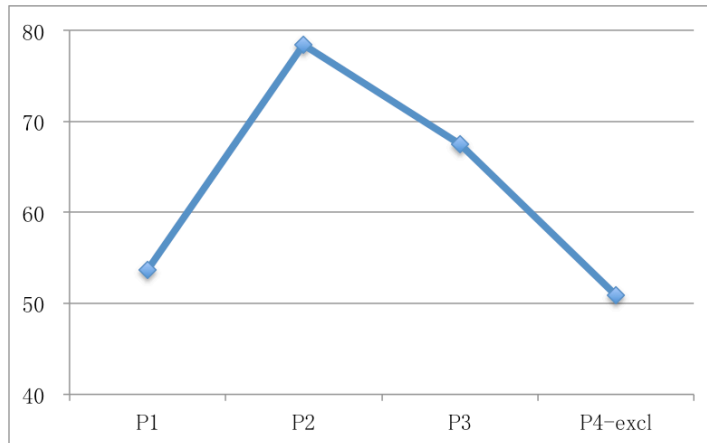
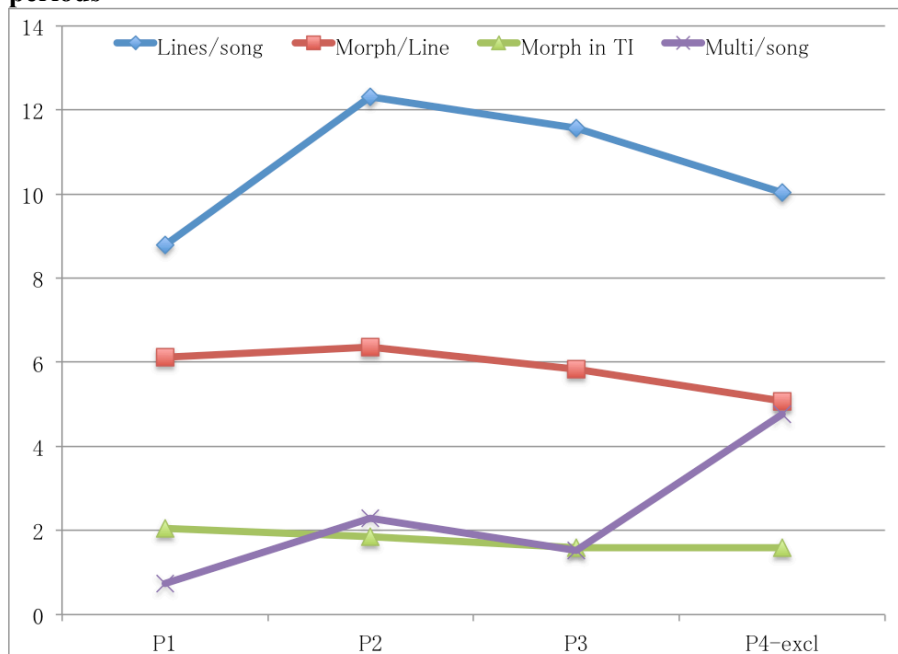
Figure 4.13. Changes in the number of morphemes per song across the four periods

Figure 14 shows the number of lines per song, morphemes per line, morphemes per title, and Multis per song. The number of lines per song increased from P1 until P3, then decreased in P4. The number of morphemes per line was higher in P1 and 2 than P3 and 4. The number of morphemes in titles remained similar, that is to say, circa 2 words (Figure 4.14). All these patterns are very close to that of Version I-incl (4.7.1.1.3., Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.14. Changes in the number of lines, morphemes and *Multi* across the four periods

The results show that songs in P2 and P3 were more ‘wordy’ or possibly more elaborate than texts in P1 and P4. Historically, P2 falls during the Taishō democracy period and its various literary movements, which may explain this trend, although the statistics do not reveal such

causality. This issue will be considered further in the next chapter. Structurally, MS-S songs underwent little change over the four periods except for the number of morphemes per song, an increase of which indicates longer text. However, the steep increase of Multi between P3 and P4 reveals a major shift in terms of the ideological content of MS-S in Period 4.

4.7.1.2.4. Frequency and proportion of morphemes associated with: Japanese Imperialism, Militarism, and Nationalism

In this section, detailed χ^2 test results on the morphemes associated with I, N, and M will be presented, first as an overall trend (Direct + Indirect), which will then be compared to a Direct-only trend and Indirect-only trend, respectively (Table 4.18).

Table 4.18. Overall (direct + indirect) expressions of I, N and M in each period

	In absolute counts				In percentages			
	I	N	M	Total	I	N	M	Total
P1	184	325	97	606	30.36%	53.63%	16.01%	100
P2	391	1587	570	2548	15.35%	62.28%	22.37%	100
P3	193	1125	435	1753	11.01%	64.18%	24.81%	100
P4-ex	407	1016	824	2247	18.11%	45.22%	36.67%	100

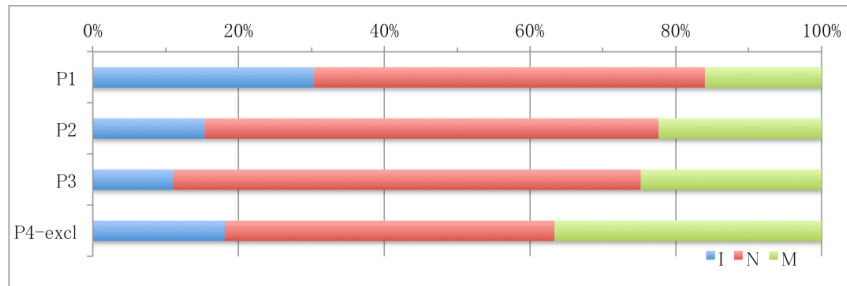
According to the χ^2 test, differences between any of the four periods are significant (Table 4.19).

Table 4.19. χ^2 test results on difference in overall expression of I, N and M between periods

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	75.99	<0.0001
P1 vs. P3	129.18	<0.0001
P2 vs. P3	17.62	<0.0001
P1 vs. P4-ex	16.1	<0.0001
P2 vs. P4-ex	153.57	<0.0001
P3 vs. P4-ex	143.24	<0.0001

Figure 15 shows the proportions of I, N, and M in each of the four periods as represented in a 100 per cent bar graph.

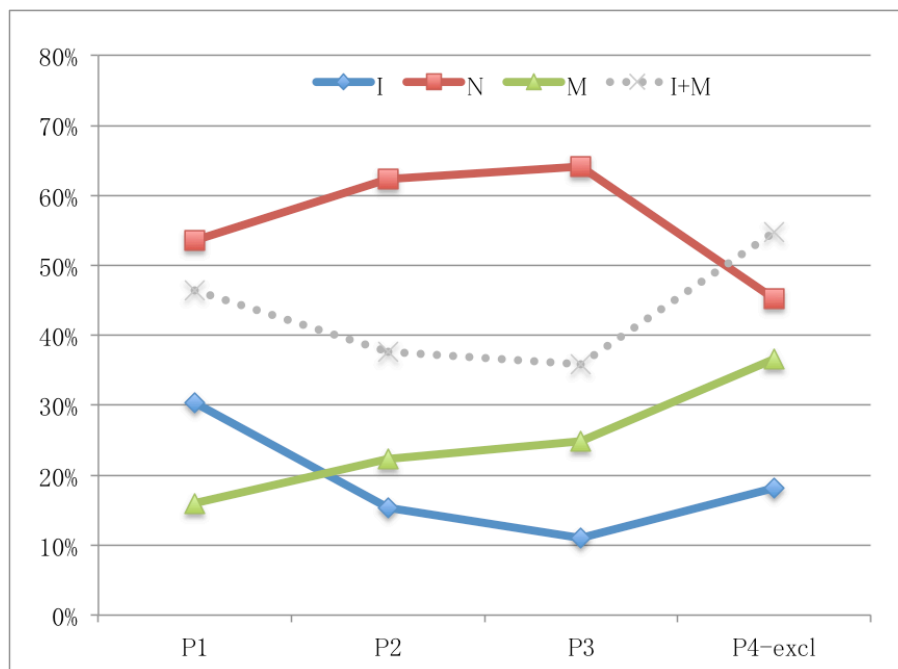
Figure 4.15. Proportions of directly and indirectly-expressed I, M, N in P1, P2, P3, and P4-ex. represented in a 100% bar graph



Similar to the results for the overall trend (direct + indirect) of the I-incl. version (ceremonial opening songs included for P4 statistics) as presented in 4.7.1.1.4., the largest component is the morphemes associated with N in all four periods. However, M also displays an increase from P1 to P4 with a marked increase in P4.

Imperialism is the highest in P1, but decreases in P2 and further decreases in P3, but regains volume in P4. Generally, N represents the largest proportion across the four periods, but is especially large in P2 and P3, but shows a marked decrease in P4. There appears to be a switch between the proportions of M and I from P2 and thereafter. Whenever imperialism and Militarism increase, the proportion of nationalism appears to decrease, showing a trade-off. Diachronic changes are shown in the following Figure 4.16.

Figure 4.16. Changes in the proportions of I, N and M across the four periods



Even though Japanese militarism remains predominant in all four periods, M in P4-ex increased considerably and concomitant with an important decrease in N: M in P4-ex represents a much larger proportion than that of I, showing an inversion from what was observed with P4-incl. Next, context-independent and context-dependent readings of the morphemes were statistically analysed as shown in table 4.20. The differences between any two out of the four periods are statistically significant as shown in table 4.21.

Table 4.20. Directly expressed I, N and M statistics per period

	Direct expressions in absolute counts			In percentages of total ASS			
	I	N	M	I	N	M	Total
P1	56	94	16	33.73%	56.63%	9.64%	100
P2	69	408	130	11.37%	67.22%	21.42%	100
P3	36	221	103	10.00%	61.39%	28.61%	100
P4-ex	251	260	171	36.80%	38.12%	25.07%	100

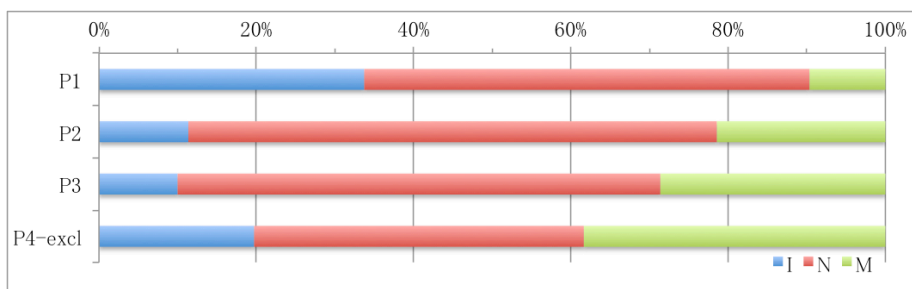
Table 4.21. χ^2 test result on directly expressed I, N and M

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	52.15	<0.0001
P1 vs. P3	55.10	<0.0001
P2 vs. P3	6.42	0.0404
P1 vs. P4-ex	48.39	<0.0001
P2 vs. P4-ex	66.92	<0.0001
P3 vs. P4-ex	32.71	<0.0001

In the results for direct expressions (context-independent) morphemes associated with Militarism kept increasing from P1 to P3 and, notably, there is no recess of M in P3, unlike the overall trend, but decreased slightly in P4. Morphemes associated with imperialism show a marked decrease in P2 and remained low in P3, but dramatically increased later in P4. Morphemes associated with nationalism are the largest component across the periods, peaking in P2, but showed a marked decrease in P4 reaching a level that is similar to I as with P4. This shows clear and steady increase of militarism ideology in MS-S texts over the course of the four periods.

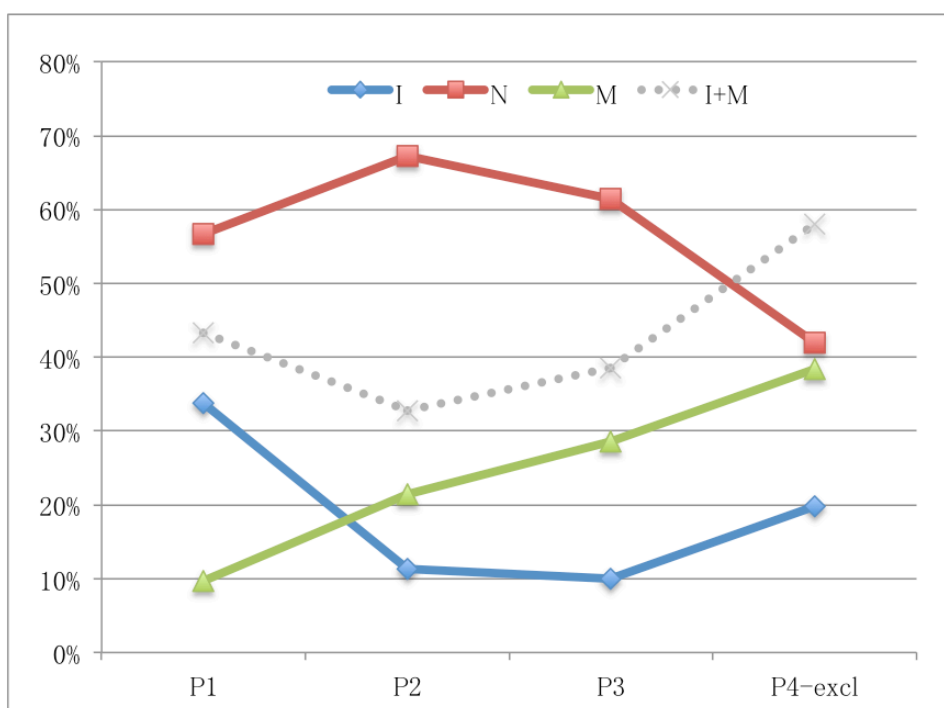
Figure 4.17 displays the proportions of I, M, and N relative to the total in each of the four historical periods.

Figure 4.17. Proportions of directly expressed I, M, N in P1, P2, P3, and P4-ex. represented in a 100% bar graph



Diachronic changes are shown in Figure 18. Again, the dashed line in grey shows the sum of I and M expressed directly.

Figure 4.18. Changes in the proportions of directly expressed I, N and M across the four periods



Next, context-dependent (indirect) expressions in the texts of MS-S Period 1 – Period 4 I-ex. (excluding opening ceremonial songs in P4) are studied, yielding the results in Table 4.23, where the inter-period differences are statistically significant (Table 4.23).

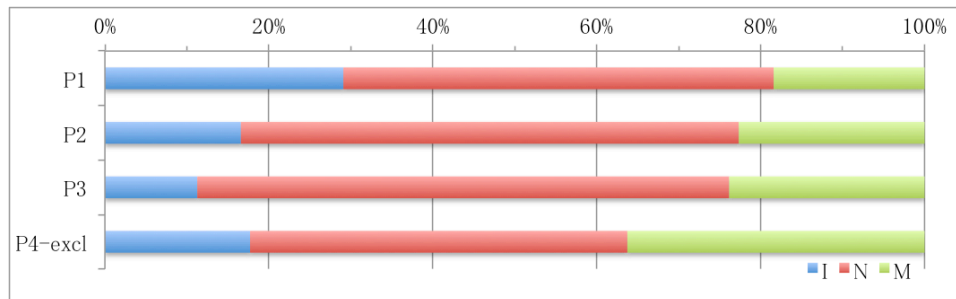
Table 4.22 Indirectly-expressed I, N and M statistics per period

	Indirect expressions in absolute counts			In percentage of total ASS			
	I	N	M	I	N	M	Total
P1	128	231	81	29.09%	52.50%	18.41%	100
P2	322	1179	440	16.59%	60.74%	22.67%	100
P3	157	904	332	11.27%	64.90%	23.83%	100
P4-ex	319	829	653	17.71%	46.03%	36.26%	100

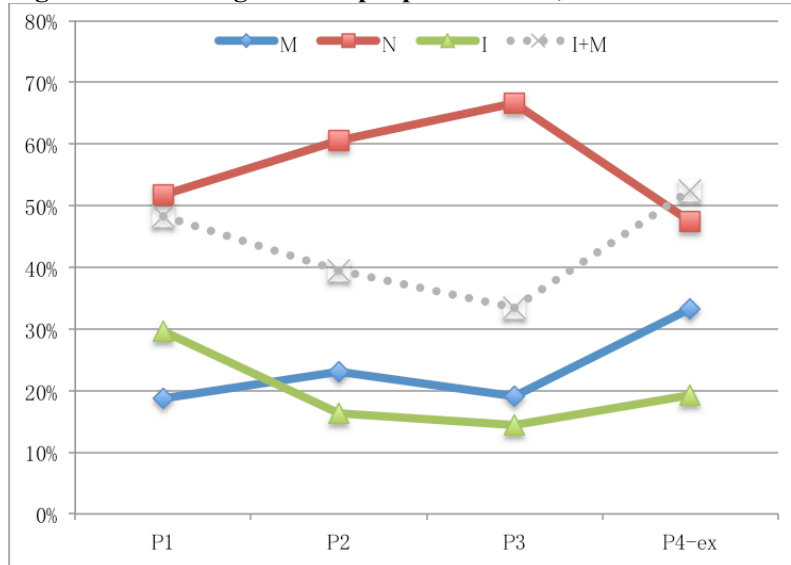
Table 4.23. χ^2 test results on indirectly-expressed I, N and M

	χ^2	P
P1 vs. P2	36.75	<0.0001
P1 vs. P3	80.96	<0.0001
P2 vs. P3	18.68	<0.0001
P1 vs. P4-ex	60.48	<0.0001
P2 vs. P4-ex	97.43	<0.0001
P3 vs. P4-ex	112.71	<0.0001

Next, Figure 4.19 presents the proportions of I, M, and N relative to the total in each of the four historical periods. The patterns are visually similar to the overall trend, indicating that the overall pattern is mainly driven by indirect expressions (Figure 4.20).

Figure 4.19. Proportions of indirectly expressed I, M, N in P1, P2, P3, and P4-ex. represented in a 100% bar graph

Diachronic changes are shown in Figure 4.20. The dashed line in grey shows the sum of I and M expressed indirectly, which appears to be in inverse relation to N.

Figure 4.20. Changes in the proportions of I, N and M across the four periods

Context-dependent reading of morphemes gave a set of results that showed patterns, which closely resemble the overall trends. This means that context-dependent reading of the morphemes is more predominant (a higher rate of occurrences) than the context-independent reading.

4.7.1.3. Basic statistics on the two types of Nationalism: State- vs. Nation-oriented Nationalism

Nationalism needs special treatment, as discussed in Chapter 2 (2.1.2.), because the concept encompasses a broad range of sub-categories of ideologies, while overlapping with other, related, ideologies such as imperialism and militarism. In this study, two subcategories of nationalism are given, namely, ‘state-oriented’ and ‘nation-oriented’¹⁹⁰ nationalism adopted from the two aspects of ‘national identity’ discussed by Nishijima (1995; 1997) (as discussed in 2.1.2.3). The former is defined in this study as referring to more political concepts of nationalism, while the latter refers to more cultural, artistic and environmental (nation-oriented: customs, nature, cultural heritage, seasonal/regional festivities, folklore) nationalism. The vocabulary that is associated with nationalism, as well as imperialism or militarism, is defined as the ‘state-oriented’ type, and therefore they are included within *Multi*. Statistics of the other type, ‘nation-oriented’ can be obtained by subtracting *Multi* from the total of N. The results are shown below.

¹⁹⁰ Definitions are given in 2.1.2.4.

Table 4.24. Occurrences of N with and without *Multi* words

	With <i>Multi</i> = state-oriented	Without <i>Multi</i> = nation-oriented	% decrease from the total
All Periods	4794	3096	35.42%
P1	325	258	20.62%
P2	1587	1251	21.17%
P3	1125	879	21.87%
P4	1757	708	59.70%

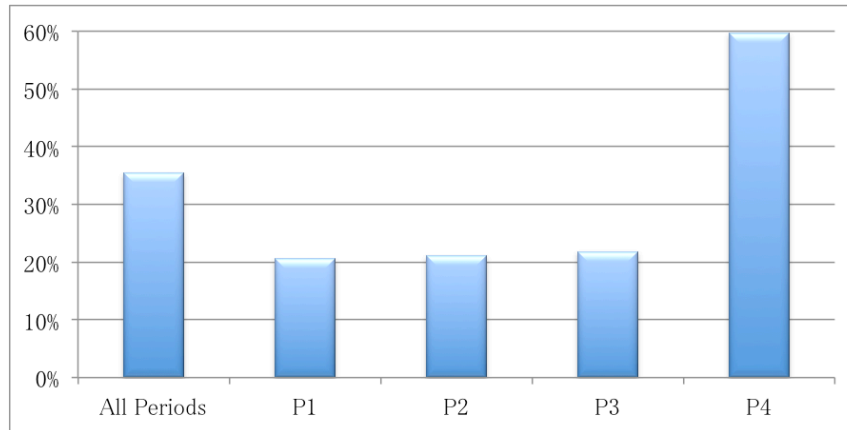
This result shows that N without *Multi* (nation-oriented) type claimed its largest proportion of MS-S text in Period 2, followed by 3, and smallest in Period 4. In other words, morphemes associated with nationalism in Period 2 and 3 tended to denote nation-oriented concepts, such as nature, regional/seasonal festivities, cultural heritage, folklore, artistic symbols and alike. In contrast, morphemes associated with nationalism in Period 4 of the state-oriented type, denoting concepts also associated with imperialism or militarism or both, such as national security, political or mythical power of the empire, and so on.

Moreover, the χ^2 tests between each period clearly show a significant difference between Periods of: 1 and 4; 2 and 4; and 3 and 4, demonstrating that Period 4 contains a far larger amount of characteristically State-oriented N (Table 4.25).

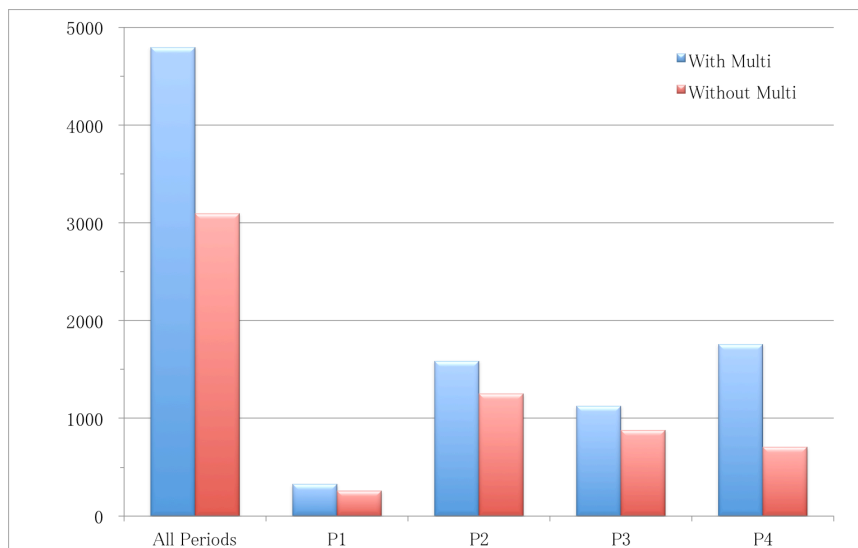
Table 4.25. χ^2 test results of differences between periods

	χ^2	P
P1 vs P2	0	1
P1 vs P3	0.01	0.9203
P2 vs P3	0.01	0.9203
P1 vs P4	51.82	<0.0001
P2 vs P4	132.92	<0.0001
P3 vs P4	109.98	<0.0001

The above results can also be demonstrated in percentages, whereby it becomes visually clear that Period 4 contains *Multi*-N (State-oriented), almost twice as many as Periods 2 and 3 (Figure 4.21).

Figure 4.21. Variability of N with and without *Multi* through the periods

Finally, the compositions of the two types of Ns in each period is shown in absolute counts to demonstrate, again, Period 4 contained by far a large proportion of State-oriented N, which are *Multi* by definition, and therefore “loaded” in meaning. From this result it is also shown that, across all periods, N is more likely to be *Multi* than N alone, which means, morphemes denoting nationalism in the current dataset tended to be linked with other ideologies (Figure 4. 22).

Figure 4.22. Differences between N with and without *Multi*, in absolute counts¹⁹¹

As we have seen so far, context (intra/extra-textual) appears to have a significant impact on the proportion of textual items in the MS-S to become associated with ideological concepts. Also, it was found that *Multi*, that is to say, morphemes associated with more than one ideological concepts, increased in Period 4 coinciding with the leap in “state-oriented” N, which may suggest

¹⁹¹ cf. Table 4.24.

that nationalism was increasingly linked with imperialism and/or militarism in Period 4. This points to Period 4 being possibly characterised by “ultra-nationalism”. Having discussed the contextual impact on the ideological association given to morphemes, it is necessary to consider the titles next, for they provide the ‘frame’¹⁹² for the interpretation of each of their songs.

4.7.1.4. Analysis on the titles of MS

In view of the importance of song titles in providing an intra-textual context (frame) as discussed in detail in 2.2.2, a series of analyses were performed to study possible differences in their characteristics in terms of I, M and N as well as *Multi* types across the four periods.

First, the song titles were extracted from the dataset (which includes Version I-incl of P4 MS-S) and divided into subsets according to the periods (P1 to 4), then a comparative (χ^2) statistical test was performed. From the 4 data subsets, the absolute counts and the proportions in percentage of direct and indirect I, M and N as well as *Multi* in ASS were calculated. Furthermore, N was divided into two types: those that are included in *Multi* words and those that are not. The differences between the periods were tested by the χ^2 test.

Table 4.26. Occurrences of morphemes expressing I, N or M in song titles

Period	M Dir	M Indir	N Dir	N Indir	I Dir	I Indir	<i>Multi</i>	ASS/ Non-ASS
P1 TI	1.92% (1)	0.00% (0)	25.00% (13)	34.62% (18)	13.46% (7)	25.00% (13)	19.23% (10)	0.23
P2 TI	9.68% (9)	8.60% (8)	47.31% (44)	25.81% (24)	6.45% (6)	2.15% (2)	13.98% (13)	0.39
P3 TI	9.86% (7)	11.27% (8)	54.93% (39)	15.49% (11)	5.63% (4)	2.82% (2)	14.08% (10)	0.32
P4-incl TI	33.33% (21)	11.11% (7)	77.78% (49)	58.73% (37)	44.44% (28)	33.33% (21)	79.37% (50)	0.95

NB: The numbers in parentheses show absolute counts.

As shown in Table 26 above, the results reveal that the proportion of ASS (those expressing I, N or M) in song titles shows a prominent increase in P4. All of the expressions except for the direct expression of M noticeably increased, which is reflected by the ASS/Non-ASS. The ratios of P4 to P1, P2 and P3 are: approximately 4 times, 2.5 times, and 3 times higher, respectively. ASS/Non-ASS reaching 0.87 in P4 means that almost half of the morphemes in song titles are expressing I, N or M. Also, the occurrence of *Multi* surged in P4, 4 times that of P1 or nearly 6 times that of P2 and P3. Further, as mentioned in 4.7.1.1.3 and 4.7.1.2.3.

¹⁹² cf. 2.2.2. for the discussion on context and ‘frame’.

above, titles are mainly composed of 1 to 2 morphemes. Hence, the results show that there are song titles made of a single morpheme that is *Multi* ASS. In the meantime:

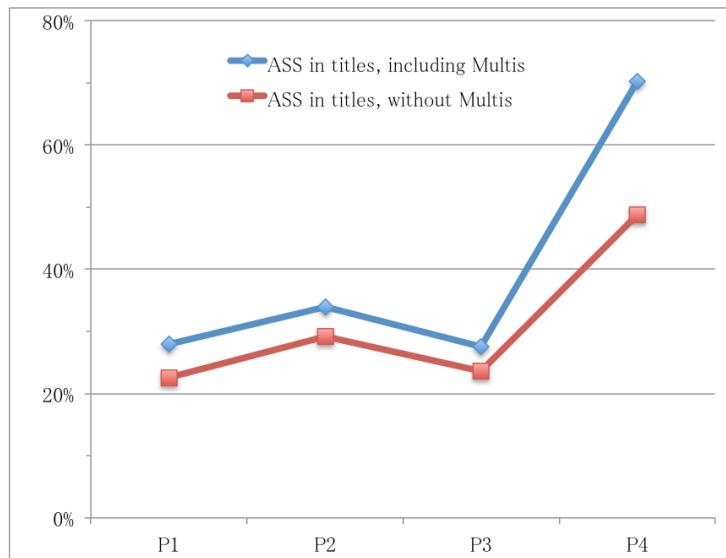
- The occurrence of indirect expressions of I is very low in P2 and P3, both in absolute counts and in percentages, but surges in P4. I is the only decreasing element from P1 to P2.
- Percentages of direct expressions of N almost double from P1 to P2, then further increase in P3, and surge in P4. As to the indirect N, it increased from P1 to P4, despite a large decrease from P2 to P3 followed by a three-fold increase from P3 to P4.
- Percentages and absolute counts of indirect N decreased from P1 to P2 followed by a marked decrease from P2 to P3, but increased by nearly four-fold from P3 to P4.
- Direct expressions of I and M remain stationary from P2 to P3, but sharply increase in P4, both in proportions and absolute counts.
- Percentages and absolute counts of indirect expressions of M increased from P1 to P2, increased again slightly in P3, then stayed the same in P4.

To further elucidate the role played by the increase of *Multi* in P4, ASS that are not expressed in *Multi* (non-*Multi*) were calculated (Table 4.27). Looking at the difference with the total ASS in titles, the proportion of non-*Multi* ASS in titles evidently decreased in P4.. However, this does not necessarily mean that *Multi* ASS decreased, as shown by the very high percentage of ASS in morphemes composing the titles and by the two- to three-fold relative increase in terms of occurrence. On the contrary, the following graph shows that, although the slope is less steep than the total ASS, non-*Multi* ASS in P4 roughly doubled in magnitude compared with the preceding periods (Figure 4.23).

Table 4.27. Proportions of ASS in titles and those expressed as *Non-Multi*

Period	%ASS in titles, Total	%ASS in title, non- <i>Multi</i>	Difference	i.e. multi
P1	27.96%	22.58%	5.38%	1/10
P2	33.94%	29.20%	4.74%	<1/10
P3	27.52%	23.64%	3.88%	<1/10
P4 -incl	70.26%	48.71%	21.55%	approx.1/3

Figure 4.23. Changes in the proportions of *Multi* and *Non-Multi* ASS across the four periods



As mentioned above, N was split into 2 types, those that are expressed in *Multi* (N-*Multi*, that is ‘state-oriented’ N) and those that are not (the ‘stand-alone’ ones, N-*non-Multi*, that is ‘nation-oriented’ N). The following table shows the proportions of the total occurrences for I, N, M and *Multi*, as well as those obtained for the two types of N. The differences between the 2 types of N are given in the last column (Table 4.28). Looking at the proportion held by the total occurrences of N, P4 exhibit a decrease, even compared with P1. However, the evolution of the difference between N-*non-Multi* and N-*Multi* through the periods reveals an inversion in P4 (-12.00%): contrary to the preceding periods, N-*Multi* becomes predominant, which means, in P1-P3 ASS of ‘nation-oriented’ nationalism is more prominent whereas in P4 ‘state-oriented’ nationalism suddenly takes over.

Table 4.28. Proportions of morphemes expressing I, N, and M, with the two types of N

Period	I total	N_total	I_total	Nation-N Non- <i>Multi</i>	State-N <i>Multi</i>	Difference
P1 TI	37.63%	66.46%	19.84%	52.76%	13.70%	39.06%
P2 TI	17.62%	71.52%	25.69%	56.38%	15.14%	41.23%
P3 TI	12.87%	75.00%	29.00%	58.60%	16.40%	42.20%
P4 TI	45.63%	62.24%	29.19%	25.08%	37.16%	-12.08%

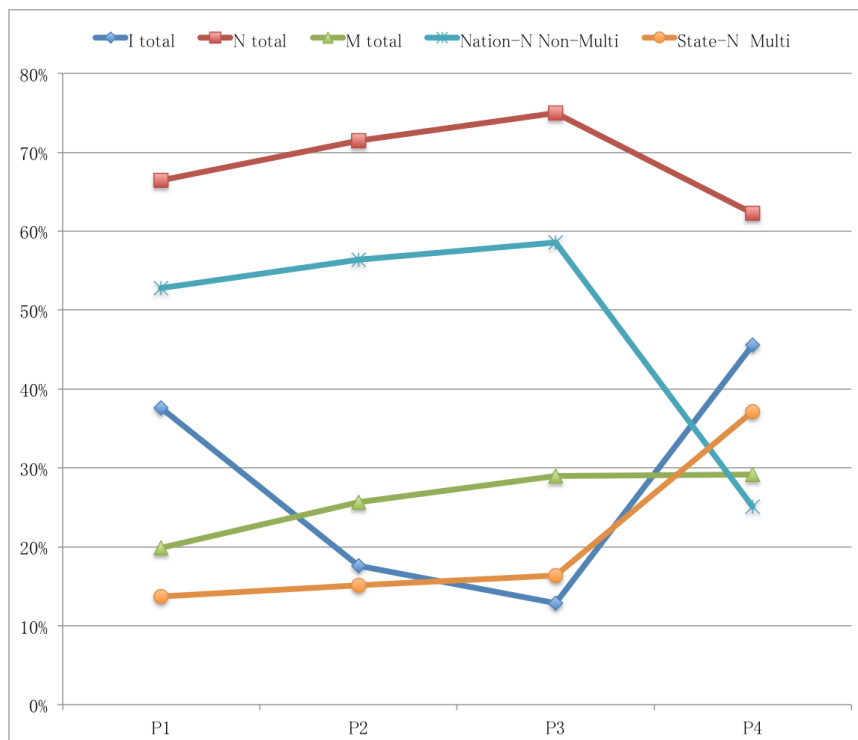
The results of the χ^2 test demonstrate that there are no statistically significant differences in the proportion of N-*non-Multi* (‘nation-oriented’) from P1 to P3, but P4 clearly stands out for its significant difference from the two preceding periods, P2 and P3.

Table 4.29. χ^2 test results of differences between periods in the proportions of the two types of N

Periods	State-N		Nation-N		Total N	
	N- <i>Multi</i>		N Non- <i>Multi</i>			
	χ^2	P	χ^2	P	χ^2	P
P1 vs P2	0.01	0.9203	0.14	0.7083	0.39	0.5323
P1 vs P3	0.11	0.7401	0.48	0.4884	1.39	0.2384
P2 vs P3	0	1	0.03	0.8625	0.16	0.6892
P1 vs P4	13.48	0.0002	15.08	0.0001	0.23	0.6315
P2 vs P4	11.51	0.0007	19.12	<0.0001	1.56	0.2117
P3 vs P4	10.05	0.0015	21.87	<0.0001	3.24	0.0719

As shown in Figure 4.28, the proportion of N-*Multi* (state-oriented N) in titles remained similar from P1 to P4, then suddenly increases three-fold of P1 and more than a double of P3 in P4. The pattern of N-non-*Multi* (nation-oriented) is different, exhibiting a steady increase between P1 and P2 and to P3, but halving between P3 and P4. The difference between P1, P2, P3, each against P4 is significant.

Figure 4.24. Changes in the proportions of I, N, and M, across the four periods with the two types of N



To summarise, the above shows that song titles in P4 tended to contain *Multi* (morphemes expressing I, M and/or N), predominantly containing N. Unlike the text contents, N occurred in a non-*Multi* fashion from P1 to P3. However, the trend is reversed in P4 where N-*Multi*

(‘state-oriented’ N) dramatically increased and reached a proportion higher than N-non-Multi (‘nation-oriented’ N). This leads to the following consideration: a simultaneous increase in N-*Multi*, I-*Multi* and M-*Multi* in P4 points to a rapid increase of ASS *Multi*, which denotes ‘ultra-nationalism’ in the MS-S of P4. The results of the χ^2 test showed that there are various differences between the four periods. Going deeper, we will explore *how* such differences were brought about. For this, another statistical method, Principal Component Analysis (PCA), disclosed the results that are described below.

4.7.2. PCA Analysis for each period, P1, P2, P3 and P4 datasets

Each of the three ideological concepts gives morphemes both a context-independent (i.e. direct) reading and a context-dependent (i.e. indirect) semantic interpretation. In addition, there is a double/triple (or multiple) reading. If the proportion of morphemes with one of these semantic readings is especially high in the text of a MS-S, that reading characterises the overall meaning of the MS-S. Therefore, figuratively speaking, there are seven (6+1) ‘actors’, namely expressions denoting imperialism (direct and indirect), nationalism (direct and indirect), militarism (direct and indirect) and those associated with more than one ideological category (*Multi*), which are contributing to the mathematical makeup of the semantic character of the MS-S in a given period. These ‘actors’ team up with one another in various combinations to give a complex character to the MS-S, and these particular teams (or combinations) of actors are called ‘components’ in statistical terms. Therefore, by looking at what ‘component’ is the strongest in each period (which itself is made up of MS-S) we can characterise the patterns of that period. For example, one period may show a strong influence of the combinations of the context-dependent meaning of Japanese militarism and context-independent meaning of Japanese nationalism, and so on.

We could perhaps say that the ‘components’ are like different ‘scenarios’ for explaining what (combinations of forces) might have influenced the process of an object gaining certain characteristics. This is the essence of the principal component analysis applied below.

4.7.2.1. Results of Principal Component Analysis on P1 dataset

To begin with, PCA was applied to the dataset of Period 1 MS-S, yielding the following results.

Table 4.30. Component matrix for Period 1

Variables	Components (rescaled)		
	1	2	3
N_indir	0.983	0.001	-0.179
M_indir	-0.06	0.991	-0.115
M_dir	-0.016	0.085	0.043
I_indir	0.365	0.132	0.882
N_dir	0.195	0.025	0.245
I_dir	0.138	-0.014	0.156
Multi	0.468	0.138	0.613
Eigenvalues	1.079	0.511	0.398
%Variance	45.450	21.521	16.774
Cumulative%	45.450	66.971	83.745

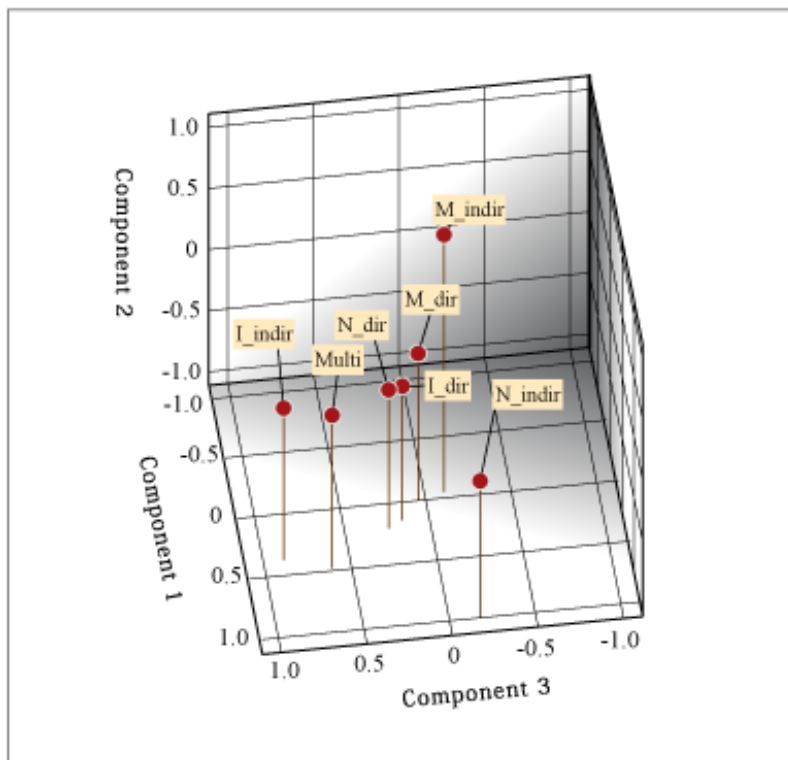
First, we consider which of the components can be relied on for characterising Period 1, and for that we look for components showing Eigenvalues of 1 and above (known as the ‘Kaiser Criterion’). Then we verify whether the cumulative percentage of variance explained¹⁹³ reaches above 80 per cent so that the major influences are well represented by the components. In this case Components 1 and possibly 2 have influences strong enough to characterise this period. Next, the degrees of influence held by each of the components and the combination of ‘actors’ in that component are studied. Figuratively explained, the following illustrates how these ‘actors’ team up to form a component.

- Component 1 shows a very predominant context-dependent value for N followed by Multi and context-independent I. This indicates that morphemes, indirectly denoting the concepts of Japanese Nationalism and Imperialism, as well as Multi, characterise one aspect of Period 1.
 - Other variables all have positive values, as opposed to M (both context dependent and independent), which suggests that whenever morphemes associated with the concept of M appear in the text, morphemes denoting I and/or N tend not appear in the same line of the song.
- Component 2 is mainly driven by indirectly expressed M and other values are low. I-DIR exhibits a negative value, which implies that morphemes denoting militarism and imperialism are not likely to occur in the same line of a song.

¹⁹³ Explained variance: The analysis is based on how the statistical model accounts for, or "explains" the way the data is dispersed. This is called "explaining a variation". In practice, the "variance", which is a descriptor of probability distribution, is used as a measure of data variation. Hence, the percentage of variance explained by a component shows how much influence the group of variables has on the model.

- The prominence of M-INDIR implies that morphemes associated with militarism tend to appear in songs ‘dedicated’ to its purpose, and the text of MS-S in this case would imply, rather than explicitly state, the ideas associated with militarism.
- Component 3 exhibits the prominence of I-INDIR and Multi. This indicates that MS-S in Period 1 can also be characterised by the prominence of morphemes associated with context-dependent imperialism as well as *Multi*. When morphemes associated with context-dependent imperialism appear in a song, they may carry multiple ideologies.
- In summary, PCA reveals that the MS-S of Period 1 can be characterised by the prominence of indirectly expressed nationalism and indirectly expressed imperialism possibly, to some extent, appearing as multi; a strong prominence of indirectly expressed militarism that rarely appears together with directly expressed imperialism (implying that the association between overt imperialism and covert militarism was not strong in Period 1); and the prominence of indirectly expressed imperialism, a proportion of which would be *Multi*. As we found in the previous sections, the proportion of *Multi* is small in Period 1 (4.7.1.), but whenever it does appear it consists of indirectly expressed nationalism and/or imperialism that are less likely to be associated with militarism.

Figure 4.25. Principal component plot of Period 1



The first three components cumulatively explain approximately 90 per cent of the variance. That is to say, these three combinations regulate the patterns in which concepts of M, N and I are expressed in MS-S in Period 1 (Figure 4.25). In summary, Period 1 MS-S can be characterised by context-independent reading of morphemes associated with N, and I, which were carrying a degree of multiple-meanings, but indirectly expressed militarism appears to be dissociated from indirectly expressed imperialism and has a very low association with multi. In other words, MS-S in Period 1 were likely to consist of songs dedicated to the concepts of N and I or otherwise, M, but not a combination of M and other two concepts at the same time. Their lyrics were expressing isolated ideological concepts. The following songs from Period 1 illustrate the points above: *Tama-no-miyai* ('Jewel-like imperial court'); *Amatsu-hitsugi* ('The prince of the rightful heavenly heir'); *Kimi-ga-yo* ('His/your majesty's reign'). These titles indirectly refer to the emperor, imperial household, as well as his reign through metonymy. Their features will be qualitatively discussed in the next chapter, section 5.3.

4.7.2.2. Results of Principal Component Analysis on P2 dataset

Next, PCA was applied to the dataset of Period 2 MS-S. The results are shown in Table 4.31 below.

Table 4.31. Component matrix for Period 2

Variables	Components (rescaled)		
	1	2	3
N_INDIR	0.972	-0.222	-0.060
M_INDIR	0.218	-0.101	-0.032
<i>Multi</i>	0.250	0.832	-0.479
M_DIR	0.559	0.623	0.333
I_INDIR	0.284	0.469	0.775
I_DIR	0.242	0.196	0.243
N_DIR	0.124	0.359	-0.215
Eigenvalues	3.295	1.543	0.885
%Variance	50.526	23.657	13.574
Cumulative%	50.526	74.182	87.756

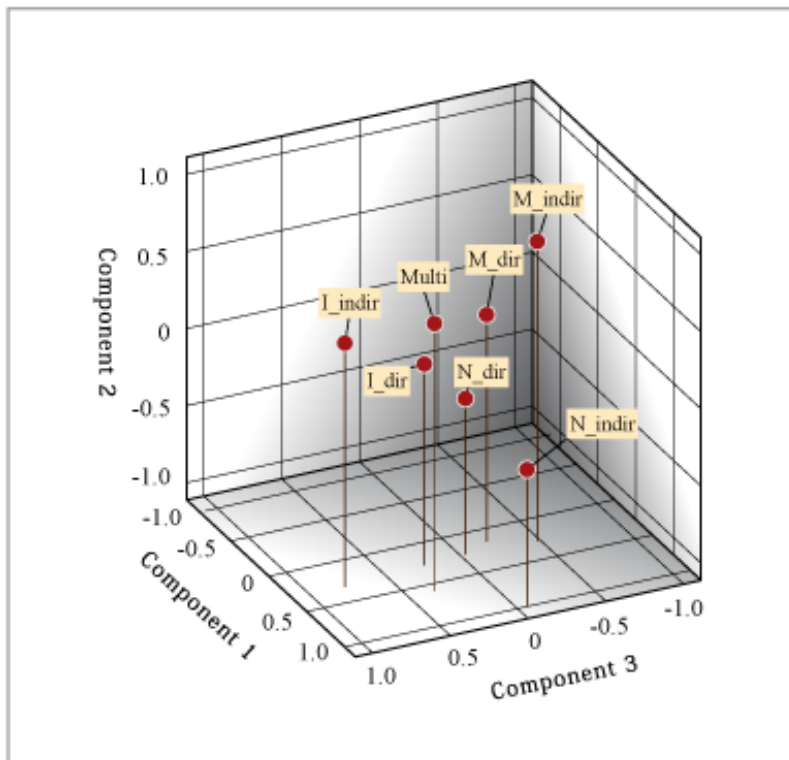
Once again, the eigenvalues are consulted to see which of the components can be relied on for characterising Period 2. In this case Components 1, 2, and 3 in aggregate present a cumulative value of over 80 per cent and, therefore, these three components may be understood to have strong influences on characterising the patterns of MS-S in this period.

- Component 1 shows that N-INDIR and M-DIR have high values.

- This means that morphemes associated with indirectly expressed nationalism and directly expressed militarism are dominant and, to a great extent, occur side by side in the discourse of MS-S in Period 2.
- Component 2 indicates that Multi and M-DIR are strongly represented, meaning that morphemes directly (i.e. context-independently) associated with militarism are predominant in the discourse of MS-S and they are likely to occur in the presence of Multi.
 - In fact, basic statistics described earlier showed that there is a marked and statistically significant increase of such morphemes (i.e. M-DIR) in this period (Table 4.8. Directly-expressed I, N, and M, statistics per period).
- In addition, N-INDIR and M-INDIR have negative values, indicating that morphemes associated with indirectly expressed imperialism and militarism are unlikely to co-occur with *Multi* and directly-expressed militarism in the discourse of MS-S in Period 2.
- Component 3 is mainly driven by *Multi* in the negative value and to a lesser extent indirectly expressed imperialism. When these appear indirectly expressed N and M are unlikely to occur in the same line of the song as indicated by their negative values.

These results are visualised in the principal component plot (Figure 4.26).

Figure 4.26. Principal component plot of Period 2



In summary, MS-S of Period 2 may be characterised by the predominance of both indirectly expressed nationalism and directly expressed militarism, the latter of which may be associated with other ideologies through *Multi*, except for indirectly expressed imperialism. Therefore, if militarism is directly expressed in a song in P2 it is most likely to be associated with indirectly expressed nationalism, but not imperialism. To illustrate these points the following songs will be analysed qualitatively in the next chapter, section 5.4. The songs are: *Suishiei-no-Kaiken* ('Meeting at Shuishiying'), *Shusse-heishi* ('Soldiers at the front'), *Tennō-heika* ('His Majesty the Emperor'), *Kōgō-heika* ('Her Majesty the Empress'), *Fuyu-no-yoru* ('Winter night').

4.7.2.3. Results of Principal Component Analysis on P3 dataset

PCA is applied to the dataset of Period 3 MS-S and the results and analysis are given hereafter.

Table 4.32. Component matrix for Period 3

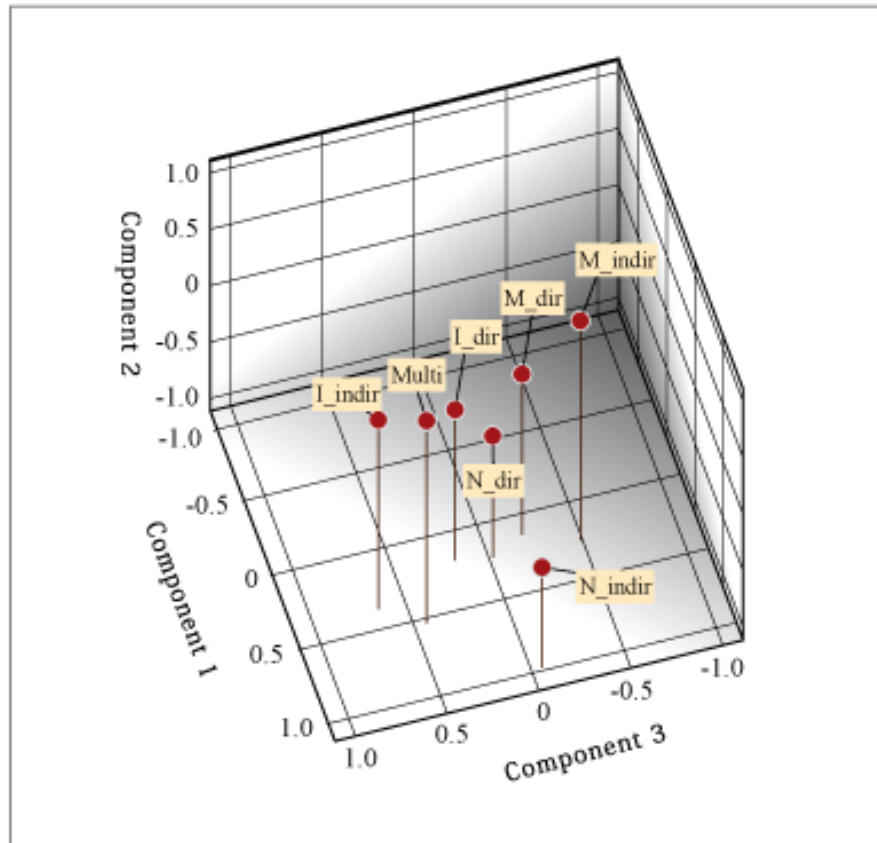
Variables	Components (rescaled)		
	1	2	3
N_IND	0.973	-0.223	-0.058
N_DIR	0.221	-0.034	-0.019
M_IND	0.248	0.835	-0.488
<i>Multi</i>	0.526	0.686	0.434
M_DIR	0.124	0.311	-0.209
I_DIR	0.183	0.227	0.174
I_IND	0.364	0.566	0.647
Eigenvalues	2.352	1.115	0.486
%Variance	55.396	26.273	11.457
Cumulative%	55.396	81.669	93.125

According to the above results, Eigenvalues show that Components 1 and 2 cumulatively reach over 80 per cent and are therefore considered to have a strong influence on the characterisation of MS-S in this period.

- Component 1 indicates a strong predominance of N-IND and *Multi*, which means that morphemes associated with nationalism through context-dependent interpretation are dominant in the discourse of MS-S in Period 3.

- These morphemes are also likely to be multiple-counts, meaning that the same morphemes may also be associated with militarism and/or imperialism.
- Component 2 shows high values of M-IND, *Multi*, and I-IND.
 - This supports the description for the findings of Component 1 above, namely, that morphemes associated with more than one ideological concept, such as militarism and imperialism, are dominant in the discourse of MS-S in Period 3.
 - In other words, whenever a morpheme is associated with militarism through context-dependent reading, it is likely to be associated with imperialism at the same time, or vice versa.
- Components 1 and 2 cumulatively explain 81.669 per cent of the variance, according to the table above.
 - This means that the variance – or pattern of expressions in the discourse of MS-S – is mainly explained by the combination of patterns described for Components 1 and 2.
- However, Component 3 contributes circa 12 per cent to the explanatory power of the variance and therefore, it is worth analysing this further. Component 3 points to an oppositional patterns of values: M-INDIR and M-DIR are negative, while those of *Multi* and I-INDIR are positive.
 - This means that there is an inverse relationship between M and I, and that when there are morphemes associated with both context-dependent and context-independent militarism present, context-dependent I is unlikely to be found as well. Thus, the concept of militarism is not expressed in multiple-count morphemes, but rather it appears in songs dedicated to that ideology, while imperialism and nationalism are sometimes simultaneously expressed by a multiple-count morpheme in the same songs.

The above points are visually represented in the following figure 4.27.

Figure 4.27. Principal component plot of Period 3

In summary, MS-S in Period 3 is characterised by the prominence of indirectly-expressed (i.e. context-dependent) nationalism, nearly half of which may be simultaneously associated with imperialism or militarism or both. Secondly, MS-S of this period is also characterised by indirectly-expressed militarism and indirectly-expressed imperialism, both of which may be simultaneously expressed in *Multi*. In other words, concepts of militarism and imperialism are associated with morphemes of multiple counts whereby militarism is found mainly through context-dependent reading and in a morpheme that is simultaneously associated with context-dependent imperialism. Otherwise, a morpheme associated with militarism appears independently from the other two ideological concepts and in a different environment such as in a different verse or song. All three components to characterise P3 contain *Multi* as a significant actor in combination with indirectly expressed I, M, or N. This means that in P3, compared to P1 and P2, there is a higher possibility that associations between the concepts of I, N, and M may be made through singing MS-S whose texts are characterised by *Multi* morphemes. These points are illustrated qualitatively in the next chapter (5.5.) in the following songs: *Yasukuni-jinja* ('Yasukuni Shrine'), *Tachibana Chūsa* ('Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana'), and *Ware wa Umi no Ko* ('I am a son of the seas').

4.7.2.4. Results of Principal Component Analysis on P4 dataset, Version I-incl

PCA was applied to the dataset of Period 4 MS-S with Imperial-liturgical songs included (Version I-incl.). These songs are additionally inserted into the opening pages of each songbook, as described earlier in this chapter. The results are shown in Table 4.33 below.

Table 4.33. Component matrix for Period 4, I-incl

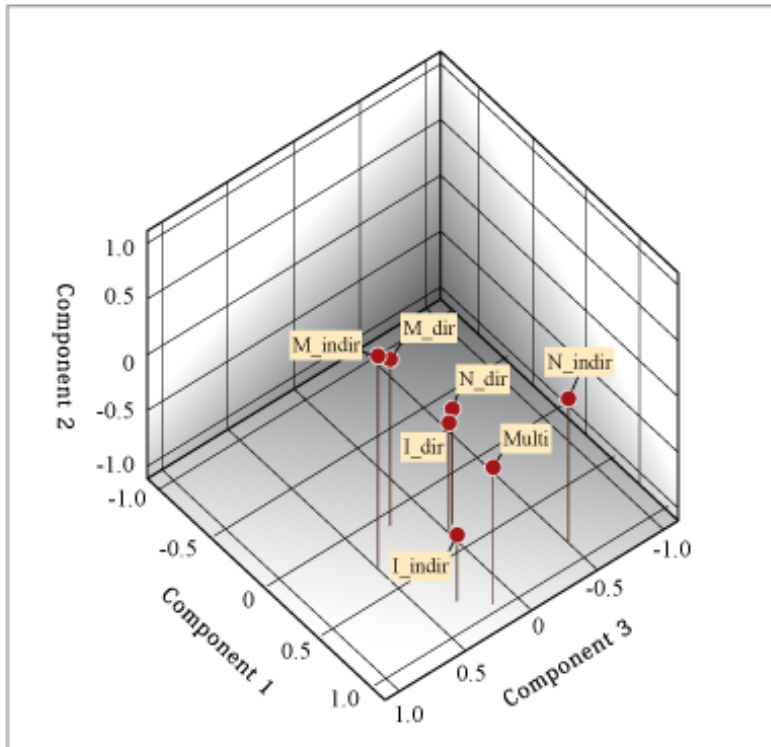
Variables	Components (rescaled)		
	1	2	3
<i>Multi</i>	0.932	0.117	0.146
N_INDIR	0.833	0.174	-0.505
I_INDIR	0.779	-0.518	0.294
I_DIR	0.341	-0.117	0.001
N_DIR	0.296	-0.075	-0.060
M_INDIR	0.282	0.787	0.492
M_DIR	0.074	0.381	0.230
Eigenvalues	7.317	2.113	1.636
%Variance	60.022	17.331	13.418
Cumulative%	60.022	77.353	90.771

In this case Components 1, 2 and 3 account for more than 90 per cent of the cumulative explanatory power and, therefore, features of these three will be discussed in this section.

- Component 1 shows a high *Multi* value and the strong influence of N and I-IND.
 - This means that MS-S in Period 4, including the imperial-liturgical songs, can be characterised by the prominence of morphemes associated with imperialism and nationalism through context-dependent reading as well as morphemes associated with Multiple ideologies. This suggests that a high proportion of morphemes in P4-incl. are associated with imperialism and nationalism owing to context-dependent reading of this MS-S.
- Component 2 shows a strong influence of morphemes associated with militarism, both directly and context-dependently, and I-IND is in an inverse relation to M.
 - This means that morphemes associated with M and context-dependent I do not appear within the same verse. Overtly military songs may not be associated with context-dependent imperialism.
- Component 3 shows the ‘trade-off’ relationship between M-IND and N-IND.
 - Wherever morphemes associated with militarism context-dependently are dominant, morphemes associated with nationalism context-dependently are scarce and vice versa.

The following Figure 4.28 represents the above results graphically, in a three-dimensional principal component plot.

Figure 4.28. Principal component plot of period 4, I-incl



In this section, the strong influence of imperialism and nationalism in characterising the MS-S in this period has been attested, but also militarism, as a competing influence, was found. *Multi* is exceptionally prominent, and associations of I, N, and M are predominantly context-dependent. This characterisation corresponds to the results of the basic statistics, whereby P4 MS-S was found to contain many times more *Multi* than other periods. In the next section, MS-S in Period 4 will be investigated further, excluding the additional Imperial songs.

4.7.2.5. Results of Principal Component Analysis on P4 dataset, Version I-ex

Finally, PCA was applied to the dataset of Period 4 MS-S, excluding the additional Imperial-specific songs inserted at the opening of each songbook. The results and analysis are given below.

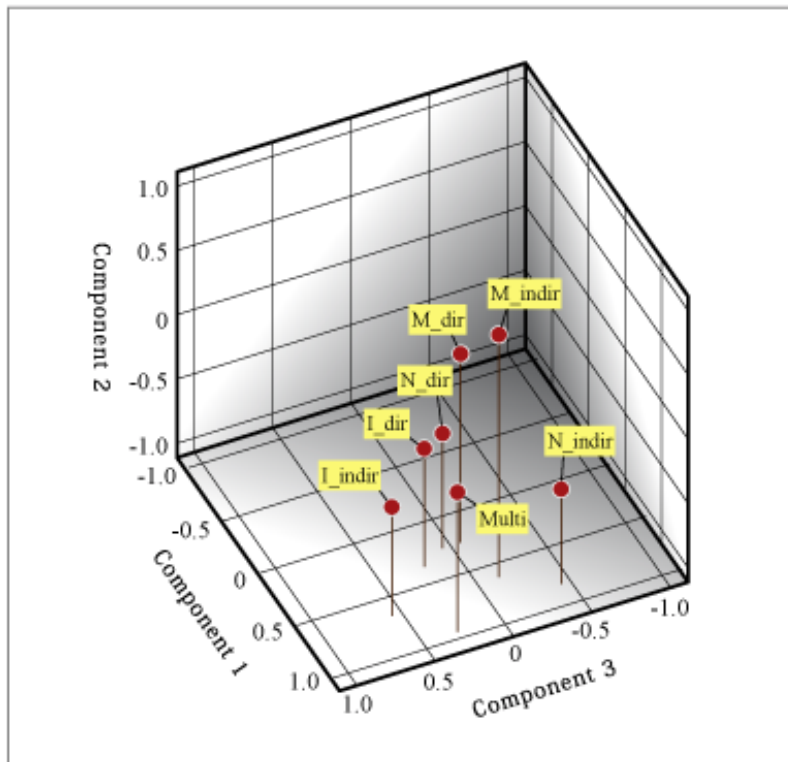
Table 4.34. Component matrix for Period 4, I-ex

Variables	Components (rescaled)		
	1	2	3
<i>Multi</i>	0.936	-0.027	0.277
N_INDIR	0.813	-0.376	-0.440
I_INDIR	0.650	-0.267	0.562
I_DIR	0.349	-0.190	0.216
N_DIR	0.246	-0.219	0.051
M_INDIR	0.610	0.774	-0.139
M_DIR	0.247	0.356	-0.064
Eigenvalues	5.445	1.802	1.100
%Variance	60.147	19.911	12.150
Cumulative%	60.147	80.058	92.208

In this case, Components 1 and 2 account for more than 80 per cent of explanatory power, and thus features of these two are discussed below.

- Component 1 explains over 60 per cent of the variance, regulating the patterns with which morphemes associated with indirectly expressed I, N and M and *Multi* are prominent...
 - This shows that in the case of all three ideological concepts, a morpheme is simultaneously associated with more than one of the three concepts by means of context-dependent reading.
- Component 2 shows that morphemes directly associated with militarism and morphemes associated with militarism context-dependently have positive values in contrast to all others in negative value.
 - This means that morphemes associated directly or indirectly with militarism appear in the same environment, e.g., the same verse in a song.
 - Furthermore, M-DIR and M-INDIR are in an inverse relationship with all the other parameters, which means that morphemes associated with both context-dependent and independent militarism are appearing independently from others in a song dedicated to a militaristic theme.

These first two components explain over 80 per cent of the variance and Component 3, in much lesser magnitude, shows that N-INDIR is in opposition to I-INDIR, I-DIR, and *Multi*. This may suggest that morphemes associated by context with nationalism are not simultaneously associated with imperialism within the same verse of a song. The results are visualised in the following principal component plot (Figure 4.29).

Figure 4.29. Principal component plot of period 4, I-ex

Recalling the result of the descriptive statistical analysis presented earlier, whereby morphemes associated with militarism showed a significant increase in Period 4, it is interesting that M-DIR (that is, morphemes associated directly with militarism) is not the most prominent characteristics in the components above. It is conceivable that M-DIR may have been over-shadowed by the very strong influence exerted on the regression by the M-INDIR found in the multiple-count morphemes.

Period 4, excluding the additional imperial-liturgical songs, is statistically characterised by the dominant presence of multiple-count morphemes associated with militarism, nationalism, and imperialism via context-dependent reading. Furthermore, when morphemes that are directly or indirectly associated with militarism occur together it would be most likely in songs ‘dedicated’ to one specific ideological concept only. In short, Period 4 is characterised by the prominence of highly context-dependent, ideologically ‘loaded’, morphemes. The above characterisation of Period 4 MS-S is illustrated qualitatively in the next chapter, section 5.6, in the following songs: *Heitai-gokko* (‘Playing soldiers’), *Gunkan* (‘Warship’), *Nihon* (‘Japan’), *Sanyūshi* (‘The three brave soldiers’), *Mugon no gaisen* (‘Triumphal Return in Silence’), *Tokubetsu-kōgeki-tai* (‘Special Attack Squad’, ‘Kamikaze’), and *Shōnen-sangyō-senshi* (‘Youth-industrial-soldier’).

4.8. Conclusion

A previous statistical study of the national language textbook (Kurokawa 2007) identified the ‘significance/salience of militarism in the texts’ by counting the number of occurrences of words associated with militarism. Following Kurokawa’s approach, the frequency in the occurrences of vocabulary with dictionary definitions denoting imperialism, militarism, and nationalism was first investigated in this chapter. Building on Kurokawa’s work, this study also took into account the influence of the contexts. The rationale is as follows: there is a textual layer of meaning given to each word without a personal interpretation (direct, dictionary meaning), and this layer of meaning is synchronically static. In contrast, when the same word is used in context, shades of meaning become associated with that specific item of vocabulary, depending on who the users of the word are and when, where, how and for what reasons it is used: the word carries some contextualised message. This layer of meaning is more indirect and it is an ‘interpreted’, dynamic, shifting meaning. The context can be found within the text (intra-textual) or outside of the text itself, but within the environment (extra-textual) in which the users of the word find themselves at the moment of using the word. Therefore, this study analysed ideological linguistic items in the MS-S on these two layers – with and without contexts. The former is basically dependent on dictionary definitions. The latter includes ‘reasoned’, context-dependent, meanings: semantic associations within the same text (e.g. soldier-battle), pronouns and other referential expressions, paraphrase, euphemism, metaphor, simile, allegory, symbol, fables, proverbs and other meanings that depend on a shared knowledge and sense of the world in the relevant community. With Japanese being an agglutinating language, this meant that the most productive method was to analyse the texts at the morphemic-level, but for the sake of ease of reading, ‘word’ or ‘vocabulary’ are used interchangeably in the sections below.

As regards the definitions of the three ideologies, we discussed these in detail in 2.2. nationalism encompasses a variety of aspects, and the nationalism of the Empire of Japan can be described as incorporating elements of fascism, patriotism, and ethnocentrism, and is closely related to imperialism and militarism. Also, the analysis of the official documents above points to further subcategories of patriotism such as loyalty, love/nostalgia for one’s hometown, or symbolism, and that it is closely related to the issues of identity. Therefore, nationalism in this study was broadly defined. Then the distinction between ‘state-oriented’ vs. ‘nation-oriented’ nationalism (as discussed in 2.1.2.) was employed in order to differentiate the more political (state-oriented) nationalism from the more artistic and environmental (nation-oriented: customs, nature, arts, folklore) form of nationalism. Vocabulary that is deemed to be associated with nationalism in this study, but not associated with imperialism

or militarism, was counted as the ‘nation-oriented’ type (as presented in 4.7.1.3.). At least three general characteristics of MS-S emerged from the quantitative analyses conducted above. First, there are significant differences between any two periods when compared to each other, but the differences are particularly greater when Period 4 is compared to Periods 1, 2, or 3. Secondly, the morphemes associated with nationalism are always the largest component in any MS-S, but whenever morphemes associated with other ideologies (either imperialism or militarism) increase, a trade-off takes place with the morphemes associated with nationalism. Third, it was found that early MS-S tended to be characterised by the prominence of less context-dependent discourse. A song may be dedicated to one of the three ideological concepts, but not a mixture of them. In contrast, in later MS-S, especially in Period 4, many morphemes were found to carry context-dependent associations with different ideological concepts simultaneously. These morphemes are semantically ‘loaded’ via context-dependent reading. For example, concepts of both militarism and imperialism may be juxtaposed within one song, and the song’s title and content may supply a rich context, linking the semantics carried by these morphemes and making associations between them. As a result, a morpheme becomes associated with more than one ideological concept within the discourse environment of that song.

The statistical results confirm that militarism is indeed influential in characterising the MS-S of Period 4, as stated in Kurokawa (2007). According to the basic statistic analysis, the actual proportion of morphemes associated with militarism increased significantly in Period 4 (4.7.1.1.4.). However, when additional (ceremonial) Imperial songs are taken into account, the proportion shows no change, and even slightly decreases (4.7.1.2.4.). This called for further investigation and we applied PCA in order to infer which of the parameters may be influencing the characteristics of MS-S in Period 4. The results demonstrated that the influence of militarism is indeed strong and morphemes associated with militarism appear independently from others, possibly in a song dedicated to the nature of the topic. However, this is not the most prominent characteristic of MS-S in Period 4, according to the PCA results. In fact, the influence of morphemes associated with militarism comes mainly through the context-dependent reading of multiple-count morphemes. In other words, the increased presence of militarism does not necessarily mean a decrease in the influence of imperialism, but rather, morphemes are simultaneously associated with imperialism and militarism, for example, and this feature of multiplicity, or association between militarism and imperialism or nationalism, is evidenced in the PCA first in P3, and further highlighted in P4. It is this multiplicity of meaning in a single morpheme, given by context-dependent reading, that contributes to the impression that militarism is the strongest characterisation of MS-S in Period 4. Moreover, morphemes acquiring associations with multiple ideological

concepts is a trend that is increasingly attested to in Periods 1 to 4, an almost exponential growth, resulting in a notable leap between Period 3 and Period 4. The table below summarises the key points of analysis.

Table 4.35. Summary of the quantitative analyses*

	ANALYSIS	RESULTS
1	The percentages of ASS in the text of each period.	The occurrence of ASS was the lowest in Period 1, nearly doubled in Period 2 followed by a slight decrease in Period 3, but increased to 360 per cent of Period 1 in Period 4 (incl.) and 270 per cent in Period 4(ex). The proportion of ASS in the text is significantly higher in P4 than any other period. The difference between any of the Periods 1-3 and Period 4 is statistically significant.
2	The percentages of <i>Multi</i> in the text of each period.	A steady and incremental increase of <i>Multi</i> morphemes was observed in the text over the four periods, and the difference between any two periods is statistically significant.
3	The average number of lines per song	The average number of lines per song increased from P1 to P2, remained similar from P2 to P3, but decreased in P4.
4	The average number of morphemes per song	The average number of morphemes per song increased from P1 to P2, remained similar from P2 to P3, but decreased markedly in P4 to a level a little lower than P1.
5	The average number of morphemes per line.	The average number of morphemes per line increased from P1 to P2, but slightly decreased from P2 to P3, then to P4.
6	The average number of morphemes per title.	The average number of morphemes per title was two and remained about the same throughout Periods 1-4.
7	The proportion of morphemes associated with each of the 3 ideological concepts within ASS of each of the Periods 1-4.	Morphemes associated with nationalism occupied the largest proportion within ASS ¹⁹⁴ (IND+DIR) throughout Periods 1-4. It gained the largest proportion in Period 3 (64.18%) and a little less in Period 2 (62.28%). There is a trade-off between the three categories. In Period 1 Japanese Imperialism is higher in proportion than militarism, but this was reversed in Periods 2 and Period 3 in particular when imperialism was the lowest among the four periods. In Period 4 (incl.) militarism slightly decreased compared to P3 and imperialism increased to nearly three times that of P3, surpassing P1 ¹⁹⁵ . Meanwhile, nationalism occupied the highest proportion within period 4 ¹⁹⁶ , but it was the lowest across the four periods. In Period 4 (ex) militarism slightly decreased compared to that in P3 in context-independent reading ¹⁹⁷ , but increased by 12 per cent in context-dependent reading ¹⁹⁸ . nationalism was the largest component within P4 (ex) in both IND and DIR, but by far the lowest across the four periods (38.12% in DIR and 46.03% in IND). Moreover, in context-independent reading (DIR) imperialism increased to nearly 3.7 times that of P3, surpassing P1, and the difference between nationalism and imperialism was only 1.38 per cent, while in context-dependent (IND) reading, imperialism increased by 6.5 per cent from P3, but was less

¹⁹⁴ That is, morphemes associated with any of the 3 ideological concepts.

¹⁹⁵ Table 4.6., 4.8., 4.10.

¹⁹⁶ Table 4.6.

¹⁹⁷ Table 4.20.

¹⁹⁸ Table 4.22.

		than half that of militarism and by far the smallest component in P4 (ex) ¹⁹⁹ . Still, both imperialism and militarism in P4 (ex) are higher than those in P3. Context-dependent reading in P4 increased the morphemes associated with imperialism overriding direct expressions of militarism.
8	Morphemes associated with any of the 3 ideological concepts through either context-independent or context-dependent reading.	When the statistical patterns of context-dependent ASS and context-independent ASS are compared to that of the total ASS (context dependent and independent altogether) the pattern of the context-dependent ASS closely resembles the pattern of the total. This means that context-dependent ASS is predominant in the overall trend.

*Morphemes associated with (denoting) any of the three ideological concepts (Japanese imperialism, nationalism and militarism) are abbreviated to ASS and morphemes associated with more than one of the 3 ideological concepts are abbreviated to *Multi*.

The overall trend summarised in the above table implies the following:

1. Result 1 informs us that earlier MS-S contained fewer words that denoted ideological concepts compared to the later periods and that the number of ideological words used in songs increased steadily over time.
2. Result 2 indicates that earlier MS-S contained lyrics that are relatively more ‘straightforward’ in meaning, but lyrics that contain words denoting more than one ideological concept increased over time: these mean lyrics became increasingly more ‘loaded’ in meaning, culminating in the ideologically dense songs in Period 4. However, the findings not necessarily mean that songs in Period 4 are more complex in format (poetic form, structure, and so on.). In fact, results 3-5 in the summary table seem to suggest otherwise, namely MS-S in Period 4 showing a decrease in the average numbers of:
 - lines per song,
 - morphemes per song, and
 - morphemes per line.
 Therefore, MS-S songs in Period 4 are generally shorter and less wordy compared to the songs in Periods 2-3, but more ideologically dense.
3. Results 3, 4 and 5 of the summary table show that songs in Periods 2 and 3 contained more words per line and more lines per song: These mean that they are textually longer and denser (in other words, more wordy) than those in Periods 1 and 4.

¹⁹⁹ Table 4.22.

4. Result 6 points to the fact that the textual format of titles being one or two morphemes per title remained the same throughout the four periods. This appeared to be a convention of the genre (children's song).
5. Result 7 demonstrates that, within ASS, Japanese Nationalism is the most prominent ideological concept found in the texts of MS-S throughout the Periods 1-4, but in particular, in Period 3 and a little less in Period 2: The causal factors of this surge of nationalism in Periods 3-4 will be explored qualitatively in the next chapter. Period 1 showed a higher influence of Japanese Imperialism and a lower influence of Japanese militarism. In contrast, in Period 4, both including and excluding imperial-liturgical songs and both directly and indirectly expressed readings, the strength of Japanese imperialism resurged, narrowing the gap with nationalism. An exception to this was Period 4(ex)-Indirect whereby Japanese militarism surged in its influence, keeping nationalism and imperialism in a subordinate position. Generally in P4 nationalism lessened with the increase of strength in imperialism and/or militarism. To examine these contrasts we will compare the texts of MS-S from the four periods qualitatively in the next chapter.
6. Result 8 shows that, throughout the four periods, concepts of ideology appear to be expressed predominantly by the context-dependent reading of the texts, rather than by the context-independent (dictionary definitions) words present in the texts. This points to the fact that MS-S, taught within a particular social, educational, cultural, or political context, could possibly reinforce ideology in educating the children, while lack of enough contextualisation could seriously reduce the impact of ideological input. In other words, how the songs were taught in the classroom is a key factor (as discussed in 2.1.1; 3.1.4; 3.2.3; 3.3; 6.2; and 6.4.).

Now that a generic understanding of textual characteristics of MS-S in the four periods is achieved through quantitative analyses, the most important finding, which are the patterns of each period in terms of the proportional dominance and combinations of linguistic items associated with ideologies in the texts of MS-S, will be linguistically analysed in the next chapter, using the socio-linguistic framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to find a link between these patterns and the educational purposes found in the official documents relating to each of the MS-S. In doing so, the patterns and conventions of the Japanese traditional style of song, based on court poetry, its rhythm, contents, culture and literary style will be considered. The link between the contents of the educational guidelines for the MS-S and the historical background of each of the four periods will be reviewed, based on the

discussion in Chapter 3, trying to identify clues that appear to indicate the government's educational intentions for the MS-S in each of the four periods. We will then consider *how* the government's educational policies for MS-S might be verbalised in the lyrics and embedded in the discourse of the seven sets of MS-S.

Chapter 5 Qualitative Analysis and Discussion

Quantitative analyses of MS-S have informed us of three characteristics of the data. First, the differences between any two periods from Periods 1-4 are statistically significant, but the greatest differences are demonstrated between Period 4 and the others. In particular, the number of *Multi* morphemes (being multiply associated with I, N, and/or M ideological concepts) is markedly higher in Period 4 than any of the others. The second characteristic is that, within the morphemes associated with any of the three ideological concepts, those concerning Japanese nationalism claimed the largest proportion in any MS-S, although there was a trade-off of the proportions between them and the morphemes associated with imperialism or militarism, depending on the Period. The third characteristic of MS-S was that, within the morphemes associated with ideological concepts, the proportion of *Multi* morphemes increased from one period to the next.

5.1. Purpose and method of qualitative analysis by CDA

The results of the statistical analyses indicate how some particular combinations of variables (such as morphemes associated with militarism through context-dependent interpretation, or morphemes associated with imperialism through context-independent interpretation) are relevant in certain statistical patterns of MS-S in a given period. However, neither basic statistics nor PCA can explain the underlying qualitative factors, which can be social, cultural or other, of such phenomena. Therefore, the analytical framework of DHA-CDA (Discourse-Historical Approach within the conceptual framework of Critical Discourse Analysis) will be employed to explore those factors in this chapter. Using this analytical framework, I will attempt to identify a link between the patterns described above and the educational purposes found in the official documents relating to each of the MS-S against the historical background, based on the discussion in Chapter 3. Qualitatively, I will examine the MS-S for their linguistic patterns and conventions as well as their rhythm, content, literary style, and the background culture or context, and discuss *how* the government's educational policies for MS-S might be verbalised in the lyrics and embedded in the discourse of the 10 MS-S.

5.2. Overall trend

In the previous chapter, basic statistical analyses and PCA were performed for two different purposes. Basic statistics were used to find out the general trend across the four periods.

In the following sections the interpretation of the eight results (summarised in the last section of the previous chapter) based on the statistical patterns obtained for the MS-S of the

four periods, will be considered in the light of educational, social, cultural and historical contexts. The following section examines each of the Periods 1-4 one by one in chronological order. A quick reminder of the analytical symbols might be useful here. The seven variables (and their abbreviations) that combine to give certain patterns in each of the four periods are: morphemes associated with Japanese imperialism (I), Japanese nationalism (N) and Japanese militarism (M) through either context-independent (IND) or context-dependent (DIR) readings as well as morphemes that are *associated* with more than one of the three ideological concepts (*Multi*). Combinations of these variables that demonstrate a mathematical influence on the statistical patterns are called Components 1, 2, and 3 in the order of significance in characterisation of the MS-S in a given period.

5.3. Period 1 (1881-1909; Meiji 14-42)

While the descriptive statistics revealed numerical patterns, such as the frequency of occurrence, length, and other facts of MS-S texts, PCA gave us the combined influence of the distribution of ideological items on the characterisation of them. The statistical patterns of Period 1 can be explained by the following two components.

Component 1 shows a predominance of N-IND, *Multi*, and I-IND as opposed to the negative values of M (DIR+IND). According to PCA the interrelation between variables characterises the text, rather than the proportion of a valuable in the text in terms of absolute counts alone. In case of Period 1 MS-S, N was the most frequently occurring variable, thus N exerts the predominant influence and anything that relates to N, which is I-IND in component 1, also characterises the text. I-IND interlinks with N through *Multi*, and consequently, I-IND comes up in component 1 as one of the most influential variables.

This means that MS-S songs in Period 1 predominantly contained morphemes that denote Japanese nation-oriented nationalism (Non-*Multi*), state-oriented nationalism (*Multi*) and imperialism. For example, morphemes within the title of the MS-S song, *Chiyo-ni* as introduced in Figure 4.0a and Figure 4.0b, which can be translated as ‘for thousands of generations’, simultaneously refer indirectly to state-oriented nationalism as well as imperialism. The phrase *chiyo-ni* is traditionally used as a prayer for the eternal prosperity of Japan as well as for the continuation of the unbroken line of the imperial clan’s reign and, therefore, the morpheme, *chiyo* (‘thousand generations’), is an example of *Multi* and is classified as a double-count. Further detail on this song is given in 4.0b (An example of a verse by verse, morphological and contextual analysis data excerpt), but characteristically the overall proportion of *Multi* in Period 1 turned out to be lower than in other periods. Moreover, morphemes associated with militarism are not likely

to appear when the morphemes associated with nationalism and/or imperialism are present in the same verse. In other words, MS-S songs in this period contained very few words like *army*, *navy*, *soldier*, *warship*, *tank*, and so on. In short, these MS-S can be characterised contextually by the prominence of words that can be associated with nationalism and imperialism. An example is *Amatsu-hitsugi* ('The Prince of the Rightful Heavenly Heir') in Figure 5.3, below.

Component 2 shows that morphemes denoting M-IND are by far the most prominent and I-DIR has a negative value, which means that morphemes indirectly denoting militarism and directly denoting imperialism are unlikely to appear in the same line of the same song and thus, expressions of I-DIR are likely to occur in a song 'dedicated' to the notion of Japanese imperialism without any indirect reference to militarism. For example, the afore mentioned *Chiyoni* as well as *Tama-no-miyai* ('Jewel-like Imperial Court') in Figure 5.2, *Amatsu-hitsugi* ('The Prince of the Rightful Heavenly Heir') in Figure 5.3, as well as *Kimi-ga-yo* ('His Majesty's Reign') in Figure 5.4. In other words, as far as MS-S is concerned, overt textual or contextual association between militarism and imperialism is not featured in the MS-S of Period 1.

Further, it is safe to say that MS-S in Period 1 are textually shorter than those of later periods, except Period 4 (Table 4.17. Morpheme frequencies in songs, lines, titles), and the lyrics of each song mostly addressed one concept, such as imperialism, using relatively direct expressions. Therefore, the songs of Period 1 tended to carry a simpler message and not mix of ideological concepts. This pattern is perhaps best exemplified in the titles of the MS-S. This, Japan's first MS-S, contains ninety-one (thirty-three for volume I, sixteen for volume II, and forty-two for volume III) songs in total. For a list of the songs in this first collection, see Appendix 6. The songs can be categorised roughly into three types: songs about the appreciation of nature (e.g. *Agare* ('Rise!'), *Chō-chō* ('Butterfly'), *Fujisan* ('Mt. Fuji')), songs expressing imperial patriotism and ethics (e.g. *Waga-hinomoto* ('My land of the rising sun'), *Sumera-mikuni* ('Divine imperial country'), *Chūshin* ('Loyal servant')), and others. Seventeen out of the ninety-one songs are purely patriotic: about the eternity of the Imperial family: expressing gratitude towards the Emperor, or his compassion; and six are purely ethical, based on a mixture of Shintoism and Confucianism which was believed to be best for the Imperial plan (4.2.1.). These are indicated by P (patriotic) and E (ethical) in the list in Appendix 6. However, looking at the songs expressing appreciation of the beauty of nature, again imperial-patriotic lexical items are found. Examples of these are: our lord (*miya*, *ohomiya*, *ohokimi*, *wagakimi*, *kimi*), reign (*miyo*, *kimi-ga-yo*), divine light of his reign (*nuyono-hikari*) eternity of reign (*chiyoni*, *yachiyoni*, *tokiwa-kakiwa-ni*, *yorozuyoni*), divine country (*mikuni*), divine imperial country (*sumera-mikuni*), imperial subject (*otami*), serve (*tsutome*), palace of jewels (*tama-no-miyai*), the lord's compassion (*mikokoro*), the lord's blessings (*mimegumi*), and gratitude to the god, the country and to the lord (*kami-no-on*, *kuni-no-on*, *kimi-no-on*), to name but

a few. Military lexical items are scarce, but few examples are both context-independent such as arrow, sword, halberd, fight for the country, and context-independent such as courageous, service, and so on. Thus, if we include the songs of nature containing these lexical sets, twenty-three of the ninety-one can be considered as songs expressing Imperial ideology.

In fact, this ideological content of the MS-S appears to be in line with the Meiji government's intentions for musical education, as explained in the preface of this, Japan's first MS-S, according to which the core of education consists of 'moral education, intellectual training, and physical education' (*tokuiku chi'iku tai'iku*)²⁰⁰. These are best taught by means of songbooks, since 'music has the miraculous benefit of setting people's minds correctly through edifying and cultivating virtue'²⁰¹ (see Preface in Appendix 5). The detailed historical background was given in chapter 3, but perhaps, a brief recap of the main points is necessary here. In 1868, after more than 260 years under the Tokugawa Shogunate's reign, power shifted away from the Samurai (warriors), who were fundamental to the old 'imperialism' under which the emperor had been merely a figurehead. This Meiji Restoration was the starting point of modern Japan. In 1870, a religio-philosophical ideology, deriving from traditional Shintoism, and called *taikyō* ('Great teaching') was promulgated, emphasising the eternally 'divine' quality of the Emperor and his authority. This 'included injunctions to respect the gods and to revere the emperor, as well as to love one's country and to obey the rules of moral behaviour, amounting to a code in which civic duty and support for the aims of government played at least as important a part as ethical and religious belief' (Beasley 1990: 82). In 1872, the Educational Ordinance was promulgated and the Conscription Law announced. Both played important parts in reinforcing the government's plan to integrate the people under a 'divine' emperor. The strong connection between the new imperialist ideology and the imposed hierarchy of social roles is clear: men were to fight, women were to obey, and together they were to protect their homes and home country. Children were to be taught to obey their seniors (including older children) and above all, everyone was to be a servant of the living-god emperor.

Both the educational intention, as observed in the discourse of the Preface above, and the historical background, are compatible with the statistical result: I-DIR (morphemes directly associated with Japanese imperialism) is predominant in the MS-S of Period 1. Further, the scarcity of M-DIR (morphemes directly associated with Japanese militarism) may be explained by the educational priorities it espoused: when this MS-S was published in 1881 the educational

²⁰⁰ 徳育知育體育.

²⁰¹ 音楽ノ物タル性情ニ本ツキ人心ヲ正シ風化を助クルニ妙用アリ

priority was on ‘setting people’s minds correctly’ (Preface, Shōgaku-shōka-shū²⁰²) as imperial subjects who would be further ‘educated’ by the 1890 Imperial Rescript of Education and who would also comply with the 1890 Constitution of the Empire of Japan (also known informally as the Meiji Constitution). The following songs exemplify such characteristics.

To give a brief explanation of the tables below, each line represents a verse of the song. The text is written in the left column in three layers: first in the Japanese original, second in Romanised Japanese, and third in English translation. In this text, wherever a morpheme is associated with an ideological concept it is underlined and highlighted in bold font. The type of ideology is indicated in the columns on the right, where a letter is given to each column to indicate the following categories:

- j*: Number of morphemes that denote militarism directly (M-DIR)
- k*: Number of morphemes that denote militarism indirectly (M-IND)
- l*: Number of morphemes that denote nationalism directly (N-DIR)
- m*: Number of morphemes that denote nationalism indirectly (N-IND)
- n*: Number of morphemes that denote imperialism directly (I-DIR)
- o*: Number of morphemes that denote imperialism indirectly (I-IND)
- p*: Double/Triple counts of morphemes denoting militarism, nationalism, and/or imperialism (*Multi*).

Figure 5.1. *Tama-no-Miyai* (‘Jewel-like Imperial Court’)

		<i>M</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>W</i>
		<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	
	Lyrics	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>
TI	玉-の-宮居 tama-no-miyai <i>jewel-like Imperial court</i>					1	2	
1	玉-の-みやゐ-は-あれはて-て tama-no-miyai-wa-arehate-te <i>jewel-like Imperial palace has become ruinous</i>					1	2	
2	雨-さへ-露-さへ-いと-しげ-げれ-ど ame-sae-tsuyu-sae-ito-shige-gere-do <i>and although covered with rain and dews</i>							
3	民-の-かまど-の-にぎはひ-は tami-no-kamado-no-nigiwai-wa <i>the subjects are busy over their kitchen stoves</i>			1			1	1

²⁰² English translation of Preface is available in Appendix 5b.

4	たつ-烟-に-ぞ-あらはれ-に-ける tatsu-kemuri-ni-zo-araware-ni-keru <i>as is shown by the drifting smoke</i>							
5	冬-の-夜さむ-の-月-さえ-て fuyu-no-yosamu-no-tsuki-sae-te <i>moonlight clears the winter night</i>							
6	隙-も-る-かぜ-さへ-身-を-きる-ばかり sukima-moru-kaze-sae-mi-wo-kiru-bakari <i>icy draught cuts into the skin</i>							
7	民-を-おもほす-みこころ-に tami-wo-omohosu-mikokoro-ni <i>for <u>the gracious compassion for his subjects</u></i>			1			3	1
8	大御衣-や-ぬがせ-たまひ-し oumiso-ya-nugase-tamai-shi <i><u>the Lord takes off his Imperial gown</u></i>					1	2	

The first song is from the very first MS-S, *shōgaku-shōka-shū*, Vol.1 for the 1st Grade, published in November 1881. In the title and first line the imperial court is compared to precious jewels. The word *miyai* has a double-meaning: ‘throne of gods’ and ‘imperial residence’. Therefore, the association between the imperial household, divinity, and preciousness is effectively formed with only three morphemes and enforced by immediate repetition. A clear contextual setting, (‘fame’ in DHA-CDA terminology) is given for the verses that follow. The second line expands on the idea of the physical hardships suffered by the Emperor (ruinous palace), which is contrasted by the abundance of food enjoyed by the *tami* (‘folk’/‘subjects’) in the third and fourth lines. Lines 5 and 6 expound on the idea of the suffering Emperor (icy draught cutting into his skin) which sets a contrasting dramatic scene to further introduce, in lines 7 and 8, the Emperor’s compassionate and self-sacrificing love for his subjects. In the last line, metaphorically, the emperor takes off his imperial coat to cover his subjects from the winter cold. This is an illustration of the depth of his imperial compassion for his subjects (Omoto 2009: 37), implying, also, the physical greatness of the imperial power covering the entire nation: a strong metaphor of imperial protection of his subjects. Most ideological expressions in this song are directly-expressed Japanese Imperialism (Imperial palace, Imperial gown) or indirectly-expressed Japanese Imperialism (gracious compassion, taking-off-honorific).

This song exhibits cases of multiple ideological association. Verse 3 in particular demonstrates the characterisation of Period 1 in the PCA result: N and I in *Multi*, which is double-counted. The single morpheme word *tami* means ‘citizens’ or ‘folk’ in Japanese, but due to the intratextual (‘folk’ being contrasted with the ‘imperial’ narrator of the poem), inter- and extra-textual (a legendary

imperial story depicted in an ancient poem as well as the practice of teaching the legend at schools during history, ethics, or language classes, as explained below) the word is contextually interpreted as ‘subjects’. Therefore, the morpheme *tami* is counted as being associated with both direct nationalism and indirect imperialism.

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
3	民-のかまど-の-にぎはひ-は <i>tami-no-kamado-no-nigiwai-wa</i> <i>the subjects are busy over their kitchen stoves</i>			1			1	1

The story is based on a legend about the 16th Emperor of Japan, Nintoku, who is said to have reigned during the late fourth to early fifth century. According to this, the pious Emperor observed his dominion and when little smoke was rising from his subjects’ fires it meant that his subjects were struggling to find enough to eat or keep warm, and the compassionate emperor would refrain from imposing taxation on them, but when he saw the smoke from their ovens he was deeply pleased²⁰³. The emperor’s final resting place is said to be in the vast mound in Sakai, near Osaka, which is the largest *Kofun* tomb in Japan. This legend was one of the stories taught in pre-1945 schools in Japan as mentioned in vol. 7. of *Shōgaku Kokugo-Tokuhon* (National Language Reader) published in 1910²⁰⁴. This is an example of extra-textual references as discursive practice, which can influence children’s understanding of MS-S.

Further, the legend is closely related to an ancient poem in the ‘New Collection of Ancient and Modern (Japanese) Poetry (*Shinkokinwakashū*, henceforth SKKS)’ from the 12th century, whose 7th volume on the theme of ‘Felicitations’ includes the following poem ascribed to the Emperor Nintoku (McAuley 2001: Commentary).

Figure 5.2. Shinkokinwakashū VII: 707.

To my palace heights	<i>takaki ya ni</i>	たかきやに
I climb and when I gaze across	<i>noborite mireba</i>	のぼりて見れば
Smoke rises -	<i>keburi tatsu</i>	けぶりたつ
The homes of my people	<i>tami no kamado wa</i>	たみのかまどは
Are rich, indeed.	<i>nigiwainikeri</i>	にぎはひにけり

(SKKS VII 707 English translation by McAuley 2001: Waka 1265).

²⁰³ I am indebted to Dr. T. E. McAuley for this specialist information.

²⁰⁴ 小学国語読本 巻七 第十五「大阪」.

This poetry collection was commissioned by Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239; r. 1183-98) from a team of renowned poets led by Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), and this historical background was and, indeed, is likely to be taught in classrooms either as part of the Japanese language or History lessons. The SKKS is one of the 21 anthologies of *waka*, Japanese songs, compiled at imperial command (*Chokusenshū*) (McAuley 2001: Commentary) over 534 years between 905 and 1439. Therefore, alluding to this poem when teaching this piece from MS-S, new imperial state-compiled songbook, is tantamount to affirming the status of the MS-S and its cultural and educational value. This is an example of intertextual reference as discursive practice.

The next song is from the same MS-S, but Vol.2, published in March 1883. This contextualises the official title of the Japanese Emperor in the myth of the creation of the land and its eternal prosperity. The subject of the song, the Emperor, is described in a variety of paraphrases and each time receives a modified identity, which progressively acquires divine quality. The distinction between the Emperor, the heavenly bodies, the planet, mother-nature, and the gods is blurred. The title, *amatsu-hitsugi*, is a short form of one of the Emperor's official titles, *amatsu-hitsugi-no-mikoto*²⁰⁵. This name consists of six Chinese characters, roughly meaning, 'the prince of the rightful heavenly heir'. The name refers to the Japanese creation myth in which the Emperor is the descendant of the sun-goddess, *Amaterasu-ōmikami*. In verse 7 a particle *no* appears inside the noun, *kami-no-miyo* ('sacred realm of the gods'). Both grammatically and semantically it is integral in forming this noun and is, therefore, counted. This convention holds for all songs in our data.

Figure 5.3. *Amatsu-hitsugi* ('The Prince of the Rightful Heavenly Heir')

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
		J	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	天津日嗣 amatsu-hitsugi <i>the prince of the rightful heavenly heir</i>					1		
1	あまつ日つぎ-の-みさかえ-は amatsu-hitsugi-no-misakae-wa <i>the glory of the prince of the rightful heavenly heir is</i> あめつち-の-共-きはみ-なし ametsuchi-no-tomo-kiwami-nashi <i>limitless both in <u>heaven and earth</u></i>			1		1	1	

²⁰⁵ 天津日嗣皇命

2	わが-ひのもと-の-みひかり-は waga- hinomoto-no-mihikari -wa <i>our Japan(where the sun rises from land of the rising sun)'s divine light</i>			1			2	1
3	月日-と-ともに-かがやか-ん tsukihi-to-tomonikagayaka-n <i>shines in tandem with the time</i>							
4	葦原のちいほあき瑞穂のくに-は-日の御子-の ashiharanochiihoakimizuhonokuni ²⁰⁶ -wa- hinomiko ²⁰⁷ -no <i>ever-prosperous country is where the sun-prince</i>			1		2		1
6	きみ-と-ます-べき-ところ-ぞ-と kimi-to-masu-beki-tokoro-zo-to <i>should reign as the honoured one.</i>						2	
7	神-の-みよ-より-さだまれ-り kami-no-miyo-yori-sadamare-ri <i>so had been determined from the ancient days of the gods.</i>						3	

The song begins with an official title for the Emperor, which itself alludes to the divinity of the Imperial lineage. The first line adds prosperity to his name and, in the second line, still in the same syntactic construction, the three-dimensional vastness of his territory is added. The fourth line begins with a new sentence construction, still with the Emperor as the topic, but this time the syntactic subject is ‘the Emperor’s land’, in a paraphrase, ‘the glory of the land where the sun rises from’, which again alludes to the myth of the sun-goddess. At the same time, it also refers to the legend of the prince, Shōtoku-taishi, who famously called Japan ‘the country where the sun rises from’ (land of the rising sun) in his AD605 letter to Yangdi, the Emperor of Sui (then, China). Shōtoku addressed Sui as ‘the land where sun sets’ in an attempt to discourage Sui from subordinating Japan. This legend was taught during history lessons, giving pupils ample context from which to appreciate this song. Shōtoku himself was a legendary ‘divine’ figure, as he was supposed to have been born in a stable (thus, his other name is *umayado no toyotomimi no mikoto*, meaning the Stable-prince) and grew to become a prodigy, showing miraculous powers, including the ability to understand and help each of the tens of people pleading to him at the same time. The fourth line reiterates the association between the emperor, heavenly bodies and glorious light,

²⁰⁶ 豊葦原の(千五百秋)瑞穂の国 is a phrase used to beautify Japan. It means ‘an ever-prospering country of abundant harvest by god’s will’. It is also used as an honorific address to the Emperor and his princes. It is the name given to the mortal realm – Japan – in *Kojiki* to distinguish it from the realm of the gods – *Takamagahara* (McAuley 2013: personal communication).

²⁰⁷ 日御子 (*hinomiko*) meaning ‘sun-prince’ is another title given to the Emperor and his sons. It is also associated with Himiko (卑弥呼) a legendary shaman queen of *Yamataikoku* in *Wa* (Japan) according to the earliest Chinese account of Japan, known in Japanese as *Gishi-wajin-den* (‘The Treatise on the People of Wa in the Chronicle of the Kingdom of Wei’, 魏志倭人伝) written in the 3rd century.

following which the fifth line introduces two more new imperial terms, the ‘ever-prosperous country’ of the Emperor and the ‘sun-prince’ Emperor. Other selected examples of glorious terms and titles for the emperor are as follows:

Hinomiko (日御子: Divine sun-child)

Amatsu-hitsugi (天津日嗣: Heavenly heir of the sun-goddess)

Kimi (君: honoured one)

Ōkimi (大君: the great, honoured one)

Heika (陛下: Your majesty)

Kōtei (皇帝: the emperor / king / crown)²⁰⁸

Tenshi (天子: the son of the heaven)

Yamato-ne-ko (倭根子: the root of the Land of Yamato)

Arahitō-gami (現人神: the manifestation of god in person = the living god)

Okami (御上: the divine superior)

Okami / shujō (主上: the master superior)

Tenchō (天朝: Heaven’s court)

Mikado (帝: the emperor / the cosmos)

Mikado (御門: the divine gate)

Kinri (禁裏: the forbidden backroom)

Dairi (内裏: the inner room)

Kinchū (禁中: the forbidden inner part)

Gosho (御所: the divine place)

Miya (宮: shrine)

Ō / kō / sumeragi (皇: the emperor / king)

Sumera-mikoto (皇尊: the revered emperor / king)

Kiku no gomon (菊の御紋: the divine crest of chrysanthemum = the chrysanthemum throne)

Lines 5, 6, and 7 are combined to make one sentence structure. In the sentence the sixth line adds the legitimacy of the imperial reign over his land, because, according to the seventh line, it had been a given fact since time immemorial. In this song, Japanese imperialism and nationalism are blended through a network of semantic associations. With the Emperor maintained as the topic throughout the discourse of this song, paraphrases are carefully juxtaposed within individual clauses, and they

²⁰⁸ Many of these terms present metonymy.

mutually reinforce the divinity and legitimacy in the semantic associations surrounding the Emperor, culminating in the last sentence which endorses the Imperial reign as a given fact.

The next song is, again, from the first MS-S published in 1881, and is entitled *Kimi-ga-yo* ('His Majesty's Reign'). It was the national anthem of the Empire of Japan and is still in use today (Repeta 2011.). The opening section of this song comes from a 'Felicitation' poem (*ga no uta*) from *Kokinwakashū*, and was highly unlikely to have been addressed to an Emperor when originally composed, as the original wording was *waga-kimi* ('my lord/lady'), a term used to address any noble person. Therefore, it is 'a good example of how the Meiji establishment mined the past for things which could be incorporated into Emperor worship, but which had much less of an ideological loading originally' (McAuley 2013, personal communication). The interesting fact is that this song uses hardly any words that directly indicate the Emperor. The only word that can be interpreted as 'His majesty' is *kimi*, but this word can actually be used to indicate anyone noble. It is the combination of this address form for a noble person and *yo* ('generation/era') that together implies 'someone noble's world of this generation', which further implies 'his majesty's reign', and finally, because of the fact that the song is used as the national anthem, the word *kimi* ('the noble one') refers to the Emperor. From thereon, all the honorific verbs and various modifiers of positive connotations receive an association with imperialism through the context of the discourse. This is another example highlighting how contextualisation plays a crucial role in ideological word associations.

Figure 5.4. *Kimi-ga-Yo* ('His Majesty's Reign')

		<i>M</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>W</i>
		<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	
	Lyrics	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>
TI	君が代 kimi-ga-yo <i>his majesty's reign</i>					1		
1	君が代-は-千代-に-八千代-に kimi-ga-yo-wa-chiyo-ni-yachiyo-ni <i>May his majesty's reign continue a thousand, eight-thousand-generations</i>					1	2	
2	さざれいし-の-巖-となりて sazareishi-no-iwao-to-nari-te <i>until the pebbles grow into boulders</i>							
3	苔-の-むす-まで koke-no-musu-made <i>lush with moss</i>							

4	うごき-なく-常磐-かきは-に-かぎり-も-あら-じ ugoki-naku- tokiwa-kakiwa -ni-kagiri-mo-ara-ji <i>immovable, eternal, evergreen, and endless</i>						2	
5	君が代-は-千尋-の-底-の kimi-ga-yo-wa-chihiro-no-soko-no <i>May his majesty's reign reach the depth of a thousand miles</i>						1	
6	さざれいし-の-鶺鴒-の-ゐる-磯-と sazareishi-no-u-no-iru-iso-to <i>where the pebbles lay, but cormorants' shores,</i>							
7	現るる-まで arawaruru-made <i>that the (pebbles) will become one day. Until then</i>							
8	かぎり-なき-みよ-の-栄-を-ほぎ-たてまつる kagiri-naki- miyo-no-sakae-wo-hogi-tatematsuru <i>(+honorific)-celebrate the endless prosperity of his majesty's reign</i>						1	1

The recurrent theme of this song is the eternity of the Imperial reign, expressed in a variety of metaphors. The first line uses numerical and hyperbolic expressions of the long length of years. The second and third lines are allegorical, likening the longevity of the imperial reign to the eternity it takes for pebbles to form a rock and then longer, until moss grows richly on it. The unlikelihood of pebbles forming boulders, instead of boulders breaking into pebbles, gives an image of the miraculous power that the divine Emperor holds. The fourth line talks of evergreen trees that are so established and deeply rooted that they are immovable, alluding to the unshakable establishment of the Imperial regime. The evergreen is also auspicious, displaying youthful vigour, and is a standard symbol of longevity²⁰⁹, and thus refers to the eternal imperial reign. The line ends with the theme of endlessness, leading to the fifth line of another allegorical expression of eternity. This time, the imagery is the vast sea, perhaps extending the Imperial reign outward overseas (with a hint of expansionism), reaching the bottom of ocean trenches and finding the smallest pebbles there which, again, will grow into rocky shores one day where even the large water birds such as cormorants may rest and, until that unimaginable distant future, everyone should continue celebrating his reign. The last line ends with an image of the participation of the audience of this song themselves in the joys of imperial dominion. Therefore, the reader/listener/singer of this song is invited into this imagined world. These intricate associations bind the eternal imperial reign to the majestic beauty of the land of Japan, and thus imperialism and patriotic nation-oriented nationalism (2.1.2.4) become intertwined. As cormorants were used for

²⁰⁹ McAuley 2013, personal communication.

fishing in ancient days the imagery of these birds serving their master may suggest the way of imperial subjects serving the emperor.

As we have seen above, representative songs from Period 1 show that the concept of Japanese Imperialism was woven into the lyrics through both direct and indirect references to the Emperor and objects with positive associations. During this period Japan experienced two major international wars, the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese War (Meiji 27) and the 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War (Meiji 37), and there were special *Gunka* ('martial songs') created and sung at schools. An example is the MS-S called *Kyōka-tekiyō Taishō-Gunka* ('Educational Great Victory War Songs'). However, war songs were not included in the main MS-S textbooks in this period, with the exception of a few largely imperial and nation-oriented songs such as those above, with verses possibly suggesting imperial expansionism. Three other songs, *Utsukushiki* ('Beauty' or 'Loving'), a mother's song for a beloved son as discussed in 2.1.2.; *Kosenjō* ('Ancient battlefield'), and *Chūshin* ('A loyal servant') allude to the loyalty of servant-soldiers willing to die for the imperial master. These four, out of ninety-one songs indirectly referring to war, may not appear significant on the surface, however, perhaps a tiny seed of militarism, which was soon to set its roots deep, was thus sown in the otherwise highly ethical and largely innocent MS-S as early as Period 1.

A qualitative study of MS-S in this period (Ōmoto 2009) recognised four categories of literary quality and ideologies in the MS-S texts that relate to *kokumin-kokka keisei* ('building of People's Nation/State'), which are: *jojō-teki* (lyricism), *tokuiku-shugi* (moralism), *chūshin-aikoku-shugi* (imperial loyalty-patriotism), and *gunkoku-shugi* (militarism), and many songs fall into more than one category (Ōmoto 2009: 39). While all these qualities were also found in this study, they were categorised differently into: imperialism, nationalism (nation-oriented and state-oriented), militarism, and the rest (none of the previously mentioned three ideologies). A brief clarification on how these two studies interface is, therefore, needed. Ōmoto (2009) categorises each song as a whole into one or more of the four groups, while this study classifies not the songs, but the morphemes within a song.

Songs categorised under 'lyricism' in Ōmoto (2009) are, for example, *Haruyama* ('Spring mountain'), *Kaore* ('Be fragrant!'), *Agare* ('Rise, lark, rise!'), and others that contain morphemes that, for the majority of the time, are associated directly or indirectly with nationalism (nation-oriented) or unassociated with any of the said three ideologies.

The 'moralism' group includes four subgroups of songs. The first subgroup contains songs of 'discipline' such as *Neya no itado* ('Plank door of the bedroom') and *Manabi* ('Study').

These are songs to encourage children to get up early and, when the morning light shines through the gaps of the thin door, cheerfully go to school. The second subgroup is ‘filial piety’ and ‘love of the hometown’, including songs such as *Nemureyo ko* (‘Sleep, my child’), and *Haha no omoi* (‘Mother’s love’). The third subgroup is composed of songs ‘explaining virtues’ and includes *Makoto wa hito no michi* (‘Truth is the way of life’), *Kagetsu* (‘Flowers and moon’ – i.e. beautiful nature), *Kashira no yuki* (‘Snow on head’), and *Aogeba tōtoshi* (‘Remembering with gratitude’), which depict integrity, the obligation to right wrongs, diligence, gratitude and advancement in life. The last of the four subgroups is ‘Confucian moral education’, and includes songs such as *Go-jō-no-uta* (‘The song of the five morals’) and *Go-rin-no-uta* (‘The song of the five ethics’), both of which echo the Imperial rescript (Appendix 1). Our data analysis disclosed that songs thus categorised by Omoto (2009) contain morphemes that are mainly associated with either nation-oriented or state-oriented nationalism directly and indirectly as well as indirectly expressed imperialism.

The ‘imperial loyalty and patriotism’ group contains songs such as *Waga hi no moto* (‘Our land of the source of the sun (Japan)’), *Fujisan* (‘Mount Fuji’), *Tama-no-miyai* (‘Jewel-like imperial court’), *Kimi-ga-yo* (‘Your majesty’s reign’), and *Chō-chō* (‘Butterfly’). According to our analysis, these songs mainly contain morphemes associated with directly or indirectly expressed imperialism and state- or nation-oriented nationalism. The majority of morphemes in *Chō-chō* are not associated with any of the three ideologies as it is an innocent song about the way the butterfly ‘playfully and freely enjoys life in the beautiful garden’. However, the Eden-like garden is described as a *sakayuru miyo* (‘prosperous divine generation’), which is a popular metonym for the imperial state in prewar Japan. Thus, ‘Izawa [the chief advisor for this MS-S] took an ordinary children’s folk song, and transformed it into an imperial-loyal and patriotic song...depicting the freedom that citizens could enjoy in the prosperity brought about by the newly-established Emperor-centred state, and encouraging them to pledge allegiance to it through this song’ (Ōmoto 2009: 36). In our quantitative and qualitative analyses, songs in this category contained a high proportion of nation-oriented morphemes and directly or indirectly expressed imperialism. It is striking how the Emperor is associated with the creation of the beautiful land, abundance, prosperity, limitless compassion, majestic glory, all the virtues, and security, making him a virtual deity. In fact, according to Ōmoto ‘about a quarter of the first MS-S, *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*, consists of songs for *chūkun-aikoku* (‘loyalty-patriotism’) and, therefore, one of the features of the MS-S of this period was ‘a collection of hymns to worship the Emperor’ (2009: 38). This observation is valid, recalling Mori Arinori’s intentions for Japan’s first MS-S (3.1.1.) and the western materials on which the MS-S was based (3.1.1.).

The final group is ‘militarism’, which includes *Hotaru no hikari* (‘The light of the fireflies’) which was sung to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne*, and which is, on the whole, an innocent song of gratitude expressed by a graduating student who had studied diligently, despite their poverty. Unable to afford oil, the student studied under the light of the fluorescent insects in summer and in the reflection of moonlight on the snow in winter, but was always guided by a righteous, generous teacher. The first and second verses of this beautiful song are sung at graduation ceremonies nationwide, even today in 2014. However, the third and fourth verses, which were deleted after the war, contained an expansionist message. Verse 3 says that citizens from the tip of Tsukushi (the southern-most tip of Japan excluding Okinawa) to the edges of Michinoku (the northern-most part of mainland Japan) must unite as one to dedicate themselves to the country. Then, in verse 4, children are told that both Chishima-no-oku (the Kuril Islands) and Okinawa are within the nation’s territory, and thus they should do their utmost to defend these for the sake of the country. Therefore, the song, which was intended for graduation ceremonies from Period 1, was devised as an MS-S with the intention of sending graduates from the schools to the frontlines to defend the state (Ōmoto 2009: 38; Ogawa 2005: 56). This song begins innocently and, progressively, ideologies of imperialism, expansionism and militarism are added. Therefore, ideologies are expressed through morphemes that express a single ideology at a time rather than combinations through *Multis*, and that is characteristic of Period 1.

As our quantitative and qualitative analyses revealed, the majority of morphemes are either ideology-free, and as they form parts of poetic verses or nation-oriented songs of lyricism. Indeed, quantitatively and qualitatively, ‘lyricism is the prominent feature’ of this MS-S, which was devised to ‘wrap up moral education and patriotism in the silky gown of lyricism to nurture them’ in the minds of the children ‘in order to create, ultimately, “people of the nation” who would be gleefully despatched to the Imperial battles’ (Ōmoto 2009: 39).

5.4. Period 2 (1910-1930; Meiji 43-Shōwa 5 incl. the entire Taishō era)

An overhaul of the MS-S resulted in a very different series of songbooks published in 1910 as *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-MS-S* (‘ordinary elementary school songbooks to accompany the national language reader’). Lyrics are based on the stories in the reader. By this time, Japan had experienced two major international wars in less than sixteen years, which might provide a reason for the increase in expressions associated with militarism in the MS-S of Period 2. Statistical results implied that Japanese indirectly expressed nationalism and directly expressed militarism, were the most prominent characteristics of the MS-S in this period, possibly being juxtaposed in the same line of a song, which can, when contexts are

taken into account, create an association between nation-oriented nationalism and direct military vocabulary in the minds of children singing the MS-S. An example is *Suishiei no kaiken* ('Meeting at Shuishiying') in line 18, which we shall see below. Moreover, unlike in the previous period, *Multi* (morphemes associated with more than one ideology) also increased in combination with the prominence of directly expressed militarism, suggesting that a word overtly denoting militarism may also denote imperialistic and/or nationalistic notions through contextual reading. Again, overt military vocabulary is becoming associated with imperial and national ideologies in this period, more than Period 1. A clear example of this is found in *Shussei-heishi* ('Soldiers at the front'). The following example demonstrates the above characteristics. The song is based on an international military incident-turned-legend. The story was included in Japanese language textbooks²¹⁰, which gave a rich context to enable pupils to appreciate this song, and understand its meanings from the discourse in layers of contexts.

Figure 5.5. *Suishiei-no-Kaiken* ('Meeting at Shuishiying'), 5th Grade

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
Lyrics		j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	水師營-の-会見 Suishiei²¹¹-no-kaiken <i>meeting at Suishiei (Shuishiying)</i>		3		3			3
1	旅順-開城-約成り-て-敵-の-將軍-ステッセル Ryojun-kaijō-yakunari-te-teki-no-shōgun-Sutesseru²¹² <i>Agreed to surrender at Ryojun (port Arthur), the enemy General Stessel</i>	1	7		8			8
2	乃木大將-と-会見-の-所-は-いつこ-水師營 Nogi-taishō-to-kaiken-no-tokoro-wa-izuko-Suishiei <i>meets with General Nogi. 'Where?' 'At Shuishiying'</i>	1	7		8			8
3	庭-に-一本-棗-の-木-彈丸-あと-も-いちじるく niwa-ni-ippon-natsume-no-ki- dangan-ato-mo-ichijirushiku in the garden stands a Jujube tree with bullet holes	1	1					
4	くづれ-残れる-民屋-に-いま-ぞ-相見る-二將軍 kuzure-nokoreru-minoku-ni-ima-zo- aimiru-nishōgun <i>in the crumbling farmhouse the two Generals met</i>	1	1					

²¹⁰ 尋常小学読本巻10 (Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon Vol.10), 尋常小学国語読本巻9 (Jinjō-shōgaku-kokugo-tokuhon Vol.9), 小学国語読本巻10 (Shōgaku-kokugo-tokuhon Vol.10).

²¹¹ Shuishiying was in Dalian in China, and was where the cease-fire agreement which concluded the Battle of Lushun was signed between Anatoly Stessel and Nogi Maresuke, representing Russia and Japan respectively, in 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War.

²¹² Anatoly Mikhaylovich Stessel (Анатоль Михайлович Стéссель), who was the Russian baron, military leader, and general responsible for the fall of Port Arthur to the Japanese on 2 January, 1905.

5	乃木大将-は-おごそかに-御めぐみ-深き-大君-の nogi-taishō-wa-ogosoka-ni-mimegumi-fukaki-ookimi-no General Nogi, solemnly, delivers the righteous sovereign lord's	1				1	3	
6	大みことのり-つたふれ-ば-彼-かしくみ-て-謝し-まつる ōmikotonori-tsutafure-ba-kare-kashikomi-te-shashi- matsuru edict upon hearing which, the enemy bows down to apologise				7	1	6	7
7	昨日-の-敵-は-今日-の-友-語る-言葉-も-うちとけ-て kinō-no- teki -wa-kyō-no-tomo-kataru-kotoba-mo-uchitoke-te yesterday's enemies are now friends, exchanging words in a familiar tone		1					
8	我-は-たたへ-つ-彼-の-防備-彼-は-称へ-つ-我が-武勇 ware-wa-tatae-tsu-ka-no- bōbi -ka-wa-tatae-tsu-waga- buyū we praise their defense while they praise our proWess	2						
9	かたち-正して-言ひ-出-ぬ-此-の-方面-の-戦闘-に katachi-tadashi-te-ii-de-nu-kono-hōmen-no- sentō-ni (Stessel) solemnly inquires about the losses in these battles	1	1					
10	二子-を-失ひ-給ひ-つる-閣下-の-心-如何-に-ぞと nishi-wo-ushinai-tamai-tsuru-kakka-no-kokoro-ikani-zo-to of your (Nogi's) two sons, sympathising		6					
11	二人-の-我が-子-それぞれに-死所-を-得-たる-を-喜 べり futari-no-waga-ko-sorezoreni-shisho-wo-e-taru-wo- yorokobe-ri 'my sons met good deaths of warriors' honour', proudly		1 2					
12	これ-ぞ-武門-の-面目-と-大将-答力-あり kore-zo- bumon-no-menboku-to-taishō-tōriki-ari replies the General (Nogi) with strength of worrier's pride.	1	3					
13	両将-昼食-共にして-なほも-尽きせ-ぬ-物語 ryōshō-hiruge-tomonishi-te-naomo-tsukise-nu-monogatari The two Generals dined together discussing endlessly	1						
14	我-に-愛する-良馬-あり-今日-の-記念-に-献ず-べし ware-ni-mesuru- ryōba -ari-kyō-no-kinen-ni-kenzu-beshi 'let me offer you my cherished horse to commemorate this day'		1					
15	厚意-謝する-に-余り-あり-軍-の-おきて-に-したがひ-て kōi-shasuru-ni-amari-ari- gun-no-okite-ni-shitagai-te 'Gratitude exceeds words, but the military rules must be obeyed,	1	4					
16	他日-我-が-手-に-受領せ-ば-ながく-いたはり-養は-ん tajitsu-waga-te-ni-juryōse-ba-nagaku-itawari-yashinawa-n when I receive the horse it will be cherished for many years'							

17	『さらば』と握手-ねんごろに-別れ-て-行く-や-右-左 'saraba'-to-akushu-nengoroni-wakare-te-iku-ya-migi-hidari 'Good-bye'. (They) shook hands and parted to the right and left.							
18	砲音-絶え-し-砲台-に-ひらめき-立て-り-日-の-御旗 <u>hōon-tae-shi-hōdai-ni-hirameki-tate-ri-hi-no-mihata</u> <u>On the battery where cannon sound has ceased the divine flag of the rising-sun stands, sparkling</u>	2	3	1	5	3	0	3

The title directly refers to a military incident called the ‘Shuishiying (Suishiei) meeting’, which occurred in 1905 – only five years prior to the publication of this MS-S. The protagonists of this song met at a dilapidated farmhouse in a northern suburb of Shuishiying on 2 January 1905 to sign the agreement on the Russian surrender (Shimazu 2009: 180-181). Qualitative analysis of lines 1 and 2 using the DHA-CDA framework enables us to take into account the classroom and social contexts in which the children learnt and sung this song. The contents of lines 1 and 2 are familiar to children almost verbatim from the accompanying history and language textbooks as well as singing the popular song with family and friends so often (Toba 2012). Therefore, like a slogan, the entire phrases in lines 1-2 are considered to form a larger unit of analysis in this particular case, and were analysed for ideological associations. Each line was, in its entirety, found to contain ideologically associated morphemes aided by inter-and extra-textual contexts.

The story is a glamorised version of the historical events with allusions to ancient Japanese stories depicting the *bushidō* moral code. For example, the honour, loyalty, and mutual respect between the generals is depicted in lines 5-17, and compassion and humanity are found in lines 9-10. This was also a reflection of Japan’s ‘self-image... as a civilised state (*bunmeikoku*) fighting on behalf of ‘civilisation’ (Shimazu 2009: 157-158). Some direct militaristic words are used (*bullets, battle, General, cannon sound, gun battery*), but other linguistic items denoting militarism are mostly by contextual association (lines 1, 2, 10-12, 15, 18). Some of these expressions form a part of this nationally important historical event and, therefore, are associated with nationalism at the same time. Thus, these words (made of morphemes) are categorised as *Multi*. For example, in line 18, both direct (cannon, battery) and indirect (the rest of the phrase) militarism are found in the section ‘*hōon-tae-shi-hōdai-ni* (on the battery where cannon sound has ceased)’, while both direct (‘divine flag’) and indirect (the rest of the noun phrase) are found in the section ‘*hirameki-tate-ri-hi-no-mihata* stands the divine flag of the rising-sun, sparkling’. Moreover, morphemes associated with direct imperialism (the divine flag of the rising-sun) as metonymy are also found. This case demonstrates multiple ideological associations within the confined space of one line of a song. In general, the song is more of a celebration of the honour, courage, and loyalty

displayed on a battlefield than a depiction of the gory reality of war, despite the setting. The admirable qualities of these men are reminiscent of samurai ethics, which symbolise a national tradition and, through the context, militarist and nationalist ideologies become associated with each other. This is typical of a song where both M, I and N are indirectly expressed in *Multi* morphemes with direct expressions of M that are mostly inanimate (canon, battery) or abstract (military titles such as General), and thus the gory reality of war seems remote.

In contrast, there were groups of songs in this period where directly expressed militarism was also influential, together with indirectly expressed militarism. In these cases, nationalism and imperialism were less prominent.

Figure 5.6. *Shusse-heishi* ('Soldiers at the Front'), 6th Grade

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	出征-兵士 shusse-heishi <i>soldiers at the front</i>	2						
1	行け-や-行け-や-とく-行け-我が-子- ike-ya-ike-ya-toku-ike-waga-ko <i>go my dear boy, hasten my boy</i> おい-たる-父-の-望-は-一つ oi-taru-chichi-no-nozomi-wa-hitotsu <i>aging father has just one desire</i>		6					
2	義勇-の-務-御国-に-尽く-し- giyū-no-tsutome-mikuni-ni-tsuku-shi <i>volunteer and serve the country</i> 孝子-の-誉-我が-家-に-あげ-よ Kōshi-no-homare-waga-ya-ni-age-yo <i>Bring pride to the family as a dedicated son</i>		3	12		1		1
3	さらば-行く-か-やよ-待て-我が-子- saraba-iku-ka-yayo-mate-waga-ko <i>now you must go, no, wait my son</i> おい-たる-母-の-願-は-一つ oi-taru-haha-no-negai-wa-hitotsu <i>aging mother has just one desire</i>		3					

4	<p>軍-に-行か-ば-からだ-を-いとへ- <u>gun-ni-ika-ba-karada-wo-itoe-</u> <i>as you enter the army take care of your health</i></p> <p>弾丸-に-死す-とも-病-に-死す-な <u>dangan-ni-shisu-tomo-yamai-ni-shisu-na</u> <i>you may die of bullets, but never by illness</i></p>	2	8					
5	<p>うれし-うれし-勇まし-うれし- <u>ureshi-ureshi-isamashi-ureshi</u> <i>happy, happy, brave and happy</i></p> <p>出征-兵士-の-弟-ぞ-我-は <u>shusse-heishi-no-otōto-zo-ware-wa</u> <i>(drafted) soldier's brother, I am</i></p>	2	1					
6	<p>兄君-我-も-後-より-行か-ん- <u>anigimi-ware-mo-ato-yori-ika-n</u> <i>brother, I will soon follow you</i></p> <p>兄弟-共に-敵²¹³-を-ば-討た-ん <u>kyōdai-tomoni-teki-wo-ba-uta-n</u> <i>brothers together conquer the enemy</i></p>	1	4					
7	<p>親-に-事-へ-弟-を-助け- <u>oya-ni-koto-he-otōto-wo-tasuke</u> <i>serve the parents and help the brother</i></p> <p>家-を-治め-ん-妹-我-は <u>ie-wo-osame-n-imōto-ware-wa</u> <i>as your sister I'll take care of the family</i></p>							
8	<p>家-の-事-を-ば-心-に-かけ-ず- <u>ie-no-koto-woba-kokoro-ni-kake-zu</u> <i>do not worry about the family anymore</i></p> <p>御国-の-為-に-行き-ませ-いざや <u>mikuni-no-tame-ni-iki-mase-izaya</u> <i>Must go now for the sake of the divine country</i></p>		5	1		1		1
9	<p>さらば-さらば-父-母-さらば- <u>saraba-saraba-chichi-haha-saraba</u> <i>good-bye, good-bye, father, mother, good-bye</i></p> <p>弟-さらば-妹-さらば <u>otōto-saraba-imōto-saraba</u> <i>brother, good-bye, sister, good-bye</i></p>		5					
10	<p>武勇-の-はたらき-命-ささげ-て- <u>buyū-no-hataraki-inochi-sasage-te</u> <i>dedicating this life for courageous deeds</i></p> <p>御国-の-敵-を-討ち-なん-我-は <u>mikuni-no-teki-wo-uchi-nan-ware-wa</u> <i>conquer the enemy of the divine country, I shall</i></p>	1	11	1		1		2

²¹³ Without context, the word 'teki' in Japanese means opposition in a more general sense than military alone.

11	<u>勇み-勇み-て-出で-行く-兵士-</u> isami-isami-te-ide-iku-heishi <i>bravely, bravely, soldiers depart</i> はげまし-つつ-も-見送る-一家 hagemashi-tsutsumo-miokuru-ikka <i>the family sends him off with encouragement</i>	1	5				
12	<u>勇氣-は-彼-に-情-は-是-に-</u> yūki-wa-kare-ni-nasake-wa-kore-ni <i>brave heart for him, compassion for these</i> <u>勇まし-やさし-ををし-の-別</u> isamashi-yasahi-ooshi-nowakare <i>brave, kind, virile, farewell.</i>	1	5				

With Japanese being an agglutinating language, *ware* ('I') in line 10 can be modified by its long and complex preceding section '*buyū-no-hataraki-inochi-sasage-te, mikuni-no-teki-wo-uchi-nan-ware-wa* ('dedicating this life for courageous deeds - conquer the enemy of our divine country)'), and so that 'I' narrator is characterised as a brave and loyal patriotic person. Here, directly expressed militarism is found in *buyū* ('militarily courageous deeds') and the rest, excluding *ware-wa* ('I-topic') constitute indirectly-expressed militarism. Direct nationalism is expressed in *mikuni* ('divine country'), which is, simultaneously, also an allusion to the emperor, and thus associated with direct imperialism. So, two morphemes are double count. Children would be singing this song projecting themselves onto the 'I-narrator', who is the loyal and fearless soldier, nurturing patriotic militarism based on the ethics of imperial loyalty. As frequent juxtapositions of 'family love' and 'divine country' begin to merge these two concepts in *Multis*, fighting for the sake of one's own family becomes tightly associated with fighting for the nation of Japan, because it is divine, and because they are loved, and because they – the children themselves – are the chosen heroes.

The lyrics repeatedly emphasise the association between the honour and courage of the soldier (lines 2, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12), the divine country (2, 8, 10), the loving family (1-9), the voluntary sacrifice of life as a soldier for the country (1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11) to the extent that fighting to protect the country and sacrificing oneself to protect the family were merged into one concept. Death, for that purpose, is glorified (1, 2, 3, 4, 10). Although human relationships are depicted in this song, the overall impression is not humane, but fanatical. However, while that may be the most likely impression based on the social context of the UK in 2014, a different reader in a different part of the world might feel an affinity towards the message of this song even today. Since the children of Period 2 were taught this story during reading classes and *shūshin* ('ethics') classes, they would have been more contextualised and familiarised with this line of thought as the behaviour of children matured

to the age when they can serve the country by fighting for its preservation. The year after the publication of this ‘songbook accompanying the reader’, the first two volumes of the full-fledged 6-volume MS-S, called *Jinjō-shōgaku-MS-S* were published in 1911, and the whole 6 volumes were published by June 1913. Many of the songs from the ‘reader’ songbook were adapted into the new songbook. Both the above, ‘Meeting at Shuishiying’ and ‘Soldiers at the front’ were included in Volume 5 (5th Grade) and Volume 6 (6th Grade), respectively.

One of the less prominent characteristics of the MS-S in Period 2 is the relatively strong influence of directly expressed imperialism. The two songs below illustrate this. The first song is from Volume two for 2nd Grade.

Figure 5.7. *Tennō-heika* (‘His Majesty the Emperor’), 2nd Grade

		<i>M</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>W</i>
		<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	
	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	
TI	天皇陛下 Tennō-heika <i>His majesty the Emperor</i>					1		
1	神-と-仰ぎ-奉り、 kami-to-aogi-tatematsuri <i>honour and worship as a god</i>						4	
2	親-と-も-仰ぎ-奉る、 oya-to-mo-aogi-tatematsuru <i>honour and worship as a parent</i>						5	
3	天皇陛下-の-御為-ならば、 Tennō-heika-no-otame-nara-ba <i>If for the sake of his majesty the Emperor</i>					1	4	
4	わが-身-も-家-も-忘れ-て。 Waga-mi-mo-ie-mo-wasure-te <i>Spare not myself nor my family</i>							

The short song above does not identify for what reason and purpose one should sacrifice oneself and one’s family for the sake of the Emperor, but depicts a firm determination to do so in a first person narrative style. Use of the first person narrator in a song is powerful as it makes the singer identify him/herself with the protagonist. If repeated many times, it reinforces the sense of affinity to the line of thought expressed in the song. It was not only the Emperor that was a subject of the MS-S. Empress Shōken (the Empress consort of Emperor Meiji) was a popular figure, known for her support of women’s education as well as for charity work, including medical care for the poor and wounded. The next song was devised for 3rd Grade.

Figure 5.8. *Kōgō-heika* ('Her Majesty the Empress'), 3rd Grade

		M		N		I		
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
		j	k	l	m	n	o	
	Lyrics							
TI	皇后陛下 Kōgō-heika Her Majesty the Empress					1		
1	天-に-日月-ある-如く ten-ni-tsukihi-arugotoku <i>like the sun and moon in the heaven's above</i>							
2	並び-て-います-御光-を narabi-te-imasu-mihikari-wo <i>divine lights next to each other</i>						1	
3	仰ぐ-も-たかき-大宮居 Aogu-mo-takaki-oomiyai <i>Worship the heights of the imperial palace.</i>					1	3	
4	国土-あまねく-うるほはす kokudo-amaneku-uruhohasu <i>all over the land is amply provided</i>			1				
5	雨-にも-似たり-御恵-の ame-nimo-nitari-omegumi-no <i>like the rain of blessings</i>						1	
6	露-の-かから-ぬ-草-も-なく。 tsuyu-no-kakara-nu-kusa-mo-naku <i>no single grass is left without a drop of dew</i>							
7	寒さ-おほは-ん-袖-も-無き samusa-ohowa-n-sode-mo-naki <i>having no sleeve to cover the coldness</i>							
8	貧し-の-民-も-おん母-と mazushi-no-tami-mo-onhaha-to <i>poor folks look to the divine mother</i>			1			4	1
9	畏-けれ-ども-仰ぎ-見る kashiko-kere-domo-aobi-miru <i>awesome, but they look to worship</i>						2	
10	時計-の-針-の-絶間-なく tokei-no-hari-no-taema-naku <i>like the clock needles without rest</i>							
11	業-を-はげめ-の-御さとし-を、 waza-wo-hageme-no-osatoshi-wo <i>work diligently, her gentle chastening,</i>						1	

12	学びの子等も忘れぬや。 manabi no kora-mo-wasure-me-ya <i>never forget it, pupils / students.</i>							
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This song's association with militarism is not ostensive. It is largely a beautification of the imperial character, designed to evoke a sense of gratitude to the righteous and compassionate Empress, who is 'the mother' of her subjects (line 8). The song begins with a direct reference to the Empress, firmly establishing her as the topic of the song and the subject of the sentence structure and, therefore, grammatically, all the honorifics (2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 11) used in the following verses automatically refer to her. The Empress-subject relationship is paraphrased in various other pairings using metaphors, as a benefactor and a benefit-receiver, such as the shining heavenly bodies and the land (1-3&4), the rain of blessings and the grass (4-5&6), and the mother and her children, who are the Empress and her subjects (7-12). The tone of this song is similar to the imperial-themed songs in Period 1, such as 'Jewel-like Imperial Palace'. The 'family nation' theme is an integral part of the *kokutai* ('national polity') doctrine where the sovereignty rests with the Emperor alone. This song glorifies the Empress as a divine light, similar to the Emperor himself, but at the same time calls her *Onhaha* ('honourable mother'), making her a more accessible figure by equating the imperial family with the pupil's family. As such, the Empress is both sacred and familiar at the same time, inviolable and intimately close to the audience of this song. Sovereignty is emphasised when Imperial rights are discussed, but the intimacy is stressed when obligation to the Empire is suggested, as in the case of the next song. The representations of the emperor in the previous song and the Empress in this one are heavily gendered. It depicts a peaceful scene of a family quietly enjoying each other's company, but the father's sudden mention of his past military campaign²¹⁴ reminds the reader of their military obligation, although it is embedded in a series of innocent everyday activities of a modest, happy family. Therefore, the overall tone is relaxed and nostalgic. Indeed, the mother and father theme is one of the favourite recurring themes in MS-S throughout all four periods. The following is one such example and the imagery of a family, not affluent in material terms by any means, but rich in spirit, loving, forward-looking, and cheerful, close-knit community. This may feed into enriching the concept of national polity as we will see. This is a popular MS-S song at many occasions even today.

²¹⁴ This military campaign may refer to Sino-Japanese or Russo-Japanese Wars (Ikeda 2009).

Figure 5.9. *Fuyu-no-Yoru* ('Winter Night'), 3rd Grade

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
		j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	冬-の-夜 fuyu-no-yoru <i>winter night</i>							
1	燈火-ちかく-衣-縫ふ-母-は tomoshihi-chikaku-kinu-nuu-haha-wa <i>by the candlelight mother is sewing</i>							
2	春-の-遊-の-楽しさ-語る。 Haru-no-asobi-no-tanoshisa-kataru <i>As she talks of the joys of spring (playing outside)</i>							
3	居並ぶ-子ども-は-指-を-折り-つつ inarabu-kodomo-wa-yubi-wo-ori-tsutsu <i>children surround her and count the days</i>							
4	日数-かぞへ-て-喜び-勇む。 Hikazu-kazoe-te-yorokobi-isamu <i>looking forward to the spring, cheerful and excited</i>							
5	<u>囲炉裏火</u> -は-とろとろ iroribi -wa-torotoro <i>Small flames steady in the <u>open hearth</u></i>				1			
6	外-は-吹雪。 Soto-wa-fubuki <i>Blizzard outside.</i>							
7	<u>囲炉裏</u> -の-はた-に-縄なふ-父-は irori -no-hata-ni-nawa-nau-chichi-wa <i>by the <u>open hearth</u> father is making ropes</i>				1			
8	過ぎ-し-いくさ-の-手柄-を-語る。 Sugi-shi- ikusa-no-tegara -wo-kataru <i>As he recalls his <u>battlefield campaigns</u></i>	1	2					
9	居並ぶ-子ども-は-ねむさ-忘れ-て inarabu-kodomo-wa-nemusa-wasure-te <i>children listen in (with excitement) not feeling sleepy</i>							
10	耳-を-傾け-こぶし-を-握る。 Mimi-wo-katamuke-kobushi-wo-nigiru <i>Fists clenched (with excitement), eyes wide open.</i>							
11	<u>囲炉裏火</u> -は-とろとろ、 iroribi -wa-torotoro <i>Small flames steady in the <u>open hearth</u></i>				1			
12	外-は-吹雪。 Soto-wa-fubuki <i>Blizzard, outside.</i>							

In fact, much of the MS-S throughout the four periods are poetic and free of overt ideology, but, like the song above, there are occasional mentions of war, almost in passing, so that sometimes it goes almost unnoticed, but is certainly embedded deep in close association with the love and dedication for one's family and, therefore, for the nation, and for the one that binds them all, the emperor. Through *Multi* and juxtapositions of these concepts, they merge and become impossible to tease apart.

The MS-S series of this period was used in schools until 1932, when a revised version of the MS-S series was introduced. The reason for the revision was apparently the unpopularity of some of the archaic songs. The culture of Taishō democracy and intellectuals' *genbun-icchi-undō* ('campaign for the unification of speech and writing styles') were said to be behind this revision, as discussed extensively in Chapter 3 (3.1.4. in particular). However, many of the songs were retained in the new version. A list in Appendix 13 compares the MS-S of Periods 2 and 3. It is clear from the list, many songs from Period 2 were retained in the new MS-S published in Period 3. Yet, interestingly, the deletion and addition of many other songs have given different characteristics to the MS-S of Period 3, as we shall see next.

5.5. Period 3 (1931-40; Shōwa 6-15)

MS-S of this period is situated against a complex socio-cultural backdrop: the discursive practice of propaganda and the cross-curricular teaching approach that may have shaped children's interpretation of inter-textuality between the texts of MS-S and related texts at school as well as those outside school. Topics of MS-S of this period were taken from other compulsory subjects, such as national language, history, geography, ethics, and so on (3.2.5. and 3.2.6), which supplied intertextual contexts at school, while outside school children were exposed to progressively intensifying propaganda, both state-controlled and grassroots. In fact, Taishō democracy and its liberal artistic movements in the 1920s prepared the ground for the mass consumption of propagandistic information, and emerging 'Japanese propagandists did not have to instruct the Japanese about nationalism and patriotism; the public had already learned them in Meiji- and Taisho-era schools and educational programs' (Kushner 2006:20). With these layers of contexts in mind we will analyse the MS-S texts of this period below.

Our quantitative results revealed three sets of features in the MS-S of this period. According to PCA they are: 1/ the prominence of indirectly expressed nationalism and *Multi* with indirectly expressed imperialism; 2/ the prominence of indirectly expressed militarism and

Multi as well as indirectly expressed imperialism; and 3/ the prominence of indirectly expressed imperialism and *Multi*, which are least likely to be juxtaposed with indirectly or directly expressed militarism. From this, we can predict that MS-S texts of this period contain a high volume of morphemes associated with state-oriented nationalism, and a certain degree of imperialism and militarism, but they are mainly expressed indirectly by morphemes that can denote more than one ideology, relying on contextual interpretation. In other words, nationalism and imperialism, and to a degree, militarism, are associated through the same set of morphemes thanks to contextualisation, and that tendency is stronger than previous periods. Moreover, the overt expression of militarism is not prominent, particularly when imperialism is indirectly expressed. Thus, the associative link between militarism and imperialism through contextualised morphemes is not prominent in this period, though state-oriented nationalism and imperialism is. Indeed, imperialism has become more contextualised and associative than in previous periods, allowing space for more overt mention of militarism in the text. According to our descriptive statistics in the previous chapter, the number of morphemes associated with imperialism is the lowest in the four periods, and militarism has increased by nearly 50 per cent from Period 2, which means children were more exposed to militarism than previous periods, mainly through association with other ideologies and partially through songs dedicated to militarism. This shift in textual features may be better understood from the historical background in which the MS-S was issued.

While Europe suffered great losses in World War I, because of its geographical distance from the battlefields, Japan enjoyed a period of (1916-20) economic success in international trade in Asia, but with the end of WWI, European products began to return to their Asian colonies and, with increased tariffs imposed on Japanese products, the country's export industries began to decline. Then came the great Tokyo earthquake of 1923 and, in 1930-31, Japan was hit by a great financial crisis. There were severe famines in the northern part of Japan, too. This economic and political situation was having a tremendous impact on the everyday life of the population when the Period 3 MS-S was published in 1932. The economic struggle led to domestic social unrest while, internationally, it also propelled Japan to seek opportunities and resources abroad, creating international conflicts. Japan had learnt much from Western civilisation since the dawn of the Meiji era, but by this time it had turned its focus to the usefulness of propaganda in mobilisation efforts, modelled on British methods during WWI (Kushner 2006: 22). Traditional 'morally-based' Sino-centric *kyōka* ('moral suasion') movements of 1880-1930 were replaced by 'technological and scientifically based' *senden* ('propaganda' / 'advertisement') reflecting 'an empire focused on linking the will of imperial subjects to the will of the nation and the splendour of its

expansion' (Kushner 2006: 23) for mobilisation purposes. This observation is supported by a number of songs in MS-S of this period that directly or indirectly mention glorious military conquests or honorable deaths, as well as the nation's divine influence abroad. The following is a list of such songs²¹⁵: *Amaterasu-Ōmikami* ('Sun-goddess, Amaterasu'); *Shusse-heishi* ('Soldiers at the front'); *Ware wa umi no ko* ('I am a son of the seas'); *Nihonkai-kaisen* ('Battle of the Japan Sea'); *Shinsuishiki* ('Ship launching ceremony'); *Nyūei wo miokuru* ('Farewell to the conscripted'); *Suishiei no kaiken* ('Meeting at Suishiying'); *Hirose Chūsa* ('Lieutenant Colonel Hirose'); and *Tachibana Chūsa* ('Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana'). Moreover, historical or legendary stories of glorious battles by respected loyal servants were told in the following songs (figures in brackets show the rough historical dates of the stories: *Soga Kyōdai* (12th century), *Katō Kiyomasa* (16th), *Kojima Takatoku* (14th), *Saitō Sanemori* (12th); *Yamata no orochi* (prehistorical), *Toyotomi Hideyoshi* (16th), *Hiyodori goe* (12th); and, *Nasu no yoichi* (12th). Other songs allude to glorious battles through expressions of patriotic gratitude as in *Yasukuni-jinja* ('Yasukuni shrine'), family love *Fuyu no yoru* ('Winter night'), or fables of unlikely heroes righting wrongs such as *Hanasaka jijii* ('The old man who turned ashes into blooms') and *Momotarō* ('The peach boy's adventure'). Glorification of the nation is found in otherwise straightforward nature-themed songs such as *Nikkōsan* ('Mt. Nikkō') which contains a line: *rakuen nihon no taenaru hana to gaikokujin sae mezuru mo yoroshi zo* ('even foreigners adore Mt Nikkō as the flower of paradise land, Japan'). The lyrics of most nature-themed songs and the above-mentioned fable-based songs are written in *dōyō* ('nursery rhymes') style that was intended to capture children's natural discourse style as discussed earlier (3.1.4.). At the same time, songs inherited from the previous period still contained archaic styles and advanced socio-historical vocabulary that needed to be explained to children by the teachers and, possibly, digested concepts were relayed through after-school entertainment such as *kamishibai* ('paper plays') (Kushner 2009: 243-264).

Statistically, the MS-S of this period display the prominence of indirectly expressed nationalism in *Multi*, suggesting that, in a song that appears to express the concept of nationalism, concepts of Japanese imperialism or militarism are also likely to be found. The following is one such an example.

²¹⁵ A list of Period 3 MS-S is available in Appendix 13.

Figure 5.10. *Yasukuni-jinja* ('Yasukuni Shrine'), 4th Grade.

		<i>M</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>W</i>
		<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	
	Lyrics	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>P</i>
TI	靖国神社 yasukuni-jinja <i>Yasukuni shrine</i>	1		1		1		2
1	花-は-桜木-人-は-武士 Hana-wa-sakuragi-hito-wa- bushi <i>Cherry blossom and warrior</i>	1						
2	その-桜木-に-囲ま-るる sono-sakuragi-ni-kakoma-ruru <i>surrounded by those cherry trees</i>							
3	世-を-靖国-の-御社-よ。 Yo-wo-yasukuni-no-miyashiro ²¹⁶ -yo <i>The shrine of peace on the land</i>	3		3		3		6
4	御国-の-為-に-いさぎよく mikuni-no-tame-ni-isagiyoku <i>for the divine country, graciously</i>		5	1		1	4	6
5	花-と-散り-に-し-人々-の hana-to-chiri-ni-shi-hitobito-no <i>people fell to the ground like the petals, and</i>		7				7	7
6	魂-は-ここ-に-ぞ-鎮ま-れる。 Tamashii-wa-koko-ni-zo-shizuma-reru <i>Their souls rest here</i>		7				7	7
7	命-は-軽く-義-は-重し Inochi-wa-karuku-gi-wa-omoshi <i>life is light, but justice is weighty</i>		6				6	6
8	その-義-を-践み-て-大君-に sono-gi-wo-fumi-te-ookimi-ni <i>for the justice, to his majesty,</i>		7			1	6	7
9	命-ささげ-し-大丈夫-よ Inochi-sasage-shi-daijōbu-yo <i>men offered their lives</i>		5				5	5
10	銅-の-鳥居-の-奥-ふかく hagane-no- torii ²¹⁷ -no-oku-fukaku <i>deep behind the copper gate</i>			1				
11	神垣-高く-まつられ-て、 kamigaki-takaku-matsurare-te <i>behind the high-walls, worshipped,</i>		4	1				1
12	誉-は-世々-に-残る-なり Homare-wa-yoyo-ni-nokoru-nari <i>Their honour will remain for eternity</i>		5					

As the title suggests, this song has strongly militaristic connotations²¹⁸, but actually, hardly contains any militaristic vocabulary, in the sense of the individual words' dictionary

²¹⁶ This is another word for 'jinja (shrine)'.

²¹⁷ This is a technical term for the shrine gate familiar to people of all generations in prewar Japan.

²¹⁸ Japan's Prime Minister's visit to the shrine gate has caused international controversies for decades and as recently as in 27 December 2013 (McCurry, 'Japan's Shinzo Abe angers neighbours and US by visiting war dead shrine', guardian.com).

meanings. The only exception is *bushi* ('warrior') and, perhaps, *Yasukuni-jinja* ('Yasukuni shrine') can be considered as directly expressing militarism, since the shrine commemorates Japan's war dead. However, that is 'acquired' direct meaning. The word *Yasukuni-jinja* itself only means 'Peace-on-earth shrine'. Whether we consider *Yasukuni-jinja* as an expression of militarism or not is analytically crucial as it has a variety of other associations. The original essence of Shinto is religious, ethical and philosophical (Muraoka 1988), but it is also a ritual tradition deeply rooted in Japanese culture as well as having political and national associations, and it is essentially a philosophy (Boyd & Williams 2005: 33). Children who learnt this song were also taught what Yasukuni shrine stood for during their 'ethics' classes. The following is an excerpt from *Jinjō-shōgaku-shūshin-sho* ('Ethics textbook'), Vol.4, Item 3, 'Yasukuni-jinja (Yasukuni shrine)'²¹⁹: 'Yasukuni shrine is situated above the Kudanzaka, Tokyo. This shrine is dedicated to those who died for our Kimi ['the respected you' or 'highness', i.e. the Emperor] and for our country. On the festive days in spring (30th of April) and in autumn (23rd of October) an imperial envoy is sent to this shrine and on occasions of special ceremonies the shrine receives the honour of imperial visits. It is the will of His Majesty, the emperor, that those who dedicated their utmost for the sake of His Majesty and the country should be respected and courteously commemorated with ceremonies at this shrine. In response we should consider the depth of His Majesty's graciousness towards us and, following the examples of these people remembered at the shrine, we must do our utmost for His Majesty and for the country'.

The above explains why a title such as 'Yasukuni' sets the context for children's interpretation at the beginning of the song. Then, from line three onwards, any word that refers to this shrine is deemed to denote militarism through the contextual relation it has with the shrine itself. For example, the verse *mikuni-no-tame-ni-isagiyoku* (*for the divine country, graciously*) in line four does not, by itself, express anything militaristic, but, as this forms a premodifier to the noun-head *tamashii* ('souls') of those who fell on the battlefield, this verse is given a militaristic association. Moreover, another ideological concept co-habits with the word *Yasukuni-jinja*. If we know that Yasukuni is an imperial shrine, then the song becomes associated with Japanese Imperialism from the start, too. Consequently, the expression 'divine country' in line four denotes imperialism. Following on from this, the people who 'fell to the ground like petals' in line 5, the metaphoric beautification of death,

²¹⁹ 尋常小学修身書 卷四 1920 (大正9)年文部省発行 第三靖國神社「靖國神社は東京の九段坂の上にあります。この社(やしろ)には君のため國のために死んだ人々をまつてあります。春〔四月三十日〕と秋〔十月二十三日〕の祭日には、勅使をつかはされ、臨時大祭には天皇・皇后兩陛下の行幸啓(ぎょうかうけい)になることもございます。君のため國のためにつくした人々をかやうに社にまつり、又ていねいなお祭をするのは天皇陛下のおぼしめしによるのでございます。わたくしどもは陛下の御めぐみの深いことを思ひ、こゝにまつてある人々にならつて、君のため國のためにつくさなければなりません。」

and ‘their souls’ in line 6 refer to the soldiers who fought for the sake of the Empire and, therefore, these expressions also denote militarism and imperialism simultaneously. This is how the interpretation of contextual meanings builds up, forming a network of ideological expressions in the mind. The more the reader understands the context and relevant information, the richer the network becomes. However, if the person who learns this song does not have the above information about the shrine, the song loses its ideological impact. Indeed, another characteristic of this period is the prominence of indirectly expressed militarism, together with indirectly- expressed Japanese imperialism in Multi, as is also exemplified in the next song.

Figure 5.11. *Tachibana Chūsa* (‘Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana’), 4th Grade

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	橋中佐 tachibana-chūsa <i>Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana</i>	1		1				1
1	かばね-は-積り-て-山-を-築き、 kabane-wa-tsumori-te-yama-wo-kizuki <i>corpses pile up, making a mountain</i>							
2	血汐-は-流れ-て-川-を-なす、 chishio-wa-nagare-te-kawa-wo-nasu <i>river-like blood flows</i>							
3	修羅-の-巷-か-向陽寺 Shura-no-chimata-ka-shaonzui <i>This must be warriors’ hell, Shaonzui</i> ²²⁰			1				
4	雲間-を-もる-月-青し。 Kumoma-wo-moruru-tsuki-aoshi <i>moonlight shines blue between the clouds</i>							
5	「みかた-は-大方-うた-れ-たり、 mikata-wa-ookata-uta-re-tari <i>‘we lost most of our men</i>		2					
6	暫く-此処-を。」-と-諫む-れ-ど、 ‘shibaraku-koko-wo’-to-isamu-re-do <i>must leave soon’, some advise.</i>							
7	「恥-を-思へ-や-つはもの-よ。 ‘haji-wo-omoe-ya-tsuwamono-yo <i>‘have you no shame? Soldiers</i>	1						
8	死す-べき-時-は-今-なる-ぞ。 Shisu-beki-toki-wa-ima-naru-zo <i>This is the time we may die</i>							

²²⁰ A place where the protagonist, Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana, died in the Battle of Liaoyang (24 August – 4 September 1904).

9	御国-の-為-なり-陸軍-の mikuni-no-tame-nari-rikugun-no <i>for the divine country, for the army's</i>	1	5			1	5	6
10	名誉-の-為-ぞ。」-と-諭し-たる meiyo-no-tame-zo'-to-satoshi-taru <i>honour!’, he admonished and</i>		3				3	3
11	ことば-半ば-に-散り-はて-し kotoba-nakaba-ni-chirihate-shi <i>met his death before finishing the word</i>		1					
12	花橘-ぞ-かぐはしき。 Hanatachibana-zo-kaguwashiki <i>Graciously, like the scent of Tachibana (citrus)</i>		1		1			1

The military rank of the protagonist gives a militaristic context at the opening of this song. The protagonist was posthumously given the Order of the Golden Kite²²¹ for his bravery in commanding the battle of Liaoyang and was made a *gunshin* (lit. ‘military-god’), and his story was taught in the national language classes (*Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon* vol.8), thus intertextuality was provided. In this song there is no mention of weapons, and the only other direct reference to militarism is *riku-gun* (‘army’). ‘Blood’ and ‘corpses’ are mentioned in the first and second lines, but on their own these can be no more than medical, clinical, or biological terms. Yet the overall impression is a scene of bloody fighting and impending death. It is, again, not the concrete words, but the readers’ mental activities making the association between the militaristic and medical-biological terms, which result in such an interpretation. Crucially, this mental activity is set off by the overtly militaristic word in the title – Lieutenant Colonel, which sets the frame for the interpretation of the verses that follow.

Similar to other periods, most of the MS-S texts do not appear to be denoting ideological concepts. Most songs are nature-themed, and the tone is peaceful and positive, some are even poetic or melancholic. However, occasionally an ideological concept is suddenly inserted, almost unnoticed, between, or at the end of, verses.

Figure 5.12. *Ware wa Umi no Ko* (‘I am a son of the seas’), 6th Grade

	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	我-は-海-の-子 ware-wa-umi-no-ko <i>I am a son of the seas.</i>							
1	我-は-海-の-子-白浪-の-さわぐ-いそべ-の-松原-に ware-wa-umi-no-ko-shiranami-no-sawagu-isobe-no-matsubara-ni <i>I am a son of the seas. By the foaming waves and pine trees,</i>							

²²¹ 金鷄勲章 (Kinshi Kunshō).

2	煙-たなびく-とまや-こそ-我が-なつかしき-住家-なれ kemuri-tanabiku-tomaya-koso-waga-natsukashiki-sumika-nare <i>stands my humble thatched house, smoke wisping from the chimney</i>							
3	生まれ-て-しほ-に-浴し-て-浪-を-子守-の-歌-と-聞き umare-te-shio-ni-yuamishi-te-nami-wo-komori-no-uta-to-kiki <i>I took my first bath in the sea, listened to the lullaby of the waves</i>							
4	千里-寄せ-くる-海-の-気-を-吸ひ-て-わらべ-と-なり-に-けり senri-yose-kuru-umi-no-ki-wo-sui-te-warabe-to-nari-ni-keri <i>breathing the sea breeze from thousands of miles away, I grew up</i>							
5	高く-鼻つく-いそ-の-香-に-不断-の-花-の-かをり-あり takaku-hanatsuku-iso-no-ka-ni-fudan-no-hana-no-kaori-ari <i>pungent sea breeze brings the scent of ever-blooming flowers</i>							
6	なぎさ-の-松-に-吹く-風-を-いみじき-楽-と-我-は-聞く nagisa-no-matsu-ni-fuku-kaze-wo-imijiki-gaku-to-ware-wa-kiku <i>winds through the pine trees are music to my ears</i>							
7	丈余-の-ろ-かい-操り-て-行手-定め-ぬ-浪-まくら jōyo-no-ro-kaikuri-te-ikute-sadame-nu-namimakura <i>my oars are 3m long. I drift along the tide</i>							
8	百尋-千尋-海-の-底-遊び-なれ-たる-庭-広し hyakuhiro-chihiro-umi-no-soko-asobi-nare-taru-niwa-hiroshi <i>my garden is wide and hundreds or thousands of metres deep</i>							
9	幾年-ここ-に-きた-へ-たる-鉄-より-堅き-かひ-な-あり ikutose-koko-ni-kitae-taru-tetsu-yori-kataki-kaina-ari <i>years of training have given me these iron-hard arms</i>							
10	吹く-塩風-に-黒み-たる-はだ-は-赤銅-さながら-に fuku-shiokaze-ni-kuromi-taru-hada-wa-shakudō-sanagara-ni <i>my skin has been burnt dark in the salty wind</i>							
11	浪-に-ただよふ-冰山-も-来ら-ば-来れ-恐れ-ん-や nami-ni-tadayou-hyōzan-mo-kora-ba-kure-osore-n-ya <i>why should I be afraid of the drifting icebergs?</i>							
12	海-まき上ぐる-たつまき-も-起ら-ば-起れ-驚か-じ umi-makiaguru-tatsumaki-mo-okora-ba-okore-odoroka-ji <i>why should I be surprised by the sudden tornado?</i>							
13	いで-大船-を-乗出して-我-は-拾は-ん-海-の-富 ide-oofuna-wo-noridashi-te-ware-wa-hirowa-n-umi-no-tomi <i>Come, let's sail the big ship to gather the riches of the seas</i>							
14	いで-軍艦-に-乗組み-て-我-は-護ら-ん-海-の-国 ide-gunkan-ni-norikumi-te-ware-wa-mamora-n-umi-no-kuni <i>come, let's ride the warship and protect our land of seas.</i>	2	9	1	2			3

This song is set to an invigorating tune and is still popular even in 2013. The lyrics depict the healthy mind and body of a youthful figure, which appears to be an educationally appropriate theme even today, up to line 13 when, suddenly, a warship is introduced. Lines 13 and 14 are structurally paired, both beginning with *ide* ('Come!'), followed by a subordinate clause, which is coordinated with the main clause that follows it²²². The subordinate clauses in lines 13 and 14 both depict the protagonist's wish to board a ship and

²²² Subordinate clause precedes the main clause in Japanese.

the main clauses depict an aspiration or determination to take positive action on the seas. Therefore, these verses flow together seamlessly, but a closer look reveals a radical semantic transition from 13 to 14. While the protagonist's wish in line 13 is to board a fisherman's ship to catch fish, the same protagonist in line 14 wishes to become a crew-member of a warship sailing across the ocean to fight and protect Japan, the nation of seas. Here is a hint of militarist-imperial expansionist ideology. Thus, this initially perfectly innocent song becomes an ideological anthem, but the syntactic paring of the two lines disguises the semantic shifts, slipping ideology into the text almost unnoticed. In this way, children may be led to make associations between the positive attitude of a model youth, the natural blessings of the land, and militarist, imperial-expansionist ideologies. The song is lyrical, evoking an attachment to the birthplace, the motherland, Japan. Many other songs in this period have the same quality, appealing to the emotions of the children.

As we have seen in these examples, ideologies expressed by means of contextual information is not, at a glance, overt and cannot be identified by relying on dictionary definitions, yet they have a strong influence on the reader's interpretation. They can be subtle, too. This appears to be one of the reasons why it is often difficult to pinpoint where and how ideology is at work in a text. Qualitative analysis of MS-S in Period 3 revealed that, generally, indirectly expressed nationalism, imperialism, as well as directly or indirectly expressed militarism, are embedded in the texts depicting folk-tales, fables, legends, heroic stories, and nature-themes, written in a style that is simpler and supposedly closer to children's natural discourse than the styles of earlier MS-S. This shift from the previous period was in response to the *dōyō-fukkō-undō* (3.1.4.) of the liberal literary movement that became influential during the era of Taishō democracy, aiming at better comprehension of, and enhancing familiarity with, the MS-S texts. In fact, the teaching of the contents and the messages that they carry was the ultimate purpose of the MS-S education of this period (as discussed in 3.2.6.), and comprehension was ensured and reinforced by the fact that the topics of songs were taken from the textbooks of other compulsory subjects, such as history, geography, ethics, national language, and so on (3.2.6), providing children with additional inter-textual context to comprehend the MS-S texts. In the larger social context the children were exposed to propaganda where further reinforcement occurred through exchanges with family and society in general. This is the generation that later became 'infantry soldiers and kamikaze pilots in the early 1940s' (Kushner 2009: 243).

The next period, and the last of the four periods, develops the features seen in this period to the extreme, and as a result, it shows statistically very different characteristics from any other period.

5.6. Period 4 (1941-5; Shōwa 16-20)

5.6.1. General characteristics

According to the basic statistics, Period 4 was characterised by its shorter, less wordy, texts, with a larger number of morphemes associated with Japanese Militarism. Further, PCA revealed that the most prominent of these were M-IND and Multi. However, the results did not confirm a strong statistical influence of M-DIR as suggested by Kurokawa (2007). A possible casual factor is the overwhelming amount of M-IND in the Multi group. This means that the texts of MS-S in Period 4 are shorter in word counts, but loaded in meaning, with many linguistic items expressing more than one ideological concept through extensive contextualisation.

5.6.2. General background for Period 4, 1941-5.

In 1941 the Pacific War broke out, initiated by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour. This war took Japan into the most disastrous situation it had ever experienced. Many of its citizens were left with nothing but grass or roots of trees to eat, yet they believed that they must fight until they won because it was a *seisen* ('holy war'), to save the Eastern world from the treacherous, western invaders (Yamanaka 1977, 1979): The dedication of an individual's life to 'our divine country and the living-God, emperor' (*shinkoku nippon, arahitogami tennō*)²²³ came to be accepted as an innate principle. When men departed for the army, they were expected to bring *homare* ('honour') back home – but not themselves. Why did they worship the emperor? Scholars argue that the Japanese people of this period had received a high dose of propaganda through popular culture (Kushner 2006) and school education, in particular through study readers (Kurokawa 2007). Our quantitative results support these claims in the sense that, in the form of MS-S that were taught in tandem with readers, students of Period 4 were exposed to a higher dose of morphemes associated with ideological concepts in multiply-layered meanings. How this was done in practice will need further qualitative analysis within the framework of DHA-CDA as below.

The MS-S was once again fully revised and was published in 1941 to be used nationwide at the newly formed *kokumin-gakkō* ('national citizens' schools'). The name *kokumin-gakkō* is said to be a literal translation of the then German *Volksschule* (Iwano 2012: 3), implying a school system based on military totalitarianism. This version is called *Uta no hon* ('Music

²²³ 神國日本、現人神天皇.

Book’) volumes 1 & 2’ for first and second grades, and *Shōtōka Ongaku* (‘Elementary Music’) for third to sixth grades. For the full contents, see Appendix 16. In comparison to the earlier periods, the purposes of education and pedagogy were further developed and clarified in Period 4. Article 1 of the 1941 *Kokumin-gakkō-rei Sekō-kisoku* (Ordinance for Enforcement of the People’s School Law²²⁴) lists the following ten essential points for pedagogical consideration:

1. Respectfully upholding the points given in the Imperial Rescript on Education, train the pupils in the Imperial Way in all aspects of education and, in particular, deepen the creed of *kokutai* (‘national polity’)²²⁵,
2. Make pupils acquire knowledge and skills that are essential for the daily life of national citizens through practice, fashion their senses and sensibilities in order for them to develop healthy minds and bodies²²⁶,
3. Emphasize the uniqueness of our nation’s culture and teach the pupils about the peoples of East Asia and the world, awaken their consciousness of the status and the mission of the Empire, and nurture their talents and resources to be citizens of our great nation²²⁷,
4. Educate their mind and body as one, avoiding the separation of education, training, and childcare²²⁸,
5. While highlighting the unique features of each subject, enhance cross-curricular teaching with the single purpose of training citizens of the state²²⁹,
6. Place great emphasis on ceremonies and school events, unifying them with all school subjects and thereby raise the outcome of education²³⁰,
7. Keep close contact with pupils’ families as well as communities for the sake of all-round education²³¹,
8. Implement specific and practical education that is relevant to the life of citizens of the state²³²,
9. Take heed of the pupils’ physical and psychological development stages with consideration for gender specific features, individual features, and environments in order to provide appropriate education²³³,
10. Evoke the pupils’ interest in study and assist them in developing the habit of self-learning²³⁴.

²²⁴ 国民学校令施行規則第一章(教則及編成)の第一節(総則)第1条.

²²⁵ 教育ニ関スル勅語ノ旨趣ヲ奉体シテ教育ノ全般ニ亘リ皇国ノ道ヲ修練セシメ特ニ国体ニ対スル信念ヲ深カラシムベシ.

²²⁶ 国民生活ニ必須ナル普通ノ知識技能ヲ体得セシメ情操ヲ醇化シ健全ナル心身ノ育成ニカムベシ.

²²⁷ 我が国文化ノ特質ヲ明ナラシムルト共ニ東亞及世界ノ大勢ニ付テ知ラシメ皇国ノ地位ト使命トノ自覚ニ導キ大国民タルノヲ啓培スルニカムベシ.

²²⁸ 心身ヲ一体トシテ教育シ教授, 訓練, 養護ノ分離ヲ避クベシ.

²²⁹ 各教科並ニ科目ハ其ノ特色ヲ發揮セシムルト共ニ相互ノ関連ヲ緊密ナラシメ之ヲ国民錬成ノ一途ニ帰セシムベシ.

²³⁰ 議式, 学校行事等ヲ重シ之ヲ教科ト併セ一体トシテ教育ノ実ヲ挙グルニカムベシ.

²³¹ 家庭及社会トノ連絡ヲ緊密ニシテ児童, 教育ヲ全カラシムルニカムベシ.

²³² 教育ヲ国民ノ生活ニ即シテ具体的實際的ナラシムルニカムベシ.

²³³ 児童ノ心身ノ発達ニ留意シ, 男女ノ特性, 個性, 環境等ヲ顧慮シテ適切ナル教育ヲ施スベシ.

²³⁴ 児童ノ興味ヲ喚起シ自修ノ習慣ヲ養フニカムベシ.

In order to arouse children's interest, topics familiar to children and stories with child-protagonists were introduced into the textbooks (Kurokawa 2007), language was simplified, furthering the trend that was inherited from Period 3, and the topics of MS-S were taught in other compulsory subjects, reinforcing children's contextual understanding (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 254-5). An additional notable change is the emphasis on children's developmental stages (Item 9 above) (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 255). Therefore, songs are analysed progressively from Grades 1 to 6 in this period. For the sake of brevity we will examine one song from each level, and see how the aforementioned 'favoured discourse' would be developed as the student advanced from one level to another. What I mean by 'favoured discourse'²³⁵ here is the way in which the government manifested its ideology, and also the reflection of this in the discourse people came to use to express that ideology. An example of this was the Preface by the Meiji government to Japan's first MS-S (see 3.2.1.). It is based on Fairclough's notion of discourse as the 'favoured vehicle of ideology', which is employed by any ruling class to control the populace not by force, but 'by consent' (1989: 34), which may occur voluntarily through assimilation of the favoured discourse between and among the government, children and their educators by means of educational materials and a variety of interactions and discursive practices, which themselves are subject to diachronic change (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999: 156). Further, these discourse participants not only assimilate each other's discourse, but also develop their own cognitive versions as they are engaged in comprehension processes that involve making associations between concepts and events being referred to in the shared discourse. Thus, by becoming participants in favoured discourse the children themselves become consumers, creators, and disseminators of the ideological discourse mediated by the MS-S. Ideologies can be 'encoded' into the texts and 'decoded' by the readers (Hall 1973), and through this education can assist children in becoming 'ideal readers'²³⁶ (Eco 1979: 7-9) who are able to interpret the texts as intended by the text creators. As we have discussed extensively in the historical analysis in Chapter 3, the intentions of MS-S creators appeared to be the nurturing of the minds and bodies of good imperial subjects who would contribute to the building of a strong and prosperous nation, that is to say, the central purpose of MS-S was *kokumin-ka* ('making of citizens of the state') (Nishijima 1995, Okunaka 2008, Yamanaka 2008, Imagawa and Murai 2013). This was also textually attested to in the quantitative and qualitative analyses of MS-S in Periods 1-3 in which we found that a recurrent theme in MS-S is the characterisation of the nation and its people, but with overall diachronic shifts in the way the link between the nation

²³⁵ 'Ideal readers': This is a term often used to refer to the roles in which readers of a text are 'positioned' as subjects through the use of particular modes of address. For Eco this term is not intended to suggest a 'perfect' reader who entirely echoes any authorial intention but a 'model reader' whose reading could be justified in terms of the text. Note that not every reader takes on the reader's role, which may have been envisaged by the producer(s) of the text. See also: Addresser and addressee, Modes of address, Preferred reading, Subject (Chandler: <http://users.aber.ac.uk/dgc/Documents/S4B/sem-gloss.html>)

²³⁶ or 'implied reader'.

and its people were represented. Nation-oriented nationalism with lyricism was always the most prominent characteristic of MS-S throughout Periods 1-3, but, beginning with archaic and direct expressions of imperialism in Period 1, direct militarism expressions were introduced in Period 2. Direct expressions of both imperialism and militarism subsided in Period 3 due to the liberal, child-centred literary movement that pushed for the revision of Period 2 MS-S, however, indirect expressions of imperialism, militarism, and state-oriented nationalism were actually the greatest in Period 3. In the previous period, ideological expressions came to be expressed more covertly through intra- inter- and extra- textual referencing, relying heavily on the recipients' free interpretation of the MS-S discourse: in this ideological transfer the onus is on the one who sings MS-S, although cross-curricular teaching and possibly after-school exposure to the larger culture of propaganda ensured the children's supposedly individual interpretation would be in line with the discourse favoured by the society overall. At this point in the process the assimilation and association of discourse, 'organised, coherent, socially shared sets of knowledge', namely, socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) about the 'group identities' (Koller 2012: 20) of the children of the imperial nation were constructed, partly 'intertextually by relevant texts being circulated within and across discourse communities' (Koller 2012: 21). At the same time, the children's need to better understand and appreciate the texts of MS-S was advocated by their educators (who themselves were once educated through the earlier versions of MS-S during the liberal movements in Periods 2 to 3, and thus, indirectly, they influenced the discourse of the MS-S of this period). Hence, children's national identity in SCRs, being 'dynamic and flexible' and 'culturally bound and com[ing] into being at particular historical moments' (Koller 2012: 21), have continued to be shaped, instantiated, modified, expressed, and shifted diachronically over the course of the development of MS-S up to this period.

Building on this historical development, MS-S of Period 4 exhibited very different characteristics when statistically compared to the other three periods. The influence of indirectly expressed militarism was overwhelmingly stronger in this period. This characteristic is present across the grades in Period 4, according to Kurokawa (2007), and we will, therefore, consider an example from each grade.

5.6.3. Analysis of MS for children aged 6-7 (1st Grade)

Uta no hon Jō ('songbook volume 1') was devised for children aged six to seven years at primary schools. Here is an example of one of the songs in this MS-S (for the Japanese text see Appendix 17²³⁷).

Figure 5.13 *Heitai-gokko* ('Playing soldiers')

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	兵たい-ごっこ heitai-gokko <i>Playing Soldiers</i>	1						
1	かたかた-かたかた Kata-kata kata-kata (onomatopoeia for mechanical marching)		2					
2	ぱんぱん-ぱんぱん-兵たいごっこ pan-pan pan-pan heitai-gokko (onomatopoeia for shooting) playing soldiers	1	2					
3	かたかた-かたかた Kata-kata kata-kata (onomatopoeia for mechanical marching)		2					
4	ぱんぱん-ぱんぱん pan-pan pan-pan (onomatopoeia for shooting)		2					
5	ぼくら-は-つよい bokura-wa tsuyoi <i>we are strong</i>		3					
6	かたかた-かたかた Kata-kata kata-kata (onomatopoeia for mechanical marching)		2					
7	ぱんぱん-ぱんぱん-すすめ-よ-すすめ span-pan pan-pan susume-yo-susume (onomatopoeia) <i>Forward! Forward!</i>		5					
8	かたかた-かたかた Kata-kata kata-kata (onomatopoeia for mechanical marching)		2					
9	ぱんぱん-ぱんぱん pan-pan pan-pan (onomatopoeia for shooting)		2					
10	てき兵-は-にげる tekihei'wa nigeru <i>enemy-soldiers running-away</i>	1	2					

This song is an example of one about soldiers, the theme of which is introduced to this youngest age group. Alongside this song the 1st grades were taught 'national language' using an *Ichinen*

²³⁷ English translations in the appendices are more target-language oriented naturalised translation, while the translation here is more source-oriented and closer to word-for-word to illustrate morpheme-level representation of meanings.

Kokugo ('Reader for the 1st Grade') in which the first topic was *Heitai-san* ('soldiers'²³⁸). A short passage *heitaisan susume, susume, chite, chite, ta, tota, tete, tate, ta* ('dear soldiers, forward, forward, *onomatopoeia for bugle*') was accompanied by an illustration depicting children drawing soldiers on the blackboard. The teacher's manual for this reader explains that the onomatopoeia for the sound of the bugle is actually a popular song among the children and that the purpose is to teach children *kokubō-seishin* ('spirit of national defense') through playground activities such as these (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 257). Similarly, this song contains onomatopoeia for shooting handguns and machine-guns, and 'singing at a fast tempo of crotchet = 176 at forte reveals the composer's intention to mimic the image of soldiers...evoking an innocent longing for soldiers' (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 25). In this song, the topic particle WA is the only grammatical item that is associated with the two protagonists of the song. One of the protagonists is 'we', presumably the children playing soldiers who are about the same age as the first grade children for whom the song is composed. The other protagonist is *tekihei* ('enemy soldier'). Each of the protagonists is given one main complement: *tsuyoi* ('strong') for 'we', and *nigeru* ('run-away') for 'enemy soldiers'. The topic particle, WA, places special emphasis on the lexeme that it is grammatically associated with, and thus, in this case, 'we (the children singing the song)' and the 'enemy soldiers' are differentiated. As was customary in MS-S teaching, children were made to sing this song repeatedly, in unison. Through this repetition the children get linguistic exercise in the use of this particle, while identifying with the Japanese soldiers who were brave and strong, as opposed to the foreign soldiers who ran away. So the language itself marks this basic distinction between 'us' and 'them', and this differentiation is reinforced whenever they use the particle WA in such ultra-nationalistic contexts. Eventually, the sense of being different, a chosen people, becomes accepted by the minds of the children until it reaches a near-unconscious state. In this way, children at the earliest stage of elementary education are prepared for receiving, at a later stage, the more extreme forms of nationalism expressed in songs for older children in the educational system.

At elementary schools, one teacher was responsible for one class and taught all the subjects of the curriculum and, therefore, this teacher could use a song to introduce any subject; s/he could go on to discuss, at a suitable level, relevant Japanese history, sociology, and ethics – but inevitably, the uniqueness of the Japanese nation would be stressed, a uniqueness reinforced by the features of the language being taught at the same time. 'WA' is an easy word to utter and remember and this kind of easy song was a children's playground favourite, just as Opie and Opie (1959:100-101)²³⁹ reports that wartime songs such as 'Roll along Mussolini, roll along'

²³⁸ This personal honorific suffix, 'san', denotes respect and affection.

²³⁹ Examples are available in Appendix 14.

and ‘Music while you work, Hitler made a shirt’ were enjoyed by English children, combining the songs with ball games and skipping games in the street (Appendix 1). One crucial difference between the wartime children’s songs in England and those in Japan, however, is that the former were essentially children’s own spontaneous invention and subject to endless variations (as part of the fun), but the latter were officially devised by the Japanese military government and taught in a controlled school environment. Very little room was left for children to create their own versions. As Japanese children recited such songs in the playground, the ethnic differentiation was unconsciously reinforced in their minds, together with a clear identification of themselves as future soldiers.

5.6.4. Analysis of MS for children of age 7-8 (2nd Grade)

Uta no hon ge (‘Songbook volume 2’) was devised for children aged seven to eight. Words like ‘warship’ and ‘tank machine gun’ were added to already-learnt ones like ‘soldiers’ and ‘enemy’, expanding the semantic field of war. One of the songs for this grade is *Heitai-san* (‘Soldiers’), a repeated theme from the first grade Reader, but with a little more sophistication in the ‘prelude that evokes marching, followed by a fast tempo quick march, combined with the onomatopoeia for the footsteps of soldiers and horses’ (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 257). At the same time children learnt stories in the 2nd Grade Reader, such as *Niisan no nyūei* (‘Conscription of my brother’) about a young boy witnessing his older brother entering the camp, and *Niisan no aiba* (‘My brother’s beloved horse’) about a young boy reading a letter from his older brother at the battlefield. While the songs and reading materials for the 1st grades simply depict soldiers from a child’s viewpoint, the materials for the second grades introduce a perspective of ‘soldiers’ life’ into children’s discourse (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 256), unifying the home front and battlefield (Kushner 2006) in a way that children can relate to. Children at this age actually start simulating war in a more active way. They might combine these songs with their own playground activities, the action of doing so making them familiar with the notion of fighting (Saitō 1986). We will see how this fighting is legitimised within the very limited linguistic field of a song in the MS-S. The next example is called *Gunkan* (‘warship’), which turns children’s eyes from the local community outward to the world.

Figure 5.14. *Gunkan* ('Warship')

		<i>M</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>W</i>
		<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	
	Lyrics	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>
TI	軍かん Gunkan <i>Warship</i>	1						
1	行け-行け-軍かん Ike! Ike! Gunkan <i>Go, warship! Go!</i>	1	2					
2	日本-の-国-の-まわり-は-みんな-海 Nihon-no-kuni-no-mawari-wa-minna-umi <i>Every side of Japan is an ocean</i>			1	7			
3	海-の-大なみ-こえ-て-行け umi-no-ōnami-koe-te-ike <i>Go over the big waves</i>							
4	行け-行け-軍かん Ike! Ike! Gunkan <i>Go, warship! Go!</i>	1	2					
5	日本-の-国-の-光-を-何千里 Nihon-no-kuni-no-hikari-wo-nan'zenri <i>The divine light of Japan, across thousands of miles</i>			1	6		7	7
6	海-の-はて-まで-かがやかせ umi-no-hate-made-kagayakase <i>Let it shine, over the oceans to the farthest shore!</i>						5	

Incidentally, this song was published just eight months before Pearl Harbour. Like the others, it relies heavily on simple repetition: 'Go, warship! Go!' The children would have felt they were energetically cheering Japan on to greater triumphs overseas. The warships themselves are symbols of Japan's industrial strength and growing world power, so the song fostered national pride. 'Japan has ocean on every side' in the first line is a simple factual statement that has educational value and reminds them that Japan (like Britain) is an island fortress, protected by its navy and the wide ocean, which separates it from other countries and keeps it peaceful. This factual statement is linguistically correct, but less natural than the more familiar expression of *umi ni kakomareta nihon* ('Japan, surrounded by seas'). The avoidance of any passive form in this lyric gives an impression of a Japan that is always proactive and in control, or at least not passive. At the same time, the ocean can be seen as a highway, over which Japan could expand its divine influence universally: 'let the divine light of Japan shine over the oceans, across thousands of miles, to the farthest shore' – and all over the world. The implication that Japan had a god-given mission to spread its inspiring message over *Dai-tōa-Kyōei-ken* (the 'Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere') would have been emphasised by the teachers. The idea that Japan was a divine country whose people were descended from gods is more strongly emphasised in the song entitled 'Japan' – which is more like a creed than a song.

Figure 5.15. *Nihon* ('Japan')

		<i>M</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>I</i>		<i>W</i>
		<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>I</i>	
	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	日本 <i>Nihon</i> <i>Japan</i>			1				
1	日本-よい-国-きよい-国 <i>Nihon-yoi-kuni-kiyoi-kuni</i> <i>Japan, the good country, pure country</i>			1	4			
2	世界-に-一つ-の-神-の-国 <i>sekai-ni-hitotsu-no-kami-no-kuni</i> <i>The country of the gods, the only one in the world</i>			1	6		3	3
3	日本-よい-国-強い-国 <i>Nihon-yoi-kuni-tsuyoi-kuni</i> <i>Japan, the good country, strong country</i>			1	4			
4	世界-に-かがやく-えらい-国 <i>sekai-ni-kagayaku-erai-kuni</i> <i>Shines through the world, an admirable country</i>			1	4			

Again, we find simply worded, reassuring, slogan-like statements that lend themselves to endless repetition. If something simple is repeated often enough it becomes perceived as being true. In the first line Japan is equated with goodness and purity – because it is a uniquely divine country. In the second line Japan (*Nippon* in Japanese) is equated with goodness and strength – and these qualities burn so brightly that (like the Rising Sun) it enlightens the whole world. *Nippon*, of course, literally means the place where the sun originates. Japan is defined here: it is a heavenly country whose virtues are unsullied by foreign influence.

The repetitions of the key emotive words are as follows: *Japan* (2), *good* (2), *country* (6). Other emotive words are: *pure*, *god*, *strong*, *lights*, *admirable*. All of these reinforce each other. The appeal of such a series of simple and apparently unquestionable, easily remembered ‘truths’ to children is obvious. And again there are many opportunities for the teacher to emphasise the holy mission of the Land of the Rising Sun to purify the world. We must also constantly remember that the Japanese in those days, even the adults, knew relatively little of the outside world and were trained to believe what they were told (Yamanaka 1975).

5.6.5. Analysis of MS for children of aged 8-9 (3rd Grade)

Shōtōka Ongaku ('Elementary Music') 1 was meant for children aged eight to nine years. It contains twenty-six songs. Fifteen songs are to do with imperialism, war, or Shintoism.

More songs depicting soldiers' lives were introduced: *Gunken Tone* ('Military dog, *Tone*'), *Sen-sui-kan* ('Submarine'), *Gunki* ('Ensign'), and *Sanyūshi* ('The three brave soldiers'). The last song in this volume of MS-S for the 3rd grades, 'Sanyūshi', was designed particularly for a three-part chorus. The fact that this song and another, called *Gunki* ('Ensign'), are the only two songs provided with a special method of teaching, suggests that these two were supposed to be heavily emphasised by teachers.

Figure 5.16. *Sanyūshi* ('The three brave soldiers')

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	三勇士 Sanyūshi <i>The three brave soldiers</i>	1			1		1	2
1	大君-の-ため-国-の-ため Taikun-no-tame-kuni-no-tame <i>To serve our lord and our country,</i>			1	2	1	2	
2	わらっ-て-たっ-た-三勇士 warat-te-tat-ta-sanyūshi <i>the three warriors departed with a hint of a smile</i>	1	4	1	4			5
3	鉄条網-も-トーチカ-も tetsujōmō-mo-tōchika-mo <i>'Neither the wire entanglements nor the Russian tochka</i>	2	2		4			4
4	なん-の-もの-か-は-破壊筒 nan-no-mono-ka-wa-hakaitō <i>can stop us and this 'demolition tube'!</i>	1	5		6			6
5	その-身-は-玉-と-くだけ-ても sono-mi-wa-tama-to-kudake-temo <i>Though their flesh scattered like precious jewels,</i>		7		7		5	12
6	ほまれ-は-残-る-廟行鎮 homare-wa-nokoru-Byōkōchin <i>their honour remains eternally at Byokochin</i> ²⁴⁰ .		4	1	3			4

This is one of the most interesting and moving of the songs. It is also based on a celebrated suicide attack in China about which Japanese children received a great deal of information. This is, in fact, an example of the falsification of the records by the government (Katō 1965; Saitō 1972). The 'suicide attack' was, in reality, an accident, yet it was reported as an admirable service to the nation (*Asahishinbun* 13 June, 2007). For details see Appendix 18. The literal translation of the name of the incident is:

'flesh-gun-ball-three-brave-warriors-death-in-explosion-incident'.

The three verses of this song reflect the three stages of the famous incident. First, the brave three go to their deaths with a 'hint of smile', with a heart ready to sacrifice themselves for

²⁴⁰ Byokochin (廟巷鎮), a suburb of Shanghai, which was the scene of intense fighting during the Sino-Japanese conflicts.

Emperor and country. The second verse dwells on the barbed wire (and *tochka*, or ‘pillbox’) on which they immolated themselves with their suicide bomb – a touch of vivid realism, which contrasts with the high sentiments of lines 1 and 3. The third verse dwells on the resulting courage and eternal honour. Death in such honourable circumstances transforms their scattered flesh into ‘precious jewels’ – a shocking but powerful image. This song was particularly popular, fuelled by a fierce competition for readership between the two major newspaper publishers, *Asahi shinbun* and *Mainichi shinbun*. The story was further dramatised each time it was retold, culminating in the decoration of the three soldiers as *Gunshin* (‘war-gods’)²⁴¹. Both the incident and the bravery of these soldiers were celebrated in songs and plays. Apart from the above example from the official children’s songbook, over thirty commercial songs were written on this theme. If we compare this children’s version with the commercially created ones for adults (see Appendix 19), we can see how much information was available to help pupils interpret the song. The children also learnt about the three brave soldiers in a story of the same title in the ‘national language’ textbook for the 3rd grades. In the reader, children were taught about the First Shanghai incident (also known as the January 28 incident) and the conditions at the battlefield, and the three young soldiers’ spirit of heroism, so that the story and what it stands for would be ‘etched into the young minds with deep emotions’ (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 256). The music is a gallant 3-part chorus in C major with a strong chordal accompaniment, ‘which may indicate the composer’s intention to teach children to nurture a fearless spirit against death’ (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 256).

5.6.6. Analysis of MS for children aged 9-10 (4th Grade).

As we have seen, by the age of nine, children were already trained to believe in the divinity of their country, and the mission to save the ‘Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’. Children of this age simulated war in the playground, so the songs we have looked at so far, such as ‘Soldier Play’ for six to seven year olds, and ‘Warship’ for seven to eight year olds, must have provided examples for children to simulate. And then ‘The Brave Three’ for eight to nine year olds brought children closer to a more exciting, real war. It also inculcated the ideology of service with distinction: to die for their emperor would bring honour, not only to themselves, but also to their family – the ones they love. Here, children were again shown the example to follow. Songs up to the 3rd grades were centred on raising children’s interest in and aspirations to be soldiers, but from the 4th grades on, the songs become more

²⁴¹ Those who fell in the battles were praised and some were selected for their bravery to be revered as ‘war-gods’ (軍神 *gun-shin*) of the ‘holy war’ (聖戰 *seisen*). The stories of their heroic deaths were told in textbooks, such as readers, MS-S songs, ethics, history, for example. “Colonel Hirose (Shotōka-Ongaku 2 for 9-10 year olds)” was one of them (Adachi 1996: 11).

realistic. Militaristic songs include: *Yasukuni-jinja* ('Yasukuni shrine'), *Hiyodori goe* ('Over the Hiyodori pass – Battle of Genji and Heike'), *Nyūei* ('Entering the army'), *Hirose chūsa* ('Lieutenant Colonel Hirose'), *Shōnen-sensha-hei* ('Youth tankers'), and *Mugon no gaisen* ('Triumphal return in silence'). Through the singing of these songs children were taught that 'entering the army is an important ceremony to reaffirm one's loyalty, and children aspired to join the army school for youth tankers that was popular amongst the youth in those days' (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 256), and learnt about the Yasukuni shrine where the war-dead were immortalised as martyrs.

However, there must have been some children who were aware of the reality of losing family members. Now we will see how the government coped with this conflict in the following song, *Mugon-no-gaisen*.

Figure 5.17 *Mugon no gaisen* ('Triumphal Return in Silence')

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
	Lyrics	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	無言-の-がいせん mugon-no-gaisen Triumphal Return in Silence	1			1			1
1	雲山万里-を-かけめぐり unzanbanri-wo-kakemeguri <i>Racing through the vast plains</i>							
2	敵-を-破つ-た-おじさん-が teki-wo-yabut-ta-ojisan-ga <i>Uncle* defeated enemies,</i>	1	5		6			6
3	今日-は-無言-で-帰ら-れ-た kyō-wa-mugon-de-kaera-re-ta <i>He came home today in silence</i>		5		5			5
4	無言-の-勇士-の-がいせん-に mugon-no-yūshi-no-gaisen-ni <i>At the triumphal return of our silent hero,</i>	1	5		6			6
5	梅-の-かおり-が-身-に-しみる ume-no-kaori-ga-mi-ni-shimiru <i>the fragrance of plum blossoms soaks into my heart</i>							
6	みんな-は-無言-で-おじぎし-た ²⁴² min'na-wa-mugon-de-ojigishi-ta <i>Everyone bowed down in silence</i>				6			
7	み国-の-使命-に-ぼく-たち-も mikuni-no-shimei-ni-boku-tachi-mo <i>To serve our mission for our country</i>		7	1	6	1	3	11
8	やがて-働く-日-が-来-たら yagate-hataraku-hi-ga-ki-tara <i>When that day will come to us</i>		6		6			6
9	おじさん-あなた-が-手本-です ojisan-anata-ga-tehon-desu <i>Dear uncle, you are our example.</i>		5		5			5

²⁴² This behavior is a socio-cultural norm in the given situation in wartime Japan.

*: *This is a generic term equivalent to 'the gentleman', e.g. 'tonari no ojisan (the gentleman next door)'*

The word 'silence' is used three times. Words like 'plum (tree)' or 'uncle / older man' (meaning something like 'gentleman' in Japanese) are often collocated with silence, taciturnity, coolness, or concealed passion in Japanese. This is, in part, due to the intertextuality through its association with Sugawara no Michizane (845-903), who was a gifted scholar and politician of the Heian court. He suffered in the hands of his rival, Fujiwara no Tokihira, and was demoted and assigned to a low-ranking post in the remote town of Dazaifu where he died a lonely death. Upon leaving the court he wrote a famous sorrowful poem telling a plum tree that he loved, to remember, when the east wind blew, to flourish and send out its fragrance, even though Michizane would be no more.

The poem is from the 11th century 'Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poetry' (*Shūiwakashū*), which is one of the 21 imperial anthologies (*Chokusenshū*) mentioned in 5.3. The original and the English translation are as follows:

Figure 5.18. Shūiwakashū XVII: 1006

Should the east winds blow,	kochi fukaba	東風吹かば
Carry me the fragrance	nioi okoseyo	にほひをこせよ
Of plum blossom;	ume no hana	梅花
And though your lord is gone,	aruji nashi tote	主なしとて
Never forget the springtime.	haru o wasuru na	春を忘るな

(SIS XVI 1006 English translation by McAuley 2001: Waka 851).

The poem's theme is farewell and the implied death of the master, who clearly loved the plum flowers. The plum flowers themselves are the signs of spring, a new life, and therefore associated with hope. Here, the plum tree is personified as someone on whom the reader of this poem can project themselves at their own farewell scene. In the case of the protagonist of this MS-S song, the children are bidding the final farewell to the soldier who returned 'in silence'. As they reminisce over him, they are reminded by the plum's fragrance of the message from its master that they must build a future on the legacy of the one who departed: the one who sacrificed his life for the country (and therefore, for the entire community including the children) as an ultimate act of love. Therefore, the 'service for the country (*mikuni no shimei*)' here is decorated with these solemn word choices. Furthermore, mourning for the dead soldier is here replaced by the 'triumphal return'. As children had already been taught that death for their country is honourable, this kind of song can be readily accepted, thanks to these chosen semantic sets. In this line of thought, the

abrupt mention of ‘mission for the country’ in the 7th line is no longer out of the place, but instead, the protagonists’ willingness for voluntary participation in war as depicted in lines 8-9 would have been the expected response. The discourse development within this short song fits into the most widely accepted traditional Japanese discourse form: KI (rise), SHO (succeed), TEN (turn), KETSU (settle). That is, Introduction (verse 1), Development (verse 2), Turning aside to a related idea (verse 3 and 4), and Conclusion (the last line). The TEN (turn) is an effective device in Japanese written discourse. The slightly irrelevant topic introduced in TEN (turn) gives a slight shock to evoke the readers’ close attention to the conclusion (Maynard 1998; McAuley 2011). This discourse structure is the standard and familiar to the pupils, and thus it is an effective stylistic tool to highlight the message of this song for an intended response, that is, children’s voluntary participation in the war efforts. This is also an example of MS-S in which nationalism and militarism as well as imperialism are intertwined in the discourse. Sensory perception of plum (‘fragrance’) evokes a variety of cultural and historical associations (‘nation-oriented’ nationalism), as mentioned above, which are linked to acceptance of the fate and honouring of the soldiers (militarism) who sacrificed themselves to protect the divine (imperial) state (‘state-oriented’ nationalism). The association with the poem from an ancient imperial anthology reminds the reader of the long-established authority of the imperial household, and images from ancient poems were employed as symbols to carry ideological messages. Cherry blossom (*sakura*) is one such a symbol. The poet, Sugawara no Michizane, mentioned above, also wrote the following on the theme of *sakura*.

Figure 5.19 Gosenshū II: 57

O, cherry blossoms,	<i>sakurabana</i>	さくら花
Do not forget your master;	<i>nushi o wasurenu</i>	主をわすれぬ
If such you are, then	<i>mono naraba</i>	物ならば
With the gusting wind,	<i>fukikomu kaze ni</i>	吹き込む風に
Send me a word	<i>kotozute wa seyo</i>	事づてはせよ

(GSS II 57 English translation by McAuley 2001: Waka 761).

Cherry blossoms are thus traditionally associated with spring, beauty, and a departure. However, it was ‘given a new symbolic image of militarism by the (government’s) image manipulation²⁴³, ‘under the education policy that pursued an ideal way of life of Japanese person who, for the sake of imperial mission, submit to death with good grace, win or lose’²⁴⁴ (Nishikawa 2010: 8).

²⁴³ 「桜の花を軍国日本のシンボルとなすイメージ操作」.

²⁴⁴ 「勝敗に拘泥せず、大命の下に潔く死ぬこと」に日本人の理想的な生き様を求める教育方針」.

Sakura became a symbol of the brave death of soldiers and was the motif of badges of the Imperial Army, Navy and Air Force from which young soldiers destined to die came to be called “young cherry-blossoms (*waka-zakura*)” as it is found in the next song.

5.6.7. Analysis of MS for children aged 10-11 (5th Grade).

Confucianism encouraged the Japanese to respect their ancestors, or anybody older than themselves. Buddhism, combined with folkloric superstitions, made the Japanese believe in life after death. In order to go to heaven, they believed they must do good to earn a place there. Respecting their elders, and learning from predecessors, were believed to be one of the good ways of entering the life hereafter. All these combined to establish the notion of history as a ‘lesson’ for life. And, by the time this songbook was issued, ‘The Brave Three’ incident was already almost an historical event, so that it could be used as a vehicle for ideology (Stephens 1992: 202-203). Songs for the 5th grades introduce further glorification of death and expansionism. The former includes: *Chūreitō* (‘Memorial for fallen heroes’), *Senyū* (‘Fellow soldier’), *Tachibana chūsa* (‘Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana’), *Tokubetsu-kōgeki-tai* (‘Special attack unit’, ‘Kamikaze’), and *Hakui no tsutome* (‘Mission in white uniform – Youth nurses’), while the latter includes: *Sekidō wo koete* (‘Beyond the equator’), *Yōsukō* (‘The Tangtze River’), *Daitōa* (‘The Great East Asia’), *Momoyama* (‘Momoyama’). Children were first familiarised with the lyrics of the pledge to fight and die together with *Senyū* backed by a gallant accompaniment in B minor (Imagawa and Murai 2013: 256), then they studied about the ‘Special Attack Unit - Kamikaze’ during ethics classes, and learnt to sing the following song.

The next song is about a current issue of the time, which was deliberately given historical features, although the songbook was published in 1941 and the incident took place in the same year.

Figure 5.20 *Tokubetsu-kōgeki-tai* (‘Special Attach Squad, Kamikaze’)

Lyrics		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
		j	k	l	m	n	o	p
TI	特別攻撃隊 Tokubetsu-kōgeki-tai <i>Special Attack Squad (Kamikaze)</i>	1						
1	一挙-に-くだけ-敵-主力 ikkyo-ni-kudake-teki-shuryoku <i>Smash the enemy’s capital ship at a blow.</i>	1	4		5			5
2	待ち-し-は-この-日-この-時-と machi-shi-wa-kono-hi-kono-toki-to <i>Today, this moment has been long awaited</i>							

3	怒濤-の-底-を-矢-の-ごとく dotō-no-soko-wo-ya-no-gotoku <i>From the bottom of the raging billow, like an arrow</i>	1						
4	死地-に-乗り入る-艇-五隻 shichi-ni-noriiru-tei-goseki <i>There come five ships into a fatal zone</i>		5					
5	朝風-切り-て-友軍機 asakaze-kiri-te-yūgunki <i>Cutting the morning breeze, our force flies</i>	1						
6	おそう-と-見る-や-もろともに osou-to-miru-ya-morotomoni <i>Give no time to the enemy to attack our fellows</i>		5		1			1
7	巨艦-の-列-へ-射-て-放つ kyokan-no-retsu-e-i-te-hanatsu <i>Open fire on the enemy's line of gigantic ships</i>	1	6					
8	魚雷-に-高し-波がしら gyorai-ni-takashi-namigashira <i>At the explosion of our torpedo a wave crest rises high</i>	1	3					
9	爆音-天-を-とよもせ-ば bakuon-ten-wo-toyomose-ba <i>The sky echoes to the roaring explosion</i>		5					
10	潮-も-湧-けり-真珠湾 shio-mo-wa-keri-shinjuwan <i>The current whips up, too, at Pearl Harbour.</i>	1	3	1				1
11	火柱-あげ-て-つぎつぎに hibashira-age-te-tsugitsugini <i>Shooting up fire-pillars, one after another,</i>		4					
12	敵-の-大艦-しずみゆく teki-no-taikān-shizumiyuku <i>the enemy's gigantic ships sink into the deep.</i>	2	2		1			1
13	昼間-は-ひそみ-月-の-出-に hiruma-wa-hisomi-tsuki-no-de-ni <i>Lurk during the day, then with a rising moon</i>							
14	ふたたび-ほふる-敵-巨艦 futatabi-hofuru-teki-kyokan <i>we vanquish the enemy's gigantic ships again</i>	2	1		1			1
15	襲撃-まさに-成功-と shūgeki-masani-seikō-to <i>'The attack was a great success',</i>	1	2					
16	心-しずかに-打つ-無電 kokoro-shizukani-utsu-muden <i>so sending a telegram with a serene heart.</i>							
17	ああ-大東亜-聖戦-に â-Daitōa-seisen-ni <i>'Ah, the Greater East Asian Holy War!'</i>	1	2	1	2	1	2	6
18	みづく-かばね-と-誓い-つつ mizuku-kabane-to-chikai-tsutsu <i>Vowing before the Emperor to whom this life I dedicate'</i>		5					

19	さきがけ-散り-し-若桜 sakigake-chiri-shi-wakaz ²⁴⁵ akura ²⁴⁶ <i>So, the young cherry blossoms have gone to lead the way.</i>		4				
20	仰げ-特別攻撃隊 aoge-Tokubetsu-Kōgeki-tai <i>Let us venerate our 'Special Attack Squad'</i>	1	1	2			2

In Japanese, all the sentences, except for last line of Stanza 3 (...*teki no gunkan shizumiyuku* ‘the enemy ships sink into the deep’), are nominalised. Stylistically speaking, this is a typical Mediaeval story-telling style where a story-teller used a *piva*, a guitar-like instrument, to sing a story. They tended to deal with an historical event as a topic, as in *Heike monogarari* (‘The Tale of the Heike’²⁴⁷). Their sentences tended to finish with noun phrases, and inversion was quite commonly used to put the emphasis on the main noun phrase in the sentence. A set of verses used a rhythmical pattern consisting of a combination of seven and five syllables per verse. Verbs take *rentai-kei* (nominative form). Adverbials depend on the main verb and this main verb takes *rentai-kei*, so that all the information about the topical noun phrase becomes a pre-modifier of this main noun at the very end of the sentence (see Appendix 21). Since Japanese is a SOV language, this nominalisation of the whole sentence is a distinctive style. It allows the sentence to avoid any grammatical indication of ‘past’ness; in other words, like the English historical use of the present tense, this gives a ‘vivid’ quality. Although its lexis is quite different from that of the Mediaeval Japanese minstrels, syntactically this war song follows the traditional discourse pattern. We will not go into the details of the further grammatical analysis here, yet if we look at the final words of each of the five stanzas, it is apparent (even in English translation) that they are all nominalised sentences (except for Stanza 3). The point here is that this topical ‘kamikaze unit’ action was made to sound like an exciting archaic story. Unlike the war songs from the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, there is no naming of a specific enemy. Given the war situation at that time, it is apparent that Japan could no longer name a single enemy.

The story of the Kamikaze (‘wind of the gods’) originated in the events of the thirteenth century, when two major typhoons, in 1274 and 1281, dispersed Mongol invasion fleets attacking Kyūshū, the southeast island of Japan. This historical motif has long been one of the favourite topics for school readers and socio-historical textbooks (Bao 2010). Elementary school pupils in this period received history education combined with ideological propaganda, such as the excerpt from the story of the Genkō (‘Mongol Invasion’) in the

²⁴⁵ The letter ‘z’ indicates Rendaku phenomenon (連濁, lit. “sequential voicing”) characteristic of Japanese morphophonology that governs the voicing of the initial consonant of the non-initial portion of a compound or prefixed word.

²⁴⁶ ‘Young cherry-blossoms (wakazakura)’ refers to the young soldiers destined to die a brave death.

²⁴⁷ Heike monogatari (平家物語) is a tale of the political rivals, Taira clans and Minamoto clans, who struggled to take control of Japan at the beginning of 12th century.

textbook for the Fifth Grade of Period 4 (1941-1945) below.

‘Japan is a divine land. Winds blow hard from every direction, turbulent waves toss around the thousands of enemy warships, breaking them up and turning them upside down. Our warriors gathered up their courage, a hundred times stronger than before, and attacked the remaining enemies, killing them all at once. None was spared..... The entire country fought as one against this national crisis and prevailed. All this was possible thanks to none other than miitsu (‘the divine light, the Emperor’). Because of this national attribute, whereby people from the top to the bottom of society are unified, gods’ miracles take place..... Upon witnessing such divine protection, the people of Japan kept the preciousness of the nature of Japan firmly in mind, as if carving it deep into their hearts. Now that they have dispersed the world’s greatest enemy, the people’s morale was high, their aspirations to expand their influence overseas also steadily increased.’²⁴⁸ (5th Grade, History textbook at Kokumin-gakkō).

Such educational content is ‘beyond the realm of history, but rather it should be called a propaganda document to legitimise an Imperial State and inject a particular ideology into people’s minds’ (Kimata 2006c: 147). This information via propaganda available to the children is one example of discursive elements (Wodak 2000: 8) that facilitate the interpretation of discourse, and, in this case, the pupils’ interpretation of the historical event would be skewed by the propaganda, which contextualises the same pupils to interpret the word *kamikaze* (‘wind of the gods’), or a story of the suicide unit with that name, in a similar way. Therefore, a single MS-S with the theme of ‘Kamikaze’ gains contextualisation through associations both within the song and outside the song through related subjects in the curriculum, reinforcing the thought processes.

5.6.8. Analysis of MS for children aged 11-12 (6th Grade)

By 1943 Japan was clearly losing the war, but it continued to fight. In order to supplement the shortage in the workforce, children of 13 years and above were drafted into *gakuto-kinrō-dōin* (‘student labour mobilisation’). Hence, in the final year of elementary education,

²⁴⁸ 「大日本は神国であります。風はふたたび吹きすさび、さか巻く波は数千の敵艦をもみにもんで、かたはしから撃ちくたせ、くつがえしました。わが将士は、日ごろの勇氣百倍して、残敵をおそひ、たちまちこれを皆殺しにしました。。。まったく国中が一体になって、この国難に当り、これに打ちかつたのですが、それといふのも、すべて御稜威(みいつ)にはかならないのであり、神のまもりも、こうした上下一体の国がらなればこそ、くしくも現れるのであります。。。神のまもりをまのあたりに拝して、国民は、今さらのやうに、国がらの尊さを深く心に刻みつけました。また、世界最強の国を撃ち退けて、国民の意気は急に高まり、海外へのびようとする心も、しだいに盛んになって行きました」。「初等科国史」上「鎌倉武士」3 神風より元寇についての記述を抜粋。

pupils were prepared for labour participation in the war effort. The following song has such an educational purpose.

Figure 5.21 *Shōnen-sangyō-senshi* ('Youth-industrial-soldier')

		M		N		I		W
		D	I	D	I	D	I	
	Lyrics	j	K	l	m	n	o	p
TI	少年産業戦士 shōnen-sangyō-senshi youth-industrial-soldier*	1						
1	朝-に-いただく-残ん-の-星影 asa-ni-itadaku-nokon-no-hoshikage <i>stars still bright in the morning sky</i>							
2	夕べ-に-ふみ来る-野道-の-月影 yūbe-ni-fumikuru-nomichi-no-tsukikage <i>In the moonlight shadow he trudges along the country path comes through the field</i>							
3	生産増産-われら-の-勤め-と seisan-zōsan-warera-no-tsutome-to <i>'it's our duty to increase production'</i>							
4	鍬-とり-鎌-とぐ-少年戦士 kuwa-tori-kama-togu-shōnen-senshi he takes up a hoe, or sharpens the sickle, young soldier	1	4					
5	油-に-まみれ-て-額-に-汗-して abura-ni-mamire-te-hitai-ni-aseshi-te <i>smearred with oil slick and with the sweat of his brow</i>							
6	飛び散る-火花-に-輝く-ひとみ-よ tobichiru-hibana-ni-kagayaku-hitomi-yo <i>sparks fly about, his eyes grow bright,</i>							
7	生産増産-われら-の-勤め-を seisan-zōsan-warera-no-tsutome-wo <i>'it's our duty to increase production'</i>							
8	鉄-うちきたえる-少年戦士 tetsu-uchikitaeru-shōnen-senshi strike the iron, youth-soldier	1						
9	この-腕-この-技-み国-に-ささげ-て kono-ude-kono-waza-mikuni-ni-sasage-te <i>my arms and my skills to my country I dedicate</i>			1	3	1	3	4
10	い-や-ま-し-お-こ-さ-ん-東-亞-の-産-業 iyamashi-okosa-n-Tōa-no-sangyō let us develop the East Asian industry		3	1	2	1	5	6
11	生産増産-われら-の-勤め-と seisan-zōsan-warera-no-tsutome-wo <i>'it's our duty to increase production'</i>							
12	ほ-ほ-え-み-働-く-少年戦士 hohoemi-hataraku-shōnen-senshi smile, work, youth-soldier	1	2					

*This refers to youth conscripted to work in the factory, "Industrial soldier" is a euphemistic name given to them, perhaps to heighten their morale.

This song begins with the depiction of the diligent worker who works day and night in the field. Towards the end of the WWII many students from large cities were evacuated to the

countryside and joined the war effort there. Lines 5-8 describe a young boy working at a factory, perhaps a munitions factory, as was the case with many mobilised youth workers after 1943. The boy is called a ‘youth-soldier’, which is a term that would encourage young men, while reminding them of the seriousness of their duty. After these model behaviours, different work circumstances were presented, in line 9 the right attitude and mind-set for a young person is described in the style of the first person narrator. He talks of his loyalty and determination to serve the country. The word *mikuni* (‘honoured nation’) suggests that he means the Empire of Japan. Here, the basis of education, ‘loyalty, filial piety, and patriotic spirit’ as described in *Kyōgaku-seishi*²⁴⁹ and *Kyōiku-chokugo*²⁵⁰ are still vividly present, denoting imperial ideology and patriotic nationalism, but at the same time, the very word of ‘soldier’ and the socio-political circumstances in which this discourse is set – discursive events (Wodak and Meyer 2009) – clearly point to the presence of militarist ideology. This is another case of Multi morpheme through the contextual information. Moreover, the original purpose of Japan’s first MS-S is still reflected in this lyric: ‘the core of education consists of three parts: moral education; intellectual training; and physical education...the most important of all is the cultivation of moral character’, and the MS-S is effective because it ‘set people’s minds straight... and edifies’ them (Preface, 1881 *Shōgaku-shōka*²⁵¹).

5.7. Conclusion

The volume of ideological vocabulary in the texts does not directly correspond to the impact of ideological teaching that MS-S instantiated in those young minds. Thus, first, descriptive statistics were used to investigate the surface textual characteristics. Second, PCA was applied to explore combinations of textual features that directly and indirectly characterised the texts. Third, and from there on, these textual features were further investigated qualitatively in the light of layers of contextual information available to the pupils of MS-S at the time. This was executed in a framework inspired by DHA-CDA with the theory of the assimilation-association model of ideological transfer. This model points to the cyclical evolution of the socio-cognitive representation (Koller 2012) of children’s group identity as members of the community as depicted in the MS-S which itself evolved over the course of time. As ideologies became more contextualised, the proportion of morphemes that expressed ideologies indirectly increased, and the more embedded in, and intertwined with, children’s daily life the interpretation of ideologies had become. Thus, ideologies could be communicated more efficiently and with fewer words.

²⁴⁹ 教学聖旨. cf. Appendix 3.

²⁵⁰ 教育勅語. cf. Appendix

²⁵¹ 小学唱歌緒言. cf. Appendix 5.

For example, descriptive statistical examination of the lyrics and titles in Chapter 4 has identified that the overall number (or proportion) of concrete words directly denoting ideological concepts is not very high, even in Period 4, when propaganda was said to be commonplace in Japan. Yet, in our descriptive case studies in this chapter, the concepts of militarism and Japanese imperialism, for example, became clearly evident as we read the selection of songs. This was explained by the substantial amount of morphemes present in the text denoting ideological concepts through context-dependent reading, which fact is compatible with the statistical results in Chapter 4 using PCA. These morphemes, as defined in a dictionary, do not carry ideological meanings, but an ideological meaning was assigned to them, temporarily, within these songs, in order for the reader of the lyrics (or singer of the song) to make sense of its meaning. If the words of the title of the song have a dictionary meaning of an ideological nature, it sets the context for the lyrics to be interpreted in the same way. As discussed in Chapter 2 under the section on ‘coherence’, we, as readers, try to make sense of a text as we read it. We tend to assume that there must be a message in it and, for that reason, we use contextual information to bridge the gaps and create a coherent picture of the story. One such example was the scene on the battlefield in the MS-S of Period 3. The text had only two militaristic words, the ‘Lieutenant Colonel’ and the ‘army’. There were no words for weapons, and there was not even a verb such as to ‘kill’, and yet from the title, ‘Lieutenant Colonel’ and two medical-biological words in the following verses, we, as readers, deduced that the song depicted the scene of a desperate battle. In light of the results in this chapter, the texts of MS-S for elementary school children in 1881-1945 appear to represent a degree of ideological education, the content of which appears to be in line with the educational purposes for MS-S as described in the government’s documentations such as the Prefaces of the MS-S.

Thus, ideological education through MS-S was clearly intended from the beginning by the Meiji government, under the circumstances as described in Chapter 3, but the subsequent evolution of cyclical ideological transfer was a result of the participation of all involved in the creation of ‘favoured discourse’. Motivation for their involvement need not have been militarist belligerence or expansionist greed, but, in fact, could have been just an innocent desire to be good members of the community, as described here by a music teacher²⁵²: ‘Recently, at every meeting and reception in Tokyo, graduates and students of the Imperial University sing *Hotaru no hikari* (‘The firefly lights’) and *Omoi-izureba* (‘As I recall...’) and so on. Virtually everyone sings them – even those who are quite out of tune. If one is unable

²⁵² 当今東京では帝国大学出身の学士や学生の人々には何か立食とか集会とか致す場合には下手なり「蛍の光」や「思い出れば」位は知らないと皆唱って居る所で独りボンヤリとして何だか肩身が狭い様な傾きがあります此様子では数年の後は音楽唱歌を知らない者は自然と人中へ出る事が出来ない様になりませふ。(音楽取調掛第一回伝修生・鳥居忱 1887年千葉県教育会の講演)。

to join the singing one feels one is no longer able to walk with one's head held high in the crowd. As I see it, soon, in less than a couple of years, it will be so that anyone who does not know *shōka* will be too embarrassed to go out to a public place'. (An excerpt from a lecture by Torii Makoto at a Chiba Prefectural Teachers' Meeting in 1887) (Taho 1980: 45-6). This was only 6 years after the publication of Japan's first MS-S. The first MS-S was so influential that soon 'even those who had never learnt *shōka* knew about it' (Ōmoto 2009: 40), and in this way ideologies were transferred through the vehicle of lyric poetry.

Soon, 'almost all elementary school children nationwide' (Ōmoto 2009: 40) learnt (the first MS-S), and the spirit that they carried was 'etched deep in the hearts of the people of the country' (Ōmoto 2009: 40). The *shōgaku-shōka-shū* was created by a state policy to nurture patriotic spirit, and through the lyricism of the lyrics it succeeded in pouring *tokuiku-shugi* (the 'pedagogy of moral education'), *chūshin-aikoku-shugi* ('imperial loyalty and patriotism'), and *gunkoku-shugi* ('militarism') into the minds of people. Thus, people were made into 'citizens of the state' who were also 'poets', and in turn they grew up to create a vast amount of 'poetry of the citizens of the state'²⁵³ by themselves that they proceeded to disseminate (Ōmoto 2009: 40).

While generation after generation of Japanese children were thus educated to become patriotic imperial subjects through MS-S, with the intensification of Japan's fifteen-year war the state encouraged the intensification of propaganda generated by both the state and its citizens, and war was progressively normalised through popular media. An example is a popular magazine created by The Eastern Way Company, FRONT, that:

propagated the idea that the war was worth fighting. FRONT did not overemphasise the "necessity of war," or its "inevitability," two expressions found frequently in military slogans. Instead, the magazine portrayed regular soldiers in daily action, albeit in a stylised photographic reproduction. Readers quickly became accustomed to images of war. They became something so ordinary that for the public the shock of the actual harshness of the war slowly lessened. (Kushner 2006: 74).

²⁵³ 「当時、唱歌は、唱歌教育を受けていない者でさえもがその存在を知るところとなっていた。『小学唱歌集』は、明治40年代にいわゆる「文部省唱歌」が作られるまで、ほとんどすべての小学生が手にすることとなり、その精神は国民のこころの奥深くに刻まれてゆく。『小学唱歌集』は、愛国精神を涵養するために国策として作られたものであり、叙情性に彩られた歌詞を通して、国民に徳育主義、忠君愛国主義、軍国主義を注ぎ込むことに成功した。こうして国民化された「詩人」たちが、後の世に多くの「国民詩」を送り出していくことになる。

A similar gradual progression of the normalisation of war has been observed in our diachronic qualitative study. Through MS-S education, campaigning for mobilisation was blended with imperialism and militarism that were firmly rooted in nationalism and presented by emotion-arousing lyricism. This further encouraged pupils of MS-S, whether currently at school or not, to identify themselves with the virtuous family nation that MS-S repeatedly emphasised and the image of which was carved deeply in their minds. Outside school this was fuelled by media such as the above mentioned magazines that ‘emphasised the war as mundane, relentlessly reminding the average imperial Japanese subject that the war continued and required personal involvement’ (Kushner 2006: 75). Thus, pupils taking MS-S identified with that greater good, establishing an identity as a chosen heir of the divine Empire. What we see here is a picture of *kokumin-ka* (‘making of citizens of the state’).

As was the case of the *bunmei-kaika* (‘cultural enlightenment’) of the early Meiji era, ‘citizens of the state’ have been created by the culturalisation of people through schools, factories, religions, literature, or every kind of system and *kokka-sōchi* (‘state apparatus’²⁵⁴).... The creation of citizens of the state occurred during the creation of the nation-state of Japan, which we have inherited and it continues today, but all of us who have already been recreated into citizens of the state do not realise that fact²⁵⁵ (Nishikawa 2010: 15).

Thus, ‘when in this 21st century we listen to *Hotaru no hikari* or *Aogeba tōtoshi* (‘Grateful heart’)’²⁵⁶ and tears well up inside, it shows how excellent MS-S are as ‘state apparatus’ and we are shocked to discover that we too, have been ‘re-modified’ as a ‘citizen of the state’²⁵⁷ (Ōmoto 2009: 40). The lyricism combined with multiple ideologies indicated through contextual interpretation of the texts, as evidenced both quantitatively and qualitatively in this study so far, had made MS-S appealing to the emotions of the ones who sung them, and thus MS-S became memorable. Music also facilitates learning and long-term memory, as mentioned by Sakai (2011: 66), and as evidenced by the clinical experiments described there.

²⁵⁴ Louis Althusser (1969.1971) considers that institutions such as education, media, and others that were formally outside state control also serve to transmit the values of the state, maintaining order in a society, in order to reproduce capitalist relations of production.

²⁵⁵ 明治期の「文明開化」の例でもわかるように、国民化は一般に文明化の形をとる。(中略) 国民化は、学校や軍隊や工場や宗教や文学や、その他あらゆる制度や国家装置を通じて、究極的には国家の原理を体現した国民という改造人間を作り上げる。そのような国民化が国民国家の時代を通して進行し、現在に至っていることに、すでに国民化されたわれわれは気がつかない。

²⁵⁶ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hff4LY8asTM> (by Angela Aki) and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LbgKWloZ8Yw&list=TLXaw1BQTfdNFCDnWddzz02ubkqnhCrehG> (with English subtitles) accessed online December 2013

²⁵⁷ 21世紀を迎えた現代においてさえ『蛍の光』や「仰げば尊し」に思わず涙ぐんでしまうことがあればと、『唱歌』が<国家装置>として「優秀」であることを実感するとともに、<改造>され<国民化>された自らに震撼せざるを得ないのである。

MS-S can even stimulate the memories of patients with dementia. As children repeatedly sung MS-S during the music lessons the texts of MS-S were drilled, and once they the lyric and tunes had been learnt by heart, the children sung them wherever and whenever as they pleased. Through classroom activities the children learned about the MS-S topics and the texts, or through singing the MS-S in unison both at school and the outside, pupils of MS-S education learnt and shared the 'favoured discourse' associated with the songs. The favoured discourse was then assimilated between and among the children, the friends and family, the teachers, the education authorities, and other participants of the community in which these songs were sung. Thus, MS-S facilitated transfer of ideological components associated with the songs through assimilation and association of the favoured discourse in that community.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter is composed of three parts. The first part (6.1) brings together the key findings of the quantitative (Chapter 4) and qualitative (Chapter 5) analyses of the MS-S texts, the descriptive analysis of the official documents concerning the MS-S (Chapter 3) and relevant historical facts. Similarities of patterns and factors that link the results of these data are considered in the light of the assimilation-association model of ideological transfer (1.5. and 2.4) within the sociolinguistic framework inspired by CDA (2.3). Here, we will explore how and to what extent the educational purposes, goals, and policies expressed in the official documents are reflected in the texts of MS-S, how such MS-S were produced, taught and disseminated, and how the relevant social contexts may have affected the MS-S, and propose answers to Questions 1 to 4 of the five research questions (as discussed in 1.4.). Based on the above discussion, the second part of this chapter (6.2) proposes an answer to the fifth research question, illuminating how the findings of this study may be used to explain the mechanism of MS-S as a vehicle for ideologies, leading to propaganda, and how it relates to the role that MS-S may have played in establishing imperial ideology through associations created around the concept of family-nation, and from this, extending the associative discourse to militarism and nationalism in the four periods under analysis²⁵⁸. Finally, the last part of this chapter (6.3) discusses the relevance of the key findings of this research to future research questions concerning the short and long term effects of MS-S education on the individual or the collective impact on the society of the time, through the assimilation and association of ideological discourse. The discussions are bound to yield suggestions for future cross-disciplinary research using the assimilation-association model of ideological transfer, and analytical methods proposed in this study.

6.1. Answering the research questions

This study has set out to investigate the following five research questions:

- 1) What was **the purpose** for which the discourse of MS-S was designated? What concepts were communicated? (Discussed in 6.1.1.)
- 2) What are **the conceptual and linguistic contents of the text** that link to the purpose of the MS-S discourse? (Discussed in 6.1.2.)

²⁵⁸ The historical period under investigation was 1881-1945, which was divided into four sub-periods: 1st period (1881-1909), 2nd period (1910-1930), 3rd period (1931-1940), and 4th period (1941-1945) in accordance with the year of MS-S publication.

- 3) How was the text of the discourse of MS-S produced, disseminated, taught and consumed in regard to the concept of discursive practices in CDA? That is to say, what **methods** were used in these practices of education and dissemination of ideologies? (Discussed in 6.1.3.)
- 4) How can **the social context** in which the discourses were instantiated be characterised and in what way did **the social context affect the text** itself or its purpose? How did **the shifts in the social context** affect the texts and interpretation of the text-discourse? (Discussed in 6.1.4).
- 5) Based on the answers to Research Questions 1-4, what **role** did MS-S play in the **mechanism** of purposed communication within the larger socio-historical context? (Discussed in 6.2.1-6.2.5.).

Upon answering the above five research questions, we will proceed to discuss possible further links between this study and other studies of propaganda. That is to say, we will consider the effect of MS-S education on children in preparing their receptiveness and autonomous contribution to the propaganda of a wider society. The question asked will be: ***How** was the MS-S discourse interpreted by its pupils as well as the society of the time and, as a result of that interpretation, what **effect** did MS-S discourse exert on the recipients and **how was that effect manifested** in their own discourse, feeding into their involvement in social actions, which in turn may have helped to fuel the society's propaganda further?* (Discussed in 6.3.).

Hence, the assimilation-association model of ideological transfer, as proposed in this study, may function as a mechanism for completing the loop of 'the cyclical model of cognition and discourse, in which the former is instantiated in the latter while also being shaped by it' and where socio-cognitive representations of discourse are 'culturally bound and come into being at particular historical moments' (Koller 2012: 21) as a variety of mobilisation efforts manifested in the language, sounds, and images of propaganda. This hypothesis supports the evolution of Japanese wartime propaganda and can be explained, indeed, by means of a multi-party participation model, rather than an Orwellian model (Kushner 2006, 2009).

Below, we will take the questions one by one and answer them from a cross-disciplinary perspective.

6.1.1. The Purpose of MS-S education

The main purpose of Japan's first MS-S, published in 1881, by the Meiji Imperial government was to provide a teaching resource for the new subject of school-based music

education, but it also had an agenda of producing ‘Imperial subjects’ for the firm establishment of a modern state. This was part of the government’s modernisation effort, and the official documents state that its educational aim was three-fold²⁵⁹: to cultivate moral character, train intellectual ability, and to offer physical education. Of these three purposes, the first was the most crucial and thought to be achievable through imprinting *shinmin*-spirit (the spirit of ‘the Emperor’s subjects’) into children’s subconscious minds and nurturing it through the singing of MS-S. These purposes remained as the foundation for MS-S until 1945, but other political and ideological purposes were added in the course of time reflecting the shifting social context. For example, MS-S underwent various transformations. Revised or newly compiled versions were published six times (1881, 1893, 1910, 1911, 1931, and 1941). Among these the 1893 publication of MS-S was a special compilation of eight imperial ceremonial songs²⁶⁰ and this songbook was used in accordance with the imperial calendar of festivals that were celebrated publicly nationwide and also in schools²⁶¹, while other MS-S were used for music lessons as part of the school curriculum. The content of the 1910 publication of MS-S (twenty-seven songs) was based on the stories of an accompanying reader, whereby reading and music were taught in tandem. This version was incorporated into the 1911 revised and enlarged version that contained twenty songs for each of the six elementary school grades. A further revised version was published in 1931, and an entirely new compilation was published in 1941. Some of the songs appeared in various versions of the MS-S, with modifications. When we focus on the timing of these publications it becomes clear that all of them coincided with the issuance of new educational statutes or revisions in the educational system, which suggests that MS-S were devised to reflect the latest educational policies, which in turn reflected the changes in the socio-political context: this is the essence of one of the two initial key findings.

Another key finding is the prominence of imperial songs among the MS-S. Although the total number of MS (i.e. Monbushō-shōka²⁶²) with specific imperial themes was not statistically noteworthy, the fact that Ceremonial MS-S received special treatment in the school curriculum and were sung systematically at many ceremonial occasions and continuously used until the end of WWII points to the special educational purposes given to the imperial songs among all the MS. The close link between the MS-S education and imperial ideology is in fact apparent in the official guidelines for the pedagogy of MS-S for

²⁵⁹ Preface, *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* 1881.

²⁶⁰ *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka* 1893 (祝日大祭日唱歌) (3.1.1.).

²⁶¹ This was in compliance with 1893 Gazette No.3037 Appendix *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-kashi narabi gakufu* (1893祝日大祭日歌詞並び楽譜、文部省告示第三号、官報3037号付録).

²⁶² As defined in page v, ‘*shōka*’ is ‘a piece from an official Japanese children’s songbook, or general concept’, while ‘MS-S’ is ‘an official Japanese children’s songbook’, a compilation of *shōka*.

Period 4. This guideline published under the supervision of the Ministry of Education (Inoue 1942: 246-247), states:

at the head of the opening section [of the MS-S] stands *Kimi-ga-yo* followed by *Chokugo-hōtō* [Respectful Response to the Education Rescript], as well as the ceremonial songs for the four important holy days, namely: *Tenchō-setsu* [the birthday of the current Emperor]; *Meiji-setsu* [the birthday of the Meiji Emperor]; *Ichigatsu-ichijitsu* [New Year's Day]; and *Kigen-setsu* [National Establishment Day]. This special layout suggests that, from this grade on, children should be taught all these ceremonial songs along with a course of instructions²⁶³.

The purpose of instilling imperial ideology through MS-S education was established in its first issue in 1881, as this Preface states, and the same purpose persisted until the intervention by GHQ in 1945 (Shimazaki 2009: 85-86).

6.1.2. The link between the purpose and the text

Official documents concerning the MS-S, including their Prefaces and guidelines, were studied in further detail to explore what educational plans, purposes, methods, and intentions were behind their design. Their general characteristics, as well as key words and frequently appearing expressions, were studied. These were then compared to the statistical patterns and descriptive characteristics of each of the corresponding MS-S sets. We found that at least two aspects of the texts of the MS-S and their corresponding official documents presented similarities. These were their general characteristic patterns and some of their key expressions. The first aspect refers to the style of discourse or emphasis on particular combinations of ideological concepts. For example, the χ^2 test revealed that the number of morphemes per song and per verse increased in Periods 2 and 3, but decreased in Period 4. This pattern corresponded to the official plan stated in the guidelines for Period 2, which announces a change in the style of lyrics to more artistic and accessible poetry written in the natural language of children. This change was a response to the criticisms from the public and academics concerning the preceding volume (MS-S in Period 1), which was felt to be too rigid (3.2.3.) and archaic, so the new MS-S in Period 2 incorporated a freer form of prose with a wider variety of vocabulary and modifying expressions. The result was a richer, if not

²⁶³ 「初等科音楽」一には、その巻頭に「君が代」を掲げ、続いて「勅語奉答」「天長節」「明治節」「一月一日」「紀元節」と所謂四大節に歌ふ儀式唱歌全部が掲載されて居る。これはこの學年あたりからこれらの儀式唱歌全部に亘って一通りの指導をしなければならないことを意味して居るものと考へられる」。

wordy, MS-S. A similar trend persisted in Period 3 (3.2.6.), but was discontinued by the end of the 1930s with the issuance of more militarised education policies and the establishment of the *kokumin-gakkō* ('People's Schools' or 'Schools for the Citizens of the State'), with the guideline for the next MS-S discussing the need for more controlled systematic training to create good citizens of the Empire (3.2.6.). The resultant MS-S in Period 4 appears to be more dictated by the authorities, and also differs stylistically, as their texts are markedly shorter and simpler than those of their predecessors, but are more contextualised with words carrying multiple meanings.

This is one example of how the discourse style of the MS-S was allied with the educational policy of its time, and in turn to the kind of discourse demanded by the public. This evidence supports our hypothesis about the purposes of MS-S education and the role it played in transferring ideology, as well as on the mechanism through which ideologies were transferred, as posited by the assimilation-association model of communicating ideological discourse (1.6.1. and 2.4). Moreover, the qualitative analysis seems to support the hypothesis, too, with key words in the Prefaces and guidelines taken up in the songs through word association. For example, the Preface of Period 1 MS-S defines the purpose of education as the nurturing of imperial subjects for the sake of establishing a strong and rich imperial country. These concepts are then assimilated and appear in a series of paraphrases in the lyrics, which may be expressions of various glorious titles of the emperor (5.3), expressions of the historical and mythical legitimacy of imperial reign (as depicted in *Amatsu-hitsugi* in 5.3) forming an emperor-centred history (*kōkokushi*), or celebrations of a strong and rich land (*mizuho no kuni* as depicted in *Amatsu-hitsugi* in 5.3), and the trusting relation between the emperor and his subjects (as depicted in *Tama-no-miyai* and expressed in the concept of *kokutai*). Official documents for Period 2 and 3 place emphasis on modernisation and artistic quality as well as educational value, perhaps reflecting the more liberal mood of the Taishō (1912-1926) to early Shōwa (1926-1989) periods. As mentioned above, the style departed from the previous period and vocabulary widened, depicting vivid emotions. The expressive language of Period 3 was inherited by the MS-S of Period 4 and used in the Preface and guidelines as well as in the songs' lyrics, although their expressions were simpler than those of Period 3, and verses were shorter, reflecting the style of the corresponding official documents. Key expressions are euphemisms for the emperor, land, and the military with special emphasis on the word *kokumin* ('people of the country'). Again, in all cases clear similarities of discourse were observed, especially in the style and vocabulary, between the official documents stating the purpose and the contents of the MS-S.

6.1.3. Methods of MS-S education

From the inception of MS-S, singing in unison was emphasised. For practice, and for various occasions, MS-S were sung repeatedly. We considered that these methods have social (unifying and building solidarity in the community, as with Minister Mori's *Banzai* call), and psychological implications (imprinting an ideological message as discussed in Chapter 2).

Another important pedagogical aspect of the teaching of MS-S concerns discourse comprehension by association. The importance of contextual information was observed in our statistical results whereby we examined the number of morphemes associated with ideological concepts in the MS-S. When only the dictionary definitions are applied the overall proportions of the vocabulary associated with the ideologies are small across all four periods. Vocabulary associated with militarism without contextual support was not significant in Period 4, hence, statistically not in line with the claims of Karasawa (1956) and Kurokawa (2007) at the surface-textual level. However, when contextual information was taken into account, the prominence of militarism in Period 4, through indirectly (i.e. contextually) associated morphemes, dramatically increased, which reflects the claims of these previous scholars. In addition, the number of morphemes associated with more than one ideology per word (termed *Multi*, in this study) gradually increased from Period 1 to Period 4 reaching twice the number of Period 3 and three times the number of Period 1. This suggests that the lyrics of Period 4, which are textually short and simple with fewer words per song, are actually ideologically loaded, with the contextualisation of words resulting in multiple associative meanings.

Kurokawa (2007)'s research demonstrated how contextualisation was carried out in the classroom through inter-disciplinary teaching of the same topic, but MS-S appear to be particularly effective in conveying ideology through association because they are songs, not prose. As we reviewed and discussed extensively in Chapter 2 (2.2), people try to make sense of any discourse relying on available information. When there are not enough details, they may use inferences, but essentially they bridge information gaps by comparison and association. With MS-S being poetry, the lyrics do not give detailed information and, therefore, to enable the children to understand the meaning naturally, association making, with maximum use of the context, was encouraged.

To reiterate: when we are engaged in information exchange we do not just look at the printed words in a text, but try to understand the message that those printed words may carry and our reasoning for this relies on the context. There are two types of context: intra-textual and

extra-textual. An example of the former is the title of a text. If we read the title, ‘Soldiers’, and move our eyes to the first line of the first verse to find ‘he went to the battlefield’, we automatically assume that ‘he’ is a ‘soldier’, and not a local fisherman. An example of inter-textual context is shown in a song from MS-S entitled *Genkō* (‘Mongolian invasion’). It tells the legend of the *Kamikaze* (‘wind of the gods’) that wrecked the Mongolian warships to save the ‘divine’ country of Japan in 1274 and 1281. This heavily edited historical account was taught during history, ethics, and national language classes, as well as in music classes through the singing of that song in the MS-S, with each subject referring to another, and making strong associations between the facts (history), the divinity of the country and emperor (religious study), justice (ethics), the beauty and coherence of the story (language/reader), the emotional/physical experience of the story (singing MS-S), and social solidarity (singing in unison). The associations enhance further contextual interpretation. Of course, contextual interpretation depends on the ability and experience of the individual child, and the extent to which associations can be made between such discursive external information and a particular word may vary, depending on the individual, the society, and the historical period. Yet, if it does happen, associations can instil the ideology in people, partly because making the association is a spontaneous, self-motivated action. Unlike forceful and mechanical indoctrination by the automatic memorisation of slogans, making associations is an autonomous and creative practice, and, therefore, it gives an illusion of free choice. By making associations, one becomes a willing participant of the ideology without realising it.

As part of the discourse context the social context also plays a greater role in the comprehension and transfer of ideology. We will deal with question 4 next.

6.1.4. The text, the social context, and social change

The statistical results²⁶⁴ revealed that the MS-S texts in each of the four historical periods reflected the educational policies of the time attested in the relevant official documents, with respect to particular socio-political conditions. We will now discuss the impact of the social context on the discourse of the MS-S text and their official documents, drawing on the qualitative and quantitative empirical results. Such relational impact is often a chain or mutual reaction over time and, therefore, we will be taking both synchronic and diachronic

²⁶⁴ The statistical characteristics of the MS-S texts in each of the four historical periods were analysed using PCA. In this analysis, instead of counting the occurrences and proportion of ideological words against the total number of words, we sought to mathematically identify how, and which combinations of, ideological vocabulary significantly characterised each set of MS-S texts. In this way, even though the total volume of ideological words was too great, we could still scrutinize exactly which of the group of words are relevant within the pool of vocabulary associated with ideology in the MS-S texts of each period and analyse them by comparison with each other, revealing the discrepancies between the periods.

views. The four historical sub-periods based on the publication year of each MS-S set are used again to define units of temporal context.

6.1.4.1. Period 1 (1881-1909)

PCA results of Period 1 showed the strong influence of imperialism with both direct and indirectly associated words present. The quantitative study of representative cases showed a great variety of vocabulary referring to the emperor and imperial household as mentioned above. Indirectly, references were made to the mythical *kōkoku-shi* ('emperor-centred history') as well as to the ancient tradition of Japanese poetry. For example, a song in the MS-S depicts a righteous emperor and his compassion for his imperial subjects. Such a song helps to sell a good image of the imperial rule, but at the same time it emphasises the long factual academic tradition concerning imperial compilations of songs (or poems) with which the new MS-S could be associated. This was a subtle but effective way of establishing the authority of MS-S education along with the ancient imperial reign partially backed by historical facts. These are intentions of the early Meiji government traceable in the MS-S texts that seem to echo the discourse of its Preface. The author eagerly expresses the importance of nurturing children into *shinmin* ('imperial subjects') emphasising the benefits of music education. In fact, the modern education system was founded only ten years earlier by the promulgation of the *Gakusei* ('Education System Order'), mandating basic public education for all. Subjects included basic reading, writing, gymnastics and music, for the balanced growth of body and mind. The imperial concepts came mainly from the traditional Confucian teaching that was also incorporated into the new education system, as emphasised in the 1879 *Kyōgaku-Seishi*²⁶⁵ ('Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education') that expressed the educational intentions of the Meiji Emperor. Thus, Emperor-centred educational ideology was propagated through the newly established education system and was legitimised by the 1879 Education Law. Moreover, both the Preface of this MS-S and the Article 24 of the *Outline for Elementary School Rules*²⁶⁶ (*Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō*), of the same year, define the educational purpose of MS-S to be 'nurturing of beautiful virtues' (*bitoku wo kan'yō suru*), motivating progress in studies, nurturing love for parents and friends and learning 'reverence to the Emperor, loyalty and filial piety, patriotic love for the country, gratitude and obligation towards the Holy Masters of the Past and Present' (*kokonseishu no on, chūshin, sonnō, aikoku*). Japanese imperial ideology is already apparent at this inception of modern music education, and as a result MS-S quickly acquired the function of inculcating Emperor-worship and the spirit of loyalty and filial piety towards the

²⁶⁵ Details are available in Appendix 3.

²⁶⁶ English translation is available in Appendix 4.

Empire. The psychological and social effectiveness of MS-S as a vehicle of the government's educational policy (and ideology) was apparent from the inception of the MS-S. Noticing the possible use of simple collective rituals in mobilising populace in a near-religious manner, the first Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, was instrumental in popularising *Banzai* calls and encouraging group singing of MS-S in preparation for the 1889 promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (the Meiji constitution). The seed of the constitutional and religious associations of *Banzai* and MS-S was sown at this early stage. This is an example where the social context shaped the discourse and use of MS-S texts, and vice versa.

Imperialism is not the only ideology found in the MS-S discourse, however. The statistical results showed the presence of the combination of directly expressed militarism and nationalism even though their prominence is lower. Qualitative results showed that MS with militaristic themes in this period are actually scarce and appear only in the context of following the emperor to battle, since at the time of the publication of this MS-S Japan was at relative peace internationally. However, soon it found itself in major international wars with China (1894-5) and Russia (1904-5). This change in the social context affected the MS-S, which did not have sufficient military content, and supplementary war-song books for each war were published for school use.

The Constitution obligated mandatory military service, payment of taxes, and universal compulsory education, and the *Gunbudaijin-gen'eki-bukan-sei* ('Law of Military Ministers on Active Service in the Military Department') was put in place, mandating that the cabinet could not be formed without the approval of the military, and thus military influence began to increase. Further, the *Kyōiku-chokugo*²⁶⁷ ('Education Rescript') was promulgated in 1890, which taught children twelve main commandments, including the spirits of loyalty, filial piety, and patriotism, dutifulness to parents and friends, and the obligation to serve in a military capacity. From this time on, the key words of imperialism (filial piety, spirit of loyalty, obligation to serve in a military capacity) begin to appear in the official documents for MS-S and in the text of MS-S, paraphrased in a variety of ways. Here again, the communication of ideology appears to take place through the assimilation of discourse between the parties involved and comprehending and building discourse by making semantic associations between information and events. In addition, the MS-S's imperial connection was established when, in 1891, the *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-gishiki-kitei* ('Ceremonial Protocols for the High Holy Days') and the Ceremonial MS-S called *Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-gishiki-shōka* were published. These set the precedent for the singing of ceremonial MS-S, in unison, as part of music education, which lasted until the end of WWII.

²⁶⁷ An English translation is available in Appendix 1.

These ceremonial songs were also incorporated into the main MS-S in Period 4 demonstrating the longevity of imperial MS-S (which include *Kimi-ga-yo*). In other words, the establishment of imperial discourse in MS-S was confirmed by this stage and upon this foundation MS-S continue to develop, acquiring different combinations of related ideologies by association.

6.1.4.2. Period 2 (1910-30)

We demonstrated earlier that, influenced by the social context of Taisho democracy, MS-S of Period 2 are more artistic and wordy, and a quick glance at the lyrics confirms this fact. Statistically, Period 2 demonstrated a strong, combined influence of militarism (direct) and militarism (indirect) on a par with the significant influence of ‘nation-oriented nationalism’. The increased prominence of militarism may be explained from the fact that this MS-S was designed and published between the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) and the First World War (1914-8). This MS-S contains military themes such as ‘Lieutenant Colonel Hirose’ (*Hirose-chūsa*), ‘Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana’ (*Tachibana-chūsa*) and ‘Meeting at Suishiyang’ (*Suishiei no kaiken*) based on the events surrounding the Russo-Japanese War, which took place only five years prior to its publication. The contents of the first two songs are rather sanguinary, celebrating the heroic deaths of *shinmin* (‘imperial subjects’). The third, which we discussed in detail in 5.4, narrates the story of the gentlemanly treatment of the enemy Russian General by the hero, General Nogi. In this MS-S for grades one to six, there is at least one battle song for every grade. Some are ancient stories of samurai heroes and the first grade of elementary school would get the nursery rhyme *Momotarō* (‘Peach Boy’s Adventure’), but the narrative still includes a battle scene in which the hero quashes evil²⁶⁸. *Hi-no-maru-no-hata* (‘The flag of the rising-sun’) is also introduced from the MS-S for the first grade. These quantitative and qualitative characteristic patterns correspond to the social context of this period. By this time imperialism was firmly established and Japan was rapidly militarising. Mirroring such social context, songs that justify or glorify war are found in the MS-S of this period, some of which graphically depict the battlefield, while others narrate historical war events. In addition to reinforcing the *kōkokumin* (‘imperial subjects’)-themed education, that stressed the importance of loyalty, filial piety and patriotic spirit, a military obligation to protect the state was also emphasised through education. These imperial concepts were inherited from the previous period.

²⁶⁸ Aided by a loyal dog, an agile monkey, and a quick pheasant, the brave Peach Boy goes on an expedition to Demon’s Island to punish the demons for their evil deeds and saves his parents and the people of his hometown.

Apart from the directly expressed military vocabulary in combination with imperial expressions, the MS-S of this period evidence a high degree of vocabulary depicting natural elements, fauna and flora, celebrating the beauty of the land of Japan. These are juxtaposed with the songs with gory battle scenes, but due to the large proportion (one to nine or ten) of the innocent songs providing a ‘frame’ of naturalistic discourse, even the battle songs seem to be harmless. This could potentially lead children to make anomalous associations between the innocent and the sanguinary. It is noticeable that many of the songs from this book such as *The Pigeons* (hato), *Dolls* (ningyō), *Rabbits* (usagi), and *Cherry Blossom* (sakura) are popular even today²⁶⁹.

Period 2 was a tumultuous time during which Japan saw rapid expansion of the Empire through major international conflicts that included Japan’s annexation of the Korean Peninsula (1910) and the seizure of German-leased territories in China and the Pacific Ocean (1914), while the Western powers were preoccupied with WWI (1914-8). With the fall of tsarist Russia, Japan’s hegemony in northern China grew. Siding with the victorious Allies and geographically distant from the battlefield and close to the south-east Asian market, Japan industrialised rapidly, experiencing a wartime boom. This post-war prosperity gave people a voice, which was reflected in new literary movements, as well as the political movement of Taishō democracy. With this movement, naturalism and individualism gained popularity, and educationists, teachers, scholars and professors of literature debated the need to revise MS-S texts to suit the language and life experiences of children. Feeling the pressure the Ministry of Education finally decided to publish a revised version of the 1911 MS-S in 1931, which we will examine in the next section.

6.1.4.3. Period 3 (1931-40)

Period 3 MS-S is basically an extensive revision of Period 2 MS-S, and, therefore, significant statistical differences were not expected initially. The number of words per text, per sentence, per verse, and other physical characteristics are similar to the MS-S of Period 2. However, the result did show some differences in the contextualised meanings present: In Period 3 *Multi*, in particular, showed a strong influence, suggesting that more words in this period are ideologically loaded than in Period 2. In other words, more simple words could subtly mean something ideological. Official documents for the MS-S shed light on this.

²⁶⁹ Youtube ‘sakura’ in its traditional version <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XPGNqwt2N_Y> and a modern arrangement <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FuqdeFqxCg>>; ‘usagi’ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOOW_tVNQW0> accessed online 17 July 2013.

According to an official prospectus²⁷⁰, this version was designed to appeal to children's interests and lift their mood. Also, vivid descriptions of violence on the battlefield, as well as archaic lyrics and music, were replaced by topics from children's everyday life, described in natural language (Sugie 2006: 157-158). Yet, the purpose of music is described as being to 'create perfect *kokumin* [and to] nurture a sophisticated national character' (8-9), and cross-curricular alignment of contents and language is also stressed (58). These led to a new pedagogical approach: to teach *chūshin-aikoku* ('loyalty, filial piety, and patriotic spirit') by appealing to children's aesthetic and ethical sensitivity through materials using familiar, everyday topics from their lives.

While the liberalism campaign had pushed for the revision of MS-S to move away from the imperial or military contents, reference books for teachers, published around this time, stress the need to review the current liberal educational principles in order to reinforce moral education. This point is also made in the guidelines published by the ministry. As a result, child-centred topics from everyday life and ethical topics of loyalty, filial piety and patriotism were both taught through MS-S. This enhanced pedagogical approach with an emphasis on children's ease of understanding through a familiar medium and encouraging them to participate spontaneously in appreciating the discourse, may have a significant impact on ideological transfer, in combination with the dominance of *Multi* in the MS-S text. This means children may find the text easier to understand and enjoy learning it. On the surface the text may not seem overtly ideological, but the contextual information will aid the children in inferring more, especially when taught with familiar, everyday topics, which are interesting to them, and in learning the ideological concepts associated with the seemingly harmless discourse. In summary, the pedagogical approach that was newly introduced to the making and teaching of MS-S in Period 3, resulted in an effective mechanism for ideological transfer, which consists of the following:

- teaching a clear set of values, by means of:
- assimilating the language to that of the children,
- choosing familiar topics from children's everyday lives (assimilating the concept), and
- making the children associate the ideological values with familiar concepts found in their everyday life.

²⁷⁰ 1933 (S11) Prospectus (Hensan no shui) relating to the Compilation and Issuance of the Shintei-Jinjō-Shōgaku-shōka by the Ministry of Education (*Shintei-jinjōshōgaku-shōka Kashi-hensan-no-shui* 「新訂尋常小学唱歌」歌詞編纂の趣意), 57-58.

Thus, as of this period the style and topics of MS-S texts were designed to become closer to children's hearts.

This movement for liberal educational change inherited from the Taishō (1912-1926) era was not without opposition. Gradually, the liberal tone of the MS-S text ebbed, reflecting the changing tide in the social context. On the whole, the social background of Period 3 for MS-S can be characterised by domestic and international political tensions. After the Shōwa financial crisis of 1930, Japan suffered a prolonged severe depression. Internationally, the 1931 Manchurian incident was a turning point in the Empire's international aggression and the political influence of the military grew, leading to the February 26 incident of 1936 that brought in the Law of Military Ministers on Active Service in the Military Department²⁷¹ in the same year. The second Sino-Japanese War erupted in 1937 and, reflecting the gravity of the war situation, the General Mobilisation Order (*kokka-sōdōin-hō*) was issued in 1938, which applied to every citizen, including children and, therefore, educational policies were revised. Soon after the 1940 Tripartite Pact, a new school system, *Kokumin-gakkō*, was established in April 1941, and a new set of MS-S was published with, again, the aim of 'nurturing the patriotic spirit' (*aikoku-seishin no jiyō*) and the 'unification-alignment of emotions and behavioural performance through songs' (*kakyoku ni yoru kanjō oyobi kōdō no tōitsu*)²⁷². The influence of ultra-nationalism and militarism were apparent in the social context, and this is likely to have had an impact on the text of MS-S in Period 4.

6.1.4.4. Period 4 (1941-5)

The quantitative results from Period 4 attested to by far the strongest influence of militarism and ultra-nationalism, as well as the significant influence of *Multi* (an expression associated with multiple ideological concepts). Once again, the MS-S of this period had taken topics from children's everyday lives, which means that the text is simple and the topics are expected to be childlike. However, the prominence of *Multi* in our statistical results (4.7.1.2.2, 4.7.2.4) indicates that this seemingly straightforward, innocent text may contain a complex mix of ideology through simple words that acquire ideological meanings by association with the contextual information. Again, the qualitative analysis matches these patterns given by the quantitative results. Words used in the MS-S of this period are simple, most topics are the kinds children would find familiar, with songs entitled, for example, *Birds and Flowers* (*Tori to hana*), *A Wind Chime* (*Fūrin*), *The Sea* (*Umi*), *Winter Night* (*Fuyu no yoru*), and so on. Without taking the context into account these are mostly peaceful

²⁷¹ Gunbu-daijin gen-eki-bukan-sei (軍部大臣現役武官制).

²⁷² Imperial Ordinance No.148 for the enforcement of the National Elementary School Order.

songs. However, in context even a song such as *The Sea* actually has military connotations. Towards the end of a mostly innocent, uplifting song, suddenly, a shining warship crosses the scene and it is implied that the singer will man the ship one day. Likewise, *Winter Night* narrates a quiet night of a close-knit family chatting by the fire, and during a lovely scene of the children's laughter and the father telling a story, unexpectedly, we realise that he was once a fearless soldier. When singing, we may just accept the song as 'childlike' without paying enough attention to its militarised contents, because they seem insignificant, hidden among the mostly innocent, nature-loving and humanistic details of these songs. However, they are not without impact. Many who learnt this song can recall even those 'insignificant' details verbatim²⁷³. Considering the mechanism of psychological processes, we discussed in chapter 2 (2.2.), the power of imprinting linguistic associations, image, and ideas that MS-S texts can have on the children does not seem insignificant at all. Moreover, the impact that the social context has on children's discourse comprehension is also crucial. The more reinforcement of contextual information they have, the more likely it is that the ideological message is transferred and remembered as was suggested by the literature on the link between frequency of input and memory (2.2.). In addition, the repeated input of a similar message reinforces the structure-building of a coherent mental picture (2.2.3-4), aiding comprehension and memory (2.2.1).

The statistics for Period 4 demonstrate also that militarism is often expressed together with 'nation-oriented' nationalism. This means the concept of militarism is associated with the concept of love for the country of Japan or a family through a *Multi*. This observation is supported by the fact that the MS-S was published in 1941, a year after the Empire's signing of the Tripartite Pact with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and in compliance with the *Kokumin-gakkō-rei Sekōkisoku Dai-148-gō* ('Imperial Ordinance No.148 for the enforcement of the National Elementary School Order'), which states: 'teaching materials should be in accordance with the Imperial Way²⁷⁴... and appropriate for providing basic training for the *kokumin* and relevant to their everyday lives, and which must be selected specially to help developing children's minds and bodies'²⁷⁵, and its purpose is to 'nurture

²⁷³ The physiological effect of MS-S education was studied by Sakuda and Oku (2003: 29-38) by examining psychogenic perspiration of the subjects who once studied MS-S when they were children. Upon listening to MS-S and non-MS-S songs, subjects showed significantly higher psychogenic perspiration levels while listening to MS-S such as *Furusato* ('My hometown') and *Koinobori* ('Carp-shaped banners') than non-MS-S songs, saying that the songs are very nostalgic, unsettling, or elating because they can easily recall the verses and sing along.

²⁷⁴ *kōkoku-no-michi*. (educational documents specifying the pedagogy of this concept is discussed in 3.1.4).

²⁷⁵ (教材ハ、皇国ノ道ニ則リテ...國民ノ基礎的鍊成ヲナスニ適切ナルモノヲ國民生活ニ即シ兒童心身ノ發達ニ留意シテ精選)

patriotic spirit²⁷⁶ and ‘aligning one’s emotions with behaviour by means of the songs’²⁷⁷. The influence of ultra-nationalism and militarism is salient.

Another finding of our quantitative study concerns the basic statistics performed on the titles. As we discussed in the section for mechanism of memory and comprehension in Chapter 2 (2.2.2.), the role a ‘title’ plays in comprehension is very relevant. When we begin reading a passage, the title of the prose facilitates us to infer what the rest of the discourse might be about, called ‘frame’ of discourse in CDA terminology. The title gives us a firm foundation on which we can build the structure of a coherent story. According to the results on the titles (4.7.1.4), vocabulary denoting one or a combination of the three, ideologies increased dramatically in Period 4. Moreover, vocabulary that directly denoted militarism increased in Period 4, and finally, *Multi* was significant. These results imply that the titles in Period 4 characteristically provided a rich context for the readers to make ideological associations leaning towards militarism, and that was reflected in the results of P4 in PCA analysis, too²⁷⁸, since a title provides context for association-based comprehension. Given the other characteristics of MS-S in Period 4 mentioned above, this suggests that the MS-S in this Period exerted the greatest ‘power’ (using Fairclough (1989)’s term) through language manipulation on children when it came to the ideological transfer and communication. Judging from the quantitative and qualitative analyses, the MS-S of Period 4 was textually the most simple, compact, and stylistically closest to children’s everyday language, and was taught most effectively with ‘*gengo-katsudō-shugi*’, a child-centred, activity-oriented cross-curricular pedagogical approach. As a result, children were mobilised as willing participants in the war effort, forming a part of ‘Japan’s multifaceted approach to propaganda’ (Kushner 2006: 9) in which effective mobilisation grew out of the ordinary citizens, instead of being forced upon them by the central government. These Period 4 MS-S texts became an effective vehicle for an ideology that was able to ‘grasp the hearts and minds of the people’ (Kushner 2006: 9).

To conclude this section, the statistical results indicated that the characteristics of MS-S texts in each of the four periods appear to match the descriptions of the authorities’ intentions and purposes for each MS-S, and descriptive qualitative analyses of the MS-S. At the same time,

²⁷⁶ 愛国精神の滋養

²⁷⁷ 歌曲ニヨル感情及び行動ノ統一

²⁷⁸ The title itself does not influence the reader’s ‘memory’ per se, nor is the title on its own particularly important to our study. However, when the title is combined with the verses, the title can influence the reader’s preconception, providing a ‘frame’ in which an idea can build by association; the reader may form an idea about the verses to come before starting to read them, and in that sense the title provides a ‘mental framework’.

these are also compatible with the descriptions of the socio-political conditions and characteristics of the corresponding periods.

6.2. The mechanism of ideological transfer and the role of MS-S

The above examination of our key findings and discussions implies that the pedagogical approaches to teaching of MS-S may have resulted in more effective transfer of ideology, providing an answer to our research question number five (the mechanism for communicating and transferring ideology and the role of MS-S in that mechanism within the larger socio-historical context). In this section we will discuss some of the representative teaching approaches. Pedagogy for MS-S has been discussed since its inception²⁷⁹, but the Ministry of Education was particularly keen to disseminate their version of pedagogy during the period of *kokumin-gakkō* (Period 4), when various pedagogical guidelines were published, including ones for teaching MS-S. Before we discuss the pedagogical approaches themselves we will briefly review the source of those approaches, that is to say, the policy towards teaching of ideology and pedagogy.

6.2.1. Policy of teaching ideology

The Ministry did not shy away from teaching ideology, but encouraged it in a statute: the *Kokumin-gakkō-rei* ('Elementary School Order'), issued in the same year as the publication of the Period 4 MS-S, specifically mentions 'nationalism'. It states, 'nationalism...springs from...respectful treatment and loving protection of the national language and...careful instruction of the populace with the national language is important', and, therefore, 'the beauty and robustness of Yamato [a traditional name for the Japanese majority ethnic group]-language' creates in people the beauty and robustness of the person by whom the society of Greater East Asia will be completed (Kokuni 2006: 23).

Such were the ideological thoughts of the time on which basis language education – in particular one's sensitivity towards language – was greatly encouraged. This led to the concept of *nihongo-sōryoku-sen-taisei* ('Japanese language total war footing') advocated by educationalists, most prominently Nishio Minoru, who called the East Asia War 'the Thought-War [*shisōsen*], whose vanguard is the language and rear guard is also the language' (Nishio 1943). In fact, the term '*shisōsen*' (1.3.) was used like a slogan during this period 'to describe the fight for ideological supremacy in Asia and later against the West... and against democracy and individualism' (Kushner 2006: 15) within the skewed Japanese

²⁷⁹ As discussed throughout Chapter 3 and summarised in 6.1.4.

understanding of the concept of democracy and individualism, a combination of which was often equated with anarchism as described in the 1926 pedagogical guideline for elementary children (3.2.5). This is the background of the language teaching activities during Period 4 of MS-S. Nishio's 'activity-based language' (*gengo-katsudō-shugi*) teaching approach was introduced heavily in Period 4, and is observed in Readers whereby materials were 'designed in such a way that topics are based on pupils' everyday life so that they can conduct autonomous learning' (Kurokawa 2007: 96). This reminds us of the way the story of the *Kamikaze* military unit was taught through MS-S as well as the way 'Wind of the Gods' in the legend of the failed Mongolian invasion was taught in other school subjects (5.6.7.). The teaching methods of wartime Japan can be compared to a modern teaching approach such as the interdisciplinary/cross-curricular teaching method, which is said to yield greater results in students' performance, as discussed below.

6.2.2. Interdisciplinary / cross-curricular teaching

Interdisciplinary/cross-curricular teaching involves 'a conscious effort to apply knowledge, principles, and/or values to more than one academic discipline simultaneously that are related through a central theme, issue, problem, process, topic, or experience' (Jacobs 1989: 8), and the method is used for facilitating the transfer of information, teaching students to think and reason, and for providing a curriculum more relevant to students (Marzano, 1991; Perkins 1991). Characteristically, this teaching method induces 'repeated exposure to interdisciplinary thought' and facilitates the learners to 'develop more advanced epistemological beliefs, enhanced critical thinking ability and metacognitive skills, and an understanding of the relations among perspectives derived from different disciplines' (Ivanitskaya et al. 2002: 109). This teaching approach is very similar to the one that authorities recommended for wartime Japanese schools, known as the 'activity-based language learning approach' (*gengo-katsudō-shugi*) (Kurokawa 2007: 21).

In this approach in an example given by Kurokawa (2007: 117-21) pupils were given a topic based on a soldier's story in a reader and instructed to appreciate the story so that they would willingly support the military on the home front, or become motivated to join the army themselves. In combination with the MS-S and Readers, mini drama exercises were given to pupils, and through role-playing, they were encouraged to put themselves in the shoes of the protagonist, empathise, feel his emotions and consider what one would do in that situation. The purpose of this exercise was to 'nurture and instil *kokumin-seishin* ('national spirit') through patriotic thought and emotional experiences' as stated in the official Guidelines of the Ministry of Education on the teaching methods for the *Kokumin-gakkō* curriculum

(*Monbushō-kokumin gakkō kyōsokuan setsumei yōryō oyobi kaisetsu*²⁸⁰). These activities taught children to feel at one with the protagonist, at one with the situation the protagonist is in – which is often challenging, such as in a battle – and to feel that they were responsible members of the national polity. It is by assimilation of discourse with such ‘model’ figures in the textbooks, including MS-S, that children were taught how they should think and behave.

6.2.3. Assimilation

Assimilation is one of the cognitive processes young children use to develop socio-emotional competence. When young children ‘engage in social learning they are provided with a way of acquiring new skills and a means of engaging in nonverbal social interaction. Children thus attain many of their most important social and cognitive abilities by observing and copying what others do’ (Nielsen 2006: 555). In fact, copying a model was exactly what the Imperial government encouraged from the very early stage of MS-S education. It formed the core of the Imperial education policy. The model attitude (mental and physical) of Japanese citizens was defined in the Imperial Rescript (3.1.1 and Appendix 1), which placed Japanese citizens as imperial subjects and called for their ‘loyalty and filial piety’ (6.2.5) as ‘the fundamental character’ of ‘our’²⁸¹ Empire and gave it an authority as the ‘source of education’. After that, the essence of this discourse was copied over to almost all subsequent official documents that this study has investigated, and passed down the generations through a variety of classroom activities (Kurokawa 2007), grass-roots war efforts (Shimazu 2006, 2009), popular culture (Kushner 2006), and MS-S (this study). The policy of promoting the assimilation of the model discourse, as elucidated in the educational documents such as the Preface of the first MS-S (Appendix 5b), and manifested in MS-S texts, can be encapsulated by the phrase ‘imperial subjects’, and this expression, having first been introduced to the MS-S in Period 1, gradually seeped into the fabric of public discourse, turning the concept of imperial subject and all its associated ideology into given facts on which MS-S education was based.

In the classroom, emphasis on the honourable patriotic behaviour of *kōkokumin* (‘Imperial subjects’) comes in sentimental stories in both the Readers and the MS-S. An example is a

²⁸⁰ 『国民の思考・感動ヲ通ジテ国民精神ヲ酒養ス』（日本放送協会編『文部省国民学校教則案説明要領及解説』（1941）

²⁸¹ This ‘our’ is an example of ‘homeland deixis’ (Billig 1995: 105-9). The second person plural pronoun assists the participants of this shared discourse to create an imagined community that possess and share the land collectively.

story in the Grade III reader²⁸² entitled *Imon-bukuro* ('Comfort Bag'²⁸³), which is a little episode about family members sitting together, making comfort bags to send to soldiers at the front. A letter, called an *imon-bun* ('comfort letter'), often accompanied the bag to the battlefield, and in the wider social context, children of those days were aware of news articles detailing 'how Japanese children's "comfort letters" to soldiers demonstrated the unity of the home front and battlefield' (Kushner 2006: 78) and so were encouraged by the news as well as by their teachers who also shared such news to write these letters. Further, cross-curricular teaching ensured children's understanding of the topic at school. An accompanying guide to teachers explains three pedagogical points for this exercise:

- 1/ Make pupils appreciate the thoughtfulness of this family and the soldiers' joy at receiving such heartfelt gifts;
- 2/ Make pupils feel deeply how the way protagonists in the battlefield and at the home front are united in pushing forward vigorously towards victory in the Great East Asian War; and
- 3/ Make pupils understand the warmth of love between the population and how such loving thoughts for the soldiers at the war front have created harmony amongst them (Kurokawa 2007: 196-197).

Such themes remind us of the song *Winter Night* in the Period 3 MS-S, as discussed in Chapter 5, although, rather than such songs of familial peace and love, Period 4 MS-S has more songs containing euphemisms depicting beautified stories of the deaths of soldiers, as in the case of *San-yū-shi* ('The Brave Three'), and *Mugon no gaisen* ('Triumphant Return in Silence'). These songs contain expressions of acceptance, determination, controlled emotion and sacrifice. These emotions and expressions can be compared to the sense of 'elated resignation' as well as the bonding between soldiers and the ordinary people as reported in Shimazu (2006, 2009). Thus, the purposes of MS-S education of enhancing sensitivity to emotions and showing willingness to participate in society for the greater good as Imperial subjects, as stated in the Preface of the very first 1881 MS-S, had been achieved. Ideological vocabulary, in its direct form, was never particularly prominent in MS-S throughout the period 1881-1945 in comparison to the innocent vocabulary of 'everydayness'. However, as the war situation became more severe, more ideological vocabulary was mixed in with the

²⁸² 国語教科書(三年初等科国語二), 「いもん (慰問) 袋」.

²⁸³ The *imon-bukuro* (慰問袋) is a bag of small gifts of basic essentials prepared by civilian volunteers and sent to soldiers on the battlefields in order to encourage them and heighten their morale. The bags were made of cotton cloth and the contents included: a bar of soap, tissues, a hand-towel, a hand-made shirt, dry food, herbal medicines, photographs, drawings, and amulets. Inclusion of letters to the soldiers (often from children) was encouraged. One of the first official references to *imon-bukuro* is found in the 1904 (M37) Gazette published on 18 November (1904年 (明治37年) 11月18日官報), on the occasion of the Russo-Japanese War.

vocabulary of everyday life within the same discourse context, blurring the semantic boundaries through the reader/listener making associations between them.

6.2.4. Association

Association is a tool for the maintenance of coherence. It can be used for memorising and recalling, or to make sense where pieces of information do not easily coalesce. To make good associations we need information or stimuli such as the context, and the availability of relevant context defines the extent to which communication can be successfully carried out. By extension, in the case of our empirical study, the results evidenced that contextualisation results in an increased volume of ideological vocabulary in the MS-S texts. To give an example, the song entitled *Emperor* starts with a verse containing an honorific personal pronoun, *kimi* ('you/person + honour'). Most Japanese readers would assume that the pronoun refers to the Emperor. If, instead, the expression was *kimi no ōmuzo* ('your garment' 君の御衣) that would mean the Emperor's kimono robe, giving the expression imperial connotations. Likewise, for militarism, if the title was *Heitai* ('Soldiers') followed by *guntai-no-kōshin* ('military parade') in the first line of the verse, then by *uma-de-kōshin* ('parade on horseback'), the horse, which otherwise does not directly connote militarism, suddenly becomes associated with war. This chain of association of soldier-military parade-horse shows a pattern of ideological reinforcement by association found throughout the MS-S discourse.

Although Period 4 MS-S is strongly characterised by militarism (but not in the proportion of the actual number of morphemes directly denoting militarism), in comparison to Period 3 the number of songs depicting war had declined in Period 4. In Period 1 a special compilation of war-song MS-S, published for the occasion of the Russo-Japanese War, had songs about combat and the eradication of enemies, but the total proportion of such violent content was later reduced to almost nothing, except for the songs related to the 'Wind of the Gods'. Most militaristic songs are to do with the protection of, and fervent loyalty to, the country of Japan, as well as various depictions of brave men and women. The gory reality of war was blurred in Period 4 and replaced by the celebration of heroism. Yet this subtler, heavily context-dependent discourse in the MS-S of Period 4 (as evidenced by the significance of *Multi*) was exceptionally 'militarised' discourse both quantitatively (4.7.2.4-5) and qualitatively (5.6.). How could that be achieved?

Manipulation of language in the MS-S was frequently observed with war-themed songs. Hook (1996: 129-158) discusses the important role language has played in legitimising

militarisation processes in Japan whereby language was manipulated to ‘direct mass opinion towards acquiescence, acceptance or denial of militarisation processes, depending on the mode of discourse and rhetoric selected’ (Hook 1996: 130). Metaphors, including euphemism, are particularly useful in reporting conflicts to help ‘distance both the speaker and hearer from the unpleasantness of [the] death[s]’ of fellow countrymen and women or justifying the atrocious actions ‘carried out on behalf of the state’ (Hook 1996: 132). In general ‘euphemisms in wartime can be used to try to make the war more acceptable at the mass level’ (Hook 1996: 133). Indeed, our study showed that direct expression of battles found in earlier MS-S (in particular, Period 2) were decidedly unpopular with the public and gradually decreased over time, as evidenced in our statistical results. By the last publication of our MS-S, direct war-related expressions were largely erased, yet we have shown, elaborating on the earlier results of Karasawa (1956) and Kurokawa (2007), that this MS-S is clearly characterised by the prominence of militarisation quantitatively and qualitatively due to the presence of context-based indirect expressions, that is to say, a variety of metaphors and connotations, which were interpreted via associations of ideas. To take an example from the MS-S of Period 4, *The Brave Three* (5.6.5.) depicts the glorious end of three brave soldiers in the Russo-Japanese War who carried bombs into the enemy’s *tochka*. Their bodies ‘scattered as pearls’²⁸⁴. The song appeared in the MS-S published in 1940 just when, finding itself in WWII, the fast-militarising government needed public support for its war efforts. Among many war-themed songs, this one especially caught the public imagination gaining mass popularity²⁸⁵; private versions of copies were sold for popular use and heightened morale, leading to further mobilisation of the nation²⁸⁶. The success of this song lies in its glorification of the war dead to the level of the imperial family by using the jewel-metaphor that was normally saved for the emperor himself (5.3.), and thus their names were immortalised, promising a heroic future for soldiers to aspire to. This gives a positive association to the negative situation of death. Other war-themed songs in Period 4 display the same pattern of discourse. When the pattern is repeated, the ideological concepts in the discourse become normalised and accepted, forming a foundation for receiving and

²⁸⁴ The term, *tama to kudakeru* (玉と砕ける) or *gyokusai* (玉砕) originated probably in the Chinese phrase 大丈夫寧可玉碎何能瓦全 meaning ‘a respectable man should die graciously. A crushed and scattered pearl is better than a complete tile’, which is found in the 7th century Chinese text, *Běiqíshū* (‘The Book of Northern Qi’). This term was adapted into a Japanese imperial military term referring to ‘an honorable death’, or ‘audacious attack’ (Military aviation dictionary, accessed on 7 August, online at:

<http://mmsdf.sakura.ne.jp/public/glossary/pukiwiki.php>).

²⁸⁵ Four big newspaper companies published the complete lyrics in February-March, 1932. At least two competing versions with lyrics by Yosano Tekkan and Nakano Chikara were recorded and released by Polydor Records Japan, and Columbia Records Japan, respectively. There are five other slightly different versions, one of which is the MS-S version. (Sekai Gunka Zenshū, accessed online on 10 August 2013 at:

<http://gunka.sakura.ne.jp/uta/nikudansanyushi.htm>).

²⁸⁶ Torikai Lab.Network Peace and War Online, accessed on 10 August, 2013 at: <http://www.geocities.jp/torikai007/japanchina/shanghai.html>.

understanding a similar discourse. This process has been referred to as discourse association-assimilation of ideological communication in this study (2.4).

In addition, the quantitative analyses of MS-S discourse focused on the lexical items demonstrated that, in the wartime textbooks, militaristic ideology is rarely expressed in isolation, but always conveyed through the combination of vocabulary characterised by *jōsōkyōiku* ('sentiment education'²⁸⁷) and spontaneous voluntary participation. The textual features are:

1. Expressions of *sentiment* (e.g. nouns, adjectives, adverbs with a variety of emotive, descriptive senses) as in the *Yasukuni-jinja* ('Yasukuni shrine') (Figure 5.10), *Mugon no gaisen* ('Triumphant return in silence') (Figure 5.17),
2. Expressions of the socio-political ideology of militarism, imperialism, and ultra-nationalism (e.g. content words as well as auxiliary verbs of deontic modality) as in *Tokubetsu kōgeki-tai* ('Special attack squad, *Kamikaze*') (Figure 5.20) and the last line of *Ware wa umi no ko* ('I am a son of the seas') (Figure 5.12), and,
3. Expressions used to evoke patriotism and a willingness to work for the community and to elicit voluntary participation in wartime efforts (e.g. nouns of spontaneity and will, verbs and auxiliary verbs of volition, epistemic modality) as in the *Shōnen-sangyō-senshi* ('Youth industrial soldiers') (Figure 5.21).

These lexical associations form another linguistic manipulation pattern attested in studies in CDA (Barnard 2003).

So far, we have consolidated our theory of ideological transfer based on the assimilation-association model (1.6.1. and 2.4.). We have demonstrated that the assimilation-association process facilitates the ideological transfer of linguistically manipulated discourse, but for the network of ideology through linguistic assimilation and association to build on there needs to be a foundational conceptual framework. This, we may find in the Preface of the first MS-S and in the Imperial Rescript.

²⁸⁷ 情操教育: education for nurturing ethical, moral and aesthetic sensibility.

6.2.5. Loyalty and filial piety

The writer of the Preface to the 1881 MS-S was Izawa Shūji, who was also an official in the Ministry of Education. He stated that MS-S ‘has the miraculous benefit of setting peoples’ minds correctly and providing discipline’ and this was adopted as the basis of education across the curriculum (Sotozono 1970: 67). Further, Izawa’s belief is based on the *Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education (Kyōgaku Seishi)*, which clarifies the notions of loyalty and filial piety as they relate to the formation of the Japanese educational tradition. The first item of the ‘two elementary matters’ (*shōgaku-jōmoku niken*) in *Kyōgaku-seishi* states:

Every person possesses the spirit of *jingi-chūkō* [仁義忠孝 ‘benevolence-righteousness and loyalty-filial piety’], but unless these concepts are cultivated by sensitising a young brain and nerves to them from a very early age the young ears will soon begin hearing other things, and once such things took the central place in their minds, nothing can be done to reverse it. Now that elementary schools have been established, it is essential at the beginning of their education that pupils’ attentions should be directed to the examples of the loyal and pious men and women of the past and present, and that their actions be explained to them so that they will sense the importance of loyalty and filial piety deep in their brains and nerves. In this way pupils’ thought processes will be nurtured and they will continue to develop without confusing the natural order of things.²⁸⁸

This emperor-centred doctrine of *jingi-chūkō* was also incorporated into the 1890 Imperial Rescript as shown in the extract below.

With **loyalty and filial piety**, our imperial subjects who²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ *Jingi chūkō no kokoro wa hito mina kore ari, shikaredomo sono yōshō no hajime ni sono nōzui ni kankakushimete baiyōsuru ni arazareba, hoka no monogoto ga sude ni mimi ni hairi sen’nyūshu to naru toki wa ikan tomo nasubekarazu. Yue ni tōsei shōgakkō ni ezu no mōkearu ni junji, kokon no chūshin, gishi, kōshi, seppu no gazō, shashin o kakage yōnensei nyūkō no hajime ni mazu kono gazō o shimeshi, sono gyōji no gairyaku o setsuyushi chūkō no daiji o daiichi ni nōzui ni kankakushimen koto o yōsu. Saru nochi ni shobutsu no meijō o shirashimureba kōrai, chūkō no sei ni yōseishi, hakubutsu no manabi ni oite honrai o machigaeru koto nakarubeshi.*

一 仁義忠孝ノ心ハ人皆之有リ然トモ其幼少ノ始ニ其腦髓ニ感覺セシメテ培養スルニ非レハ他ノ物事已ニ耳ニ入り先入主トナル時ハ後奈何トモ爲ス可カラス故ニ當世小学校ニ給圖ノ設ケアルニ準シ古今ノ忠臣義士孝子節婦ノ畫像・寫眞ヲ掲ケ幼年生人校ノ始ニ先ツ此畫像ヲ示シ其行事ノ概略ヲ説諭シ忠孝ノ大義ヲ第一ニ腦髓ニ感覺セシメンコトヲ要ス然ル後ニ諸物ノ名状ヲ知ラシムレハ後來思孝ノ性ニ養成シ博物ノ舉ニ於テ本末ヲ誤ルコト無カルヘシ

²⁸⁹ *wa ga shinmin yoku chū ni yoku kō ni* (我ガ臣民克ク忠ニ克ク孝ニ、)

are innumerable have been united in one heart and have for generations illustrated the beauty thereof.²⁹⁰

This is the glory of the *kokutai*,²⁹¹

And herein also lies the source of our education.²⁹²

Always respect the **Constitution**, and observe the **laws**,²⁹³

should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State/Public,²⁹⁴

and thus, **guard and maintain the prosperity** of **Our Imperial Throne** **coeval with heaven and earth**.²⁹⁵

These concepts persisted as the basis of education until the end of WWII²⁹⁶ and so were reflected in the MS-S throughout the four periods. After the Russo-Japanese War an absolute emphasis was placed on the ideology of ‘loyalty, filial piety, and patriotic spirit’ (Ando 1973: 105), and the concept was incorporated into ‘the family nation ethics (*kokkashugirinri*) the ideology of which was used to edify the citizens’ (Ando 1973:106). The above discussion points to the fact that ‘the Japanese propaganda of World War Two is actually a subset of the imperial propaganda project that dates back to the 1890s’ (Kushner 2006: 11).

Based on this imperial ideology, to which the ideologies of militarism and nationalism were joined, MS-S were effective in imprinting the ideologies through repetition (Sotozono 1970:67), and thus MS-S were used by generations of education authorities to reflect their policy needs. As stated in the aforementioned Preface of the *Kyōgaku-seishi*, imprinting of the imperial ideology should begin at an early age (‘instilled into the young minds and cultivated’), and hence the emphasis was placed on the teaching of MS-S at Elementary level.

6.2.6. The role of MS-S in the transfer of ideology

Viewed from a larger, diachronic perspective, what children were taught through MS-S began with imperialism and expanded into a mixture of ideologies. So far, this study has established clear similarities between the discourse of the MS-S texts and the relevant

²⁹⁰ *okuchōshin o itsu ni shite yoyo sono bi o naseru wa* (億兆心ヲ一ニシテ世世厥ノ美ヲ濟セルハ、)

²⁹¹ *kore wa ga kokutai no seika ni shite* (此レ我ガ國體ノ精華ニシテ、)

²⁹² *kyōiku no engen mata jitsu ni kore ni zonsu.* (教育ノ淵源亦實ニ此ニ存ス。)

²⁹³ *tsune ni kokken o omonji, kokuhō ni shitagai* (常ニ國憲ヲ重ジ、國法ニ遵ヒ、)

²⁹⁴ *ittan kankyū areba giyū kō ni hōji* (一旦緩急アレバ義勇公ニ奉ジ、)

²⁹⁵ *motte tenjōmukyū no kōun o fuyokusubeshi* (以テ天壤無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スベシ。)

²⁹⁶ The word *jingi* is hardly used in modern Japan except in a historical and philosophical context to discuss the highest virtue in Confucius’ teaching and the ideal attitude of a ruler. In Japanese historical contexts, it either refers to mediaeval Japanese warriors’ political code, or the standard of social order in the Edo era. However, it has lost these original meanings to the modern Japanese where *Jingi* refers to ritualistic codes in yakuza society where a hierarchy of social power is exercised.

statutes and official documents (as discussed in particular 6.1.2). Meanwhile, the purpose of the MS-S education was found to be establishing an imperial ideology and nurturing young children to become imperial subjects.

Perhaps this began with the Meiji government's need to unite the country through education. The first Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, who also devised the plan for the 1893 special compilation of Ceremonial MS-S for Imperial High Holy Days, was a strong proponent of the propagation of *kokutai-seishin* ('national-polity spirit'). Within this conceptual framework of the family nation, the Emperor, Japan, the Japanese community (national and local), the family and oneself were all one. Adoration of the emperor ultimately led to self-acceptance and affirmation. Based on this, MS-S of the second and third periods acquired a more artistic variety of lyrics, including many songs about the natural beauty of the land, cultural festivities, legends and ethnic symbols, as well as songs depicting love between members of a family and a community, but the undercurrent of *kokutai* spirit continued to provide contexts for associations between less ideological topics and imperialism. Since the *Rescript* and the *Imperial Will* both teach that, for the sake of protecting the *kokutai*, conscription is mandatory, and protecting the Emperor means protecting one's own community, family, and ultimately oneself, military service is one's obligation to oneself. Having learnt about the beauty of the land and people through MS-S, accepting militarism to protect them would have felt natural to the pupils. In other words, by the time the MS-S of Period 4 was published, the character of MS-S texts had changed from that of instructional texts, ostensibly for the teaching of imperialism, to that of more appealing general materials (everyday topics, stories with 'model' children as protagonists, and so on.) for encouraging spontaneous reactions to these topics, although these seemingly innocent materials actually contained, embedded within them, combined ideological messages. MS-S is also a group activity through the act of singing, the sense of 'nation-consciousness' (Nishijima: 1997: 35-38) was enhanced and 'social cohesion' was strengthened (as discussed in 2.1.2.3.), facilitating the transfer of ideology of nationalism through the combination of the discourse of MS-S and the context in which the discourse is shared in classrooms. In this sense the MS-S itself is a meta-ideology of nationalism (Nishijima 1997: 38).

Considering this in a DHA-CDA framework, we have discussed how the discourse instantiated by MS-S became a vehicle of ideology and children's consciousness as a *kōkokumin* (citizen of the Empire) was nurtured through the shared mental and physical experience of singing in unison as a community (Ōmoto 2009: 40, Imagawa and Murai 2013: 235-6) – or 'imagined

community',²⁹⁷ (Anderson 1983/1991: 149), whereby each participant interprets the text, relying on the discursive contexts of the socio-political and cultural environment of the time, which was reflected in the discourse of MS-S texts in the first place by those who had created them with embedded ideological messages. When the participants sang in unison an MS-S song with a topic that was close to their hearts, they were, in fact, consciously or perhaps unconsciously, participating in the 'discursive construction of national identity' (De Cillia et al. 2009: 149) as discussed in 2.3.2. This mental activity is spontaneous and autonomous, rather than forced, and thus it can constitute effective propaganda (Fairclough 1992). Children sang MS-S repeatedly and, each time, they were exposed to familiar topics with a first person narrator of the same age as themselves, but with embedded recurrent references to military notions, often set in a familiar scene with highly emotional elements. Encouraged by the cross-curricular, activity-based pedagogical method, children made associations between known and new facts, between the protagonists in the songs and themselves, between the singing of MS-S and the content and what they learned in their real lives. As a result, children projected themselves onto the songs' protagonists. As they learned similar topics in other parts of the MS-S, or in related subjects, associations were formed which strengthened the ideological interpretation of the MS-S texts further. Although the MS-S were devised by the authorities, the associative interpretations were of the children's own making and thus, it would have appeared that they were free to think, make associations, and form ideas as they choose. Consequently, the children participated in propaganda voluntarily, so to speak, albeit unconsciously. In this sense, MS-S possessed a strong potential for being a vehicle of ideology, because 'ideology is truly effective when it is disguised' (Fairclough 1989: 107), allowing the audience of an ideological discourse to make *inferences* voluntarily. In other words, through the contextualisation and parsimonious use of words in simplified language, MS-S texts, in an efficient way, became heavily loaded with ideology. Combined with a pedagogy that stressed autonomous learning in an interdisciplinary setting, Period 4 MS-S displays all the typical characteristics needed for effective ideological education.

Ideological imprinting, beginning at an early age, reflected the official aims for MS-S, which in turn reflected the fundamental educational policy at the time: nurturing and instilling the *kokutai*-spirit in young minds. It guided the children to learn to build solidarity with the family, the local community and the global community that is the state, all under the fatherhood of the Emperor, whose sovereignty and divinity provided a sense of unity, beyond historical-physical time and space, with the entity larger than oneself, which empowered each child with an identity larger than him/herself, leading to a spiritual strength of courage and honour, making children unafraid of self-sacrifice as a result of mythical nationalism (Ehrenreich 1997: 238). This *kokutai*-spirit was an integral part of the mental framework for ideological learning, first established by MS-S

²⁹⁷ c.f. 2.1.2.2-4, 2.2.2.

teaching in the Meiji era, during the establishment of the Imperial regime, and while the national polity (*kokutai*) provides a framework of Japan's society of *Imperial* i.e. (family/home) headed by the emperor, each Japanese was to become an Imperial subject (*shinmin/kōkokumin*) to complete the family. To be a good family member each child was 'edified', through MS-S education and internalised loyalty, filial piety, and patriotic love (*jingi chūshin-aikoku*). These are the characteristics of the text of MS-S of Period 4, expressed through contextually dependent *Multi* linguistic items (4.7.1.2.2). The corresponding teachers' guidelines and various statutes (including the 1941 Revision of the Elementary School Law) carry very similar discourse.

With regard to the possible effects of sharing such discourse, we may turn our eye to the historical records of social behaviour at the relevant time to find that these tenets were dutifully carried out, although negatively in case of war efforts and sacrifices, by the graduates of the MS-S education in the wartime Japan. Such examples include the soldiers of the Special Attack Units (*Kamikaze* and *Kaiten*) whose letters demonstrate striking similarities to the texts of MS-S, and where the influence of MS-S can be found in overt ideological expressions, while it could also manifest in a covert way as in an 'elated resignation' to death (Shimazu 2006: 42) for the sake of the family nation to which he belongs, and a sense of assurance concerning the choices made. For example, Sergeant Sato Genji wrote a poem entitled 'I was a terrible singer of *shōka*'²⁹⁸ the night before he was executed as a war criminal by a Dutch court martial in Java on 23 September 1943. He recalls how he and his siblings struggled to sing in tune at school only to be laughed at, and how he practiced at home when his mother lovingly helped him with the singing. Now he is a grown man and twelve years have past since he left home for the battle in the Pacific. Tonight he sings a *shōka* in the Dutch prison. The quiet sobbing of his inmates blends with crickets' cries. He imagines: if his mother heard him singing tonight she would hold him, saying that he has improved a lot. Here, the lyricism, style expressions, tone and rhythm echo MS-S such as the Period 3 *Shusse-heishi* ('Soldiers at the Front'), *Fuyu no yoru* ('Winter Night'), or Period 4 'Triumphant return in silence', among many others.

This suggests the possible significant impact of the ideological education through MS-S. Moreover, the tenets, variously expressed by paraphrases and euphemisms in the official documents and MS-S in Periods 2, 3, but especially in 4, originated in one document written long before: the Preface of 1881 *Shōgaku-shōka*, which was Japan's first MS-S. As discussed earlier, it contained the vision of the early educationalists, and reflected the policy of the Meiji government, and so it is sufficient to say that an educational vision rooted in the Imperialist ideology persisted throughout the history of MS-S between 1881 and 1945, changing the way it was expressed from

²⁹⁸ 【僕は唱歌が下手でした】佐藤源治陸軍曹長. (Appendix 23).

direct to more context-dependent, from an ostensive statement made by one individual (Izawa Shūji) to an accepted, normalised and less ostensive discourse shared by all the participants of communication through the MS-S (as found in the guidelines, statutes, in the text of MS-S, and in the public discourse according to the historical records). When the discourse was assimilated and shared by every participant and associated with ‘everydayness’ the ideology of MS-S became multi-layered, acquiring militarism and both state-oriented and nation-oriented nationalism culminating to propaganda shared and created by all participants as in the findings of Kushner (2006).

Clearly, discourse assimilation-association processes assisted the MS-S in acquiring and conveying complex ideological concepts through relatively simple texts with fewer lexical choices and less varied syntactic structure especially in Period 4. This is why many of the songs from this period including *Kimi ga yo*, were banned by GHQ (Shimazaki 2009: 85-6) still cause controversy. However, we can also argue that, if such associations constituted the intellectual driving force of the children’s mental participation in the propaganda, if the discursive elements of the context that facilitated such associations were removed and the association-chain was broken by changes in the socio-cultural context, much of the ideology would be lost, too. What would be left then, would be themes of collegial and family love, as well as the artistic and natural beauty of the land. With associations – such as the ‘divine’ emperor-centred history (*kōkokushi*) – lost with the changing social context, the texts of MS-S no longer facilitate inferences about the divinity of the current Emperor – at least not to most audiences in modern day society. It is not surprising then, that the remaining portions of the MS-S are so popular among the modern Japanese for their innocence and artistic, nostalgic qualities. It is therefore sufficient to say, that the role that the MS-S was given at the time in a specific social context defined the specific effect of the MS-S on children. This leads us to consider next, a further question on the effect of MS-S education.

6.3. The effect of MS-S education and methodology for future research

Finally, let us consider the effect of MS-S education. Discussion of this is, to a large extent, speculative, since we cannot look into the minds and thoughts of those who received the MS-S education and its impact at the time. Even with EEG, MRI and scanners, all that researchers can obtain are the ‘traces’ of brain activities initiated by certain external stimuli and, needless to say, the same applies to the question of emotional impact. Conducting interviews with the former wartime pupils of the MS-S education is a possibility, if we accept the inevitable bias of self-reporting socio-psychological effects. However, it is increasingly hard to find subjects for interviews, because most of the target group who can

testify to the experience of mainly Period 4 (and a lower number of people for Period 3) MS-S education would be at least seventy-five years old. Nevertheless, if we were to accept these limitations we could probe for traces of the sociolinguistic effects of MS-S education in their own discourse by comparing it back to the discourse of the educational statutes, official documents and the MS-S texts, and in this way test the hypothesis using the assimilation-association model of ideological transfer.

There are three major challenges to overcome for the implementation of such a study, mainly relating to data collection issues. First, unlike the statutes or MS-S, most children's discourse is private and, therefore, not publically recorded, and thus we would need to collect data from a large number of individuals for it to be statistically viable. Second, the mode (written/spoken) and type (composition/interview, and so on.) of data must be sufficiently uniform for comparison. Third, as mentioned earlier, the number of potential informants continues to decrease. Despite these methodological challenges it would be still worthwhile to analyse such data, because a chain of influence between some of the participants has been confirmed in this study: namely, the discourse of the educational policy makers (as expressed in the statutes) and the education specialists (as expressed in the MS-S texts) as well as public opinion (as recorded historically, for example, the demand for the revision of MS-S and various records of public debates) influencing both the authority and the text of MS-S. If evidence of further associations between the discourse of the MS-S and the public and/or the authorities can be identified, the chain of Discourse Assimilation and Association would go full circle, confirming the evidence of discursive social interaction to and from all participants concerned.

Ideal data would include compositions written at elementary school such as *imon-bun*, to examine the short-term linguistic effect of ideological transfer. Classification of edited and un-edited data is important. Those that were featured in newspapers as part of the media propaganda uniting the home front and battlefield (Kushner 2006: 78) need to be treated separately as a precaution against possible editorial manipulation, and they can be compared to children's original compositions of the same or closely-related topics. Likewise, to examine longer-term effects it would be worthwhile to analyse letters written by *Kamikaze* (suicide aviators) and *Kaiten* (manned torpedoes) candidates, given that they would have undergone MS-S primary education. Since an initial study, which I have conducted with a view to future research indicates that *Kamikaze* pilots left *jisei-no-ku* (a farewell poem

before imminent death) referring to the lyrics of MS-S, sometimes even verbatim²⁹⁹. This would allow similarities of discourse patterns between these texts and relevant MS-S, as well as official documents to be considered in the light of the discourse assimilation-association model. In addition, the entire empirical analysis could be replicated for a different set of MS-S such as pre-school or secondary school children. Moreover, although this study limited its focus to the state-regulated children's songbooks, there are two types of propaganda, official and non-official (Kushner 2006: 19), that impacted wartime Japanese lives, and therefore comparison between this study and a study of popular children's songs adopting the same analytical methods would offer a fuller picture of the propaganda through children's songs.

Finally, the hybrid analytical framework and methods built in this study can be used to investigate the same or equivalent MS-S in other geopolitical and socio-cultural situations, such as in colonial Asian countries under Japan's control where the 'national language', Japanese, was taught through the singing of songs, as was the case in Korea (Lim 2010) or in Taiwan (Ching 2001). In the modern context and in the light of the current challenges in the educational policy of Japan³⁰⁰ the hypothesis and analytical methodology could be applied to study the discourse currently shared by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, the Education Council, the regional education boards, the Teachers' Union, the pupils, and in the teaching materials and relevant official documents.

6.4. Conclusion

This study investigated the ideologies reflected in the texts of MS-S, the official children's songbooks devised by the Ministry of Education of the Empire of Japan, between 1881 and 1945. The key findings of the quantitative (Chapter 4) and qualitative (Chapter 5) analyses of the MS-S texts, qualitative descriptive analysis of the official documents concerning the MS-S (Chapter 3) and relevant historical facts were compared. Similarities of patterns and

²⁹⁹ An example is found in Igeta 2008 'The Matsushita Institute of Government and Management' (accessed online on August 2013 at: <http://www.mskj.or.jp/getsurei/igeta0809.html>). cf. Sergeant Sato Genji's poem in 6.2.6..

³⁰⁰ Apart from the return of nationalism (as mentioned in 1.1.), under Abe's leadership emphasis is being placed increasingly on competition at schools. Abe's educational policy strategist, Yagi Hidetsugu, criticizes in his book the use of a song by a pop group, SMAP, 'The one and only flower in the world (*sekai ni hitotsu dake no hana*)' at schools. According to Yagi the lyrics discourage children from doing their best, claiming that its lyrics, which state, 'You don't need to be the No.1. You are always the one and only special one' (*No.1 ni naranakutemo ii. Motomoto tokubetsuna onri-wan*) are countereffective in promoting a competitive spirit among children. Yagi refutes the historical accuracy of facts concerning the Nanjing Massacre and comfort women as 'propaganda' and advocates 'correcting such misconception of historical facts' (Sankei .News 09 July 2013. Accessed online on 10 August 2013 at: <http://sankei.jp.msn.com/politics/news/130709/stt13070903270002-n1.htm>). He is also the General Secretary of the Committee for Improving School Textbooks (Kyokasho kaizen no kai).

factors that link the results of these data were also considered. We have discussed five research questions posited in 1.4, proposed answers for questions one to four based on the empirical results, and inferred an answer for the fifth question of the role of MS-S in the mechanism of ideological transfer. The mechanism of instilling the militarised ideology of ultranationalism during wartime Japan was dependent on its conceptual foundation, which was the previously established imperialist ideology. Therefore, this study has described the linguistic patterns of ideological discourse in the MS-S education of Imperial Japan synchronically, and then diachronically, demonstrating the shift of patterns over time that reflected the course of socio-political developments, and considered the mechanism of change in these patterns. Drawing on these discussions, we have explored how and to what extent the educational purposes, goals, and policies expressed in the official documents were reflected in the texts of MS-S. Based on this discussion we sought to explain the mechanism of MS-S as a vehicle of disseminating and educating, through the language of propaganda, through familiarisation and how it relates to the role that MS-S played in establishing imperial ideology through associations created around the concept of family-nation, and from this extending the associative discourse to militarism, nationalism and imperialism in the four periods analysed.

Adapting the framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the contents of the MS-S texts themselves were thoroughly studied quantitatively (χ^2 test and PCA) and qualitatively. The educational purposes for each MS-S and the objectives for their school use, as well as shifts in the characteristics of ideological patterns of discourse were investigated. By combining the outcomes of the analyses of the historical background, the official documents of MS-S and the quantitative study of MS-S texts, it was revealed that the characteristics of MS-S texts in each period reflected the educational aims and pedagogical objectives stated in the corresponding official documents, which, in turn, reflect the socio-political environment of that time. The similarities between the discourses of all stakeholders were hypothesised to occur as a result of a communicative discourse assimilation-association process, whereby ideological concepts were communicated indirectly through context-dependent semantic associations. Both assimilation of imperial discourse and making associations between otherwise unrelated concepts (such as the Emperor and the Sun-god and the children themselves) were encouraged through the pedagogy of the imperial government through the teaching of MS-S, albeit indirectly, and this approach successfully mobilised the pupils, since assimilation appeals to the process of children's developmental psychology (6.2.3.) and making associations between concepts is a part of the cognitive process involved in discourse comprehension to maintain coherence (2.2.4-5; 6.2.4.). There is a broader - prognostic as

well as descriptive - application of the theoretical framework of propaganda in education to which this study may contribute. For example, further study will feed into constructing this conceptual model of the sociolinguistic mechanism of ideological transfer, which this study terms as ‘assimilation-association model’, and the model can be used to detect patterns of language power at work in the current society. In a larger socio-political and socio-cultural context of propaganda the findings of this study may function as follows.

At the dawn of the Meiji era, the new imperial government was met with fundamental threats to the sustenance of the nation on two fronts: internationally by the Western imperial powers; and domestically by the citizens’ lack of a sense of unity or nationality. This second was partly due to the geographical distance between and among cities, and the intricate divisions between people of different groups, which were inherited from the feudal caste system, and both contributed to the diversification of language, leading to significant communication barriers between numerous groups within the country. To unify the new nation the Meiji government exerted itself in constructing a national identity through the implementation of policies, which included education, in which the dissemination of ‘standard Japanese’ was of paramount importance. This was done through the establishment of elementary education where *kokugo* (‘national language’) was taught and sung using MS-S. The MS-S contained a variety of nationalistic, imperialistic, and militaristic symbols and through this constant ‘flagging’ (Billig 1995: 15) of national symbols the assimilation and association of ‘patriotism’ was encouraged. Once the idea of *kokumin* (‘nation’s people’) had seeped into their psyche and become naturalised, ‘Japanese’ identity was established. This was then followed by the constant presence of nationalistic discourse, such as MS-S, enabling the children to participate in ideological transfer, in and out of the school, until such ideological concepts became commonplace, leading to a state of ‘banal nationalism’ (Billig 1995). Through the singing of MS-S at school and engaging with the popular culture of propaganda outside of school, children participated in the imperial propaganda. Thus, although much of the propagandistic mottos and jargon such as *jingi-chūkō* (‘benevolence-righteousness and loyalty-filial piety’) were too advanced for children, through *kamishibai* (‘paper plays’) and theatres, popular songs, and in films, such jargon was made more accessible and constantly drummed into Japanese minds and they responded to the propaganda with enthusiasm (Kasai 2009: 44). Thus, ‘in wartime Japan children received a double dose, more potent than adults – school instilled war propaganda in the children all day and then outside school propaganda masqueraded as games and entertainment’ (Kushner 2009: 245). Learning about the legendary heroes in the textbooks of history, language, geography, ethics and MS-S classes, children made the association between the quasi-historical war events of the past and present with their everyday lives. They assimilated their

language and thought to that of the war heroes and model personalities in those stories they were taught, meanwhile associating themselves with them. This assimilation-association model of discourse transfer works within the framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach in the sense that the relationship between the imperial governments' policies manifested in the texts of official documents, the MS-S, the teaching methods, the sociohistorical contexts, and the discourse of propaganda forms a 'cyclical model of cognition and discourse' (Koller 2012: 21).

This study's key contribution is to have demonstrated the following features of MS-S education: the success of MS-S as a vehicle of ideological transfer was rooted in the imperial belief system first established at the beginning of the Imperial Meiji government and subsequently recycled to suit the changing times, adjusting details and amplifying the importance of given 'facts', such as *kōkokushi* ('Emperor-centred history'). As this creed was firmly established by the Imperial Rescript, and confirmed through every subsequent official educational document, as well as by the teaching materials, and because the children were encouraged to make associations within the conceptual framework of *kokutai* polity and the Imperial Way (6.2.5), the children 'voluntarily' interpreted the MS-S texts to make sense within that imperial thought-sphere and were consequently mobilised for the war effort in various capacities. Wilful participation in the war with patriotic love was expected of a model pupil, as depicted in the MS-S. Children repeatedly sang that Japan's was on an 'honourable country's mission'³⁰¹ to protect 'Greater East Asia'³⁰² and her people, and everyone who was born into the Empire were 'living in familial/collegial harmony'³⁰³ united in 'one heart, one mind'³⁰⁴ to 'build up Greater East Asia'³⁰⁵, and to that noble purpose they would 'dedicate their skills, work'³⁰⁶ or even their lives, since 'although one's flesh may scatter on the battlefield the honour will live forever'³⁰⁷. As far as these children were concerned, each one of them was to embark on a selfless mission to bring peace to their perceived world even though, ironically, the reality was the opposite. Such belief was

³⁰¹ *mikuni no shimei* (み国の使命) from *Mugon no gaisen* ('Triumphal Return in Silence', 無言のがいせん) in *Kokumin-gakkō, Shotō-ka Ongaku ni-nen* (Elementary 4th Grade).

³⁰² *Daitōa* (大東亜) from *Daitōa* ('The Great East-Asia', 大東亜) in *Kokumin-gakkō, Shotō-ka Ongaku san-nen* (Elementary 5th Grade).

³⁰³ *mina harakara to mutsumiai* (みな同胞と睦み合い) from *Daitōa* (大東亜) in *Kokumin-gakkō, Shotō-ka Ongaku san-nen* (Elementary 5th Grade).

³⁰⁴ *hito no kokoro wa mina hitotsu* (人の心はみな一つ) from *Daitōa* (大東亜) in *Kokumin-gakkō, Shotō-ka Ongaku san-nen* (Elementary 5th Grade).

³⁰⁵ *kozorite kizuke Daitōa* (こぞりて築け大東亜) from *Daitōa* (大東亜) in *Kokumin-gakkō, Shotō-ka Ongaku san-nen* (Elementary 5th Grade).

³⁰⁶ *kono ude, kono waza, mikuni ni sasage-te* (この腕この技御國に捧げて) from *Shōnen-sangyō-senshi* ('Young Industrial Soldiers', 少年産業戦士) in *Kokumin-gakkō, Shotō-ka Ongaku yo-nen* (Elementary 6th Grade).

³⁰⁷ *sonomi wa tama to kudake temo homare wa nokoru* (その身は玉と砕けても誉れは残る) from *Sanyūshi* ('The Three Brave Soldiers', 三勇士) in *Kokumin-gakkō, Shotō-ka Ongaku ichi-nen* (Elementary 3rd Grade).

reinforced by the mutual assimilation of discourse among the parties involved and the associations of anything anchored to the divinity of the Emperor and his household that extended to the child him/herself through *kokutai*. This was the reality of the imagined community reinforced every time their voices rang out in unison as they sung MS-S. Anderson (1991: 149) states:

there is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests — above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing a moment of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody... for the echoed physical realisation of the imagined community... How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and where we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.

Because of the inherent appeal of singing in unison, perhaps there will always be the potential for any anthem to catch the public's imagination and a risk of it being used for the purpose of propaganda and the transmission of ideology. In the case of Japan, if it was not *Kimi-ga-yo*, any other song in the MS-S, say *Tama-no-miyai* ('Jewel Palace'), *Amatsu-hitsugi* ('The Heaven's Heir'), *Sumera-mikuni* ('The Divine Imperial Country'), could have been an alternative anthem. Literally, the phrase *Kimi-ga-yo* only means, 'the world of you, the respected' and it does not directly express anything imperial: all imperial connotations come from contextually dependent reading. The real issue is not which particular song should be abolished, as may seem to be the case in listening to those calling for the abolition of *Kimi-ga-yo* (<http://www.japan-press.co.jp/modules/news/?id=2141>), but rather that we should remain vigilant as to *how*, *when*, and *by whom* any song is politicised through discourse manipulation. This study has offered one tool with which patterns of ideological transfer leading to propaganda can be analysed and examined to aid in this vital contribution to the freedom of thought and creed now guaranteed by Article 19 of the post-war constitution.

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Appendix 1: 1890 (M23) *Kyōiku-Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education)

Imperial Rescript on Education (1890)

Japan Ministry of Education, translated by Japan Ministry of Education

The Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku ni Kansuru Chokugo*) was signed by Emperor Meiji of Japan on 30 October 1890 to articulate government policy on the guiding principles of education for the Empire of Japan. The 315-character document was read at all important school events, and students were required to study and memorize the text.

[Japanese Original: *Kyōiku-Chokugo*]

教育勅語

朕惟フニ我カ皇祖皇宗國ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ德ヲ樹ツルコト深厚ナリ
我カ臣民克ク忠ニ克ク孝ニ億兆心ヲ一ニシテ世世厥ノ美ヲ濟セルハ此
レ我カ國體ノ精華ニシテ教育ノ淵源亦實ニ此ニ存ス爾臣民父母ニ孝ニ
兄弟ニ友ニ夫婦相和シ朋友相信シ恭儉己レヲ持シ博愛衆ニ及ホシ學ヲ
修メ業ヲ習ヒ以テ智能ヲ啓發シ德器ヲ成就シ進テ公益ヲ廣メ世務ヲ開
キ常ニ國憲ヲ重シ國法ニ遵ヒ一旦緩急アレハ義勇公ニ奉シ以テ天壤無
窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ是ノ如キハ獨リ朕カ忠良ノ臣民タルノミナラス
又以テ爾祖先ノ遺風ヲ顯彰スルニ足ラン
斯ノ道ハ實ニ我カ皇祖皇宗ノ遺訓ニシテ子孫臣民ノ俱ニ遵守スヘキ所
之ヲ古今ニ通シテ謬ラス之ヲ中外ニ施シテ悖ラス朕爾臣民ト俱ニ拳々
服膺シテ咸其德ヲ一ニセンコトヲ庶幾フ

明治二十三年十月三十日

御名御璽

Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) (*translated by Japan Ministry of Education*)

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty

and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.

So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.
(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)

Imperial Rescript as a ‘sacred text’

‘On October 30, 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued and on the following day Education Minister Yoshikawa issued instructions (*kunji*) concerning its implementation, and these included the transmission of a certified copy of the Imperial Rescript to each and every school where a ceremony for the respectful reading of the Imperial Rescript was to be carried out. In June, 1891, Regulations concerning Elementary School Ceremonies on Holidays were issued, which stated that there should be a respectful reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education and an admonitory speech based on it given annually on Empire Day (*Kigensetsu*), the Emperor's Birthday (*Tenchosetsu*) and other holidays. In this way the Imperial Rescript on Education was formally introduced as the foundation for Japanese education, and indeed the ceremonies accompanying the Imperial Rescript's reading were carried out in such a manner that it came to be regarded as a sacred text.’

(An excerpt from Chapter 3.3(3). Japan's Modern Educational System, MEXT, 1981. http://wwwwp.mext.go.jp/hakusho/book/hpbz198103/hpbz198103_1_001.html)

Appendix 2a: 1894 (M27) 教科適用大捷軍歌: *Kyōkasho-Tekiyō-Taishō-shōka* (The Educational Songbook to commemorate the Great Victory)

Preface

Immediately after the occurrence of the Japan-Sino incident (i.e. Sino-Japanese war), an Imperial proclamation of war was made, and *the divine carriage* (i.e. euphemism for the Emperor) travelled west. Under the command of Generalissimo Emperor, the *expeditionary army* has been in an alien land, experiencing various hardships. On the land – Seikan Pyonyang, and by the sea – Hontō, Kōkai, our army has been advancing taking great risks through precipitous mountains and tumultuous sea. In a fatal zone, amid the hail of bullets, they displayed distinctive, meritorious service and this fact is something everyone both inside and outside of the country shall praise and celebrate. Thus as an Imperial subject, everyone shall respect His majesty's virtue and influence, and thank the army for its meritorious services. By loyalty and sacrificial service, one must fulfil his duty as an Imperial subject. As an educationalist myself, I am especially responsible for cultivating the young members of the nation, as the second members – successors of you, brave national members. A method to encourage the youth and induce their zeal for loyalty and sacrificial services, calling forth their hostility against the enemy was needed. After discussion and consultations with comrades (members), I came to the decision to make courageous military songs public, hoping to fulfil at least the smallest portion of my mission as an educationalist. That is to say, I hereby publish this book. This book is not meant to be issued on a regular basis, however. Following victorious news of our expeditionary armies, from now on, on every occasion of that kind, essential and suitable songs are to be newly published. In addition, in future, any distinctive services or honourable acts carried out by our loyal and brave soldiers shall be all recorded in this book, by which I shall hope our citizen's loyal and patriotic morale would be raised.

Humbly,

In the 10th month of the 27th year of the reign of Emperor Meiji. (27 October 1894)
Editor

Educational Military Songs (Great Victory Songs)

Contents of the first edition:

1. Battle of Hontō
2. Battle of Seikan
3. Battle of Pyongyang
4. Battle of Yellow Sea

Appendix 2b: 1894 (M27) 教科適用大捷軍歌: *Kyōkasho-Tekiyō-Taishō-shōka* (The Educational Songbook to commemorate the Great Victory), Preface, Japanese Original.

大捷軍歌 初編

日清事起ルヤ宣戦ノ詔勅發セラレテ 軍國萬幸トナリ
 大元帥陛下親シク軍旅ノ統率ヲ行ハセ給フ今ヤ我道征軍旅
 ハ久シク國難ニ在フテ種々ノ奇蹟ヲ嘗メ給ニハ成歎平悵ニ
 海ニハ膠島黃海ニ陸ヲ陸軍總司令ノ危難ヲ冒シ強國強軍ノ死
 地ニ立チテ偉大ノ勳功ヲ顯ハセシハ内外諸國ノ等シク稱揚
 慶賀スルトコロニシテ我帝國ノ臣民タルモノ誰レカ 陛下
 ノ威徳ヲ仰ギ軍隊ノ功勞ヲ感佩セザラン宜シク報勇奉公以
 テ臣民タルノ本分ヲ盡スベキナリ殊ニ我輩教育者ニ在ツテ
 ハ勇武ナル國民ノ相續者タル第二國民ヲ教育スル責任アル
 カ故ニ此小國民ヲシテ奮テ義勇奉公ノ壯志ヲ誘興シ離愼ノ



緒言

心ヲ喚起セシムル方法ヲ講セザル可ラズ因テ同志ノ士ト語
 リ勇壯ナル軍歌ヲ公ニシ以テ勳力軍國ニ於ケル教育者タル
 本分ノ一端ヲ盡サント欲ス即チ茲ニ本編ヲ草スル所以ナリ
 本編ハ無定時刊行ノモノナレトモ今後我道征軍旅ノ捷
 報種ルコト必然ナルヲ信ジ即チ期ニ臨ミ直チニ必要ナ
 ル軍歌ヲ新作シテ之ヲ世ニ公ニスベシ又從ツテ起ル我
 忠勇ナル軍士ノ偉大ナル勳功其他名譽ノ行為等ハ總テ
 之ヲ本編中ニ併セ收メ以テ我國民ノ忠君愛國ノ士氣ヲ
 發揚センコトヲ期ス

明治二十七年十月

編者 識

教科適用 大捷軍歌

初編目次

關島の戦	小中村義象	納所辨次郎
成島の戦	坂正臣	鈴木米次郎
平壤の戦	中村秋香	奥野義
黄海の戦	鳥山啓	山田恭一郎

Appendix 3: 1879 (M12) *Kyōgaku Seishi* (Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education)

教学聖旨大旨（明治十二年）

小学條目二件

一 仁義忠孝ノ心ハ人皆之有リ然トモ其幼少ノ始ニ其脳髓ニ感覺セシメテ培養スルニ非レハ他ノ物事已ニ耳ニ入り先入主トナル時ハ後奈何トモ爲ス可カラス故ニ當世小学校ニ給圖ノ設ケアルニ準シ古今ノ忠臣義士孝子節婦ノ畫像・寫眞ヲ掲ケ幼年生人校ノ始ニ先ツ此畫像ヲ示シ其行事ノ概略ヲ説諭シ忠孝ノ大義ヲ第一ニ脳髓ニ感覺セシメンコトヲ要ス然ル後ニ諸物ノ名状ヲ知ラシムレハ後來思孝ノ性ニ養成シ博物ノ學ニ於テ本末ヲ誤ルコト無カルヘシ

一 去秋各縣ノ季校ヲ巡覽シ親シク生徒ノ藝業ヲ驗スルニ或ハ農商ノ子弟ニシテ其説ク所多クハ高尚ノ空論ノミ甚キニ至テハ善ク洋語ヲ言フト雖トモ之ヲ邦語ニ譯スルコト能ハス此輩他日業卒リ家ニ歸ルトモ再タヒ本業ニ就キ難ク又高尚ノ空論ニテハ官ト爲ルモ無用ナル可シ加之其博聞ニ誇リ長上ヲ侮リ縣官ノ妨害トナルモノ少ナカラサルヘシ是皆教学ノ其道ヲ得サルノ弊害ナリ故ニ農商ニハ農商ノ学科ヲ設ケ高尚ニ馳セス實地ニ基ツキ他日學成ル時ハ其本業ニ歸リテ益々其業ヲ盛大ニスルノ教則アラント欲ス

<English translation>

1. “Every person possesses the spirit of *jingi-chūkō* [仁義忠孝 ‘benevolence- righteousness and loyalty-filial piety’], but unless these concepts are cultivated by sensitising a young brain and nerves to them from a very early age, the young ears will start to hear other things, and once that takes the central place in their minds, nothing can be done to reverse it. Now that elementary schools have been established, it is essential at the beginning of their education that pupils’ attentions should be directed to the examples of the loyal and pious men and women of the past and present, and their actions be explained to them so that they will sense the importance of loyalty and filial piety deep in their brains and nerves. In this way pupils’ thought processes will be nurtured and they will continue to develop without confusing the natural order of things”.

<Excerpt from the 1981 MEXT White Paper, II5(2a)>

a. The Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education

During the summer and autumn of 1878, Emperor Meiji (Meiji Tennō) traveled to the Tosan, Hokuriku and Tokai districts on an inspection tour of social and educational conditions. On this trip His Majesty visited elementary, middle and normal schools and made a detailed study of their establishment, methods and curricula. Based on these investigations, the Emperor concluded that the common people did not really understand the Western-oriented educational reforms that the new Meiji government had hastily implemented, and moreover the new education had little relevance for their everyday life. Motoda Nagazane (1818-91), a lecturer attached to the Imperial House, was charged with the responsibility of summarising the Emperor's views.

Motoda's draft was reviewed by the Emperor, and then prepared as the Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education (Kyogaku Seishi). The document consisted of two parts, General Observations on Education (Kyogaku Taishi) and Two Provisions for the Conduct of Elementary Education (Shogaku Jomoku Niken). The former clarifies the notions of loyalty and filial piety as they relate to the formation of the Japanese educational tradition. It also points out how the single-minded respect paid to Western technical knowledge and the concentration upon the nonessential aspects of the Civilisation and Enlightenment brought about popular confusion concerning ethical values. Thus it proposes a strengthening of traditional morality and virtue in order to provide a firm base for the Empire. The latter part fitted two Provisions for the Conduct of Elementary Education stresses the importance of instilling these virtues in the minds of children as thoroughly as possible, especially the ideas of loyalty and filial piety. Secondly it promotes practical training appropriate to the common man's station in place of the more abstractly oriented education that was then being stressed. Thus the Imperial Will presented a severe critique of the Civilisation and Enlightenment thought.

After the Imperial Will was prepared, it was first shown to the then Secretary of Education, Terashima Munenori (1832-1893), and the Secretary of Home Affairs, Ito Hirobumi, and Ito, as spokesman for the new government, was asked to make some comments. Ito as he addressed the Throne argued that there still remained an urgent need to seek new knowledge from the West. However, Motoda Nagazane rejected his presentation in a dispute that characterised the antagonism between the proponents respectively of traditional and progressive modes of thought in Japan during that era.

(文部省百年史)

Appendix 4: 1881 (M14) ‘*Shōka*’ Art.24, *Outline for Elementary School Rules* (*Shōgakkō kyōsoku kōryō* 小学校教則綱領第 24 条、唱歌).

「唱歌初等科ニ於テハ 容易キ歌曲ヲ用ヒテ五音以下ノ単音唱歌ヲ授ケ 中等科及高等科ニ至テハ 六音以上ノ単音唱歌ヨリ漸次複音及三重音唱歌ニ及フヘシ 凡唱歌ヲ授クルニハ児童ノ胸膈ヲ開暢シテ其健康ヲ補益シ 心情ヲ感動シテ其美德ヲ涵養センコトヲ要ス」

Shōka-reikai 「唱歌例解」 includes:

- 一 進学ノ快情ヲ作用スルコト 其歌 (進メ進メ)
- 二 人物ヲ愛スルノ心情ヲ養フベキコト 其歌 (霞カ雲カ)
- 三 父母大地ノ恩ヲ思フノ心ヲ存セシムヘキコト 其歌 (大和撫子)
- 四 父母ヲ愛慕スルノ心情ヲ養フヘキコト 其歌 (思ヒ出レバ)
- 五 朋友
- 六 古今聖主ノ恩
- 七 忠臣
- 八 尊王
- 九 愛国。

‘Concerning the subject of *Shōka*, lower elementary level pupils should be taught with songs that are easy to sing and are consisting of maximum five notes on a scale³⁰⁹. Middle to Higher elementary level pupils should be taught with songs composed with more than six notes on a scale and in a single tone at the beginning, and gradually shift to double or triple harmonious tones. It is essential that *Shōka* is taught in such a way that it helps opening the diaphragm, enhancing children’s health, while stimulating their emotions and nurture virtues.’

Shōka-reikai (illustrated guide to *Shōka*) includes the following points:

1. Stimulate the motivated feelings for progress with study (Example of song: ‘Forward, Forward!’).
2. Love for humanity is nurtured (Example of song: ‘Mist or Cloud?’)
3. Maintain heartfelt gratitude towards one’s parents, land and the natural surroundings (Example of song: ‘*Yamato-nadeshiko*’).
4. Nurture love and adoration towards one’s parents (Example of song: ‘As I remember...’)
5. Real friends.
6. Gratitude and obligation towards the Holy Masters of the Past and Present.
7. Loyal servants.
8. Reverence of the Emperor.
9. Patriotic love for the country.

³⁰⁹ This refers to the Japanese traditional pentatonic scale (with which Japanese children of those days were familiar) in contrast to the ‘Western’ heptatonic scale.

Appendix 5a: 1881 (M14) *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*, Preface

緒言

凡ソ教育ノ要ハ徳育智育体育ノ三者ニ在リ。而シテ小学ニ在リテハ最モ宜ク徳性ヲ涵養スルヲ以テ要トスベシ。今夫レ音楽ノ物タル性情ニ本ヅキ、人心ヲ正シ風化ヲ助クルノ妙用アリ。故ニ古ヨリ明君賢相特ニ之ヲ振興シ之ヲ家國ニ播サント欲セシ者和漢歐米ノ史冊歴々徴スベシ。曩ニ我政府ノ始テ学制ヲ頒ツニ方リテヤ已ニ唱歌ヲ普通学科中ニ掲ケテ一般必須ノ科タルヲ示シ、其教則綱領ヲ定ムルニ至テハ亦之ヲ小学各等科ニ加ヘテ其必ズ学バザル可カラザルヲ示セリ。然シテ之ヲ学校ニ実施スルニ及ンデハ必ズ歌曲其当ヲ得声音其正ヲ得テ能ク教育ノ真理ニ悖ラザルヲ要スレバ、此レ其事タル固ヨリ容易ニ举行スベキニ非ズ。我省此ニ見ル所アリ。客年特ニ音楽取調掛ヲ設ケ、充ルニ本邦ノ学士音楽家等ヲ以テシ且ツ遠ク米国有名ノ音楽教師ヲ聘シ、百方討究論悉シ本邦固有ノ音律ニ基ヅキ彼長ヲ取り我短ヲ補ヒ以テ我学校ニ適用スベキ者ヲ撰定セシム。爾後諸員ノ協力ニ頼リ稍ヤク数曲ヲ得、之ヲ東京師範学校及東京女子師範学校生徒并両校付属小学生徒ニ施シテ其適否ヲ試ミ、更ニ取捨選択シ得ル所ニ随テ之ヲ録シ、遂ニ歌曲数十ノ多キニ至レリ。爰ニ之ヲ剞劂ニ付シ名ケテ小学唱歌集ト云。是レ固ヨリ草創ニ属スルヲ以テ、或ハ未ダ完全ナラザル者アラント雖モ、庶幾クハ亦我教育進歩ノ一助ニ資スルニ足ラント云爾。

音楽取調掛長

明治十四年十一月 伊沢修二 謹識

Appendix 5b: 1881 (M14) *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*, Preface – English translation

Songs and musical education as a compulsory subject at schools from 1881 to the end of WWII in 1945.

NB. For the purpose of discourse analysis, the translation is deliberately made close to the original semantically and in style. See the next page for original text in Japanese.

Shōgaku-shōka-shū (Primary School Songbook)

Preface

The core of education consists of three parts: moral education; intellectual training; and physical education. At primary school level, the most important of all is the cultivation of moral character. Because of the nature of musical art, music has the miraculous benefit of setting people's minds straight through edification and cultivation of virtue. Since ancient times, wise rulers have promoted the benefits of musical art, wishing to spread them throughout their lands. And this fact is clear from a mass of records and books from Japan, China, and European-American countries.

Prior to this, our government had set up the educational system for the first time and *shōka* was established as a compulsory subject. It has been decided to add this subject at every level of primary school and to teach it without fail. Therefore, to make *shōka* effective, we acknowledge that the melody should be appropriate, and it should be sung appropriately, and it should never fail to satisfy the true spiritual goodness of education. Thus, this cannot be carried out in a casual fashion. Therefore, our Ministry of Education had earlier set up the Research Centre for Musical Studies, where Japanese professors of music, as well as a renowned music teacher, invited from far-distant America have conducted studies and have discussed issues from hundreds of different aspects. Subsequently, they adopted the system of our Japanese traditional musical scale for the songs. We selected appropriate songs for educational purposes and supplemented their shortcomings by applying good points from (European-American) music. Since then, thanks to the cooperation of everyone concerned, at last, we obtained several good songs and conducted a trial study on students of *Tokyo Shihan Gakkō* and *Tokyo Joshi Shihan Gakkō*³¹⁰, as well as on the students of the attached elementary schools of both. Based on these trials, we carefully made a further selection out of these songs. Finally, a songbook was created, which we call *Shōgaku-shōka-shū*³¹¹. As this is the very first of its kind, there might be some imperfections, but we strongly hope that this will help our educational advancement as a whole.

1881, November

Humbly,
Head of the Research Centre for Musical Studies
Itō Shūji

³¹⁰ Tokyo Teacher-Training School and Tokyo Teacher-Training School for Women, respectively

³¹¹ An anthology of songs for primary school children.

Appendix 5c Shōgaku-shōka-shū (Primary school songbook), Preface, Japanese Original, photo image.

小學唱歌集 初編

小學 唱歌集 初編

緒 言

凡ソ教育ノ要ハ德育智育體育ノ三者ニ在リ而シテ小學ニ在リテハ最モ宜ク徳性ヲ涵養スルヲ以テ要トスヘシ今夫レ音樂ノ物タル性情ニ本ツキ人心ヲ正シ風化ヲ助クルノ妙用アリ故ニ古ヨリ明君賢相特ニ之ヲ振興シ之ヲ家國ニ播サント欲セシ者和漢歐米ノ史冊歴々徴スヘシ曩ニ我政府ノ始テ學制ヲ頒ツニ方リテヤ已ニ唱歌ヲ普通學科中ニ掲ケテ一般必須ノ科タルヲ示シ其教則綱領ヲ定ムルニ至テハ亦之ヲ小學各等科ニ加ヘテ其必ス學ハサル可クサルヲ示セリ然シテ之ヲ學校ニ實施スルニ及ンテハ必ス歌曲其當ヲ得聲音其正ヲ得テ能ク教育ノ真理ニ悖ラサルヲ要スレハ比レ其事タル固ヨリ容易ニ舉行スヘキニ非ス我省此ニ見ル所アリ客年特ニ音樂取調掛ヲ設ケ充ルニ本邦ノ學士音樂家等ヲ以テシ且ツ遠ク米國有名ノ音樂教師ヲ聘シ百方討論悉シ本邦固有ノ音律ニ基ツキ彼長ヲ取り我短ヲ補ヒ以テ我學校ニ適用スヘキ者ヲ撰定セシム爾後諸員ノ協力ニ頼リ稍ヤク歌曲ヲ得之ヲ東京師範學校及東京女子師範學校生徒并兩校附屬小學生徒ニ施シテ其遺香ヲ試ミ更ニ取捨選擇シ得ル所ニ隨テ之ヲ錄シ遂ニ歌曲數十ノ多キニ至レリ爰ニ之ヲ刻刷ニ付シ名ケテ小學唱歌集ト云是レ固ヨリ草創ニ屬スルヲ以テ或ハ未タ完全ナラサル者アラント雖モ庶幾クハ亦我教育進步ノ一助ニ資スルニ足ラント云爾

明治十四年十一月 伊澤修二 謹識

音樂取調掛長

伊澤修二 謹識

7

Appendix 6: *Shōgaku-shōka-shū* - The titles of the first official educational songbook with English Translation³¹²

1. Kaore! (Cherryblossoms, spread your fragrance!)
2. Haruyama (Haze on spring mountains)
3. Agare! (Ascend, lark!)
4. Iwae! (Celebrate the reign of the lord!)
5. Waka no ura (Waka Bay)
6. Chiyoni (Thousand generations – Lord, your reign be eternal)
7. Haru wa hanami (Admiring spring flowers)
8. Uguisu (Nightingale)
9. Nobe ni (In the fields, by the sea)
10. Harukaze (Spring wind)
11. Sakura, momiji (Cherry blossoms, Maple leaves)
12. Hana saku haru (Spring blossoms)
13. Miwataseba (Seeing the beautiful nature all around)
14. Matsu no kokage (In the shade of the pine tree)
15. Haru no yayoi (March, the spring)
16. Waga hi no moto no (Our Japan, where the sun rises from)
17. Chou chou (Butterflies)
18. Utsukushiki (Beautiful – children have gone to fight)
19. Neya no itado (Morning light through the wooden door)
20. Hotaru (Fire fly – departure of comrades)
21. Wakamurasaki (Light purple)
22. Nemureyo ko (Sleep dear, soundly)
23. Kimi ga yo (The reign of your Majesty – eternally)
24. Omoi izureba (Thinking of you – come back my child)
25. Kaori ni shiraruru (Your reign is like a garden of flowers)
26. Sumidagawa (Sumida river)
27. Fuji no yama (Fuji mountain – the pride of our country)
28. Oboro (Hazy moonlight – tranquillity of your reign)
29. Ametsuyu (Raindrops and dew – the veil of the lord saved us)
30. Tama no miyai (Palace of jewels – the Lord's sacrifice for us)
31. Yamato nadeshiko (Japanese Pinks – remember the Grace)
32. Gojou no uta (Song for the five cardinal virtues: benevolence in sincerity, just obligation, politeness in gratitude, wisdom in humility, and loyalty with faith).
33. Gorin no uta (song for the five moral human relationships: father and son, lord and vassal, husband and wife, young and old, and friends).

³¹² The translation is generally verbatim, but, wherever the theme of the song is obscured due to cultural references, additional information is given after a hyphen to explicate the theme. Such additional information is taken from the content of the song.

Appendix 7: 1887 (M20) *Yōchien-shōka-shū* (幼稚園唱歌集: Nursery School Songbook), Preface

『幼稚園唱歌集 全』文部省音楽取調掛編纂（文部省編輯局、1887年12月）
幼稚園唱歌集緒言

一 本編ハ、児童ノ、始メテ幼稚園ニ入り、他人ト交遊スルコトヲ習フニ当リテ、嬉戲唱和ノ際、自ラ幼徳ヲ涵養シ、幼智ヲ開発センガ為ニ、用フベキ歌曲ヲ纂輯シタルモノナリ。

一 唱歌ハ、自然幼稚ノ性情ヲ養ヒ、其発声ノ節度ニ慣レシムルヲ要スルモノナレバ、殊ニ幼稚園ニ欠ク可ラズ。諸種ノ園戯ノ如キモ、亦音楽ノカヲ仮ルニ非ラザレバ、十分ノ効ヲ奏スルコト能ハザルモノナリ。

一 幼稚園ノ唱歌ハ、殊ニ拍子ト調子トニ注意セザル可ラズ。拍子ノ、緩徐ニ失スルトキハ、活発爽快ノ精神ヲ損シ、調子ノ高低、其度ヲ失スルトキハ、啻ニ音声ノ發達ヲ害スルノミナラズ、幼稚ノ性情ニ厭悪ヲ醸シ、其開暢ヲ妨グル恐レアリ。故ニ本編ノ歌曲ハ、其撰定ニアタリ、特ニ此等ノ要旨ニ注意セリ。

一 幼稚園ニ、箏、胡弓、若クハ洋琴、風琴、ノ如キ楽器ヲ備ヘテ、幼稚ノ唱歌ニ協奏スルヲ要ス。是レ楽器ニヨリテ、唱和ノ勢力ヲ増シ、深ク幼心ヲ感動セシムルノカアルヲ以テナリ。

明治十六年七月

<English Translation>

‘*Yōchien-shōka-shū* (Nursery School Songbook)’

Edition by Research Institute for Music, Ministry of Education (published by Ministry of Education Bureau of Publication, December 1887)

Preface to *Yōchien-shōka-shū*

1. This songbook was compiled for children who, for the first time, enter a nursery school and learn to be in the company of other children, and therefore, the songs have been specially selected with a purpose to nurture young virtue and develop young minds autonomously through praying and singing.
2. Singing of *shōka* songs cultivates the young character naturally. Since it requires familiarisation with orderly articulation, it is essential for nursery education. Various activities at the nursery school cannot be performed effectively without the help of music.
3. *Shōka* for nursery schools should pay special attention to the beat and rhythm. If the beat is too slow then it would lack a brisk and exhilarating spirit, if the pitch is too high or low, or entirely out of tune, it would be not only detrimental to children’s developmental health, but also harmful to their character formation, and could hinder their future progress. Therefore, the songs in this book have been selected with special consideration for these issues.

4. Nurseries should be equipped with musical instruments such as *shō* (Japanese flute), *kōkyū* (two-stringed Chinese violin), or *yōkin* (western-harp), *fūkin* (accordion) and like to accompany children's singing. Instrumental accompaniment enhances vigour in the singing harmony, and can affect children's sensibilities.

Seventh month of the sixteenth year of Meiji (July, 1883)

Appendix 8: 1891(M24) *Shōgakkō-kyōsoku-taikō* (小学校教則大綱: Outline for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools)

第一条 小学校ニ於テハ小学校令第一条ノ旨趣ヲ遵守シテ児童ヲ教育スヘシ
徳性ノ涵養ハ教育上最モ意ヲ用フヘキナリ故ニ何レノ教科目ニ於テモ道德教育国民
教育ニ関連スル事項ハ殊ニ留意シテ教授センコトヲ要ス
知識技能ハ確實ニシテ実用ニ適センコトヲ要ス故ニ常ニ生活ニ必須ナル事項ヲ撰ヒ
テ之ヲ教授シ反覆練習シテ応用自在ナラシメンコトヲ務ムヘシ

各教科目ノ教授ハ其目的及方法ヲ誤ルコトナク互ニ相連絡シテ補益センコトヲ要ス

第十条 唱歌ハ耳及発声器ヲ練習シテ容易キ歌曲ヲ唱フコトヲ得シメ兼ネテ音楽ノ
美ヲ弁知セシメ徳性ヲ涵養スルヲ以テ要旨トス
尋常小学校ノ教科ニ唱歌ヲ加フルトキハ通常譜表ヲ用ヒスシテ容易キ単音唱歌ヲ授
クヘシ
高等小学校ニ於テハ初メハ前項ニ準シ漸ク譜表ヲ用ヒテ単音唱歌ヲ授クヘシ
歌詞及楽譜ハ成ルヘク本邦古今ノ名家ノ作ニ係ルモノヨリ之ヲ撰ヒ雅正ニシテ児童
ノ心情ヲ快活純美ナラシムルモノタルヘシ

Article 1: At elementary schools pupils should be taught in compliance with the provisions of Article 1 of the Elementary School Order (*Shōgakkō-Rei*). Cultivation of virtue is of the highest importance in education, and therefore, subjects concerning ethics and edification of *kokumin* (people of the country) need to be given special attention. Knowledge and skills must be solid and practical, and therefore, subjects that are essential to daily life must be chosen and taught and practiced repeatedly to attain full command of applications. Bearing this purpose in mind, teachers of each subject should communicate with each other for collaboration and mutual support.

Article 10: The purpose of *Shōka* is to practice the use of ears and voice (aural-oral organs) to become proficient in singing and at the same time to appreciate and articulate the beauty of music to nurture virtues. When *Shōka* is included in the curriculum of *Jinjō*-elementary schools usually music scores are used to teach single-tone (monophonic) pieces of *Shōka*. The same applies to teaching at higher-elementary schools at first. Lyrics and music scores should be selected from those traditional or modern pieces created by renowned Japanese writers and composers, and are elegant and proper, the kind which uplifts the mood making children's mind pure and beautiful.

Appendix 9: 1893 (M26) Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka (祝日大祭日唱歌: Songs for Celebrations and High-Holy Days), Preface

『祝日大祭日歌詞並楽譜』

文部省告示第三号官報第3037号

小学校ニ於テ祝日大祭日ノ儀式ヲ行フノ際唱歌用ニ供スル歌詞並楽譜別冊ノ通撰定ス

明治二十六年八月十二日

文部大臣 井上 毅

Preface (English Translation)

‘*Shukujitsu-taisaijitsu-shōka* (Songs for Celebrations and High-Holy Days) and accompanying music scores’

Ordinance of the Ministry of Education No.3, Official Gazette No.3037.

Be it ordained by the Ministry of Education as follows:

Collection of selected songs for celebrations and High-Holy Days and its accompanying music scores have been issued for the use of ceremonies at Elementary Schools.

The twelfth day of the eighth month of 26th year of the reign of Meiji (12 August, 1893).

Minister of Education, Takeshi Inoue

Appendix 10: 1910 (M43) Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka (尋常小學讀本唱歌: Ordinary Elementary School Songbook to Accompany Reader), Preface

緒 言

一

本書ハ本省編纂ノ尋常小學讀本中ノ歌詞ニ就キ本省ニ設置セル小學校唱歌教科書編纂委員ヲシテ作曲セシメタルモノナリ

二

「かぞへ歌」ノ曲ハ明治二十年十二月本省出版ノ幼稚園唱歌集ニ載セタルモノヲ其ノ儘採録セリ又「水師營の會見」「鎌倉」「國産の歌」ノ三篇ハ學年ノ程度ニ比シテ其ノ曲稍々簡易ニ過グレドモ主トシテ兒童ノ記誦ヲ助ケンガ爲ニ特ニ作曲セリ

三

讀本の歌詞中「うめぼし」(卷五),「人のなさけ」(卷六),「花ごよみ」(卷八),「かぶりもの」(卷九),「家」(卷十),「松の下露」(卷十)ノ六篇ハ其ノ結構學年相当ノ作曲ヲナスニ適セザルガ故ニ之ヲ省ケリ

明治四十三年五月 文 部 省

Preface

1/ This songbook was compiled by the Editorial Committee for the Elementary School Shōka Textbook at the Ministry of Education who selected poems from the Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon (reader) to create lyrics and composed accompanying music.

2/ The ‘Counting Song’ has been adopted from 1887 Yōchien-shōka-shū as it is, and the tunes of the following three songs; ‘Meeting at Suishiei’; ‘Kamakura’; and ‘Kokusan no Uta’ have been slightly modified to facilitate pupils memorising these songs.

3/ Of the poems in *Tokuhon* (Reader), six poems have been excluded from this songbook, because composition of appropriate music for the grade levels was not possible. The six poems are as follows: ‘Umeboshi (Vol.5)’; ‘Hito no nasake (Vol.6)’; ‘Hana-goyomi (Vol.8)’; ‘Kaburimono (Vol.9)’; ‘Ie (Vol.10)’; and ‘Matsu no Shitazuyu (Vol.10)’.

Fifth month of the forty-three year of Meiji (May, 1910), Ministry of Education

Appendix 11: 1911 (M44) Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka (尋常小學唱歌: Ordinary Elementary School), Preface, Japanese original text and English translation

尋常小學唱歌（昭和六年一月二十五日廿八版發行 尋常小學唱歌 第一、二學年用より）

緒 言

- 一、 本書ハ本省内ニ設置セル小學校唱歌教科書編纂委員ヲシテ編纂セシメルタルモノナリ。
- 二、 本書ノ歌詞中、尋常小學校讀本所蔵以外ノモノニ就キテハ、修身・國語・歴史・地理・理科・實業等諸種ノ方面ニ涉リテ適當ナル題材ヲ求メ、文體用語等ハ成ルベク讀本ト歩調ヲ一ニセンコトヲ期セリ。
- 三、 本書ノ曲譜ハ排列上其ノ程度ニ就キテ多少難易ノ順ヲ追ハザルモノナキニアラズ。是其ノ歌詞ノ性質上已ムヲ得ザルニ出デタルナリ。

明治四十四年六月

文 部 省

Preface

1. This songbook was compiled by the Committee of Editors for a Textbook for teaching of *Shōka* at the Ministry of Education
2. Lyrics for this songbook have been chosen mainly from *Jinjō-shōgakkō-tokuhon* (*Jinjō* (ordinary) Elementary School Reader), but otherwise suitable topics were sought in a variety of subjects such as ethics, national language, history, geography, science, vocational learning and so on, and the style, vocabulary and language use are ensured to be in line with the Reader as far as possible.
3. This songbook is arranged with special consideration given to the characteristics of the lyrics and consequently, music scores accompanying these lyrics do not necessarily follow the order of musical complexity.

June 1911. Ministry of Education

（第三学年用は内容同一、日付は四十五年三月: Same Preface for the 3rd Grade, March, 1945）

（第四学年用は内容同一、日付は大正元年十月: Same Preface for the 4th Grade, October, 1912）

（第五学年用は内容同一の上、「第四項」付加、日付は大正二年二月: Same Preface for the 5th Grade except for additional Item 4. February, 1913）

(第六学年用は内容同一、日付は大正三年四月: Same Preface for the 6th Grade, April, 1913)

第五学年用緒言 第四項 (昭憲皇太后御製の歌に関する説明)

巻頭ノ「みがかずば」「金剛石」「水は器」ノ三首ハ、何レモ昭憲皇太后ノ御歌ニシテ、嘗テ尋常小學修身書卷五ニ奉掲シタルモノナリ。「みがかずば」ノ曲ハ本省ニ於テ特ニ撰定シタルモノ、「金剛石」「水は器」ノ曲ハ女子學習院撰定ノモノニ係ル。

大正二年二月

文 部 省

(Additional item for the Preface of volume five for the 5th grade: Explanation on the songs based on Empress *Shōken*)

IV. The opening poems, ‘*Migakazuba* (if unpolished)’, ‘*Kongōseki* (garnet)’ and ‘*Mizu wa Utsuwa* (water vessel)’ written by the Empress *Shōken* grace the fifth volume of the *Jinjō-Shōgaku-Shūshin-sho* (*Jinjō* Elementary School Ethics Text). ‘*Migakazuba*’ was especially selected by the Ministry of Education, and ‘*Kongōseki*’ as well as ‘*Mizu wa Utsuwa*’ were selected by the *Gakushūin* girls school for this songbook.

1913 February

Ministry of Education

Appendix 12: 1932 (S7) Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka (新訂尋常小學唱歌), Preface, Japanese original text and English translation

緒 言

- 一、 本書ハ音楽教育ノ進歩ト時代ノ要求トニ鑑ミ、從來本省著作ニ係ル「尋常小學唱歌」ニ改訂ヲ加ヘタルモノナリ。
- 二、 本書ハ每卷二十七章トシ、取扱者ニ選澤ノ餘地ヲ與ヘタリ。
- 三、 本書ノ歌詞ハ、舊歌詞中ノ適切ナルモノ、新作ニ係ルモノ、及ビ尋常小學國語讀本・尋常小學讀本中ノ韻文ノ一部ヨリ成ル。
- 四、 本書ノ歌詞ハ努メテ材料ヲ各方面ニ採リ、文體・用語等ハ成ルベク讀本ト歩調ヲ一ニセンコトヲ期セリ。
- 五、 本書ノ教材排列ハ強ヒテ程度ノ難易ノミニヨラズ、一面季節ニツキテモ考慮セリ。
- 六、 本書ハ取扱者ノ便宜ノタメ、唱歌曲ノミノ樂譜ヲ掲ゲタルモノト、伴奏附ノ樂譜ヲ掲ゲタルモノト、二種類ヲ作製セリ。教授ニ際シテハ其ノ何レヲ採用スルモ可ナリ。

昭和七年三月

文 部 省

Preface

1. In keeping with the recent developments in music education and considering the needs that have arisen with it the ‘*Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka*’ devised by the Ministry of Education was revised and updated resulting in this songbook to replace the former.
2. This songbook consists of 27 songs and gives freedom of choice in how to use them to the educators.
3. The lyrics in this songbook have been selected from old and new songs as well as the prose and poems contained in the *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon* (Reader).
4. Efforts were made to collect materials for the lyrics from sources in every genre and topic, and the style, structure and vocabulary are designed to be in accordance with the Reader as far as possible.
5. The songs are arranged not only in the order of complexity but also in seasonal order.
6. For reasons of convenience for the teachers, two versions were prepared: songbooks with music scores for the main song only or that with the music accompaniment, teachers should choose either of them according to their needs.

1932 July

Ministry of Education

- ◆ 第5学年では、以下の文が第6項目として挿入されている。その際、第6項目は第7項目として並べ替えられている。(The following paragraph is inserted as the

sixth item in the Preface of Grade 5 MS-S, renumbering the sixth item in the version above as the new seventh).

六、卷頭ノ「みがかずば」「金剛石」「水は器」ノ三首ハ、何レモ昭憲皇太后ノ御歌ニシテ、嘗テ尋常小學修身書卷五ニ奉掲シタレルモノナリ。「みがかずば」ノ曲ハ本省ニ於テ特ニ撰定シタルモノ、「金剛石」及ビ「水は器」ノ曲ハ女子學習院撰定ノモノニ係ル。

(Additional item for the Preface of volume five for the fifth grades: Explanation on the songs based on Empress *Shōken*)

VI. The opening poems, 'Migakazuba (if unpolished)', 'Kongōseki (garnet)' and 'Mizu wa Utsuwa (water vessel)' written by the Empress *Shōken* grace the fifth volume of the *Jinjō-Shōgaku-Shūshin-sho* (*Jinjō* Elementary School Ethics Textbook). 'Migakazuba' was especially selected by the Ministry of Education, and 'Kongōseki' as well as 'Mizu wa Utsuwa' were selected by the *Gakushūin* girls school for this songbook.

1932 July

Ministry of Education

Appendix 13: A Comparison of the titles contained in *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* (1910), *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (1911) and *Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (1932).

Index of <i>Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i>	
Titles marked with # were directly copied from the <i>Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka</i> (Songbook accompanying the Jinjō-Elementary School Reader, published July 1910).	
Titles marked with ¥ were deleted in the <i>Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i> (published March-December, 1932).	
第一学年用	1 st Grade
1911 (明治 44) 年 5 月	May 1911 (Meiji 44).
第一 日の丸の旗	The Hi-no-maru flag
第二 鳩	Pigeons
第三 おきやがりこぼし	A tumble doll
第四 人形	Dolls
第五 ひよこ	Chicks
第六 かたつむり	Snails
第七 牛若丸	Prince Ushi-waka-maru
第八 夕立	Evening Shower
第九 桃太郎	Momotarō (Peach boy's adventure)
第十 朝顔#	Morning Glory #
第十一 池の鯉	Carp in the pond
第十二 親の恩	Parents' love
第十三 鳥#	Birds #
第十四 菊の花	Chrysanthemum flowers
第十五 月#	The Moon #
第十六 木の葉	Leaves
第十七 兎	Rabbits
第十八 紙鳶の歌#	Kite song
第十九 犬	Dogs
第二十 花咲爺	Hanasaka-jijii (Old man who turned ashes into blooms)
第二学年用	2 nd Grade
1911 (明治 44) 年 6 月	June 1911 (Meiji 44)
第一 桜	Cherry Blossoms
第二 二宮金次郎	Ninomiya Kinjirō (Ninomiya Kinjirō, a story of a diligent boy)
第三 よく学びよく遊べ¥	Study hard, Play well ¥
第四 雲雀	Sparrows
第五 小馬#	Little horses #
第六 田植	Rice planting
第七 雨	The Rain
第八 蝉	Cicadas
第九 蛙と蜘蛛#	A frog and a spider #
第十 浦島太郎	Urashima Tarō (Urashima Tarō, a story of a

	kind fisherman)
第十一 案山子	A scarecrow
第十二 富士山#	Mount Fuji #
第十三 仁田四郎¥	Shirō Nita (A samurai's story) ¥
第十四 紅葉	Colourful autumn leaves
第十五 天皇陛下¥	Our Majesty, the Emperor ¥
第十六 時計の歌#	A clock song #
第十七 雪	Snow
第十八 梅に鶯	A nightingale on the plum tree
第十九 母の心#	Mother's Heart #
第二十 那須与一	Yoichi Nasu (An ancient soldier's story)
第三学年用	3 rd Grade
1912 (明治 45) 年 3 月	March 1912 (Meiji 45)
第一 春が来た#	Spring has come! #
第二 かがやく光	Shining Light
第三 茶摘	Tea-leaf pickers
第四 青葉	Fresh green leaves
第五 友だち¥	Friends ¥
第六 汽車	Steam engine trains
第七 虹	Rainbow
第八 虫のこゑ#	Singing insects #
第九 村祭	A village festival
第十 鶴越	Hiyodori pass (An ancient war story)
第十一 日本の国#	The country of Japan #
第十二 雁	Geese
第十三 取入れ	Harvest song
第十四 豊臣秀吉	Toyotomi Hideyoshi (Story of a shogun)
第十五 皇后陛下¥	Our Majesty, the Empress ¥
第十六 冬の夜	Winter nights
第十七 川中島	Kawanaka-jima island (An ancient war story)
第十八 おもひやり¥	Considerate heart ¥
第十九 港¥	A port song ¥
第二十 かぞへ歌#	Song for counting game #

Table 5.1. A Comparison of the titles contained in *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* (1910), *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (1911) and *Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (1932), Grades 1-3.

Index of <i>Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i>	
Titles marked with # were directly copied from the <i>Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka</i> (Songbook accompanying the Jinjō-Elementary School Reader, published July 1910).	
Titles marked with ¥ were deleted in the <i>Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i> (published March-December, 1932).	
第一学年用 1911 (明治 44) 年 5 月	1 st Grade May 1911 (Meiji 44).
第一 日の丸の旗	Hi-no-maru (the national flag of 'the rising-sun')

第二	鳩	Hato (Pigeons)
第三	おきやがりこぼし	Okiyagari-koboshi (A tumble doll)
第四	人形	Ningyō (Dolls)
第五	ひよこ	Hiyoko (Chicks)
第六	かたつむり	Katatumuri (Snails)
第七	牛若丸	Ushiwakamaru (Prince Ushi-waka-maru)
第八	夕立	Yūdachi (Evening Shower)
第九	桃太郎	Momotarō (Peach boy's adventure)
第十	朝顔#	Asagao (Morning Glory) #
第十一	池の鯉	Ike no Koi (Carp in the pond)
第十二	親の恩	Oya no On (Parents' love)
第十三	鳥#	Tori (Birds) #
第十四	菊の花	Kiku no hana (Chrysanthemum flowers)
第十五	月#	Tsuki (The Moon) #
第十六	木の葉	Konoha (Leaves)
第十七	兎	Usagi (Rabbits)
第十八	紙鳶の歌#	Tako no Uta (Kite Song)
第十九	犬	Inu (Dogs)
第二十	花咲翁	Hanasaka-jijii (Old man who turned ashes into blooms)
第二学年用 1911 (明治 44) 年 6 月		2 nd Grade June 1911 (Meiji 44)
第一	桜	Sakura (Cherry Blossoms)
第二	二宮金次郎	Ninomiya Kinjirō (Ninomiya Kinjirō, a diligent boy)
第三	よく学びよく遊べ¥	Yoku manabi, Yoku asobe (Study hard, Play well) ¥
第四	雲雀	Hibari (Skylark)
第五	小馬#	Kouma (Little horses) #
第六	田植	Taue (Rice planting)
第七	雨	Ame (The Rain)
第八	蝉	Semi (Cicadas)
第九	蛙と蜘蛛#	A frog and a spider #
第十	浦島太郎	Urashima Tarō (Urashima Tarō, a kind fisherman)
第十一	案山子	Kakashi (A scarecrow)
第十二	富士山#	Fujisan (Mount Fuji) #
第十三	仁田四郎¥	Nita Shirō (Nita Shirō, a loyal samurai's story) ¥
第十四	紅葉	Momiji (Autumn colours)
第十五	天皇陛下¥	Tennō-heika (Our Majesty, the Emperor) ¥
第十六	時計の歌#	Tokei no Uta (A clock song) #
第十七	雪	Yuki (Snow)
第十八	梅に鶯	Ume ni Uguisu (A nightingale on the plum tree)
第十九	母の心#	Haha no Kokoro (Mother's Heart) #
第二十	那須与一	Nasu Yoichi (Nasu Yoichi, an ancient archer's story)

第三学年用 1912 (明治 45) 年 3 月	3 rd Grade March 1912 (Meiji 45)
第一 春が来た #	Haru ga kita (Spring has come) #
第二 かがやく光	Kagayaku hikari (Shining Light)
第三 茶摘	Chatsumi (Tea-leaf pickers)
第四 青葉	Aoba (Fresh green leaves)
第五 友だち ¥	Tomodachi (Friends) ¥
第六 汽車	Kisha (Steam engine trains)
第七 虹	Niji (Rainbow)
第八 虫のこゑ #	Mushi no koe (Singing insects) #
第九 村祭	Muramatsuri (A village festival)
第十 鶴越	Hiyodori goe (Hiyodori pass, an ancient war story)
第十一 日本の国 #	Nihon no kuni (The country of Japan) #
第十二 雁	Gan (Geese)
第十三 取入れ	Tori-ire (Harvest song)
第十四 豊臣秀吉	Toyotomi Hideyoshi (Toyotomi Hideyoshi, story of a shogun)
第十五 皇后陛下 ¥	Kōgō-heika (Our Majesty, the Empress) ¥
第十六 冬の夜	Fuyu no Yoru (Winter night)
第十七 川中島	Kawanaka-jima (Kawanaka-jima island, an ancient war story)
第十八 おもひやり ¥	Omoiyari (Considerate Heart) ¥
第十九 港 ¥	Minato (A port song) ¥
第二十 かぞへ歌 #	Kazoe-uta (Song for counting game) #

A number of songs were added to Grades 4-6. Double-asterisks (**) are given to the songs that are added in the revised MS-S published in 1933.

Table 5.2 A Comparison of the titles contained in *Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka* (1910), *Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (1911) and *Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka* (1932), Grades 4-6.

Index of <i>Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i> and <i>Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i>	
Titles marked with # were directly copied from the <i>Jinjō-shōgaku-tokuhon-shōka</i> (Songbook accompanying the Jinjō-Elementary School Reader, published July 1910).	
Titles marked with ¥ were deleted in the <i>Shintei Jinjō-shōgaku-shōka</i> (published March-December, 1932).	
第四学年用 1933 (昭和 8) 年	4 th Grade 1933 (shōwa 8)
第一 春の小川	Haru no ogawa (Spring brook)
第二 かげろふ**	Kagerō (Heat haze)**
第三 おなかの四季	Inaka no Shiki (Four seasons in the countryside)
第四 靖国神社	Yasukuni Jinja (Yasukuni Shrine)
第五 蚕**	Kaiko (Silkworm)**
第六 五月**	Gogatsu (May)**
第七 藤の花	Fuji no hana (Wisteria bloom)
第八 動物園**	Dōbutsuen (The Zoo)**
第九 お手玉	Otedama (The beanbags juggling game)

第十 曾我兄弟	Soga kyōdai (Soga brothers)
第十一 夢**	Yume (Dreams)**
第十二 雲	Kumo (Clouds)
第十三 漁船	Gyosen (Fishing boat)
第十四 夏の月**	Natsu no tsuki (The summer moon)**
第十五 牧場の朝**	Bokujō no asa (A morning at the ranch)**
第十六 水車	Suisha (Watermill)
第十七 広瀬中佐	Hirose Chūsa (Lieutenant Colonel Hirose)
第十八 たけがり	Takegari (Bamboo shoots)
第十九 山雀**	Yamagara (Bluetits)**
第二十 霜	Shimo (Haze)
第二十一 八幡太郎	Hachimantarō (Hachimantarō, an ancient soldier)
第二十二 村の鍛冶屋	Mura no kajiya (The village blacksmith)
第二十三 餅つき**	Mochitsuki (Making rice-cakes)**
第二十四 雪合戦	Yukigassen (Snowball fight)
第二十五 近江八景	Ōmi hakkei (Eight beauty spots in Ōmi)
第二十六 何事も精神	Nanigoto mo seishin (Everything depends on the mind)
第二十七 橘中佐	Tachibana chūsa (Lieutenant Colonel Tachibana)
第五学年用 1933 (昭和8)年	5 th Grade 1933 (Shōwa)
第一 みがかずば	Migakazuba (Unless refined)
第二 金剛石／水は器	Kongōseki/Mizu wa Utsuwa (Garnet / Water fitting its container)
第三 八岐の大蛇	Yamata no Orochi (The eight-headed dragon)
第四 舞へや歌へや	Mae-ya, Utae-ya (Dance, Sing)
第五 鯉のぼり	Koinobori (Flying carp banners)
第六 菅公	Kan-kō (Sir Kan)
第七 忍耐	Nintai (Patience)
第八 朝日は昇りぬ**	Asahi wa noborinu (The sun has arisen)**
第九 朝の歌	Asa no uta (The morning song)
第十 日光山	Nikkōsan (Mount Nikkō)
第十一 山に登りて**	Yama ni noborite (On the mountain)**
第十二 海	Umi (Seas)
第十三 納涼	Nōryō (Cool of Summer evening)
第十四 風鈴**	Fūrin (Wind chimes)**
第十五 加藤清正	Katō Kiyomasa (Katō Kiyomasa, the brave samurai)
第十六 鳥と花	Tori to hana (Birds and flowers)
第十七 大塔宮	Daitō-no-miya (Emperor Moriyoshi)
第十八 秋の山**	Aki no yama (Autumn mountains)**
第十九 いてふ**	Ichō (Ginkgo)**

第二十 入営を送る	Nyūei wo okuru (Farewell to the conscripted) ³¹³
第二十一 冬景色	Fuyugeshiki (Winter scenes)
第二十二 水師營の会見	Suishiei no Kaiken (Meeting at Suishiying)
第二十三 児島高德**	Kojima Takatoku (Kojima Takatoku, a loyal soldier)**
第二十四 三才女	Sansaijo (Three gifted women)
第二十五 進水式**	Shinsui-shiki (Ship launching)**
第二十六 雛祭	Hinamatsuri (Doll festival)
第二十七 卒業生を送る歌	Sotsugōsei wo okuru uta (Song for graduation)

第六学年用 1933 (昭和8) 年	6 th Grade 1933 (Shōwa 8)
第一 明治天皇御製	Meiji-Tennō Gyosei (Song by the Meiji Emperor)
第二 朧月夜	Oboro-zukiyo (Dim moonlight)
第三 遠足**	Ensoku (Excursion)**
第四 我らの村**	Warera no mura (Our village)**
第五 瀬戸内海**	Setonaikai (Seto inland sea)**
第六 四季の雨	Shiki no ame (Rain in four seasons)
第七 日本海海戦	Nihonkai kaisen (Battle of the Japan sea)
第八 我は海の子	Ware wa umi no ko (I am a son of the seas)
第九 日本三景**	Nihon sankei (Three greatest views of Japan)**
第十 風**	Kaze (Winds)**
第十一 蓮池	Hasuike (Lotus pond)
第十二 森の歌**	Mori no uta (Forest song)**
第十三 瀧**	Taki (Waterfall)**
第十四 出征兵士	Shusse-heishi (Soldier at the front)
第十五 故郷	Kokyō (My hometown)
第十六 秋	Aki (Autumn)
第十七 燈台	Tōdai (Lighthouse)
第十八 天照大神	Amaterasu-ōmikami (Amaterasu, the sun goddess)
第十九 鷲**	Washi (Eagle)**
第二十 鎌倉	Kamakura (Kamakura city)
第二十一 霧**	Kiri (Mist)**
第二十二 鳴門**	Naruto (Naruto strait)**
第二十三 雪**	Yuki (Snow)**
第二十四 スキーの歌**	Sukī no uta (Skiing song)**
第二十五 夜の梅	Yoru no ume (Plum in the night)
第二十六 斎藤実盛	Saitō Sanemori (Saitō Sanemori, an ancient story of a loyal soldier)
第二十七 卒業の歌	Sotsugyō no uta (Graduation song)

³¹³ This can be voluntary, but in this case was compulsory under the constitution at the time.

Appendix 14: British children's wartime songs from Opie and Opie (1959: 98-108), 'Lore and Language of Schoolchildren'

Munich Agreement, 1938

Underneath the spreading chestnut tree
Mr. Chamberlain said to me,
If you want to get your gas-mask free,
Join the blinking A.R.P.

World War II

Whistle while you work,
Mussolini brought a shirt,
Hitler wore it,
Chamberlain tore it,
Whistle while you work.
(Girls, 14, Swansea, 1952)

Whistle while you work,
Snow White made a shirt,
Hitler wore it,
Mussolini tore it,
Whistle while you work.
(Girl, 13, Kirkcaldy, 1952)

Calling all cars, calling all stations,
Hitler's lost his combinations.
If you can't find them, never mind
them,
Calling all cars, calling all stations.
(Girl, 13, Kirkcaldy, 1952)

Hitler, you're barmy,
You want to join the army.
Get knocked out,
By a big Boy Scout,
Hitler – you're barmy!
(Age and Gender unknown.
Lancaster, cf. 'Ginger, you're barmy')

Down in the dungeons seven feet
deep,
Where old Hitler lies asleep,
German boys they tickle his feet
Down in the dungeons seven feet
deep.
(Girl, 12, Forfar, 1954, for skipping).

Whistle while you work,
Miss ----- made a shirt,
Hitler wore it,
Goering tore it,
Wasn't he a twerp?
(Girls, 16, Loughton, 1951; Current Portsmouth,
1939)

Music while you work,
Hitler made a shirt,
Stalin wore it,
Moradec [Mussadiq?] tore it.
Music while you work.
(Boy, 13, Golspie, 1952)

Who's that knocking at the window?
Who's that knocking at the door?
If it's Hitler let him in
And we'll sit him on a pin,
And we won't see old Hitler any more.
(Age and Gender unknown. Denbighshire, c.1940.
cf. 'Vote, vote, vote, for...')

Run, Hitler, run Hitler, run, run, run,
Don't give the Allies their fun, fun, fun;
They'll get by
Without their Hitler pie,
So run Hitler, run Hitler, run, run, run.
(Age and Gender unknown. London, c.1940. A
debased version of Flanagan and Allen's Palladium
parody of their song 'Run Rabbit'.)

Appendix 15: Song for Conquering Russia from Kyōkasho-Tekiyō-Taishō-shōka (The Educational Songbook to commemorate the Great Victory) (See Appendix 2, Preface)

Verse 1, Japanese Original with gloss and English translation

1. 討てや、討て、討て、ロシヤを討てや
 ute-ya / ute / ute / Roshiya wo / ute-ya
 conquer / conquer / conquer / Russia-OBJ / conquer-Emphasis
Conquer, conquer, conquer Russia, conquer it.

わが 東洋の 平和を 亂す
 waga / tōyō no / heiwa wo / midasu
 Our Eastern-world-of / peace-OBJ / disturb
They disturb the peace of the East, our world.

敵ロシヤを 討て、討て、討てや
 kataki Roshiya wo / ute / ute / ute-ya
 Enemy Russia-OBJ / conquer / conquer / conquer-Emphasis
Russia, the enemy, conquer, conquer, conquer it.

わが 帝國の 國利を 侵す
 waga / teikoku no / kokuri wo / okasu
 Our / imperial-nation-of / national property / invade
They invade our Imperial land

敵ロシヤを 討て、討て、討てや
 kataki Russiya wo / ute / ute / ute-ya
 Enemy Russia-OBJ / conquer / conquer / conquer-Emphasis
Russia, the enemy, conquer, conquer conquer it.

Verses 2-6, English translation only

2. Taking advantage of the Sino incident
 they are invading three Manchurian districts.
 They should have withdrawn long ago, but
 instead they try establishing a firmer foothold,
 in an attempt to join the land to theirs.
3. Ah, if Manchuria comes into their hands,
 soon Korea's territorial integrity will collapse.
 Our cherished peace of the East will cease, and
 one day great calamity befalls us.
 Those of the Imperial property will suffer misery.
4. Negotiation after negotiation for half a year, but
 no compromise, no concession, and furthermore,
 they have already violated the Korean border,
 increasing their armaments on land and sea.
 What is this behaviour?! For the love of peace? How come?
5. In February 1904, like roaring thunder,
 The Imperial edict descended upon us.
 Ah, the edict, that says 'Conquer Russia'.

The edict has raised people's morale,
high, and higher, reaching to the sky!

6. They disturb our peace in the Eastern world.
Conquer, conquer, conquer Russia, conquer it.
Russia, the enemy, conquer, conquer, conquer it.
They invade our Imperial land.
Russia, the enemy, conquer, conquer, conquer it!

Appendix 16: Titles of the ‘Uta no Hon’ (volume 1 & 2) and ‘Shotōka-Ongaku’ for Kokumin-gakkō (People’s Elementary School)

UTA NO HON, Vol.1. <Songs for 6-7 year olds>

(Liturgical song)

Kimi ga yo (The Reign of our Lord)

(Songs)

1. Gakukau (School)
2. Hi no maru (The rising-sun flag)
3. Yufuyake Koyake (Evening glow)
4. Ensoku (School excursion)
5. Kakurembo (Hide and seek)
6. Hotaru koi (Come, fire fly)
7. Umi (Oceans)
8. O-uma (Horses – mother and child)
9. O-tsuki-sama (The moon)
10. Momotarō (Legend of a mighty boy born from a giant peach)
11. Tane maki (Seeding)
12. Hato poppo (Pigeons)
13. Komori uta (Lullaby)
14. O-ningyō (Dolls)
15. O-shō-gatsu (New year’s day)
16. Densha gokko (Playing train)
17. Karasu (Crows – mother and seven chicks)
18. Heitai gokko (Playing soldiers)
19. Hikōki (Airplane)
20. Uguisu (Nightingale)

UTA NO HON, Vol.2. <Songs for 7-8 years old>

(Liturgical songs)

Kimi ga yo (The Reign of our Lord)

Kigensetsu (The National Foundation Day)

(Songs)

1. Haru ga kita (Spring has come)
2. Sakura, sakura (Cherry blossoms)
3. Kuni-biki (Country at a tug of war – Legend in *Shintoism*)
4. Gunkan (Warship)
5. Amefuri (A rainy day)
6. Hanabi (Fireworks)
7. Tanabata sama (Legend of Vega, the weaver star, and Altair, the cowherd star)
8. Usagi (Rabbit gazing the moon)
9. Nagai michi (A long, long road)
10. Asa no uta (Song for early morning)
11. Fuji no yama (Mount Fuji – mountain of god)
12. Kiku no hana (Chrysanthemum – the graceful national flower)
13. Kakekko (Running a race)
14. Takigi hiroi (Gathering firewood)
15. Omocha no sensha (Toy tunk)

16. Hane-tsuki (Japanese badminton)
17. Heitai-san (Soldiers)
18. Hinamatsuri (Doll festival)
19. Nihon (Japan – the country of god)
20. Hagoromo (Heavenly maiden's veil over Mount Fuji)

SHOTŌKA ONGAKU 1 <Songs for 8-9 year olds>

(Liturgical songs)

- Kimi ga yo (The Reign or our Lord)
 Chokugo hoto (Imperial Rescript and Reply to the Throne)
 Tenchō-setsu (The Imperial Birthday)
 Meiji-setsu (The Anniversary of the Birthday of the Emperor Meiji)
 Ichigatsu-tsuitachi (New Year's Day)
 Kigen-setsu (National Foundation Day)

(Songs)

1. Haru no ogawa (Spring stream or brook)
2. Koi-nobori (Carp streamer – Strong Japanese boy)
3. Ama no iwaya (Goddess of the sun and music – Shintoism legend)
4. Yama no uta (Song for mountains)
5. Taue (Rice-planting for the sake of the country)
6. Nawa-tobi (Skipping rope)
7. Kodomo yaoya (Little greengrocer – Helping mother while father is away)
8. Gunken *Tōnē* (Military dog, *Tōnē*)
9. Aki (Autumn)
10. Ine-kari (Rice reaping)
11. Mura-matsuri (Autumn festival in the village)
12. Nogiku (Wild chrysanthemum)
13. Tajimamori (Faithful hero returns over the ocean)
14. Sen-sui-kan (submarine)
15. Mochi-tsuki (Rice-cake making)
16. Gunki (Ensign)
17. Temari uta (Thread ball song)
18. Yukigassen (Snowball battle)
19. Ume no hana (Plum blossoms)
20. Sanyūshi (The brave three)

SHOTŌKA ONGAKU 2 <Songs for 9-10 year olds>

(Liturgical songs)

- Kimi ga yo (The Reign or our Lord)
 Chokugo hoto (Imperial Rescript and Reply to the Throne)
 Tenchō-setsu (The Imperial Birthday)
 Meiji-setsu (The Anniversary of the Birthday of the Emperor Meiji)
 Ichigatsu-tsuitachi (New Year's Day)
 Kigen-setsu (National Foundation Day)

(Songs)

1. Haru no umi (Spring ocean)
2. Sagyō no uta (Work song)
3. Wakaba (Fresh green leaves)
4. Kikai (Machines)

5. Chihaya-jō (Castle Chihaya – loyalty and battle)
6. Noguchi Hideyo (Dr. Hideyo Noguchi – Bacteriologist and physician)
7. Sui-ei no uta (Swimming song)
8. Yamada Nagamasa (Mr. Nagamasa Yamada - Japanese Warrior and Merchant in Early Seventeenth-Century Siam)
9. Àoi sora (Blue sky)
10. Fune wa hofune yo (Sailing boat – Japanese town in Thai)
11. Yasukuni jinja (*Yasukuni* shrine dedicated to the spirits of those who died for the motherland)
12. Mura no kajiya (Blacksmith in the village)
13. Hiyodori-goè (Over *Hiyodori* pass – Battle of *Genji* and *Hèikè*)
14. Nyūèi (Entering the army)
15. Guraidâ (Hang glider)
16. Kitaèru ashi (Train your legs)
17. Kazòè uta (Counting song)
18. Hirose Chūsa (Colonel Hirose)
19. Shōnen sensha-hèi (Youth tankers)
20. Mugon no gaisen (Triumphal return in silence)

SHOTŌKA ONGAKU 3 <Songs for 10-11 year olds>

(Liturgical songs)

Kimi ga yo (The Reign or our Lord)

Chokugo hoto (Imperial Rescript and Reply to the Throne)

Tenchō-setsu (The Imperial Birthday)

Meiji-setsu (The Anniversary of the Birthday of the Emperor Meiji)

Ichigatsu-tsuitachi (New Year's Day)

Kigen-setsu (National Foundation Day)

Shōken kōtāigō gyosei³¹⁴ (Her majesty's poem)

(Songs)

1. Chōtāi no uta (Song for morning training)
2. Ōyahio (The land born from god)
3. Chūreitō (Memorial to fallen heroes)
4. Sekidō koè-te (Beyond the equator – the Great East Asia)
5. Inè-kari (Rise-reaping)
6. Umi (Ocean)
7. Senyū (Fellow soldier)
8. Yōsukō (The Yangtze River)
9. Daitōa (The Great East Asia)
10. Makiba no asa (Morning in a pasture)
11. Shōtoku Tāishi (Prince Shōtoku)
12. Tachibana Chūsa (Colonel Tachibana)
13. Aki no uta (Song for autumn)
14. Hogèi-sen (A whaler)
15. Tokubetsu kōgeki t'ai (Special attack unit – Kamikaze)
16. Haha no uta (Song for mother – strength of the country)
17. Fuyugeshiki (Winter scene)
18. Shōnankō (Kusunoki Masatsura – Departure of a warrior) 小楠公
19. Hakui no tsutome (Mission in white uniform – Youth nurses)
20. Momoyama (Momoyama – The Great East Asia)

³¹⁴ 昭憲皇太后御製 (Shōken-Kōtāigō-gyosei): Honoured Creation by Empress Shōken.

SHOTŌKA ONGAKU 4 <Songs for 11-12 year olds>

(Liturgical songs)

Kimi ga yo (The Reign or our Lord)

Chokugo hoto (Imperial Rescript and Reply to the Throne)

Tenchō-setsu (The Imperial Birthday)

Meiji-setsu (The Anniversary of the Birthday of the Emperor Meiji)

Ichigatsu-tsuitachi (New Year's Day)

Kigen-setsu (National Foundation Day)

Meiji Ten'nō gyzosei ³¹⁵(His majesty's poem)

(Songs)

1. Shikishima³¹⁶ no (Japanese spirit)
2. Oboro-zukiyo (Hazy moonlight)
3. Anè (My sister has gone – marrying into another family)
4. Nihon-kài Kàisen (Battle in the Japan sea)
5. Harema (A lull in a rain)
6. Shiki no amè (Rain of four seasons)
7. Wàrè wa umi no ko (Child of the ocean – protect the country)
8. Manshū no hirono (Vast plains of Manchuria)
9. Hatsukuni³¹⁷ no uta (Song for establishing the Great East Asia)
10. Tàiren no uta (Song for the strength)
11. Rakkasan butài (Parachute unit)
12. Kokumin wàrè (I as a citizen of the country)
13. Watari-dori (A bird of passage)
14. Funàdè (Naval departure – the ocean of Great East Asia)
15. Kamakura (Kamakura city – 700 years history of warriors)
16. Shōnen sangyō hēishi (Youth industrial soldiers)
17. Sukii (Ski)
18. Suishièi³¹⁸ no kaiken (Meeting at Suishièi – Russo-Japanese War)
19. Sōshun (Early spring)
20. Nihon tō (Japanese sword)

³¹⁵ 明治天皇御製 (Meiji-Ten'nō gyosei): Honoured Creation by Emperor Meiji.

³¹⁶ 敷島 (*shikishima*) refers to the land of Japan.

³¹⁷ 肇国 (*keikoku*) refers to the creation of the land of Japan by the gods.

³¹⁸ 水師營 (*Suishiei*) is the location of a battlefield.

Appendix 17: A song from ウタノホン(Uta no Hon: Official Educational Songbook for Children of age 6-7 at Primary School), vol.1.

兵タイゴッコ (Playing soldiers)

- カタカタ、カタカタ、パンポン、パンポン、兵タイゴッコ
 kata-kata / kata-kata / pan-pon / pan-pon / hêtài-gokko
 (Onomatopoeia) *Playing soldiers*

カタカタ、カタカタ、パンポン、パンポン、ボクラハ ツヨイ
 kata-kata / kata-kata / pan-pon / pan-pon / bokura wa tsuyòì
 (Onomatopoeia) *we are strong*
- カタカタ、カタカタ、パンポン、パンポン、ススメヨ ススメ
 kata-kata / kata-kata / pan-pon / pan-pon / susume-yo susume
 (Onomatopoeia) *Forward! Forward!*

カタカタ、カタカタ、パンポン、パンポン、テキ兵ハ ニゲル
 kata-kata / kata-kata / pan-pon / pan-pon / teki-hèi wa nigeru
 (Onomatopoeia) *enemy soldiers run away*

A song from ウタノホン(UTA NO HON: Official Educational Songbook for Children of age 7-8 at Primary School), vol.2.

軍かん Gùnkān (Warship)

- 行け、行け、軍かん。日本の 國の まはりは、みんな海。
 Ikè / ikè / gùnkān / Nihon'no / kuni no / mawari wa / min'na umi
 Go, go warship. Japan has ocean on every side.

海の大なみ こえて 行け。
 umi no ònāmi koètè ike
 Go warship over the big waves.
- 行け、行け、軍かん。日本の 國の 光を 何千り、
 Ikè ikè gùnkān Nihon no kuni no hikari wo nanzenri
 Go, go warship. Across thousand miles, let the divine light of Japan

海のはてまで かがやかせ
 umi no hàtè made kàgàyàkàse!
 Shine over the oceans to the farthest shore!

兵たいさん Hèi-tài'san (Soldiers)

- てっぽう かついだ 兵たいさん、足並み そろへて あるいてる。
 Teppō / katsui-da / hêtài-san / ashinami / soroè-te / arui-tè-ru
 Carrying guns on their shoulders, soldiers march in unison.

とつとこ、とつとこ、あるいてる、兵たいさんは、勇ましい。
 Tottoko / tottoko / arui-tè-ru / hêtài-san wa / isàmāshii.
 (Onomatopoeia) marching soldiers, how brave they are.

2. おうまに乗った 兵たいさん。砂を けたてて かけて来る。
O-uma ni notta / hêtài-san / suna wo / kètâtè-te / kàkè-tè-kuru
On a hoarseback soldiers come up, kicking up sand.

ぱっぱか、ぱっぱか、かけて来る。兵たいさんは、勇ましい。
Pappàka / pappàka / kàkè-tè-kuru / hêtài-san wa / isàmashii.
(Onomatopoeia) hoarse-riding soldiers, how brave they are.

日本 Nihon (Japan)

1. 日本 よい 國、きよい 國。世界に 一つの 神の 國。
Nihon / yoi kuni / kiyoi kuni / sekai ni / hitotsu no / kami no kuni
Japan, the good country, pure country. The country of god, the only one in the world.
2. 日本 よい 國、強い 國。世界に かがやく えらい 國。
Nihon / yoi kuni / tsuyoi kuni / sekai ni / kagayaku / erai kuni
Japan, the good country, strong country. It gives light to the world, such an admirable country

初等科音楽一 Shotōka Ongaku I (Elementary school Music Book Vol.1 for 8-9 year olds)

三勇士 Sanyūshi (The Brave Three)

1. 大君のため、國のため、わらってたつた 三勇士。
Ōkimi no tàmè / kuni no tàmè / warattè tatta / sanyūshi
To serve our lord and our country, the warriors departed with a hint of smile, Oh, the bravest three.
2. 鐵條網も、トーチカも、なんのものかは、破壊筒。
Tetsujōmō mo / tōchika mo / nanno mono ka wa / hākai-tō
Neither the wire entanglements nor the Russian tochka can stop them and their demoliton tube !
3. その身は玉と くだけても、ほまれは残る、廟巷鎮。
Sonomi wa tama to / kudakè-tè-mo / homarè wa nokoru / Byōkōchin
Their flesh scattered like precious jewels, but their honour remains eternally, Ah, the story of Byōkōchin³¹⁹.

³¹⁹ Miaoxingzhen (廟行鎮): Location of the battlefield.

Appendix 18: *Nikudan-sanyūshi-jiken* (肉弾三勇士爆死事件 : Three brave suicide bombers incident)

The background of the song for ‘*Nikudan-sanyūshi*’ is supplied below. ‘*Nikudan-sanyūshi*’ literally means ‘Flesh-gunball-three-brave-warriors’ (what today would be called suicide bombers) and this expression was newly forged in the wake of the incident in order to justify the manner in which the soldiers died. Another commonly used name for the same soldiers is ‘*Bakudan-sanyūshi* (three-brave-warriors)’, which may be an attempt to reduce the tone of the graphic description. The following text is a translation of an excerpt from a Japanese History Reference Book, 日本近現代史事典編集委員会.

Nikudan-sanyūshi

The suicidal attack carried out by three soldiers named ‘the brave three of flesh gunballs’, was also known as ‘the brave three of the bomb’. Soon after the Manchuria incident which led to the 15 years War (WWII), this incident happened during the battle near Shanghai, *Byōkōchin* (Miaoxingzhen) in China. In order to break through the Chinese barricade, a special order was given to No.18 engineer unit, and 36 men proceeded in a hail of bullets, carrying improvised large pipe bombs. Three soldiers, Sakue Inosuke, Kitagawa Susumu, and Eshita Takeji in particular, burst through the barricade with a pipe bomb lit. These three died in a huge explosion, and the barricade was destroyed leaving the way for the Japanese to rush through. This incident made the tide of war turn in favour of the Japanese. Thus, although it is now said that the incident of ‘the brave three’ was, in fact, an accident, the Japanese Army Head Quarters proclaimed this as a ‘self-explosion with resolution’, i.e. suicidal attack, and furthermore, these three were made out to be ‘gods of war’. Then the media conducted a massive campaign on ‘the brave three flesh bombers’, and succeeded in raising war fever. Military songs were also composed on this theme, and money was raised for the bereaved. This theme became the most popular subject of radio and theatrical plays, films, story-tellers, magazine articles, and so on.

‘The brave trio’, *Nihon Kin-Gendaishi Jiten Henshū Iinkai* 1978: 491.

Appendix 19 : Commercially-created song for ‘The Brave Three’ (肉弾三勇士、長田幹彦作詞、中山晋平作曲 報知新聞篇)

1. 廟巷鎮の 夜は明けて 残月西に 傾けば
Byōkōchin no / yo wa ake-te / zangetsu nishi ni / katamuke-ba
Here comes the dawn at Byōkōchin. The pale morning moon leans towards the east.

時こそ 今と 決死隊 敵陣深く 潜入す
Toki koso / ima to / kesshi-tai / tekijin fukaku / sennyu-su
‘The hour has come’, the suicide squad sneaks into the enemy’s camp.
2. あの塹壕を 破らずば わが工兵の 恥なるぞ
Ano zango wo / yaburazu ba / waga kohei no / haji naru zo
If we fail to break that trench, we will disgrace our engineering unit

任務は重し 國のため 捨つるは易し この生命
ninmu wa omoshi / kuni no tame / sutsuru wa yasushi / kono inochi
Serious mission. ‘If, for our country, why shan’t it be easy to sacrifice my life’.
3. 火を吐く敵の 機関銃 斃れし友を 踏み越えて
Hi wo haku teki no / kikanju / tareshi tomo wo / fumi-koe-te
Through the fire of the enemy’s machine guns, stepping over fallen comrades,

剛勇三十六勇士 爆発の部署に 奮進す
Goyu sanjuroku yushi / bakuhatsu no busho ni / funshin-su
The fearless 36 men, keep pushing forward to the position of the explosion.
4. 作江、北川、江下は 筑紫の誉 健男児
Sakue / Kitagawa / Enoshi wa / Chikushi no homare / kendanji
Sakue, Kitagawa, and Enoshita are, the pride of Chikushi (province), the men of the men.

覚悟は堅し これ迄と 最後の死地に 衝いて入る
Kakugo wa katashi / kore made to / saigo no shichi ni / tsui-te iru
‘This is the end’ so with firm determination, the trio advanced to where they would meet their end.
5. 敵前ついに 九メートル 爆発筒を 抱きしめ
Tekizen tsui ni / kyū metoru / bakuhatsu to wo / idaki shime
Finally, reaching nine metres to the enemy’s front, the men hold the bomb tight in their arms,

鐵條網へ 踊り込み 身をもて開く 突撃路
tetsujomo e / odori-komi / mi wo mote hiraku / totsugekiro
They rush into the barbed wire barricade, making the breach at the cost of their lives.
6. 地軸も裂くる 爆音に 五体は土と 砕けても
Chijiku mo sakuru / bakuon ni / gotai wa tsuchi to / kudake-te-mo
At the earth-shattering explosion, their flesh was torn and scattered into the earth.

遺烈は永遠に 輝きて 護国の神と 仰がれん
Iretsu wa towa ni / kagayaki-te / gokoku no kami to / aogaren
Yet, their distinguished services shall shine forever, and they shall be revered as war gods, the saviours of our land.

Appendix 20: Shotōka Ongaku 2 (初等科音楽二: Primary School Music Book, Vol.2 for 9-10 year olds)

無言のがいせん Mugon no gaisen (Triumphal Return in Silence)

1. 雲山万里を かけめぐり、敵を破った おちさんが、
 Unzan-banri wo / kake-meguri / teki wo yabutta / ojisan ga
Racing through the vast plains, he defeated our enemy, our victorious uncle.

 今日は無言で 帰られた。
 Kyo wa mugon de / kaerare-ta
He came home today in silence.

2. 無言の 勇士の がいせんに、梅のかをりが 身にしみる。
 Mugon no yushi no / gaisen ni / ume no kaori ga / mi ni shimiru
At the triumphal return of our silent hero, the fragrance of plum blossoms soaks into my heart.

 みんなは無言で おじぎした。
 Minna wa / mugon de / ojigi shita/
Everyone bowed down in silence.

3. み國の使命に ぼくたちも、やがて働く 日が来たら、
 Mikuni no shimei ni / bokutachi mo / yagate hataraku / hi ga kitara
One day our time to serve our country will come

 おちさん、あなたが 手本です。
 Oji-san / anata ga / tehon desu
Then, dear uncle, we/I shall follow your example.

Appendix 21: Shotōka Ongaku 3 (初等科音楽三: Primary School Music Book, Vol.2 for 10-11 year olds)

特別攻撃隊 Tokubetsu kogeki tai (Special attack squad: *Kamikaze*)

1. 一挙にだけ、敵主力。待ちしはこの日、この時と。
Ikkyo ni kudake / teki shuryoku / machishi wa kono hi / kono toki to
Smash the enemy's capital ship at a blow. Today, this moment has been long awaited.

怒濤の底を 矢のごとく、死地に乗り入る、艇五隻。
Doto no soko wo / ya no gotoku / shichi ni noriiru / tei go-seki
From the bottom of the raging billow, five ships came to meet their end.

2. 朝風切りて、友軍機。おそふと見るや、もろともに
Asakaze kiri-te / yugunki / osou to miru-ya / morotomo ni
Cutting the morning breeze, our force flies. Give no time to the enemy to attack our comrades.

巨艦の列へ射て放つ、魚雷に高し、波がしら。
Kyokan no retsu e / i-te-hanatsu / gyorai ni takashi / namigashira
Open fire on the line of enemy's gigantic ships. At the explosion of our torpedo a wave crest rises high.

3. 爆音、天を とよもせば、潮も 湧けり 真珠湾。
Bakuon ten wo / toyomose ba / shio mo wakeri / shinju-wan
The sky echoes to the roaring explosion, the current whips up at Pearl Harbour.

火柱あげて つぎつぎに 敵の大艦、沈みゆく。
Hibashira age-te / tsugi-tsugi ni / teki no taikan / shizumi-yuku
Shooting up fire-pillars, one after another, gigantic enemy ships sink into the deep.

4. 昼間はひそみ、月の出に ふたたびほふる 敵巨艦。
Hiruma wa hisomi / tsuki no de ni / futatabi hofuru / teki kyokan
Lurk during the day, then with a rising moon, we vanquish the enemy's gigantic ships

襲撃まさに 成功と、心しづかに 打つ無電。
Shugeki masani / Seiko to / kokoro shizukani / utsu muden
'The attack was a great success', so sending a telegram with a serene heart.

5. ああ、大東亜聖戦に、みづくかばねと誓ひつつ、
Aa Daitoa-seisen ni / mizuku kabane to / chikai-tsutsu
Ah, heroes of the Greater East Asian Holy War! Vowing before the Emperor to dedicate their lives to this sacred mission,

さきがけ散りし、若櫻。仰げ、特別攻撃隊。
Sakigake chirishi / waka-zakura
The young cherry blossoms have gone to lead the way. Let us venerate our 'Special Attack Unit (Kamikaze)'

Appendix 21: Kokumin-gakkō-rei Sekōkisoku Dai-ichi-shō (kyōiku oyobi hense) no Dai-ichi-setsu (Sōsoku) Dai-ichi-jō

<Japanese Original>

<p>昭和 16 年文部省令第四号、国民学校令施行規則</p> <p>第一章(教則及編成)の第一節(総則)第 1 条</p> <p>1941 Ministry of Education Ordinance No.4, National Elementary School Order Implementation Rules.</p> <p>Chapter 1 (Rules of Teaching and Organisation), Section 1 (General Provisions), Article 1.</p>
<p>一. 教育ニ関スル勅語ノ旨趣ヲ奉体シテ教育ノ全般ニ亘リ皇国ノ道ヲ修練セシメ特ニ国体ニ対スル信念ヲ深カラシムベシ、</p>
<p>二. 国民生活ニ必須ナル普通ノ知識技能ヲ体得セシメ構操ヲ醇化シ健全ナル心身ノ育成ニカムベシ。</p>
<p>三. 我が国文化ノ特質ヲ明ナラシムルト共ニ東亜及世界ノ大勢ニ付テ知ラシメ皇国ノ地位ト使命トノ自覚ニ導キ大国民タルノ資費ヲ啓培スルニカムベシ。</p>
<p>四. 心身ヲ一体トシテ教育シ教授，訓練，養護ノ分離ヲ避クベシ。</p>
<p>五. 各教科並ニ科目ハ其ノ特色ヲ發揮セシムルト共ニ相互ノ関連ヲ緊密ナラシメ之ヲ国民鍊成ノ一途ニ帰セシムベシ。</p>
<p>六. 議式，学校行事等ヲ重ンジ之ヲ教科ト併セ一体トシテ教育ノ実ヲ挙グルニカムベシ。</p>
<p>七. 家庭及社会トノ連絡ヲ緊密ニシテ児童，教育ヲ全カラシムルニカムベシ。</p>
<p>八. 教育ヲ国民ノ生活ニ即シテ具体的實際的ナラシムルニカムベシ。</p>
<p>九. 児童ノ心身ノ発達ニ留意シ，男女ノ特性，個性，環境等ヲ顧慮シテ適切ナル教育ヲ施スベシ。</p>
<p>十. 児童ノ興味ヲ喚起シ自修ノ習慣ヲ養フニカムベシ。</p>

Appendix 23 A song by Sato Genji, Seargent of the army of the Empire of Japan

佐藤源治陸軍曹長 昭和23年9月22日 ジャワ島ツビナンにて法務死（BC級戦 犯として処刑死） 岩手県出身 32歳	Seargent Sato was shot to death as a war criminal at a Dutch Court Martial in Java on 22 September 1948. He was born in Iwate prefecture. He was 32 years old.
【僕は唱歌が下手でした】	[I was a terrible singer of Shōka]
一、僕は唱歌が下手でした	1. I could not sing Shōka well.
通信簿の乙一つ	Got C on my school record card.
いまいましさに 人知れず	Frustrated and angry, I secretly,
お稽古すると 母さんが	Practiced singing, and my mother,
優しく教へてくれました	Used to teach me, lovingly.
二、きょうだいみんな 下手でした。	2. My siblings were terrible singers, too.
僕も 弟も 妹も	Me, my brother, and my little sister,
唱歌の時間は 泣きながら	We used to cry in the Shōka classes,
歌へば皆も 先生も	As we tried hard to sing, the teacher
笑って「止め」と言ひました	Laughed and said, 'stop, stop'.
三、故郷を出てから12年	3. It's been 12 years since I left home.
冷たい風の 獄の窓	Cold wind comes into the prison cell.
虫の音聞いて 月を見て	In the moon light crickets are crying
母さん恋しと 歌ったら	I sing a song of longing for you, mum,
皆が 泣いて 聞きました	Others are listening, and sob quietly.
四、僕のこの歌 聞いたなら	4. If you hear my singing now
頬すり寄せて 抱き寄せて	You would cuddle me up and say;
「上手になった良い子だ」と	'You have done very well, my dear'
賞めて下さる ことでせう	You would be pleased with me then.