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Čínsky znak na obálke znamenajúci 'východ', pochádzajúci od Liu Xie 劉泮 (1781–1840), bol vyrytý do nefritu podľa vzoru zo začiatku nášho letopočtu. · The Chinese character with the meaning 'east' employed on the cover is cut as a seal by Liu Xie, on the basis of models from the beginning of our era.

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On the Nature of Zero-Meaning Sinograms: Typology and Thematic Classification

Martina JEMELKOVÁ

Abstract In pleremic writing systems, which also include contemporary Chinese, pronunciation and meaning are associated with a single grapheme. Every system however contains exceptions that disrupt its integrity. “Zero-meaning sinograms” are such an existing paradox within their own system. Although they are graphemes that represent a syllable, they do not constitute an independent meaningful unit. This paper aims to shed light on the problematic perception of zero-meaning sinograms. Based on corpus-driven analysis, this paper intends to illustrate distinctive features of zero-meaning sinograms in relation to their ability to derive new lexemes and consequently, to their compatibility with other sinograms. The second purpose of this study is to suggest a classification system that reflects the distribution of zero-meaning sinograms within standard contemporary lexicon, and thus provide a comprehensive view on this widely overlooked topic.

Keywords Chinese writing system, modern grammatology, zero-meaning sinogram, *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian*, morpheme

Introduction

The smallest, and therefore further indivisible, meaningful linguistic unit in any language is represented by a morpheme. It acts as a minimal unit of lexical or grammatical meaning and as a structural element in the formation of separate semantic clusters of different sizes. In a pleremic writing system, which is also used to record contemporary standard Chinese (Coulmas 2003, 198), morphemes often overlap the grapheme-syllable boundary and are therefore much easier to define. There are not all that many exceptions to the rule mentioned above, but there does exist a group of sinograms that do not embody a morpheme on their own, although they are acknowledged as graphemes representing a sound. In this

particular case, we are talking about the so-called *wúyìzì* 无义字 “zero-meaning sinograms”¹ (abbr. zm-sinograms).² Although this paradox has been pointed out across various theoretical works, too little space has been devoted to their typological characteristics, let alone their distribution in the current standard vocabulary.

The first section of this text focuses on describing the form of organization of the mutual relationship between morpheme and sinogram,³ which will help us to place this topic in a broader context. The main aim of this paper is to compile a corpus of zm-sinograms and analyse their typology in a synchrony-oriented approach, relying mainly on the inventory of the seventh edition of *Xiàndài Hànyǔ cídiǎn* 现代汉语词典 (*The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*; abbr. XHC) for the corpus. The next part of the text will focus on explaining the distribution of these atypical sinograms within the standard vocabulary. The analysis of the thematic scope will be concluded by proposing a classification model that will provide a more coherent picture of which layers of the lexicon they may cover.

I *Theoretical Framework*

Morphologically, sinograms can be divided into sinograms called *císù zì* 词素字, which can form only an immediate constituent of a word, i.e., a morpheme, and sinograms called *cízì* 词字, which are also a word. Zhou (2000, 245) claims that most of the frequently used sinograms can express only morphemes, not the whole word. However, he does not elaborate on possible exceptions. It is important to

1 I am following Tereza Slaměniková (2019, 220) and her English translation of Ma Xianbin’s (2013, 115) term *wúyìzì* 无义字. Nevertheless, I prefer to use the term “sinogram” instead of “character” as a way of referring to Chinese graphemes. Other Chinese names for zm-sinograms are *wúyì hànzi* 无意汉字 (Miao 2010), *wúyì hànzi* 无义汉字 (Li 2010; Jiang 2010), *fēi yīnjié yǔsù* 非音节语素 (Yang 2010, 87).

2 The abbreviation is inspired by Andreas Guder (1999) and his way of labeling phonetically and semantically motivated components of sinograms: F-Komponente and S-Komponente.

3 For early classifications of the sinograms, see, e.g., Ye and Benická 2022.

mention that *zì* 字 is used as a cover term for all types of sinograms, and existed before Chinese linguists adapted the concept of “morphemes” *yǔsù* 语素 or *cí* 词素 (Yang 2010, 3). This substitution of terms allows us to explain the perplexing situation more efficiently, although the mutual relationship between sinogram and morpheme needs to be clarified before we get to the heart of the issue.

Roughly speaking, a morpheme could be described as “the linguistic referent of a graphic symbol” (Vochala 1968, 117). In other words, a sinogram is *jìlùzhě* 记录者 or *biǎoxiànzhě* 表现者 “significant”, whereas a morpheme is *bèi jìlùzhě* 被记录者 or *bèi biǎoxiànzhě* 被表现者 “signifier” (Miao 2010). Considering the fact that a morpheme is the smallest meaningful linguistic unit, it is possible for a single morpheme to be acknowledged as a word (Spencer 1991, 5). Its boundaries are much easier to define in Chinese than, for example, in the Czech language, where even a single letter can be considered a separate morpheme. Monosyllabicity is an undeniable characteristic feature of Chinese morphemes. And thus, the vast majority of them are equivalent to a single grapheme at the graphical level, which corresponds to a syllable at the phonological level (Yang 2010, 33). With respect to this, sinograms are seen by many linguists as representatives of a logographic, morphographic,⁴ or morphosyllabic⁵ writing system. However, it is not true that this model, i.e., sinogram equals morpheme, is applicable to all existing graphemes throughout the contemporary lexicon. Qian (1995, 420-422), and later also Miao (2010), mention a total of eight possible forms of sinogram–morpheme equivalence. Probably the most widespread are cases where the sinogram directly corresponds to a morpheme with one or multiple meanings. For example, *niú* 牛 means “cattle”; and *fǎng* 访 means “to inquire” as well as “to visit”. There are also quite a few examples where a single sinogram resembles more than one morpheme, e.g., *guǒ* 果 in *shuǐguǒ* 水果 “fruit”, *guǒduàn* 果断 “resolute, decisive”, and *guǒzhēn* 果真 “really, as expected” (Qian 1995, 420-421).

In contrast, there are relatively frequent cases where a linguistic unit with an inherent lexical or grammatical meaning is written using more than just a single sinogram. Apart from *érhuà yīn* 儿化音 “erization”, which is recognized as a

4 I.e., *yǔsù wénzì* 语素文字 (Feng 2011; Miao 2010).

5 This term was originally established by John DeFrancis (1984). At present even Chinese linguists, such as Yang Xipeng (2010), have adapted this concept, and they refer to the Chinese script with the term *yīnjié-yǔsù wénzì* 音节—语素文字.

subsyllabic morpheme, zm-sinograms also show a certain discrepancy with the above relatively simple theory about the nature of Chinese morphemes.

According to Miao (2010, 148) and Ma (2013, 115), zm-sinograms cannot convey any meaning on their own. However, they are written using a single grapheme that also corresponds to a syllable at the phonological level. Ma (2013) states that in order for a zm-sinogram to transmit semantic information, it needs at least one additional sinogram to be attached. This implies that these sinograms represent only part of a morpheme, and thus can construct so-called simple monomorphemic polysyllabic words (Kratochvil 1970, 65). Handel (2019, 33) adds to this note that “these characters cannot however be considered purely phonographic syllabograms, since each is restricted in use to a specific lexical item—they are, in other words, morphemically contingent”. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say how many of these unique sinograms are in use in contemporary Chinese. Across various linguistic studies, probably *shuāng yīnjié dānchúncí* 双音节单纯词 “simple monomorphemic disyllabic words”, alongside with phonetic loans and ideophones, are highlighted as the only polysyllabic structures in which zm-sinograms can occur. The former group is more often referred to as *liánmiàncí* 联绵词 “lianmian words”.⁶ As I will try to demonstrate in this text, the situation is far more complicated and requires a different approach than just seeking for the phonoaesthetic qualities of disyllabic structures.

As explained by Boltz (2017), Kratochvil (1970), Miao (2010), Uher (2013), or Zádrapa (2009), the polysyllabic monomorphemic words can be divided into two major groups. The first group consists of the already mentioned lianmian words, which can be further divided into *diéyùncí* 叠韵词 “rhyming structures”,⁷ *shuāngshēngcí* 双声词 “alliterative structures”,⁸ and structures without any traits of

6 Other possible translations of this term include: binome, two-syllable expression, linked expression (Boltz 2017), bisyllabic morpheme (Handel 2019; Zádrapa 2009), disyllabic morpheme (DeFrancis 1984 and 1989; Sproat 2000), compound, bisyllabic word (Uher 2013), or agglutinated juxtaposition (Yip 2007).

7 E.g., *xiāoyáo* 逍遥. Boltz (2017) further adds reduplicatives, e.g., *bīnbīn* 彬彬.

8 E.g., *línglóng* 玲珑.

phonological harmony.⁹ The second group also consists of two subgroups—phonetic loans of unknown origin, e.g., *pútāo* 葡萄 “grape (vine)”, and relatively recent phonetic loans, e.g., *shāfā* 沙发 “sofa” (Kratochvíl 1970, 65). Although lianmian words and phonetic loans represent essentially rigid structures in which each syllable is considered semantically empty, they are not a conjunction of two or more zm-sinograms in a clear sense. For instance, sinograms contained in *shāfā* 沙发 are both capable of conveying their own meaning outside of this specific structure. This is in general applicable to all phonetic loans, which have entered Chinese quite recently. In a strict sense, a zm-sinogram is unable to express any meaning when standing alone.

In accordance with Ma (2013, 113-115) and his relatively brief classification of zm-sinograms,¹⁰ most of these unique graphemes can be found in biological nomenclature or in mineral names. His list is unfortunately far from being complete. Considering what is already mentioned above, the question arises as to how many zm-sinograms occur in the standard non-specialized vocabulary, i.e., what is the actual thematic scope of polysyllabic structures in which they can be applied as subcomponents? In theoretical works that focus on the Chinese lexicon and Chinese script in a broader sense, most mention only lianmian words. This may lead us, however, to mistakenly assume that every sinogram within them is considered semantically empty,¹¹ and also that these atypical linguistic units can only constitute disyllabic compounds. To be able to answer all these questions and to put the addressed subjects in a broader context, it is necessary to analyse a larger representative sample of the currently used standard lexicon, which is to a certain extent reflected in normative dictionaries.

9 E.g., *búdié* 蝴蝶.

10 For some additional examples, see Sproat 2000, 149-150.

11 Standard Chinese dictionaries also do not specify if a particular disyllabic compound is considered to be a lianmian word. Needless to say, only a handful of native speakers are fully aware of this fact.

2 Research Approach

Boltz's (2017, 299-304) classification of *lianmian* words occurring in Classical Chinese inspired me to introduce the term “polynomial” as a general name for a multisyllabic structure which contains at least one *zm*-sinogram. Based on the total number of sinograms within the structure, they can be further sorted into binomes,¹² trinomes, and quadrinomes. In this text, the *zm*-sinograms within the same polysyllabic structure will be distinguished from the surrounding meaningful ones by a frame, e.g., *gēbo* 胳膊 “(human) arm”, whereby a conjunction of two or more *zm*-sinograms is entirely enclosed, e.g., *máotáo* 酩酊 “blind drunk”.

The source of the primary corpus is the latest edition of *XHC* published in 2016. *Zm*-sinograms are tagged in this dictionary based on whether they are in the initial position, at the end, or in the middle of a polysyllabic structure. In the first case, the header consists of a grapheme and its pronunciation, e.g., *bō* 玻, and a reference line *jiàn xià* 见下 “see below” (*XHC* 2016, 98). Below the line are examples starting with the given sinogram, such as *bōli* 玻璃, *bōligāng* 玻璃钢, or *bōlisi* 玻璃丝. In other circumstances, the polynomial containing a *zm*-sinogram occurs together with a reference to the corresponding page, e.g., *XHC* 2016, 446: “鸚 *gēng* 见 127 页 【鸚】”. Although *XHC* provides more examples of words containing sinograms other than *Xīnbuá zìdiǎn* 新华字典 (*Xinbua Dictionary*; abbr. *XZ*), for the *zm*-sinograms occurring at the initial position, the editors of *XHC* do not further list other structures in which these *zm*-sinograms may occur in a different position. The excerpted data were therefore verified with the twelfth edition of *XZ* (2020) and then translated into English using the Chinese-English edition of the same dictionary (2021) and the Chinese-English edition of *XHC* (2002). Disputed cases were also searched through *Wenlin Software* (ver. 4.3.2, 2016) and the *BCC Corpus*.

In the context of the stated objectives, some layers of lexicon, i.e., dialectisms, colloquial expressions, archaisms, sinograms used for transliteration (*yìyīn yòngzì* 译音用字), ideophones, and proper nouns, were excluded from the analysis. Thus,

¹² Whether my proposed term is appropriate in relation to Boltz's usage of it as a synonym for *lianmian* words, I leave as an open topic for any possible discussion.

the final form of the proposed classification system would be significantly affected by the diversity of corpus items. Another issue was the excessive amount of polyphonic sinograms, with a relative frequency of approximately 20% within the analysed material. Most of them had two pronunciations, and in order not to burden the classification model with multiple occurrences of the same grapheme, I decided to exclude those sinograms that are considered meaningful in at least one of their pronunciations. Applying this criterion reduced the homography rate by approximately 15%. Polynomials whose two or more components were included in the analysis were counted only once.

The corpus consists of 849 zm-sinograms in all, which in total constitute 943 polynomials: 905 binomes, 34 trinomes and 4 quadrinomes. The following chapters will first deal with the typological characteristics of polynomials and then with the thematic classification.

3 *Typological Characteristics*

The research corpus includes binomes of two major types. Type 1 binomes are binomes formed from two different sinograms, and Type 2 binomes are represented by complete reduplications.¹³ Type 1 binomes can be further divided into the following subtypes. Type 1_a includes structures made up of two zm-sinograms, for example, *pīli* 霹雳 “thunderbolt”, or *hǔpò* 琥珀 “amber”. Type 1_b contains structures composed of one zm-sinogram and one meaningful sinogram, e.g., *búdié* 蝴蝶 “butterfly”, *xīngsōng* 惺忪 “drowsy-eyed”, etc. The percental distribution is shown in Table 1.

13 The so-called “complete reduplications” refer to compositions of reduplicated zm-sinogram, e.g., *nǐnǐ* 蕤蕤, *xīnxīn* 忪忪 etc. In the research material, three binomes with a “partially reduplicated” structure occurred, namely: *lùlù* 辘辘, *yíyí* 移移, and *yìyì* 薏薏. Due to the fact that it is only a phonological, not a graphemic reduplication, these binomes were marked as Type 1_a and Type 1_b.

Table 1
Frequency of the binome types

Type	Absolute frequency	Percentage
Type 1 _a	430	47.51%
Type 1 _b	392	43.31%
Type 2	83	9.17%

T. Slaměňíková (2017, 180) points out that seventeen zm-sinograms indexed in the list of 2,500 most frequently used sinograms, i.e., *chángyòngzì* 常用字, rarely occur in more than one polynomial. After analysing all the zm-sinograms enlisted in the *XHC* and *XZ*, it was discovered that about seventy of them are subcomponents of two different polynomials, and only ten occur in three or four structures at most. These are namely *láng* 螂¹⁴ in binomes: *gèláng* 𧈧螂 “flea”, *qiāngláng* 螳螂 “dung beetle”, *tángráng* 螳螂 “mantis” and *zhāngláng* 蟑螂 “cockroach”; or *lěi* 磊 which occurs in binomes *kuǐlěi* 堆磊 “pile of stones”, *lěilěi* 磊磊 “<fml.> heap of stones” and *lěiluò* 磊落 “open and upright”. All of the above examples are part of the standard Chinese lexicon, according to the above-mentioned dictionaries.

An atypical example is represented by binomes with ambivalent structures. With only one exception, this situation applies exclusively to the conjunctions of two zm-sinograms. It is rather interesting that the meaning of these binomes, e.g., *liàngqiàng* 踉跄 “to stagger” and *qiàngliàng* 跄踉 “<fml.> to stagger”; or *cōnglóng* 葱茏 “verdant, lush” and *lóngcōng* 茏葱 “verdant, lush”, does not change significantly after interchanging the initial and final sinogram of the given structure.

For trinomes, only three possible patterns of the inner structure exist, all of which are presented in the analysed material. As the following examples illustrate, trinomes are usually written using two zm-sinograms (either two different sinograms or a reduplication of one) and one meaningful sinogram: *guāng'ānsuān* 胱氨酸 “cystine”, *gōulóubìng* 佝偻病 “rickets”, *gūgūtū* 萼萼葵 “follicle, flower bud”. Whereas binomes can be written with two different zm-sinograms, none of the

14 *láng* 螂 can also be found in the binome *mǎláng* 蚂螂 “<dial.> dragonfly”.

trinomes can be written this way, i.e., made up of three non-identical zm-sinograms.

In the case of quadrinomes, only two types of inner structure were identified: a duplicated zm-sinogram adjacent to a duplicated meaningful sinogram (e.g., *jīngjīngyèyè* 兢兢业业 “circumspect and conscientious”), and three meaningful sinograms followed by one zm-sinogram (e.g., *jíqū áoyá* 佶屈聱牙 “(of writing) twisted and convoluted”).

4 Thematic Classification

The categories of the presented classification system are based on shared features, which in this case is semantic relatedness. Since zm-sinograms do not carry any meaning themselves, the classification of the semantic scope was conducted by the polynomials they form. According to their first meaning¹⁵ given by the *XHC*, the corpus entries were further divided into five main thematic groups, namely: 1. Flora and fauna, 2. People and the human world, 3. General verbs and adjectives (not included in the previous and following categories), 4. Terrain and meteorology, and 5. Other.

4.1 Flora and fauna

As stated in previous chapters, zm-sinograms do reach relatively high-frequency values in terms of biological nomenclature, specifically in the names of animals and plants. The largest thematic subgroup includes various bamboo species: *cèzhú* 箒竹 “common bamboo”, *yúndāng* 筧筧 “<fml.> tall bamboo growing by the waterside”; fruit trees, especially citruses: *pènggān* 枳柑 “Ponkan Mandarin”, *wēnpō* 榲桲 “quince”; cereals: *kēmài* 稞麦 “highland barley”; or mushrooms: *fúling* 茯苓 “fuling”. A repetitive occurrence was also observed within representatives of regular and ornamental trees, shrubs, culinary herbs, and flowering plants, for example: *zhù má* 苧麻 “ramie”, *bíqí* 荸荠 “water chestnut”, *luólè* 萝芳 “basil”, *mǎlín* 马蔺 “Chinese small iris”. With the rest of the polynomials it is possible to refer to smaller parts of plants: *bèilèi* 蓓蕾 “(of flower) bud”, *bāozǐ* 孢子 “spore”; or to

15 If a degree symbol (°) precedes a given example, it means that this polynomial has more than one meaning assigned. See the following footnotes for details.

describe their abundant, luxuriant growth: *běngběng* 莽莽 “lush or luxuriant (vegetation)”, *wēiruí* 葳蕤 “luxuriant, lush”.

Compared with botanical terms, polynomials are only moderately distributed among the animal genera. From the collected data, it is more than clear that insects also form a significant part of the first category. This particular subgroup contains species from the Beetle order: *gèláng* 虻螂 “dung beetle”, *bānmáo* 斑蝥 “blister beetle”; the Lepidoptera order: *jiádié* 蛱蝶 “vanessid”, *húdié* 蝴蝶 “butterfly”; or centipedes: *yóuyán* 蚰蜒 “house centipede”, *wúgōng* 蜈蚣 “centipede”, etc. The zm-sinograms appear quite frequently in the names of mammals and birds. The most recurrent are domestic livestock, for example: *juétí* 驹蹄 “hinny”; deer: *huángjīng* 黄犍 “Chinese muntjac”, *tiānlù* 麇鹿 “fallow deer”; carnivorans: *límāo* 狸猫 “leopard cat”, *shēlǐ* 猞猁 “lynx” etc. As for birds, the most frequent species are passerines: *huánglí* 黄鹂 and *cānggēng* 鸬鹚 “oriole”; owls: *xiūliú* 休留 “collared owl”; or various kinds of water birds, for example, *yuānyāng* 鸳鸯 “mandarin duck”, *fěicù* 翡翠 “halcyon (a kind of kingfisher)”.¹⁶ Repetitive occurrence was also noted in the names of fish: *pángbǐ* 鲢鱼 “bitterling”, *qíqiū* 麒麟 “mahi-mahi, dolphinfish”; reptiles: *kuǐshé* 蝮蛇 “Russell’s viper”, *dàimào* 玳瑁 “hawksbill (turtle)”; amphibians: *gējì* 蛤蚧 “Gekko gecko”, *róngyuán* 蝾螈 “newt, salamander”; gastropods: *kuòyú* 蛞蝓 “slug”, *luósī* 螺蛳 “freshwater snail”; spiders: *xiāoshāo* 螞蟧 “a long-legged spider”, *zhīzhū* 蜘蛛 “spider”, and other less frequent animal species. Moreover, a fiber produced by an animal is included in the presented thematic group: *piāoxiǎo* 螵蛸 “mantis egg-case”; and a few descriptive adjectives associated with animals, mainly bird’s feathers, e.g., *bèbè* 鬻鬻 “<fml.> (of feather) white and smooth”, *péisāi* 毳毳 “<fml.> (of feathers) dishevelled, tousled”.

4.2 People and the human world

The research results revealed that zm-sinograms reach relatively high-frequency values in polynomials whose meaning is closely related to the human world and society. Within the presented thematic group, the following subgroups can be distinguished.

¹⁶ Also “jadeite—NaAl(Si₂O₆)” (XHC 2002, 562).

The largest subgroup consists of polynomials used for describing human nature: *zīyǔ* 恹 “<fml.> lazy, laziness”, *niǔmǐ* 忸怩 “bashful”; various kinds of emotions: *chàchǐ* 侘傺 “<fml.> frustrated or disappointed look”, *màosào* 戆戆 “<fml.> vexed”; or mental processes: *wánlán* 洩瀾 “<fml.> shed tears”, *tǎntè* 忐忑 “perturbed”, etc. Most of these expressions are related to an exaggerated condition of fear and worry. They may also characterize a person who lacks physical energy, is unhappy, or even suffers from a momentary or long-lasting state of emotional volatility. To a smaller extent, positively perceived emotions such as *sàshuǎng* 飒爽 “<fml.> valiant”, *kōngkōng* 空空 “<fml.> sincere, pure-hearted”; including polynomials that could describe someone’s graceful and elegant demeanour, e.g., *būqiào* 峭 “<fml.> (of bearing or writing) graceful, fine” or *bīnbīn* 彬彬 “<fml.> refined” were also observed in the research corpus.

Alongside the descriptive adjectives mentioned above, several expressions for objects and utensils made by people to ease or make a particular activity more effective, or simply for someone’s delight, also form a significant part of the second thematic group. The largest sectors represented are agriculture: *liùzǒu* 碌 “stone roller (used for threshing grains or levelling a threshing ground)”, *liánjiǎ* 撻 “flail”; fishing and hunting: *língxǐng* 簍 “bamboo basket (used for holding fish while angling)”, *zéměng* 舢舨 “<fml.> small boat”; or even equestrianism: *ānchàn* 鞍 “saddle and the cushion beneath it”. There are also musical instruments: *pípa* 琵琶 “pipa”, *tāngluó* 铙 “small brass gong”; various materials: *shùbè* 襖 “<fml.> dress made of coarse cloth”, *bōli* 玻璃 “glass”; daily use utensils: *juéhuǒ* 燭 “<fml.> torch”, *tiáozhōu* 帚 “whisk broom”; or toys: *fēngzhēng* 风筝 “kite”, all of which appear relatively frequently in this subgroup as well. The other subgroup contains some processed food and grocery items, e.g., *cíbā* 糍 “glutinous rice cake” or *gēzha* 烙渣 “bean flour cake cut into cubes, then fried in oil or stir-fried as a dish”.

The zm-sinograms are quite well spread across medical terminology. These are mostly terms for diseases: *huángdǎn* 黄疸 “jaundice”, *luǒli* 瘰癧 “scrofula, struma” or their symptoms and causes: *xúnmázhěn* 荨麻疹 “nettle rash”, *chìzòng* 瘈 “symptoms of convulsions in traditional Chinese medicine” etc. This subgroup includes human body parts and internal organs as well: *gāowán* 睾 “testis”, *kuāngǔ* 髌骨 “hipbone”, or *pángguāng* 膀胱 “urinary bladder”. Along with medicine, chemistry, especially inorganic, is also well represented in the corpus, e.g., *xiānjī* 酰基 “acyl”, *náosā* 砒砂 “ammonium chloride”.

In addition, zm-sinograms are used to write terms from social sciences such as religion: *guānyī* 皈依 “ceremony of initiating sb. as a Buddhist”; terms from architecture: *huánbù* 闾闾 “<fml.> street market”, *yāncōng* 烟囱 “chimney”; or polynomials whose meaning is related to marriage: *yīnyà* 姻娅 “<fml.> relatives by marriage”.

4.3 General verbs and adjectives

Verbs and adjectives that describe a state or an action implicitly, i.e., without further specifying their subject or object, represent approximately one-fifth of the research corpus. Nevertheless, their final absolute frequency will be slightly higher, since only those that are not listed in any of the previously defined thematic categories have been included here. According to the state or the action they express, these verbs and adjectives were divided into the following subgroups.

The frequent occurrence of zm-sinograms was noted for qualitative adjectives describing the external properties of different objects, i.e., those properties, that are simply visible or tangible. Among these are adjectives used for describing the colour or a gloss of a surface, e.g., *bānlán* 斑斓 “multicoloured”, *dǎn* 玳瑁 “<fml.> (of jewellery) brilliant”; or light intensity, e.g., *tóngtóng* 瞳瞳 “<fml.> brilliance of the rising sun”,¹⁷ *ménglóng* 朦胧 “(of moonlight) not bright, hazy”.¹⁸ Furthermore, this subgroup includes adjectives which refer to the condition of clothing, e.g., *lánlǚ* 褴褛 “tattered”.

Zm-sinograms are also widely used to write down adjectives with which various subjective states could be expressed. Most of them point to either permanent or temporary states of complexity: *wěibèi* 叵叵 “<fml.> tortuous”; instability: *wùniè* 兀隉 “<fml.> (of a situation, one’s mind, etc.) unsettled, unstable”; or even severity: *kǒngzǒng* 倥偬 “<fml.> (of matters) pressing, urgent”.¹⁹ In the same subgroup are also included somatic symptoms and somatic disorders,

17 Also “bright rising sun”; “(of eyes) glistening, flashing, glimmering” (XHC 2002, 1925).

18 Also “unclear, indistinct” (XZ 2021, 446).

19 Also “poverty-stricken, go broke” (XHC 2002, 1106).

e.g., *zhànzhàn jǐngjǐng* 战战兢兢 “trembling with fear and trepidation”,²⁰ *kěshuì* 瞌睡 “to doze, to drowse”.

Quite a frequent usage of zm-sinograms was also noted in dynamic verbs denoting minor motions, e.g., *diéxiè* 蹀躞 “<fml.> to walk with small steps”;²¹ and adjectives which are used for characterizing motion, e.g., *piānxiǎn* 翩跹 “whirling about (in dancing)”. There are also verbs or adjectives denoting back and forth movement, for example, *páihuái* 徘徊 “to wander around, to pace up and down”,²² *zhízhú* 踟躇 “<fml.> pace up and down, hesitate”; or expressions used for describing the flow of time: *rěnrǎn* 荏苒 “(of time) slip by”.

Zm-sinograms appear less frequently in verbs whose meaning is closely related to the phonation process, i.e., the production of a sound, that means *zhǔfù* 嘱咐 “to enjoin”, *xūxī* 歔歔 “<fml.> to whimper, to sob”; and in adjectives defining the produced sound: *liáoliàng* 嘹亮 “(of sound) loud and clear”. The corpus also contains adjectives expressing the indefinite quantity of unspecified units, four of which have the same pronunciation and even meaning: *shěnsbēn* 侏侏, 洗洗, 牲牲, 洗洗 “<fml.> many”.s

4.4 Terrain and meteorology

The presented thematic group contains polynomials that describe the terrain and its parts as well as expressions denoting natural phenomena. Among descriptive adjectives, those that refer to the altitude of a surface are recurrent: *léngcéng* 峥嵘 “<fml.> (of peaks) towering and steep”, *jiāoyáo* 岿峣 “<fml.> lofty, high”. Higher frequency values were also noted for qualitative adjectives that accentuate the character of natural formations, usually roads and watercourses: *línxián* 嶙峋 “<fml.> (of mountain rocks) jagged, rugged”, *wēiyí* 逶迤 “winding, meandering”, *línlí* 淋漓 “dripping wet”;²³ the surface of mountain ridges: *zhēnpī* 榛狉 “densely wooded and frequented by wild animals”, *zhēngróng* 峥嵘 “towering”²⁴ or the quality of water: *línlin* 潏潏 “(of water) clear, transparent”.

20 Also “gingerly, with caution” (XHC 2002, 2414).

21 Also “pace up and down” (XHC 2002, 452).

22 Also “to hesitate” (XZ 2021, 489); “ebb and flow, rise and fall, oscillate, hover” (XHC 2002, 1439).

23 Also “free from inhibition” (XZ 2021, 406).

24 Also “extraordinary” (XZ 2021, 847).

Less numerous subgroups consist of polynomials characterizing natural phenomena. To be specific, they include such phenomena as precipitation: *màimù* 霖霖 “<fml.> light rain, drizzle”; wind currents of different intensity: *jùfēng* 飓风 “hurricane”, *liúliú* 颯颯 “<fml.> blowing of a gentle breeze”. Alternatively, there are polynomials denoting stages of the day: *tónglóng* 瞳眈 “<fml.> light at daybreak”;²⁵ or meteorological phenomena, such as *wúsōng* 雾淞 “(soft) rime”, *àidài* 暧暧 “<fml.> (of clouds) dense”. Unspecified types of jade or gemstones are also included within the same thematic group: *tūfú* 踳踳 “a kind of jade”, *jiānlè* 玦玦 and *wǔfū* 砮砮 “<fml.> jade-like beautiful stone”; coloured minerals: *mǎnǎo* 玛瑙 “agate” or *xièshí* 榍石 “titanite”; soil clumps: *kēla* 坷拉 “earth clod”; and expressions denoting several pieces of rock stacked on top of each other: *kuīlěi* 磊磊 “pile of stones”.

4.5 Other

The last group consists of only eight polynomials whose meaning does not even partially match with the polynomials of the previous four groups. Most of these polynomials are abstract nouns, namely *bùwěi* 不韪 “<fml.> fault, wrongdoing”, *pīmiù* 纒纒 “<fml.> error”, *duānnǐ* 端倪 “clue”,²⁶ *jīngbūā* 菁华 “essence” and *xūyǔ* 须臾 “<fml.> moment, instant”. Binome *gēda* 纒紉 “lump (often of yarn, fabric, etc.)” is also included in this category because it usually refers to a problem typically associated with various kinds of textile fibres. *jǐnsè* 堇色 “violet colour” is the only colour, that *XHC* (2016, 679) marks as substantive, and therefore it does not fit into the previous group created for general verbs and adjectives.

A rather atypical example is represented by a zm-sinogram *áo* 馨, which (due to *XHC* 2016, 13 and 608) becomes a meaningful unit only as part of a quadrinome *jíqū áoyá* 佶屈馨牙 “(of writing) twisted and convoluted”.²⁷ It is not entirely clear why the editors of *XHC* state that *áo* 馨 is seen as a meaningful unit only as a component of the quadrinome just mentioned, and not as a component of a binome *áoyá* 馨牙. The question arises as to why editors put a space in the middle

25 Also “(of the sky) brightening” (*XZ* 2021, 658).

26 Also “predict, conjecture” (*XHC* 2002, 484).

27 *XHC* 2016, 608: “(文章) 读起来不顺口 (佶屈: 曲折; 馨牙: 拗口)”.

of the *pīnyīn* transcription, and furthermore why they associate a meaning to a clearly distinctive binome *áoyá* 𪛗牙: *àokǒu* 拗口 “difficult to pronounce”.²⁸ Notwithstanding all the above, there is no further mention as to which word class this quadrinome belongs. According to the BCC corpus data, in a sentence, the quadrinome “*jíqū áoyá* 佶屈𪛗牙” is either a predicate, an attribute, or a postverbal qualitative complement. From the syntactic point of view, this quadrinome could be an adjective or a verb. Neither the *XHC* nor the *XZ* specify the word class, so it cannot be put into any of the previous categories based on the English translation or regarding the syntactic position.

5 Concluding Remarks

The main objective of the present research paper was to provide a comprehensive overview of the typology of *zm*-sinograms through a large corpus abstracted primarily from normative Chinese dictionaries. The corpus itself consists of more than 800 different graphemes, which further constitute more than 900 polysyllabic structures. In this study, these structures that contain at least one such sinogram are referred to as polynomials, which can be divided into binomes, trinomes, and quadrinomes based on the total number of components. This paper mainly dealt with typological characteristics in terms of the morphological productivity of these particular graphemes, i.e., their compatibility with typologically identical sinograms and with sinograms that are themselves carriers of meaning. Simply put, it is a matter of answering the question of how many lexemes a single *zm*-sinogram can construct, and whether it differs in this respect from meaningful sinograms. It was found that *zm*-sinograms most often form disyllabic structures, with the greater half of binomes consisting of two *zm*-sinograms. This implies that the compatibility is not strictly tied to another *zm*-sinogram, which has not been reported in any of the theoretical work published so far. Speaking of their ability to form new lexemes, this rate turns out to be extremely low. Thus, only a handful of them are used to write more than one polynomial. Surprisingly, these sinograms even appear in structures with a total

²⁸ *XZ* 2020, 6: “文句念着不顺口: 佶屈𪛗牙”.

number of three or four sinograms, which has also not been reported by other scholars to date.

Morphological productivity is quite closely related to the thematic scope of polynomials. It is true that zm-sinograms do reach high-frequency values in botanical and zoological terminology, as already briefly mentioned by Ma (2013), and later by Slaměňíková (2017). To shed light on this rather neglected issue, this paper proposes a cohesive classification model of five thematic groups as shown in Table 2.

Table 2
An overview of the thematic classification

Category	Absolute frequency	Percentage
1. Flora and fauna	292	38.78%
2. People and the human world	239	31.74%
3. General verbs and adjectives	141	18.73%
4. Terrain and meteorology	73	9.69%
5. Other	8	1.06%
Total	753	100%

As can be seen from the results obtained, almost 40% of the polynomials are indeed related to flora and fauna in some way, either regarding the names of particular species or the expressions that define them. In terms of the diversity of species origins, they historically originate from countries located on both the European and Asian continents. Regarding the polynomial's extent of coverage within the non-specialized vocabulary, it was observed that zm-sinograms appear relatively frequently in expressions describing human nature, mental processes, or various kinds of emotions. Another major subgroup consists of polynomials denoting products and utensils made and further used by humans in various industries, such as agriculture, fishing, hunting, or even in the artistic field.

In view of the examples given in the course of the present text, it is nearly impossible not to notice a certain structural interconnectedness of the polynomial subcomponents at the graphic and phonological levels. Therefore, the subsequent

research will be devoted to the analysis of the mutual resemblance either in the pronunciation or in the graphic composition of the participating sinograms.

Abbreviations

zm-sinogram	a sinogram with zero-meaning; a zero-meaning sinogram
XHC	<i>Xiandai Hanyu Cidian</i> 《现代汉语词典》
XZ	<i>Xinbua Zidian</i> 《新华字典》
sb.	somebody
ver.	version
<dial.>	dialectically
<fml.>	formally

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The Undiscovered Languages of the Indus Valley

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Abstract Previous studies hypothesize that Post Focus Compression (PFC) in F₀ once emerged in the speech of proto-Nostratic farmers and spread vertically with them from generation to generation. It is also hypothesized that PFC cannot re-emerge or spread horizontally, but can be lost as a result of social contact. This provides a logical ground for the claim that all PFC languages belong to the Nostratic family. Acoustic analyses of the speech of twenty native speakers each of Sindhi, Saraiki, and Punjabi (Pakistani languages of the ancient Indus Valley) show that Sindhi and Saraiki have weak PFC, but Punjabi does not have this feature at all. The current study therefore assumes that the Aryan ancestors of speakers of Punjabi, Saraiki, and Sindhi must have remained in closer contact with speakers of a dominant non-PFC/non-Nostratic language for a long time which greatly influenced the focus prosody of these Aryan languages.

Keywords Aryans, Dravidians, Indus, Focus prosody, Fertile Crescent

1 *Theoretical Background*

The Nostratic hypothesis (Bomhard 2011; 2018) has great potential for researchers in the field of language and history. Although this hypothesis is not completely uncontroversial, it is supported by a large number of researchers, such as Dolgopolsky (2008), Bomhard (2020), and many others. In the opinion of these researchers, the proto-Nostratic language was spoken between 15,000–12,000 BCE in the area of the Fertile Crescent. In search of food and better environmental conditions, the proto-Nostratic speakers had to migrate in different directions in groups and tribes. This view is also called the Farming Dispersal Hypothesis (Renfrew 1999). This migration gave rise to various language families such as Indo-European, Elamo-Dravidian, Afro-Asiatic, Altaic, etc. All

these language families are considered to be part of the Nostratic macro family. Bomhard explains the origin and spread of the Nostratic macro family in these words:

The unified Nostratic parent language may be dated to between 15,000 to 12,000 BCE, that is, at the end of the last Ice Age—it was most likely located in the Fertile Crescent just south of the Caucasus Mountains. Beginning around 12,000 BCE, Nostratic began to expand, and, by 10,000 BCE, several distinct dialect groups had appeared. The first to split off from the main speech community was Afrasian. One dialect group spread from the Fertile Crescent to the northeast, eventually reaching Central Asia sometime before 9,000 BCE—this was Eurasiatic. Another dialect group spread eastward into western and central Iran, where it developed into Elamo-Dravidian at about 8,000 BCE. (Bomhard 2018, 2-3).

Post focus compression (PFC) has been found to have a strong connection with the Nostratic family. PFC is the reduction of the fundamental frequency, intensity, and syllable duration in a post focus phrase in a sentence. Extensive research has found PFC in some languages of the world but not in others, thus, dividing the world languages into PFC and non-PFC languages. This division appears to be systematic in the sense that the non-Nostratic languages studied so far have been found to lack this phenomenon, while the languages which have been found PFC-positive are all from the presumed Nostratic family (Xu 2019). Because of this, it is hypothesized that PFC is a feature of the Nostratic family that emerged in the speech of proto-Nostratic farmers of the Fertile Crescent. Xu (2011) suggests that PFC appeared in human speech once and can only be transmitted vertically from parents to children. However, it is also possible that social contact can cause abolition this phenomenon, although its re-emergence or transfer by social contact is extremely improbable.

No previous research has attempted to study the languages of the Indus Valley¹ to test the above hypotheses. The current study aims to test the above hypotheses by comparing the focus prosody of Saraiki, Sindhi, and Punjabi, the major languages of the area which was the birthplace of Indus Civilization. This

1 Various names like “Indus”, “Harappa”, or “Mohenjo Daro” have been used for this civilization. In this paper, we use these names interchangeably.

study will test the Nostratic hypothesis with reference to PFC. Along with this, it is expected to contribute something to the social history of the languages of the Northwestern Indo-Aryan subfamily spoken in the Harappa Valley. In the following section, we briefly describe the nature, origin, and development of PFC. In section 3, we detail the research methods used to collect data for this study. The Data are presented in section 4 and the results are analyzed in section 5. The paper ends with conclusion in section 6.

2 *Post Focus Compression (PFC)*

Focus, in the words of Xu (1999), is the highlighted information versus other information motivated by a particular discourse situation in a sentence. PFC means a decrease in the fundamental frequency, intensity and duration of a syllable in a post focus phrase (Rump and Collier 1996). Among these, the fundamental frequency f_0 is the most important indicator of focus. Thus, a significant lowering in f_0 in a phrase is a major acoustic correlate of PFC. According to the researchers, PFC spread from the Fertile Crescent through the language of the farmers of the Fertile Crescent in the Nostratic family (Xu, 2011). Therefore, PFC has been identified in Greek (Botinis, Fourakis, and Gawronska 1999), French (Dohen and Løevenbruck 2004), Turkish (Ipek 2011), Egyptian Arabic (Hellmuth 2006), Lebanese Arabic (Chahal 2003), Pashto (Rognoni, Bishop & Corris, 2017), Hindi (Patil et al. 2008), Persian (Taheri-Ardali and Xu 2012; Sadat-Tehrani 2007), English (Xu and Xu 2005), German (Fery and Kugler 2008), Japanese (Ishihara 2002), Korean (Lee and Xu 2010) and several other related languages. On the other hand, Taiwan Mandarin (Chen, Wang, and Xu 2009), Taiwanese (Xu 2011) and Cantonese (Wu and Xu 2010) do not exhibit PFC. According to Zerbian, Genzel, and Kügler (2010), African languages like Northern Sotho, Chichewa, Buli and Hausa do not have PFC. PFC also does not exist in African language Wolof (Rialland and Robert 2001) and Zulu (Zerbian, Genzel and Kügler, 2010). The presence or absence of PFC across the world-languages is independent of word order, lexical stress, and/or tone of a language.

According to Xu (2011), three different interpretations of the origin and development of PFC are possible; a) *independent genesis*, PFC emerges in a language automatically, b) *horizontal spreading*, it is transmitted due to diffusion from

neighboring languages, c) *vertical inheritance*, it is transmitted from generation to generation in the LI. Previous research shows that the first two interpretations cannot be established on scientific grounds (Xu, 2011). However, there are strong reasons to accept the third interpretation (ibid). If PFC had emerged once in human languages and can neither be transferred nor emerged again, we can logically claim that those languages which have PFC belong to the same origin and are equally old.

The current study can be helpful in evaluating these views on the basis of empirical evidence. The main research question in the study is whether Sindhi, Punjabi, and Saraiki exhibit PFC? If PFC is found in these languages, the Nostratic hypothesis will be further strengthened because these languages are members of Indo-European language group, which belongs to the Nostratic family. Alternatively, if these languages do not have PFC, it will either put a question mark over the Nostratic hypothesis itself, or we have to wonder whether the languages of the Harappa Valley remained under the strong influence of a non-Nostratic (non-PFC) language which caused the abolition of this prosodic feature from these Indo-Aryan languages. If so, the results will add something new to the linguistic history of the Indus Valley.

3 Research Methodology

3.1 Participants

For the study of the prosodic features of Sindhi, Saraiki, and Punjabi languages, the second author (who is a native speaker of Punjabi and knows Sindhi at the level of a native speaker)² collected primary data from twenty male native speaker participants of each of these languages. Sindhi participants were selected from different districts of Sindh province. Their ages ranged from 17 to 31 years (average: 21.65, standard deviation: 3.40). Saraiki participants were selected from Lasbela district, ten of whom were students, and the rest were workers. They belonged to the areas where, according to the classification of Shackle (1976), central Saraiki is spoken. Their ages ranged from 15 to 37 years (average: 24.15, standard deviation:

² The first author is a native speaker of Saraiki.

8.76). The Punjabi participants were also selected from different districts of Punjab province of Pakistan. Their ages ranged from 18 to 32 years (average: 21.65, standard deviation: 4.25). None of the participants reported any kind of hearing or speaking disability. The participants were selected through availability sampling techniques.

3.2 Stimuli

The sentences used as stimuli consisted of di-syllabic words. All consonants used in the stimuli were sonorant. Three short sentences were constructed from each language. Each sentence was produced by the participants three times with and without focus on each of the words. The second author asked questions to Sindhi and Punjabi participants. For asking questions in Saraiki, services of a native speaker were engaged. The target sentences had three different focus positions on initial, medial, and final word of the sentences and one sentence was without focus. Each was produced three times in response to questions that elicited the intended responses.

To avoid biased response, the participants were not explicitly informed of the specific purpose. Finally, three short sentences were recorded from Sindhi and Punjabi and two from Saraiki language.³ Declarative sentences were produced without focus, while the others were produced with focus on the initial, medial, and final words. The stimuli are listed in Appendix A.

4 *Presentation of Results*

Prosody-Pro—a tool for large-scale systematic prosodic analysis (Xu 2013), was used to analyze the recordings in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2019). Mean and maximum f_0 , intensity and duration were taken from all syllables for further analysis.

3 Three sentences were recorded in Saraiki initially. Later, due to some technical issues, one of the sentences in Saraiki was dropped from acoustic analysis.

4.1 Reliability of the Data

Each target sentence in this experiment had three repetitions. For determining reliability, Cronbach's alpha test was applied to the data. Tables 1-3 in Appendix B show the reliability of the results. The results from Sindhi sentences show that for syllable duration, the Cronbach's alpha values are above 0.8, but for $\text{max}f_0$, one test yielded the alpha value of 0.462 in the initial focus and that of 0.646 in the final focus condition. However, $\text{Mean}f_0$ and mean-intensity have excellent reliability in the productions of Sindhi speakers. Normally, an alpha value of 0.7 is considered to be an indicator of good reliability (Larson-Hall 2016). The results from Saraiki sentences also show excellent reliability in all tests. The results from Punjabi show that reliability of data is excellent in all sentences except for those of $\text{max}f_0$ in neutral sentences. Overall, out of total 48 reliability tests, only two tests have the reliability coefficient between 0.6 and 0.7, which indicates moderate reliability, and one test has the reliability coefficient below 0.5, which indicates poor reliability. In the remaining 45 (93.75%) tests, the reliability is excellent. The results are presented in the following section.

4.2 Focus prosody of Sindhi Language

The mean values along with parametric analyses are presented below. In the following section, neutral focus, pre-focus, on-focus, and post-focus data are presented separately.

4.2.1 Impact of focus on pre-focus phrases in Sindhi

Table 1 presents a comparison of mean-duration, mean- $\text{mean}f_0$, mean- $\text{max}f_0$ and mean-intensity of pre-focus words and the corresponding words of neutral-focus sentences.

Table 1
Comparison between neutral and pre-focus words of Sindhi⁴

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	Pre-focus	Medial	147.243	18.21
	Pre-focus	Final	138.328	10.85
	Neutral	Medial	142.504	13.95
	Neutral	Final	138.841	13.38
Meanf _o	Pre-focus	Medial	130.689	7.19
	Pre-focus	Final	128.787	4.93
	Neutral	Medial	128.634	5.22
	Neutral	Final	127.650	5.28
Intensity	Pre-focus	Medial	62.76	4.91
	Pre-focus	Final	63.94	4.61
	Neutral	Medial	63.605	4.59
	Neutral	Final	62.877	5.06
Maxf _o	Pre-focus	Medial	134.741	7.94
	Pre-focus	Final	132.297	7.41
	Neutral	Medial	134.465	7.58
	Neutral	Final	131.9334	6.13

- 4 In the first columns of these tables, the focus condition is defined. The focus can be either on initial, medial, or final word of the target sentences. Therefore, a pre-focus phrase is possible when focus is on either medial or final word of a sentence comprising three words. The on-focus condition is possible in three ways, namely when the focus is on either of the three words, and post-focus phrase is possible in two ways namely when the focus is on the initial or the medial word of a sentence of three words. The acoustic correlates of the different conditions were compared with the same phrases but without focus.

A 2*2 RMANOVA was applied on the pre-focus and the counterpart neutral sentences to compare syllable duration in the target words/phrases. The effect of focus was found to be non-significant in this comparison ($F_{1, 19}=0.654, p=0.429$). The role of word-position (medial and final) was significant ($F_{1, 19}=17.338, p=0.001$), but interaction between variables was not significant ($F_{1, 19}=3.266, p=0.087$). In fundamental frequency (mean-mean f_0), the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=16.143, p=0.001$) and positions of words were significant ($F_{1, 19}=17.421, p=0.001$), but interaction between the two was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.441, p=0.245$). The mean of fundamental frequency was two Hz higher in pre-focus words than in the corresponding neutral-focus words. In mean-intensity, the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=3.205, p=0.89$), that of locus of words ($F_{1, 19}=2.441, p=0.135$) and interaction of the two was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=3.557, p=0.075$). In max f_0 the effect of focus was not significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.209, p=0.610$), but that of locus of words was significant ($F_{1, 19}=26.673, p=0.001$), while interaction of the two was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.005, p=0.947$). The above results confirm that the effect of focus on pre-focus words is only significant in mean f_0 and the difference between positions of words is significant in duration, mean f_0 and max f_0 .

4.2.2 Impact of focus on on-focus phrases in Sindhi

We have three on-focus contexts i.e., with focus on initial, medial, and final words in the target sentences; these are compared with their counterparts in the neutral sentences in Table 2.

Table 2
Comparison between neutral and on-focus words of Sindhi

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	On-focus	Initial	143.659	10.41
	On-focus	Medial	130.943	8.80
	On-focus	Final	124.640	5.21
	Neutral	Initial	142.504	13.95
	Neutral	Medial	135.179	14.28
	Neutral	Final	124.748	5.24
Mean _{f₀}	On-focus	Initial	131.436	5.38
	On-focus	Medial	126.757	6.41
	On-focus	Final	123.532	4.51
	Neutral	Initial	128.634	5.22
	Neutral	Medial	126.666	5.47
	Neutral	Final	122.920	5.35
Intensity	On-focus	Initial	63.46	5.24
	On-focus	Medial	61.64	5.40
	On-focus	Final	58.938	4.65
	Neutral	Initial	63.605	4.59
	Neutral	Medial	61.843	5.34
	Neutral	Final	58.366	5.04
Max _{f₀}	On-focus	Initial	135.111	6.99
	On-focus	Medial	129.594	7.01
	On-focus	Final	127.016	4.87
	Neutral	Initial	134.465	7.58
	Neutral	Medial	129.401	5.64
	Neutral	Final	126.530	6.09

A parametric test was applied on duration, $maxf_0$, $meanf_0$, and intensity to determine whether the differences between on-focus and neutral sentences were significant. The results show that the effect of focus was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.299$, $p=0.591$), but that of locus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=47.515$, $p=0.001$) and interaction between the two was also non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=3.205$, $p=0.052$). In fundamental frequency, the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=28.074$, $p=0.001$), locus ($F_{1, 19}=111.619$, $p=0.001$), and interaction between the two were significant ($F_{1, 19}=9.930$, $p=0.001$). The mean of fundamental frequency of on-focus words is almost 3 Hz higher than in the neutral sentences. In intensity, the effect of focus was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.061$, $p=0.808$), that of locus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=70.383$, $p=0.001$), but interaction between these was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=2.856$, $p=0.070$). In $Maxf_0$ the focus variable had non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.111$, $p=0.305$) effect, but locus variable was significant ($F_{1, 19}=30.514$, $p=0.001$). Interaction of the two variables was not significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.079$, $p=0.924$). The results indicate that, in Sindhi, the effect of focus in on-focus condition is reflected in $meanf_0$, but that of the locus is significant in all acoustic correlates, and their interaction is non-significant in all except $meanf_0$.

4.2.3 Impact of focus on post-focus phrases in Sindhi

There were two post-focus contexts i.e., when the focus was on the initial and medial words of a sentence. These contexts were compared with their counterparts in declarative sentences. The results are shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Comparison between neutral and post-focus words of Sindhi

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	Post-focus	Initial	125.430	5.47
	Post-focus	Medial	122.265	5.77
	Neutral	Initial	129.963	8.82
	Neutral	Medial	124.748	5.24
Meanf _o	Post-focus	Initial	123.939	5.02
	Post-focus	Medial	121.207	5.14
	Neutral	Initial	124.793	5.34
	Neutral	Medial	122.920	5.35
Intensity	Post-focus	Initial	57.882	5.50
	Post-focus	Medial	57.577	5.14
	Neutral	Initial	58.996	5.01
	Neutral	Medial	58.366	5.04
Maxf _o	Post-focus	Initial	125.879	5.43
	Post-focus	Medial	123.542	5.76
	Neutral	Initial	127.966	5.70
	Neutral	Medial	126.530	6.09

A 2*2 RMANOVA was applied on the post focus words and their counterparts in neutral sentences. The result shows that the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=7.641$, $p=0.012$) and locus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=25.289$, $p=0.001$), but their interaction was not significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.944$, $p=0.179$). Mean duration of post-focus phrase is 3.5 milliseconds shorter than in the neutral sentences. In meanf_o, the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=19.875$, $p=0.001$) and locus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=127.352$, $p=0.001$), but their interaction was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=2.787$, $p=0.111$). Meanf_o in post-focus words is 1.2 Hz higher than in the neutral counterparts. In intensity, the effect of focus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=7.050$, $p=0.016$), but that of position of words ($F_{1, 19}=3.284$,

$p=0.086$) and interaction between the two were non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.010$, $p=0.326$). There is one decibel lowering in the mean intensity of post-focus words. In $maxf_0$, the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=15.193$, $p=0.001$) and locus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=29.535$, $p=0.001$), but interaction of the two was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.010$, $p=0.328$). The mean of $maxf_0$ in post-focus words is 2-3 Hz lower than in the neutral sentences. In the light of these results, we realize that in Sindhi, the effect of focus is significant in all acoustic correlates in post-focus condition. The effect of locus of words is also significant in all acoustic correlates except for intensity, but interaction of the variables is non-significant in all acoustic correlates.

4.3 Focus Prosody of Saraiki

Twenty native Saraiki speakers were recorded in this study. The results obtained from this group are presented in the following sub-sections.

4.3.1 Effect of Focus on pre-focus phrases/words of Saraiki

There were two pre-focus zones i.e., when the focus was on the medial and final words of the stimuli sentences. The descriptive statistics are given in Table 4.

Table 4
Comparison between neutral and pre-focus words of Saraiki

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	Pre-focus	Medial	133.005	8.06
	Pre-focus	Final	133.530	4.67
	Neutral	Medial	132.021	8.27
	Neutral	Final	132.972	4.99
Mean f_0	Pre-focus	Medial	130.468	7.56
	Pre-focus	Final	128.805	6.03
	Neutral	Medial	128.461	6.20
	Neutral	Final	127.474	6.14
Intensity	Pre-focus	Medial	86.263	6.58

Maxf ₀	Pre-focus	Final	85.895	6.36
	Neutral	Medial	86.269	6.77
	Neutral	Final	85.720	6.75
	Pre-focus	Medial	135.972	8.47
	Pre-focus	Final	131.426	5.90
	Neutral	Medial	133.362	6.48
	Neutral	Final	137.468	9.52

A 2*2 repeated measures ANOVA confirms that the difference between syllable duration of words in pre-focus and neutral statement ($F_{1, 19}=0.407$, $p=0.531$), that between words of different locus ($F_{1, 19}=0.343$, $p=0.565$), and interaction of the two was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=200$, $p=659$). In meanf₀, difference between pre-focus and the corresponding neutral statement ($F_{1, 19}= 21.79$, $p=0.001$), and that between locus of words was significant ($F_{1, 19}=8.899$, $p=0.008$), but interaction of the two was not significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.779$, $p=0.388$). The mean of fundamental frequency of pre-focus phrases/words was 1-2 Hz higher than the corresponding words in neutral sentences. In intensity, focus had non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.832$, $p=0.373$) but locus had significant effect ($F_{1, 19}=34.628$, $p=0.001$), but their interaction was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.946$, $p=0.179$). In maxf₀, the impact of focus ($F_{1, 19}=2.953$, $p=0.102$) and difference between locus of words was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.028$, $p=0.868$), but interaction between the factors was significant ($F_{1, 19}=20.217$, $p=0.001$). The above findings exhibit that the effect of focus on pre-focus phrase is non-significant in all acoustic correlates except for meanf₀, and interaction between the variables is non-significant in all acoustic correlates except for maxf₀.

4.3.2 Impact of focus on on-focus phrases in Saraiki

There were three on-focus contexts which were compared with their counterparts in neutral sentences. The results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Comparison between neutral and on-focus words of Saraiki

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	On-focus	Initial	134.522	7.27
	On-focus	Medial	134.599	4.13
	On-focus	Final	110.342	7.15
	Neutral	Initial	132.021	8.27
	Neutral	Medial	133.924	4.72
	Neutral	Final	108.097	7.44
Meanf₀	On-focus	Initial	131.218	6.42
	On-focus	Medial	126.386	6.34
	On-focus	Final	120.423	5.44
	Neutral	Initial	128.461	6.20
	Neutral	Medial	126.487	6.21
	Neutral	Final	120.634	7.74
Intensity	On-focus	Initial	89.767	7.05
	On-focus	Medial	84.582	6.31
	On-focus	Final	82.156	4.64
	Neutral	Initial	86.269	6.77
	Neutral	Medial	85.172	6.74
	Neutral	Final	81.397	5.37
Maxf₀	On-focus	Initial	135.354	7.54
	On-focus	Medial	142.117	17.01
	On-focus	Final	122.788	6.44
	Neutral	Initial	133.362	6.48
	Neutral	Medial	141.574	15.75
	Neutral	Final	139.412	20.60

A 2*3 RMANOVA confirms that on the syllable-duration, the effect of focus ($F_{1,19}=14.452, p=0.001$), that of locus ($F_{1,19}=172.771, p=0.001$), and interaction of the two was significant ($F_{1,19}=0.871, p=0.001$). Mean duration of on-focus words/phrases was 2-3 milliseconds longer than in the neutral sentences. On $meanf_0$, the effect of focus ($F_{1,19}=7.173, p=0.015$), locus ($F_{1,19}=65.126, p=0.001$), and their interaction was significant ($F_{1,19}=6.091, p=0.005$). The mean of F_0 has three Hz differences between on-focus and neutral sentences. The effect of focus variable on intensity ($F_{1,19}=142.077, p=0.001$), locus of words ($F_{1,19}=177.639, p=0.001$), and the interaction of locus and focus was significant ($F_{1,19}=140.565, p=0.001$). The mean intensity of on-focus phrases/words is 1-4 decibels greater than the corresponding neutral counterparts. In $maxf_0$, effect of focus ($F_{1,19}=10.882, p=0.004$), locus ($F_{1,19}=9.344, p=0.001$), and interaction of the two was significant ($F_{1,19}=14.944, p=0.001$). The mean of $maxf_0$ is 1-2 Hz higher in on-focus phrases than in neutral sentences when focus is on the initial or medial word. But when focus is on the final word of the target sentences, a decrease in $maxf_0$ is noticed. It means some of the participants had produced focused words with depressed fundamental frequency in these sentences. These results show that, in Saraiki, focus and locus have significant effect, and their interaction is also significant except in syllable duration.

4.3.3 Impact of focus on post-focus phrases in Saraiki

RMANOVAs were applied on Saraiki sentences to determine PFC. The mean values are shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Comparison between neutral and post-focus words of Saraiki

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	Post-focus	Initial	120.927	4.79
	Post-focus	Medial	108.469	7.01
	Neutral	Initial	121.010	5.55
	Neutral	Medial	108.097	7.44
Meanf_0	Post-focus	Initial	119.663	8.08
	Post-focus	Medial	123.560	6.34

Intensity	Neutral	Initial	120.634	7.74
	Neutral	Medial	119.663	8.08
	Post-focus	Initial	82.455	5.28
	Post-focus	Medial	80.235	4.95
	Neutral	Initial	83.284	6.03
	Neutral	Medial	81.397	5.37
Maxf₀	Post-focus	Initial	121.977	6.39
	Post-focus	Medial	137.773	20.26
	Neutral	Initial	140.493	17.97
	Neutral	Medial	139.412	20.60

A 2*2 repeated measure ANVOA confirms that the effect of focus on the duration of post-focus words was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.044$, $p=0.836$). The difference of duration on locus of words/phrases was significant ($F_{1, 19}=293.446$, $p=0.001$), but their interaction was found to be non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.262$, $p=0.614$). In $meanf_0$, the impact of focus on words was significant ($F_{1, 19}=9.526$, $p=0.006$), but that of locus ($F_{1, 19}=4.314$, $p=0.052$) and interaction of the two was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.587$, $p=0.435$). $Meanf_0$ of post-focus syllables is four Hz lower than in the neutral sentences.

The effect of focus on intensity ($F_{1, 19}=34.680$, $p=0.001$), difference between words at different locus ($F_{1, 19}=122.717$, $p=0.001$), and interaction between the two were significant ($F_{1, 19}=4.455$, $p=0.038$). Intensity of post-focus words/phrases is one decibel greater than in the neutral sentences. In $maxf_0$, the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=20.136$, $p=0.001$), difference between position of words ($F_{1, 19}=7.050$, $p=0.016$), and their interaction was significant ($F_{1, 19}=15.918$, $p=0.001$). The mean of $maxf_0$ of post-focus words/phrases is 2-18 Hz lower than in the neutral sentences. The results demonstrate that focus has a significant effect on all acoustic correlates except for syllable duration in Saraiki. The effect of word position is significant in all acoustic correlates except for $meanf_0$. The interaction between variables is non-significant in duration and $meanf_0$ but significant in intensity and $maxf_0$.

4.4 Focus prosody of Punjabi

This section provides details of results obtained from Punjabi speakers.

4.4.1 Effect of focus on pre-focus phrases in Punjabi

Table 7 illustrates means of syllable duration, f_0 , $\max f_0$ and intensity in neutral and pre-focus words/phrases.

Table 7
Comparison between neutral and pre-focus words of Punjabi

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	Pre-focus	Medial	128.153	7.90
	Pre-focus	Final	120.894	4.53
	Neutral	Medial	125.564	7.61
	Neutral	Final	120.207	6.47
Mean f_0	Pre-focus	Medial	132.515	7.30
	Pre-focus	Final	135.581	7.19
	Neutral	Medial	125.635	7.41
	Neutral	Final	130.177	7.10
Intensity	Pre-focus	Medial	106.411	7.44
	Pre-focus	Final	104.52	6.58
	Neutral	Medial	105.085	11.05
	Neutral	Final	103.5	7.87
Max f_0	Pre-focus	Medial	135.398	10.68
	Pre-focus	Final	131.678	8.05
	Neutral	Medial	132.201	8.37
	Neutral	Final	130.088	8.04

A 2*2 repeated measures analysis of variance test confirms that the difference of syllable duration between the pre-focus and neutral phrases was not significant ($F_{1, 19}=2.933$, $p=0.103$), but that of locus of words was significant ($F_{1, 19}=65.346$, $p=0.001$), while their interaction was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=2.449$, $p=0.134$). In fundamental frequency, the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=341.774$, $p=0.001$), locus ($F_{1, 19}=149.408$, $p=0.001$), and their interaction ($F_{1, 19}=6.830$, $p=0.017$) were significant. Mean f_0 in pre-focus phrases is 6-7 Hz higher than in the corresponding neutral sentences.

The effect of focus of words in intensity was non-significant ($F_{1,19}=4.282$, $p=0.052$), but difference of locus of words was significant ($F_{1,19}=14.027$, $p=0.001$). However, interaction of these factors was not significant ($F_{1,19}=0.324$, $p=0.576$). On $\text{max}f_0$, the effect of focus ($F_{1,19}=43.873$, $p=0.001$), locus ($F_{1,19}=31.009$, $p=0.001$), and interaction of these were significant ($F_{1,19}=5.146$, $p=0.035$). The mean of $\text{max}f_0$ is 2-3 Hz higher in pre-focus than in neutral sentences. The above data exhibit that, in Punjabi, focus has significant effect on $\text{mean}f_0$ and $\text{max}f_0$ but not on syllable duration and intensity. The difference between locus is also significant in all acoustic correlates. However, interaction between focus and locus is significant in $\text{mean}f_0$ and $\text{max}f_0$ but not in duration and intensity.

4.4.2 Impact of focus on on-focus phrases in Punjabi

There were three on-focus contexts in stimulus sentences. These were compared with their neutral counterparts. Table 8 shows the results.

Table 8
Comparison between neutral and on-focus words of Punjabi

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	On-focus	Initial	132.18	7.19
	On-focus	Medial	114.90	4.12
	On-focus	Final	127.28	9.57
	Neutral	Initial	125.56	7.61
	Neutral	Medial	114.85	6.11
	Neutral	Final	125.92	9.99
Meanfo	On-focus	Initial	135.24	7.96
	On-focus	Medial	129.23	6.75
	On-focus	Final	128.31	5.88
	Neutral	Initial	125.63	7.41
	Neutral	Medial	134.71	7.01
Intensity	Neutral	Final	130.15	6.04
	On-focus	Initial	108.68	8.25

Maxfo	On-focus	Medial	101.89	4.46
	On-focus	Final	98.47	3.35
	Neutral	Initial	105.08	11.05
	Neutral	Medial	101.91	4.79
	Neutral	Final	98.34	3.75
	On-focus	Initial	135.32	8.48
	On-focus	Medial	127.18	7.89
	On-focus	Final	123.67	7.92
	Neutral	Initial	132.20	8.37
	Neutral	Medial	127.97	7.88
	Neutral	Final	123.37	6.83

RMANOVAs applied on the mean duration of on-focus vs. neutral focus phrases confirm that effect of focus ($F_{1,19}=10.485$, $p=0.004$), locus ($F_{1,19}=50.836$, $p=0.001$) and their interaction were significant ($F_{1,19}=9.153$, $p=0.001$). Mean duration of on-focus phrases is 1-6 milliseconds longer than in neutral sentences. The same test applied on mean-mean f_0 reveals that focus ($F_{1,19}=341.774$, $p=0.001$), locus ($F_{1,19}=149.408$, $p=0.001$), and their interaction were significant ($F_{1,19}=6.830$, $p=0.017$). Mean f_0 of on-focus phrases is nine Hz higher than in neutral sentences, but when it was on the medial and final words, a reduction of 2-6 Hz is seen in on-focus words. On intensity, the effect of focus ($F_{1,19}=18.258$, $p=0.001$), locus ($F_{1,19}=31.179$, $p=0.001$), and their interaction were found to be significant ($F_{1,19}=37.860$, $p=0.001$). When focus is on the initial word, on-focus syllables have 4 decibel greater intensity than their neutral counterparts. In max f_0 the effect of focus ($F_{1,19}=6.552$, $p=0.019$), locus ($F_{1,19}=225.252$, $p=0.001$), and their interaction were significant ($F_{1,19}=10.312$, $p=0.001$). In the mean of max f_0 , on-focus phrase has 1-3 Hz higher frequency than neutral focus phrase. These results confirm that focus, locus, and their interaction have significant effect on pre-focus words in Punjabi.

4.4.3 Impact of focus on *post-focus* phrases in Punjabi

The mean values of acoustic correlates in the post-focus phrases compared with the neutral sentences are given in Table 9.

Table 9
Comparison between neutral and post-focus words of Punjabi

Correlates	Focus	Locus	Mean	Std. Deviation
Duration	Post-focus	Initial	119.00	6.55
	Post-focus	Medial	124.58	10.05
	Neutral	Initial	120.38	7.27
	Neutral	Medial	125.92	9.99
Meanf_0	Post-focus	Initial	133.32	6.50
	Post-focus	Medial	134.97	5.81
	Neutral	Initial	132.43	6.36
	Neutral	Medial	130.15	6.04
Intensity	Post-focus	Initial	100.36	3.76
	Post-focus	Medial	97.89	4.09
	Neutral	Initial	100.13	4.25
	Neutral	Medial	98.34	3.75
Maxf_0	Post-focus	Initial	125.06	6.70
	Post-focus	Medial	122.39	6.71
	Neutral	Initial	125.67	7.32
	Neutral	Medial	123.37	6.83

A 2*2 RMANOVA on the syllable duration of post focus and neutral sentences confirms that the effect of focus was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=2.735$, $p=0.115$), but mean difference between words of various locus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=37.085$, $p=0.001$) though interaction between the two was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.004$, $p=0.952$). On mean f_0 , the effect of focus was significant ($F_{1, 19}=162.222$, $p=0.001$), and that of locus was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.377$, $p=0.275$), but interaction between the two was significant ($F_{1, 19}=131.454$, $p=0.001$). Mean f_0 in post-focus phrases is 1-5 Hz higher than in neutral sentences. The effect of focus was not significant ($F_{1, 19}=0.828$, $p=0.374$) on intensity, but locus ($F_{1, 19}=423.903$, $p=0.001$), and interaction between the two were significant ($F_{1, 19}=7.915$, $p=0.011$). On max f_0 , the effect of focus ($F_{1, 19}=11.092$, $p=0.004$) and locus were significant ($F_{1, 19}=204.332$, $p=0.001$),

but their interaction was non-significant ($F_{1, 19}=1.424$, $p=0.247$). $Maxf_0$ is one Hz lower in post-focus words than their counterparts in neutral sentences. The above results reveal that the effect of focus is significant on $meanf_0$ and $maxf_0$ but not on duration and intensity. The locus of word/phrase has significant effect on all acoustic correlates except $meanf_0$, and interaction of the variables gain no significance in duration and $maxf_0$ but has significant effect for $meanf_0$ and intensity. All these results are summarized below.

4.5 Results summarized

In the following tables, the above results are summarized for better understanding.

Table 10
Summarized results of Sindhi

Factors	Repetitions	Duration	Mean f_0	Intensity	Max f_0
Focus	2= Pre-focus vs neutral	0.429	0.001↑	0.89	0.610
Locus	2=final, medial	0.001	0.001	0.135	0.001
Interaction	2*2	0.087	0.245	0.075	0.947
Focus	2=on-focus vs neutral	0.591	0.001↑	0.808	0.305
Locus	3= initial, medial, final	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Interaction	2*3	0.052	0.001	0.070	0.924
Focus	2=post-focus vs neutral	0.012↓	0.001↓	0.016↓	0.001↓
Locus	2=initial, medial	0.001	0.001	0.086	0.001
Interactions	2*2	0.179	0.111	0.326	0.328

It is confirmed that focus has significant effect on $meanf_0$, $maxf_0$, intensity, and duration on post-focus words/phrases in Sindhi. The mean of $meanf_0$ is decreased in post-focus phrases when focus is on the word-initial (1-2 Hz) and word-medial (2-3 Hz) positions. Thus, the findings exhibit weak PFC in Sindhi.

5 Significant results are highlighted in bold. The downward arrow “↓” indicates compression.

Table 11
Summarized results of Saraiki

Factors	Repetitions	Duration	Meanf _o	Intensity	Maxf _o
Focus	2=pre-focus vs. neutral	0.531	0.001 ↓	0.373	0.102
Locus	2=final, medial	0.565	0.008	0.001	0.868
Interaction	2*2	0.659	0.388	0.179	0.001
Focus	2=on-focus vs. neutral	0.001 ↑	0.015 ↑	0.001 ↑	0.004 ↑
Locus	3= initial, medial, final	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Interaction	2*3	0.427	0.036	0.001	0.001
Focus	2=post-focus vs. neutral	0.836	0.006 ↓	0.001 ↓	0.001 ↓
Locus	2=initial, medial	0.001	0.052	0.001	0.016
Interaction	2*2	0.614	0.453	0.038	0.001

The data obtained from Saraiki speakers confirm that the effect of focus is significant on meanf_o, intensity and maxf_o in post-focus words/phrases of Saraiki. The mean of meanf_o and maxf_o show a decrease in post-focus phrases, though in a very weak form.

Table 12
Summarized results of Punjabi Language

Factors	Repetitions	Duration	Meanf _o	Intensity	Maxf _o
Focus	2= Pre-focus vs neutral	0.103	0.001 ↑	0.052	0.001 ↑
Locus	2=final, medial	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Interaction	2*2	0.134	0.017	0.576	0.035

Focus	2=on-focus vs neutral	0.004 ↑	0.013 ↑ ⁶	0.001 ↑	0.019 ↑
Locus	3= initial, medial, final	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Interaction	2*3	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Focus	2=post-focus vs neutral	0.115	0.001 ↑	0.374	0.004 ↓
Locus	2=initial, medial	0.001	0.225	0.001	0.001
Interactions	2*2	0.952	0.001	0.011	0.247

These results confirm that the effect of focus is significant on $\text{mean}f_0$ and $\text{max}f_0$ in post-focus phrases. But interestingly, $\text{mean}f_0$ has five Hz increase in post-focus phrases. Therefore, we conclude that Punjabi is a language which does not have post focus compression. We shall discuss these results below.

5 Analysis and Discussion

Previous studies show that PFC decreases in pre-focus phrases in some languages, but this is not a strict rule of intonation in world languages. We also observe no regular effect of focus on pre-focus phrases in this study. Normally, on-focus increase in syllable duration, intensity, and f_0 is common in PFC languages. The same is also observed in Punjabi and Saraiki. In Sindhi, such an increase is visible only in f_0 . The primary research question in this study is whether these languages have PFC. PFC is mainly determined on the basis of f_0 . Intensity is also affected by post-focus reduction, but in the case of variation in different acoustic correlates, f_0 is considered the decisive factor (Rump and Collier, 1996). In this regard, post-focus reduction is significant, though very weak (2-3 Hz) in Saraiki and Sindhi. Therefore, we conclude that Sindhi and Saraiki exhibit weak PFC in f_0 . Importantly, Punjabi speakers do not exhibit PFC; rather an increase in the mean

6 On-focus increase in F_0 in Punjabi was observed only when focus was on the first word of the sentences. When focus was on the second or third word of the target sentences, a significant decrease was found in F_0 .

f_0 of post-focus words of Punjabi is found. For visual representation of these results, normalized time mean f_0 plots of each language are given in Figure 1:

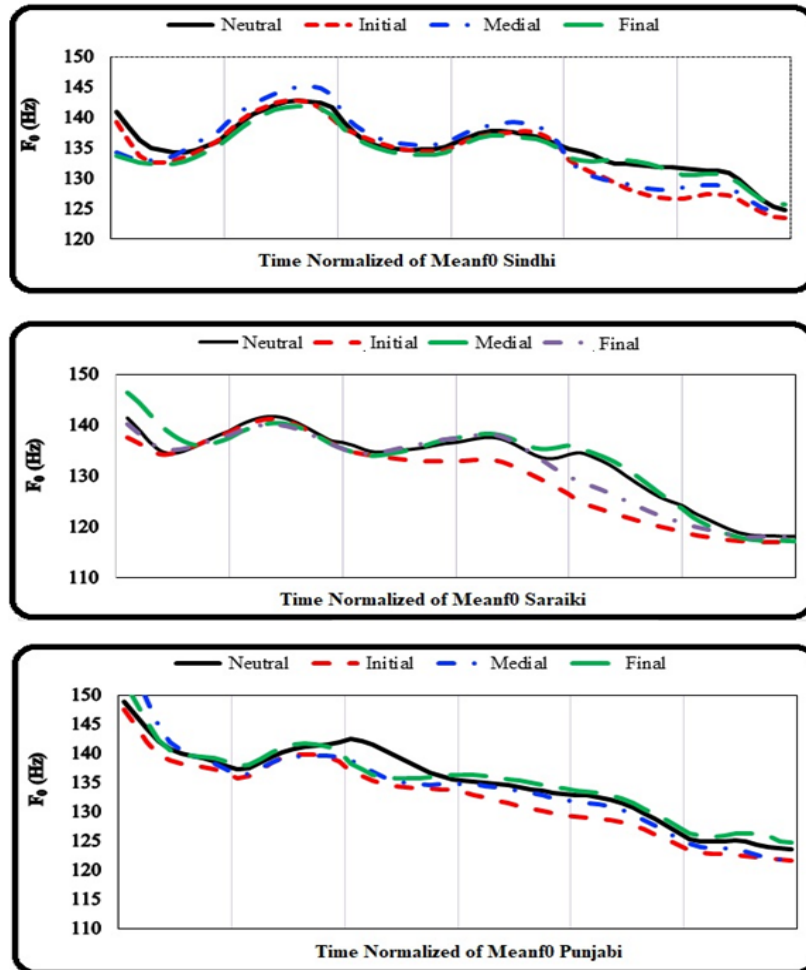


Figure 1
Time Normalized Mean f_0 contours

7 The vertical lines mark syllable boundaries.

In Sindhi and Saraiki, the reduction of f_0 is visible in the final words when focus is on the initial and medial words. No significant reduction is visible in Punjabi. These languages are members of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European (IE) family, which is a member of the larger Nostratic family. Previous researchers have found PFC in IE languages. For example, the neighboring Pashto (Rognoni, Bishop, and Corris 2017), Persian (Taheri-Ardali and Xu 2012), Hindi (Patil et al. 2008), and Balochi (Syed et al. 2022) have been found PFC positive. Many European languages which have been tested are also PFC positive. These data raise the question, why is PFC absent in Punjabi which is a member of the IE family? The results imply that either the hypothetical relationship between the Nostratic family and PFC is not viable, or alternatively, if such a relationship exists, as claimed by the previous researchers, then the languages of the Harappa/Indus Valley remained under the strong influence of a non-PFC language in the past, causing the abolition or weakening of PFC in these languages. Owing to the large body of previous research that supports the above-mentioned hypothesis, we adopt the second interpretation. The view of the previous researchers that PFC can be lost as a result of social contact (Chen, Wang, and Xu 2009) also supports our conclusion.

The next question naturally is, which language remained in contact with these languages and exerted a strong influence on their prosody? It is claimed that prior to the arrival of Aryans in the Harappa Valley, Dravidians were living in this area. In Pakistan, Brahvi is the sole Dravidian language spoken in Sindh and Balochistan, including Mehrgharh, of which the Indus Civilization was an extension (Joseph, 2018).

Similar to Sindhi and Saraiki, weak PFC has also been found in Brahvi (Syed, et al., 2022). Brahvi is spoken in areas adjacent to Sindhi and Saraiki speaking regions. All these languages have been in very close contact in the past (Emeneau 1980). Brahvi is a Dravidian language, and according to previous research, before the arrival of the Aryans, a variety of (proto)-Dravidian was dominant in the Indus Valley (Winters 2012, Parpola 2010, Joseph 2018). Dravidian itself is also included in the Nostratic family (Bomhard 2020), and by virtue of that, is expected to have PFC. In this scenario, we cannot argue that social contact with Dravidian speakers caused the weakening or loss of PFC in the speech of those Aryans whose dialects evolved into Saraiki, Sindhi, and Punjabi. It means that both Dravidian and Aryan speakers of the Indus Valley remained under strong influence of another non-

Nostratic/non-PFC pre-Dravidian language. As a result of this social contact, PFC weakened in Brahvi, Saraiki and Sindhi and disappeared completely in Punjabi. Geographically, Northern and Central Saraiki and Punjabi are spoken around Harappa locality, whereas Southern Saraiki, Sindhi and Brahvi are spoken around Mohenjo-dero. Their location and the closer interaction of these languages in the past, and their similar prosodic features support the idea of existence of a language which caused the weakening or abolition of PFC in the speech of the people of Indus Valley; however, this influence must have been stronger in the north than in the south.

It is pertinent to refer to the research on a genomic study of the Indian population by Basu, Sarkar-Roy, and Majumder (2016), which challenges previously existing notions of two main contributory gene pools in the mainstream ancient Indian races, i.e. Aryans and Dravidians. Apropos to the traditional views, Basu, Sarkar-Roy, and Majumder (2016) conclude that there were four (not two) major distinct components which contributed to the admixture of genes of the Indian population. They argue that the two major components, which were neglected in the previous studies were Ancestral Austro-Asiatic (AAA) and Ancestral Tibeto-Berman (ATB) populations. Reich (2018) also claims to have found genes of other than Dravidian and Aryan people in the blood of people from the Subcontinent. Joseph (2018) points out that the ancient native population of India, whose remnants are seen in the Andaman Islands, were once dominant throughout India for many millennia, and these were the people whom foreign invaders/immigrants (Dravidians and Aryans) first encountered on their arrival in the Indus Valley. Both the invaders and the indigenous communities must have lived together for a long period of time before one dominated the other. The impact of their co-habitation can also be seen in the genes, languages, history, and culture of the people of this area.

Thus, there existed an indigenous population in the ancient India (other than Dravidians and Aryans) which had no connection with the Nostratic families. These non-Nostratic people remained with the Nostratic speakers (Dravidians and Aryans) for a long time before they thoroughly merged with the invader community or disappeared by some other means, but before that, their speech had influenced the intonation of the languages of Aryans and Dravidians so much that

some of the Nostratic languages (e.g. Punjabi) lost PFC, and in others (i.e. Sindhi, Brahvi and Saraiki) this feature weakened. The origin of these non-Nostratic indigenous tribes needs to be further investigated.

6 Conclusion

This paper reports on the study of focus prosody in Sindhi, Saraiki, and Punjabi. Post Focus Compression is found in its weak form in Sindhi and Saraiki but absent in Punjabi. Based on the assumptions, a) PFC cannot emerge in a non-PFC language, b) absence of PFC in Punjabi and c) presence of weak PFC in Sindhi and Saraiki, it hypothesizes that Aryan invaders came across speakers of some non-Nostratic language at the time of their arrival in the Harappa Valley and had also lived with the Dravidian population for a long time. It took a long period of time for the invader population and the indigenous population to thoroughly merge with each other; or the indigenous population migrated to other areas. During their coexistence, both communities remained in close social contact with each other. Along with Dravidian, the influence of Austro-Asiatic language on Vedic Sanskrit has also been found (Hock 1975), which provides a clue to such social contacts. The probability of a strong influence of Austro-Asiatic or any other group of people on the speech of the invaders is not out of place, which is further supported by the fact that PFC had been found in some Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages (Wang, Wang, and Qadir 2011). This implies that the non-PFC tribes which influenced the Aryan languages were not from the TB language family.

Based on a study of genes, Joseph (2018) has very strongly argued that before the arrival of Dravidians and Aryans, an ethnic group of people had been living in the subcontinent for thousands of years. These were the people whom Joseph calls 'native Indians' who had migrated to the ancient India from Africa 65 thousand years ago. Besides this, further research in the study of DNA of the Indian population has revealed genes of a group of people, which do not match with the genes of any other existing population group in the world (Reich 2018). It means that there may have existed people in ancient India (other than the already known groups), who, after spending a long period of time with Dravidians and Aryans, either merged with them gradually or migrated to other areas. They may have been

ancestral Austro-Asiatic, forefathers of the people of Andaman Islands, ancient Indians, or some other group(s). All these are hypotheses for future research.

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Appendix A. Stimuli

a. Sindhi

Sentence 1: Mamo Mami rulya. (*Uncle and Aunt visited/roamed.*)

Questions **Answer** (Focus highlighted)

Q.1. Chha thiyo? (*What happenend?*) Mamo Mami rulya.

- Q. 2. Ker Mami san rulyo? (*Who roamed with Aunt?*) **Mamo** Mami rulya.
 Q. 3. Mame san ker ruli? (*Who roamed with uncle?*) Mamo **Mami** rulya.
 Q. 4. Mame ain Mami cha kayo? (*What did uncle and aunt do?*) Mamo Mami **rulya.**

Sentence 2: Allam Nena Milla. (*Allam and Nena met.*)

- Q. 1. Chha thiyo? (*What happened?*) Allam Nena Milya.
 Q. 2. Ker Nena san milyo? (*Who met with Nena?*) **Allam** Nena milya.
 Q. 3. Allam san ker mili? (*Who met with Allam?*) Allam **Nena** milya.
 Q. 4. Allam ain Nena Cha kahyo? (*What did Allam and Nena do?*) Allam Nena **milya.**

Sentence 3: Mamo Munlai wirhyo. (*The Uncle fought for me.*)

- Q. 1. Chha thiyo? (*What happened?*) Maamo munlai wirhyo.
 Q. 2. Ker munlaiwirhyo? (*Who fought for me?*) **Maamo** munlai wirhyo.
 Q. 3. Mamo kehnlai wirhyo? (*For whom did the uncle fight?*) Maamo **munlai** wirhyo.
 Q. 4. Mame munlai cha kayo? (*What did uncle do for me?*) Maamo munlai **wirhyo.**

b. Saraiki

Sentence 1: Mama Mane aya. (*The Uncle came to Mane.*)

- Q. 1. Kiya thaey? (*What happened?*) Mama Mane aya.
 Q. 2. Kon Mane aya? (*Who came to Mane?*) **Mama** Mane aya.
 Q. 3. Mama kithan aya? (*Where did Uncle come to?*) Mama **Mane** aya.
 Q. 4. Mame Mane ich kiya keetay? (*What did uncle do in Mane?*) Mama Mane **aya.**

Sentence 2: Nani Raven ai. (*The grandmother came to Raven.*)

- Q. 1. Kiya thaey? (*What happened?*) Nani Raven ai.
 Q. 2. Kon Raven ai? (*Who came to Raven?*) **Nani** Raven ai.
 Q. 3. Nani kithan ai? (*Where did the grandmother arrive?*) Nani **Raven** ai.
 Q. 4. Nani Raven chev kia kita? (*What did the grandmother do at Raven?*) Nani Raven **ai.**

c. Punjabi Stimuli (Focus highlighted)

Sentence 1: Meri Mami Manni. (*My aunt admitted.*)

- Q. 1. Ki hoiya? (*What happened?*) Meri Mami manni.

- Q. 2. Kedi Mami manni? (*Whose aunt admitted?*) **Meri** mami manni.
 Q. 3. Teri kon manni? (*Which of your relatives admitted?*) Meri **mami** mani.
 Q. 4. Teri Mami ne ki keta? (*What did your aunt do?*) Meri mami **mani**.
Sentence 2: Meri Amma Milli. (*My mother was found.*)
 Q. 1. Ki hoiya? (*What happened?*) Meri Amma mili.
 Q. 2. Kedi Amma Mili? (*Whose mother was found?*) **Meri** Amma mili.
 Q. 3. Teri kon mili? (*Which of your relatives was found?*) Meri **Amma** mili.
 Q. 4. Teri Amma no ki hoia? (*What happened to your mother?*) Meri Amma **mili**.
Sentence 3: Mera Mamo Lara. (*My uncle is a groom.*)
 Q. 1. Ki hoiya? (*What happened?*) Mera Mamo lara.
 Q. 2. Keda Mamo lara? (*Whose uncle is a groom?*) **Mera** Mamo lara.
 Q. 3. Tera kon Lara? (*Which of your relatives is a groom?*) Mera **Mamo** lara.
 Q. 4. Tera Mamo ki ya? (*What does your uncle do?*) Mera Mamo **lara**.

Appendix B. Reliability Test Results

Table 1
Cronbach's alpha reliability test results (Sindhi)

Correlates	Neutral	Initial focus	Medial focus	Final focus
Duration	0.858	0.810	0.869	0.857
Maxfo	0.734	0.646	0.890	0.462
Meanfo	0.915	0.876	0.927	0.755
Mean-intensity	0.942	0.928	0.931	0.942

Table 2
Cronbach's alpha reliability test results (Saraiki)

Correlates	Neutral	Initial focus	Medial focus	Final focus
Duration	0.942	0.943	0.946	0.937
Maxfo	0.939	0.976	0.898	0.987
Meanfo	0.967	0.983	0.987	0.985
Mean-intensity	0.970	0.960	0.974	0.973

Table 3
Cronbach's alpha reliability test results (Punjabi)

Correlates	Neutral	Initial focus	Medial focus	Final focus
Duration	0.884	0.927	0.872	0.933
Maxfo	0.661	0.984	0.817	0.840
Meanfo	0.831	0.986	0.978	0.947
Mean-intensity	0.951	0.962	0.959	0.955

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The Maronite Community and the Language in the 21st Century: The Anthropological Perspective of the Identity

Šarūnas RINKEVIČIUS

Abstract This paper deals with the question of the perception of language in the twenty-first century by secular representatives of the Maronite community. It is divided into two parts: first, the main aspects of the language role in identity construction (elaborated mainly by Benedict Anderson and Rogers Brubaker), are provided; second, the analysis of the perception of language by the political and cultural representatives of the Maronite community, which was conducted by gathering empirical data, on the fieldwork trip to Lebanon in December 2022, where several semi-structural interviews were carried out. The research suggests that the Maronite community is famous for its multilingualism, in which Syriac, Lebanese Arabic and French languages have contributed substantially to the historical development of the Maronite community and the construction of its modern collective identity. Throughout this process, each language played an important role in forming and explaining various aspects of modern Maronite identity.

Keywords Maronites, Lebanon, identity, language, identity construction

Introduction

Language and perceptions toward it within the Maronite¹ community² are among the main defining elements of modern Lebanese identity for at least two reasons. First, language serves as a key factor in the construction of modern collective identity construction, unifying individuals who speak the same language into what Benedict Anderson (1999, 47-49) termed an “imagined community”. Second, the Maronite community can be regarded as a pioneer of modern Lebanese identity, serving as the primary advocate for Lebanese distinctiveness and independence in the first half of the twentieth century. Additionally, they played a crucial role in the development of modern Lebanese symbols and elevating language to the forefront of identity-related discussions in Lebanon.

Based on the cultural and historical developments of the Maronite community, three essential language-related aspects in Lebanon can be classified by their relations to the Maronite community.

The first is Syriac, introduced to the Aramaic-speaking local inhabitants with the establishment of the Maronite Church in the 5th–7th centuries, as a language of liturgy. Gradually, it was adopted by the adherents of the Maronite Church in their daily lives. However, with the rise of caliphates in the seventh century, the use of Arabic began to spread among the local inhabitants, who fully transitioned to using Arabic around the seventeenth century (Jabre Mouawad 2009, 11). Today, the Syriac language is mainly used in liturgy, with few to no native Maronite Syriac speakers in Lebanon. However, many Syriac words can still be heard in daily Lebanese conversations, as the local variety of Arabic was heavily influenced by Syriac locutions (Jabre Mouawad 2009, 3).

1 As in any community, there are different individuals with different perceptions towards various questions, meaning that not every Maronite follows the same ideas as expressed by the majority of the community, also meaning that not necessarily only Maronites share these ideas. However, both the Lebanese confessionalism and historical development of Lebanon in the twentieth century allow us to refer to the Maronite community as a distinct entity with its own distinct identity.

2 As on 2023, Maronites make around 22% of the total population in Lebanon.

Secondly, there is Arabic, an official language of Lebanon, also known as *al-‘Arabīyah al-Fuṣḥā* or Modern Standard Arabic. The predominant majority of Lebanese people are native Arabic speakers, using the Lebanese dialect. This dialect became the subject of debates among Maronite intellectuals and activists in discussions about Maronite and Lebanese identity in the twentieth century. Some intellectuals emphasized the key role of Lebanese Christians (including Maronites) in *an-Nabḍa*, attaching themselves to the Arabic language through this contribution (Salameh 2010, 52). Others, based on the presence of numerous Arabic dialects (Salameh 2010, 215), advocated for the Lebanonization (or standardization) of the local spoken variety of Lebanese people. For example, Said Akl (1912–2014), one of the most prominent supporters of the standardization of Lebanese Arabic, even provided a Latinized form of a written tradition for the local spoken Lebanese variety by introducing the Lebanese alphabet based on Latin letters. Akl claimed that this alphabet was inherited from the Phoenician alphabet (Kaufman 2004, 169). Other intellectuals, such as the prominent Phoenicianist Charles Corm (1894–1963), argued that there is no need to standardize the local variety of Arabic. He perceived the language as a communication tool to spread ideas more important than the language itself (Kaufman 2004, 120–122).

Thirdly, the Maronite community (as well as the Lebanese people in general, is known for its multilingualism. In addition to using Arabic, including its various local spoken variants and Modern Standard Arabic, the Maronite community is also known for its widespread use of the French language, which gained influence in the nineteenth century due to active French involvement in education in Lebanon. Moreover, the use of English within the Maronite community is also spreading, though this can be explained as a universal phenomenon occurring worldwide. It is worth noting that Lebanese multilingualism has attracted the attention of Maronite intellectuals in the twentieth century, with Lebanese polyglotism considered a key element defining the Maronites and Lebanese people. The main advocate of this idea was Michel Chiha (1891–1954), who claimed that polyglotism, throughout history, was a more important defining aspect of Lebanese inhabitants than geography. According to him, the Phoenicians, being sailors and traders, were multilingual even before the invention of the alphabet, using at least two languages—one local and the other international. Consequently,

modern-day Lebanese inherited the habit of knowing languages from the Phoenicians (Kaufman 2004, 165).

Although the perception of language by the Maronite community is a crucial question capable of defining and reflecting core aspects of modern Maronite identity, it was vividly developed in the twentieth century. In the twenty-first century, however, it has barely attracted any attention in academia. Most works assessing processes in Lebanon in the twenty-first century are generally related to international relations, diaspora-related questions, social, political, and economic issues, leaving aside questions related to modern collective identity with even fewer references to the intra-communal aspects of the Maronite community. It is essential to mention Franck Salameh (2010; 2020) and Asher Kaufman (2001; 2004), who, in their multiple works, provide an assessment of the historical development of the Maronite community and an analysis of Maronite thought. However, both authors mainly focus on the development of the Maronite community in the twentieth century. Additionally, the works of Deanna Ferree Wodack (2012), examining the activities of missionary schools in Lebanon, and Sarya Baladi (2018), with an analysis of languages used by Lebanese people, should be mentioned; however, these works offer insights exclusively into the developments in the twentieth century. Furthermore, there are no other works that examine the perception of Maronites towards languages in the 21st century.

The aim of this article is to assess some aspects of the identity of the Maronite community in the twenty-first century based on the author's fieldwork trip to Lebanon in December 2022, focusing on language as a factor capable of defining and reflecting modern Maronite identity as articulated by cultural and political representatives of the community. This article is divided into two parts. First, the main aspects of the role of language in modern collective identity construction, based mainly on the insights of Benedict Anderson and Rogers Brubaker, are assessed. Secondly, the findings from the fieldwork trip to Lebanon are analysed. Structurally, these findings are discussed in three paragraphs based on the linguistic aspects mentioned above, namely Syriac, Lebanese Arabic, and Lebanese multilingualism.

I Language *in Identity Construction: Theoretical Considerations*

The role of language, with its significance in identity construction, has been elaborated by many scholars as one of the key contributing factors to both the historical formation of modern collective identity and the development of every national movement, being a main domain defining a particular vision of identity. References to language can be found in each community aspiring to claim its vision of identity, providing a certain concept of language with a developing written tradition in this language, or, in some cases, not concentrating on a distinct language. To better understand the role of language in the construction of modern collective identities, two aspects should be assessed: first, the historical role of language in the process of forming modern collective identity; second, the perception of language as a domain of collective identities that serves to define the distinctiveness of a certain community.³

Firstly, in the historical formation of modern collective communities, the role of language was conceptually developed by Benedict Anderson. For him, the standardization of local spoken varieties and the expanding written tradition in the vernaculars were key factors contributing to the transformation of masses into a new or *imagined community*. Members of this community are bound by using the same language, creating a sense of commonness. This transformation also marked the shift in relations between the state and its inhabitants from the premodern system based on religious affiliations to the modern state based on the modern nation. The emerging nation was closely connected to the local language and the development of its written culture, eventually resulting in the growing literacy of the population, making printing profitable and creating assumptions for the growing use of local regional dialects, which later transformed into substantive languages (Anderson 1999, 47-49). The shift towards the languages of masses or vernaculars also transformed the relations between language and the state in general. The sacred language monopoly, representing a specific sacred mission of the state and its ruling elite, was replaced by the variety of local spoken languages of the masses, eventually leading to the formation of new identity centres capable of binding communities. The feeling of unity within these communities was based

3 In the case of this article, I do not refer to the concept of language policy, which belongs to the domain of a discourse. Instead, I focus on the cultural aspect of the language.

on the emotional bonds among people who use the same language (Anderson 1999, 51). In the case of each community, the relations between the community, language, and the state change depending on various parameters. The Miroslav Hroch's study suggests that one of the most important aspects to consider is whether a language is a state or non-state language when the national movement starts to be developed. In the case of small languages that were not represented by the state in premodern times, national movements, in most cases at a certain stage of development, declared their aspirations to be represented linguistically at state institutions and gradually created their own elite (Hroch 2012, 99-100), eventually declaring political demands based on collective self-identification.

Secondly, language is one of the most important domains of ethnicity and modern collective identity construction, along with other important aspects such as religion, myth, territory, customs, etc. However, language plays a greater role among the others. Rogers Brubaker compares this role to the role of religion, claiming that both language and religion are domains of categorically differentiated cultural practice that simultaneously unites and divides.⁴ This means that they are not on the same spectrum, as they sort people into distinct communities. Additionally, language and religion are basic sources and forms of social, cultural, and political identification that provide ways of identifying oneself and others, constructing sameness and difference, and frequently serving as the key diacritical markers of collective identification (Brubaker 2013, 2-4). Rogers Brubaker continued his arguments by claiming that public life in principle can be a-religious; however, it cannot be a-linguistic. The state privileges a particular language or set of languages, but it does not need to privilege a particular religion (Brubaker 2013, 16). Therefore, we can state that language is a pervasive, inescapable medium of social interaction, which is a necessary medium of public and private life, being the main medium of public discourse, government, administration, law, courts, education, media, and public signage. Public life cannot exist without language. We can go even further to claim that language has a political dimension, representing the official stance of policymakers (Brubaker 2013, 5-6).

4 An interesting story of "identity construction" is the case of Tamil Dalits. See Hons 2020.

To sum up, we can claim that language is an essentially important aspect of each community aspiring to claim its vision of identity in both the historical formation of identities and in the modern discourse of identity construction. Consequently, an analysis of the role of language in the community allows us to define some aspects of modern collective identity. It is not the sole domain of collective identity; therefore, it should be perceived as a part of the combination of factors creating a broader complex of collective self-identification. However, being one of the key parameters in this process, it should be considered in each study aiming at understanding a vision of each community attempting to develop its vision of modern collective identity.

2 *The Perception of Languages in the Modern Maronite Identity*

2.1. The methodology of the research

19 semi-structured interviews were conducted during the author's fieldwork trip to Lebanon in December 2022. Among the interviewees, there were political and cultural representatives (elite or intelligentsia, as defined by Miroslav Hroch) of the Maronite community whose occupations include teaching staff of universities and schools, lawyers, doctors, political activists, politicians, entrepreneurs—all these individuals can be defined as active and visible members of the community, willing to speak and share their ideas about identity-related questions, and having means at their disposal to influence the opinion of masses. The reason for applying the elitist approach while selecting the interviewees was based on the idea of Miroslav Hroch, who claimed that elite (or intelligentsia) is responsible for developing and spreading the vision of modern collective identity (Hroch 2012), and although there are cultural symbols that are necessary for the community to claim its modern collective identity vision, it is the intelligentsia that develop these ideas into a coherent concept and spread them within the community and society through various instruments.

Additional remarks should be made on the identification details of the interviewees provided in the article. It must be noted that recently Lebanon has been going through difficult times with political uncertainty and a deep financial crisis taking place simultaneously. Since the Maronite community is relatively small in numbers and most of the active members are easily recognizable based on

the description of their affiliations, professions, age, or gender even without providing their names, also due to the fact that some of the research participants expressed their will not to attach their ideas to their names or personalities, none of the criteria which could allow identification of the interviewees is provided in the work. Each of the interviewees was given a random number, and their opinions are quoted by the formula *Interview No. X*.

In the interviews, the author followed a structured order of thematic blocks, one of which focused on the perception of language. Typically, the interviews began with a question about the importance of language for the Maronite community in Lebanon and its role in identity construction. Subsequently, the author inquired about the language that culturally represents the Maronite community, progressing to questions about how interviewees define the Lebanese language. If needed, the author referred to discussions from the twentieth century on this topic. It is important to note that not all interviews adhered strictly to this question order. Depending on the flow of the conversation with the interviewee, the sequence of questions could vary. The interviews, lasting approximately one hour each, were conducted in English, primarily in Beirut. When quoting the ideas of the interviewees, the author's only intervention was the application of punctuation; other aspects were left as expressed in the interviews.

Additionally, the author preferred to keep the quotes in the analysis where possible, rather than paraphrasing, in order to accurately represent the perspectives of the interviewees. The length of the quotations varied based on the responses provided by the interviewees to each question.

2.2. The Syriac language

The first aspect to assess from the data collected during the interviews is the assessment of Syriac language and its perceptions among Maronites. Overall, based on the interviews, it can be noted that Syriac is still perceived as an essential element of the Maronite identity, as was expressed by the interviewees, yet this language has no native speakers, or very few. One of the interviewees provided a detailed explanation about the historical role of Syriac for the Maronite

community referring to the activities of Saint John Maroun (628–707)⁵ and claiming Syriac to be the key element in the historical formation of the Maronite community and its attachment to Lebanon:

What is the Syriac who carried this [Maronite] identity to our day? The Syriac is the Maronite Church, or Saint Maroun, who is the founder of the Church, the army, the Marada,⁶ the patriarchate, and the idea of Lebanon. Before him, the Maronites were simply people who lived in Cyprus, Syria or Lebanon, they weren't linked to [the] country. With Saint John Maron, it was [linked to] Lebanon. He said, this mountain, this church, and this army. (Interview No. 13).

However, despite its importance in the history of the Maronite community as expressed above, arguing that Saint John Maroun attached Maronites to Lebanon, Syriac is not a spoken language in Lebanon today. Every interviewee claimed that this language can only be heard during the Masses of the Maronite Church, and very few people use it regularly. For example, one of the interviewees expressed that “it is rare to use [it] now, only in the small convent in Lebanon [Maronites] use Syriac. And maybe only in the Mass of Maronite [Maronites] use this Syriac language.” (Interview No. 15). Connecting the Syriac language with the church was very typical answer provided by every interviewee. Due to the use of Syriac in liturgy, several interviewees said that they learned Syriac prayers and that this knowledge of Syriac is their main connection to the language. For example, one of the interviewees not only shared this idea but also contributed to the idea referring to the own experience:

I can speak [it] but I don't know what I am talking about. In the church, there is [a] part—when somebody died, there are ten minutes [of praying in Syriac], [it was] when I was a kid. Nowadays they say [it] in Arabic, then they were singing [in] Syriac. I remember [it] very well, I can say [these] 10 minutes. (Interview No. 3).

As we can see, although Syriac ceased to be spoken in the seventeenth century, the Maronite community retained the cultural and spiritual attachment to this language. In most cases, as observed during the interviews, the attachment to this

5 The first Maronite Patriarch.

6 The interviewee referred to Mardaites, a community originating from Taurus mountains, that, along with the Maronites, appeared in the chronicles of the seventh after the raids to Arab towns, yet it was a distinct community with very few references in the subsequent centuries.

language is based on personal connections to this language. Several interviewees also expressed their wish to preserve this language. For example, one of the interviewees shares such idea in the following way:

The good thing is that the Syriac [speaking] people, communities in Lebanon—the Syrian, the Chaldean—they still speak between themselves Syriac, which is an Aramean. And it is good that they are preserving the language. [...] We must preserve the language. We are not doing enough for this. (Interview No. 7).

However, only one interviewee shared an idea related to the role of Syriac language based not only on the cultural commitment of the Maronites to the language, but also spoke about the ideological-political attempt to revive Syriac Lebanon in the twentieth century, although not being realized. Quoting this idea instead of commenting is more informative and effective way to share this view:

Charles Malek (Greek Orthodox but the most Maronite of all) wrote two letters to Maronites, in which he emphasizes the importance of Mount Lebanon and Bkirki⁷ and the Syriac language to Maronites and Lebanon. He says that they are very important and points the finger and warns that these things should not become just part of the museum. About Syriac language, he says that you [Maronites] are responsible for teaching this language, but not the way they do in the West – as a curiosity, as something for university or museums, but this language will be Lebanese language. And in 1946 Patriarch Antonio asked Father Raphael Armalette to write the letter in Syriac in which he said that the official language of Lebanon should be Syriac. It is in 1946, exactly 3 years after Lebanon was declared an Arabic nation with Arabic language. (Interview No. 13).

To sum up, we can claim that although every interviewee expressed an attachment of the Maronite community to the Syriac language in the cultural and historical domains, however, in the context of the twentieth century this language is neither spoken in Lebanon nor has any political support for its revival except an attempt to revive it in the early days of Lebanese independence that was discussed by one of the interviewees previously.

7 The seat of the Maronite patriarchate in Northern Lebanon.

2.3. The Lebanese Arabic

When preparing the questionnaire before the fieldwork trip to Lebanon, the author intentionally included the question about the perception of interviewees towards the Lebanese language expecting the research participants to elaborate on this topic. The reason for including this question in the questionnaire was influenced by the discussion of Maronite and Lebanese intellectuals in the middle of the twentieth century about the Lebanese language and its role in modern Lebanese identity, whether it is a distinct language or an Arabic dialect.⁸ Some interviewees did not develop this topic at all claiming, for example, “Lebanese language is very easy and very soft. It is pleasant to hear, to listen.” (Interview No. 18.), without providing further details. At the same time, three interviewees said that Lebanese is a distinct language. One of these three interviewees said that Lebanese have their own language and “we need to do more about this [Lebanese] language” (Interview No. 2), however, apart from the expressed wish to develop this language, no further details on the topic were provided. Another of these three interviewees provided a comprehensive description of the arguments why Lebanese spoken variety can be perceived as a distinct language, basically, based on the existence of written tradition that turns a spoken variety into a distinct language. Quotes of this idea can provide more informative insight on the topic, since they also contain many cultural references to Lebanese history.

scientifically, the only difference between a dialect and a language is the fact that it is written. Scientifically, it's the only difference. You can take any dialect, and the moment you write it, it becomes a language. For example, you travel to Barcelona and at the airport you see those yellow signs with three lines: one in English, which would tell you where to go get your luggage and two in Spanish. And you see, why is it [written in] Spanish twice? No, look, in the second [line in Spanish], there is an accent on the *o*. Five words are the same, but in one of them there is an accent on the *o* that makes

8 The language was a subject of many discussions in the middle of the twentieth century among various Maronite and Lebanese intellectuals. While some of these intellectuals considered the Arabic language to be representing the Maronite and Lebanese identity, the others developed an idea of the Lebanese language claiming it to be a separate linguistic entity from Arabic language. The most influential intellectual representing this idea was Said Akl. For more on the topic, see the works of Bawardi (2016), Kaufman (2001; 2004), Płonka (2004; 2006) and Salameh (2010; 2020).

it separate from the other. This is Catalan, this is Spanish, two different [languages]. Here, if you take Lebanese and compare it with Arabic, there are zero Arabic words in some sentences, but it is a dialect. And it is a dialect of Arabic. Why? Because it is not written, because the language at school or on television is Arabic. So, whatever you do, what you are speaking is the dialect of Arabic even though we do not use any words in Arabic while speaking. The same language 200 years ago was called Syriac, when Asemali came from Rome to Hasrun. 300 years ago, they said, he spoke in Syriac. Maybe he was speaking the same thing we are speaking today, but it was called Syriac because back then they [Maronites] wrote everything in Syriac and taught Syriac at school. Today it is called Arabic, at the moment. When we start teaching Syriac at school, we will call what we speak Syriac, or a dialect of Syriac. (Interview No. 13).

It should be noted that another interviewee referred to the same motive—the developed written tradition of language—who, different from the above quoted interviewee, based on the lack of written tradition of Lebanese Arabic claimed that it was a dialect of Arabic lacking the necessary components to be considered as a distinct language.

It is a spoken language, it is not a written language, there are no established rules. At least I don't know anyone who teaches this language at the academy. If you go to school, you can learn Arabic, but not Lebanese. The point of view of some people is that they are not accept the fact that Lebanese is a dialect and not a full language that has all the necessary characteristics. But I am not aware of the differences between dialect and language, but there is a common saying that if a language cannot be written, you cannot call it a language, that is a case of Lebanese. (Interview No. 19).

It would be accurate to note that most of the interviewees told the Lebanese spoken variety to be a dialect of Arabic. Some of them provided brief answers supporting the above-expressed idea by saying, for example, that “it is a dialect that comes from Arabic *ya'nī*.⁹ You cannot ignore that it is really Arabic.” (Interview No. 11). Some other interviewees provided answers with some details: for example, the following quote is an example of how an interviewee referred to the discussions about the Lebanese language in the twentieth century when

9 A word in Arabic used for a very popular expression used in daily language, meaning “so”, “that is”, “namely”.

expressing the idea that Lebanese is a dialect of Arabic: “I don’t have this complex of being attached to [the] Arab world personally, but some people yes, they do. And maybe this was one of the things that the Lebanon [people] are attached to other languages.” (Interview No. 9). However, other interviewees provided more comprehensive answers to this question. The main motive that appears repeatedly in these answers was the relations of Lebanese Arabic to the other dialects of Arabic or to the Modern Standard Arabic. One of these interviewees who discussed the relations between Lebanese Arabic with the Modern Standard Arabic told that “the Lebanese language is [the] most similar to Arabic than the others.” (Interview No. 17); without further elaboration of the topic. Some other interviewees emphasized the pivotal role of the Maronite community in the process of *an-Nabḍa*:¹⁰

They told us *an-Nabḍa* began in Iraq before [than it began in] Lebanon, 200 years [ago]. But we all know and all history books talk about literature and language of Lebanon and poetry, all of them made [the beginning of] *an-Nabḍa* 200 years before¹¹ and you have to know that Lebanon is the first place in this Middle East that we have the first university *Džāmi‘at al-Ḥikmah* and maybe you know about it. (Interview No. 4).

When considering the relations of Lebanese Arabic with the other dialects of Arabic, it can be seen that there were different opinions expressed on this question. One of the interviewees told that Lebanese Arabic is a dialect of Arabic and also referred to Said Akl neglecting his idea; according to the interviewee, all the dialects of Arabic are similar and people from different locations where Arabic is spoken can communicate:

Now, if we are talking about the dialect, the Lebanese dialect, I don’t think it’s a language, because¹² Said Akl used to say it’s a language. In fact, I don’t think we have all the components to talk about a Lebanese language. We are a dialect of Arabic. It is clear. Because I can speak with my dialect with someone coming from Algeria, another coming from Morocco, and another from Syria. They use different dialects of Arabic, and I can speak with them and understand what they say with some difficulties

10 Apart from *an-Nabḍa*, one interviewee emphasized the role of Lebanese people in the development of Arabic language tradition in the middle of the twentieth century: “[...] so Lebanese participated in renovating Arabic in 1960s.” (Interview No. 17).

11 Ago.

12 Although.

sometimes, but finally we are able to communicate with this language, so I am not sure if we have a Lebanese language. We have a dialect, we have a Lebanese way of saying things, maybe it is related to this community or this society, and temperament. We have a special social personality, but not a language. (Interview No. 12).

However, in contrast, some other interviewees elaborated the distinctiveness of Lebanese Arabic, elaborating the differences between Lebanese Arabic and the other dialects of Arabic. These differences are based on the presence of different words originating from different languages in Lebanese Arabic:

It is a part [of the Arabic language] but at the same time [it is] separate. Because when you talk to Lebanese, they don't understand what you are talking about. Because you are talking Lebanese slang. Our Lebanese slang is a composition of our *Fuṣḥā*, composition of our Syriac, and the Aramaic, and we have a lot of things that we use from Turkey. But the main Arabic slang, Lebanese slang, is not like other: they [Arab speakers] can understand what we are talking about for Kuwait, Saudi, Egypt, but they don't understand our slang and think they understand it, but when we talk fast, we can talk fast and cannot understand it. (Interview No. 4).

However, these words originating from different languages do not prevent Lebanese Arabic from being the closest variety of Arabic to the Modern Standard Arabic, as the following quote suggests: "The Lebanese accent of Mount Lebanon and mostly used by Maronites is mainly familiar Arabic, but modified and influenced by the Syriac language there¹³ was spoken 2000 years ago by Jesus and his disciples. We call it Aramaic. Although our spoken Arabic is closest to official Arabic."¹⁴ (Interview No. 18). We can find further references to the relations between Arabic and Aramaic, proving how deeply interconnected these languages are, according to several interviewees. One of the motives suggests the idea that, as the interviewee said, "the origin of Arabic is Aramaic" (Interview No. 17).

¹³ Which.

¹⁴ The relations between the Modern Standard Arabic and local Arabic dialects as well as the relations between the Arabic dialects itself is a question of broader discussion. In the course of the twentieth century some discussions about standardization of local dialects in various Arab states were observed, although not on a large scale. Yet this topic is beyond the scope of my research.

Another interviewee provided a more comprehensive explanation about the influence of Aramaic on the variety spoken in Lebanon:

You know, you have many [words in the] Lebanese language [originating from] Aramaic, the language of Christ. Every word with two letters [in Lebanese] is [originating] from Aramaic. Let us say *nut: jump*. No *nut* in Arabic. All [words with] two letters come from Aramaic, Aramaic from Christ. (Interview No. 3).

However, the motive of the Aramaic language appeared only on a few occasions. In general, we can note that the question of Lebanese Arabic has provided diverse opinions and it is difficult to provide a universal definition on this topic. However, we can claim that most of the interviewees do not consider the discussion of the twentieth century about Lebanese language to be a relevant topic today.

2.4. The Lebanese multilingualism

Based on the data collected during the interviews, it can be stated that Lebanese multilingualism is the most common characteristic of the Maronite community, as expressed by the research participants and shared by all interviewees. Each interviewee elaborated on different details of the topic were elaborated by each interviewee; however, all interviewees univocally expressed this multilingualism as the most important characteristic of the Maronite community in the language domain. The following quote confirms Maronite multilingualism expressed by an interviewee telling that “Christians, especially Maronites, are talented in linguistics. They have this [habit] to speak more than one language.” (Interview No. 17). Another interviewee contributed to the topic by saying that “they are already speaking three languages. This is part of our culture. Because we need this, [we] always need to be open to others, we don’t live in this closed compound, let’s say. (Interview No. 11). The other interviewee shared similar views regarding Lebanese multilingualism, and, additionally, emphasized the openness of Lebanese people to other civilizations:

[...] yes, this reflects our tendency and our love to be open to other civilizations. This is more important than having a language. Being multilingual and being able to express our ideas in many languages is much better than having our own language. (Interview No. 12).

Moreover, several interviewees contributed to the topic of languages by indicating other languages than Arabic languages used by Maronites and also commenting on their social aspects. One of the interviewees noted the importance of French

for the Maronite community and its social aspect, and provided the following comment:

In the 1960s, most of the Maronites in cities spoke French. [...] This is the language of the salon. They [Maronites] still speak this language for some people: they like to speak French. But English now invaded the French language. (Interview No. 17).

As we see from the quote above, English also is getting its popularity within the Maronite community, yet the Maronites still prefer to use French. Moreover, as we can learn from the following passage, the preference for either French or English can define the communal affiliations of the individual.

But even though you try to analyse the 100 Sunni living in Beirut and 100 Maronite or Christians living in this region, you will find that we have a majority [of Maronites and Christians] here speaking French and majority [of Sunni] there speaking English. Because there is a cultural factor. (Interview No. 9).

The Lebanese multilingualism has also influenced the formation of a unique modern Lebanese way of speaking within the Maronite community. Usually, in daily conversations the Maronites mix several languages simultaneously¹⁵ and it has become one of the main characteristics of the Lebanese and, in particular, the Maronite community, with almost every research participant emphasizing this tendency and connecting it to the Maronite and Christian communities. For example, one of the interviewees stated that

It is very important. When you travel all over the world, most of the time, if you are in the mall, supermarket, or public place, you are mainly Maronite or Lebanese Christian by [their] spoken Arabic. Because the spoken Arabic is a refined accent. It is influenced by foreign languages. That's why. [As] for Muslims, Lebanese Muslims, you also recognize them by the language because they use fewer foreign words. And

¹⁵ Only one interviewee attempted to explain why the Maronites are mixing languages and this explanation, according to the interviewee, is based on the influence of the Maronite diaspora and the mobility of the Maronites worldwide: "in our language, we have a mixture of French. Especially, when you hear the Maronite talking, he will not talk Arabic only. You will hear many French terms and, lately, English. Because Maronites travel a lot, especially to North America, Australia, Europe, they get implemented by the foreign languages." (Interview No. 18).

they tend to use a much more official language mixed with Lebanese Arabic. (Interview No. 18)

The other interviewee also related this phenomenon of mixing languages to a Christian community contributing to the discussion by stating that “we do speak more and more [this way], we mix languages, we mainly mix Arabic and French and, somehow, English *and*, but it is not only, in my opinion, the Maronite thing. It’s more a Christian thing.” (Interview No. 9). One more interviewee shared similar idea and also referred to the languages that are being used in this modern spoken variety, consisting of English, French, and Arabic:

Everyone is like that. We don’t use Arabic, we don’t use French, we don’t use English, we mix just a lot. Some words I don’t even remember in a certain language, I just talk them in another language and everyone understands and everyone is fine with it. (Interview No. 6).

However, according to another interviewee, in addition to Arabic, English, and French, there are more contributing languages to the current Lebanese local spoken variety, as we can learn from the following quote:

Look, we use today Arabic. In the past Syriac. As a common language, they spoke at the time of Syriac liturgy. But we use Arabic daily. The origin of Arabic is Aramaic. And Aramaic is the language of Jesus. And the Syriac was Aramaic. It’s a chain. And now we speak Lebanese Arabic. It is a kind of derived from Aramaic and Syriac. And we have some Turkish words inside. We got some words from Turkey, some words from French, and some words from English. (Interview No. 17).

Consequently, considering all the language-related aspects indicated above with their historical and cultural sides and the features of the local spoken variety of Lebanese people used today, it is accurate to state that the modern Lebanese variety can be defined as a combination:

The Lebanese language is a combination. It is an Arabic language of course, it is a dialect of Arabic, it is not the Arabic that we normally write, so it is a part of Arabic, but it is a combination between French, there is a lot of French and some kind of English, there are some words from English, so it is a combination, it is not a pure Arabic language as in other Arabic countries. So, it is more a combination, I can say. (Interview No. 5).

In addition, we must note that the mixing of languages also influenced the modern means of communication, for example typing in electronic devices: “but rarely do we type in Arabic. We type in French, we type in English, we send voice messages

in Arabic, yes, we call in Arabic, maybe, but to say faster to communicate in English or in French.” (Interview No. 6).

In summary, the following quote provides the best and most informative definition for the data collected during the interviews, covering all three aspects related to the languages in Lebanon and also summarizing the generally expressed opinion of the interviewees.

Basically Arabic, we call it Lebanese Arabic, is the one we speak and the one we speak only. Like you will not see anyone speaking Syriac or anyone speaking professional Arabic. We don't speak it, we just learn it. And they still do the Mass there because it is more professional and more difficult to do because you cannot do it naturally the way you talk because it is very different from the way you write and we read. So, Arabic is very important, but it has been going out of style, going out use, I don't know how to say, because we are no longer using it, we focus on English or French. Because we are learning everything, the key words that we use, the Internet, the daily stuff, even the Pope, for example, even if you want to read tweets or read articles about Maronite stuff, you go and read them in English. (Interview No. 6).

Since there is no universally defined and used Lebanese language today, we need to consider all three aspects of the language discussed above as being essentially important and contributing to the Maronite identity. All aspects of languages are essentially important for Maronite identity, capable of defining it and contributing to the cultural development of the community.

Conclusions

As a conclusion, based on the interviews carried out in December 2022 in Lebanon, it can be claimed that, due to the absence of the Lebanese language today, which would be institutionally defined and universally accepted by everyone in Lebanon, all three components of languages discussed with the interviewees and analysed above represent the Maronite community and contribute to its cultural development. At the same time, each component represents some historical and cultural developments of the Maronite community as follows:

Firstly, the Syrian is the historical contributing factor to Maronite history, which heavily influences the local Lebanese variety spoken. Although Syriac was introduced to Lebanon in the fifth to seventh centuries, today it is used only in liturgy and very few people use it daily.

Secondly, Lebanese Arabic is generally perceived by the interviewees as a dialect of Arabic language leaving the discussions of the twentieth century about its distinctiveness in the past. For some interviewees, Lebanese Arabic lacks the necessary components to be a separate language, for some others it is a part of Arabic, for most of the interviewees it is a local spoken variety that embraced many words from Syriac and Aramaic.

Third, Lebanese or, particularly, Maronite multilingualism is the most common characteristic of the Maronite community, elaborated by all the interviewees. For ages the Maronites were famous for their multilingualism, currently speaking both modern standard Arabic and Lebanese Arabic, French, and English, however, it is also important to note that the Lebanese in general and the Maronites especially tend to mix the daily used language, consisting of Arabic, Syriac/Aramaic, French, English. This paragraph suggests that the concept of a certain language does not necessarily have to be developed since the multilingualism itself is an important characteristic capable of defining the community and reflecting its collective self-identification.

It is essentially important to state that the research represents only the part of the Maronite community that was interviewed during the fieldwork trip; therefore, considering it to be the voice of the whole community would be too ambitious task. However, the research reflects an opinion of the intelligentsia (as defined by Miroslav Hroch) of the Maronite community and, since intelligentsia can influence the masses due to resources possessed, it is likely that the ideas expressed during the interviews are likely to be spread within the community. It can also be noted that the research confirms the importance of language in the identity construction and the need to analyse it in case of modern collective identity construction.

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War Changes: Interactions between the Elites in Late 15th Century Japan

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Abstract This paper aims to analyze interactions between Japanese elites, namely the court nobility, the warrior class, and the Buddhist clergy, during the Muromachi period, focusing in particular on the period before and after the Ōnin War (1467–1477). The Ōnin War, originally a conflict between the Hosokawa and Yamana clans, not only changed the political situation in the country, but also led to major social changes that deeply influenced Japan for centuries to come. We consider the understanding of relations between the warrior class, the court nobility, and religious institutions to be pivotal for the understanding of the further development of Japanese history.

Keywords Muromachi period, Sengoku period, Ōnin war, military nobility, court nobility, Buddhist clergy

Introduction

This paper aims to describe changes in terms of relations between the court nobility (*kuge* 公家), the military nobility (*buke* 武家) and the Buddhist clergy in Japan at the time of the Ōnin war (Ōnin no Ran 応仁の乱, 1467–1477). The Ōnin war was a destructive conflict that took place in Japan in the middle of the 15th century and is often regarded as the beginning of the Sengoku period. Yet, this period of immense political, social, and economic changes is often marginalized and overlooked by most Western scholars, and even in Japan there are only a small number of publications that focus on this period.

Using practical examples from primary sources written in the 15th and early 16th centuries, this paper will therefore examine the form of the relations before the war and how—or whether—they changed in the years following the end of the war. The paper will focus on the Kansai region, home to Kyōto, the seat of the

imperial court as well as the Ashikaga shogunate and Nara, the seat of powerful Buddhist institutions.

Understanding the change in the mutual relations during the Muromachi period is crucial for understanding the subsequent development of Japanese history, as well as understanding the position of the court and religious institutions in later periods of Japanese history. Additionally, understanding the position of the imperial court can help answer the question of how the court survived the turbulent 100 years of warfare.

This research is important due to the fact that there are almost no publications dealing with this topic. Research of Japanese scholars focusing on the imperial court was restricted by the state for a long time, until the death of the Emperor Shōwa in 1989. As far as Western researchers are concerned, the subject is mostly ignored; the prevailing view in the West today is that the imperial court had little power in the Sengoku period and could hardly influence the course of events.

The paper thus brings together the reflections of both Western and Japanese researchers, and deepens the understanding of the topic by presenting the situation in the 15th century Japan in a unique perspective.

1 Introduction to the Literary Sources

There are a huge number of literary sources describing the situation in Japan in the 15th century, and they can be divided into two main groups. The first group consists of various personal diaries written by the court nobility as well as samurai or clergy. These include, for example, *Chikamoto nikki* 蜷川親元日記 (Diary of Ninagawa Chikamoto), compiled between 1465–1486 by the Muromachi shogunate bureaucrat Ninagawa Chikamoto 蜷川親元, or *Chikanaga kyōki* 親長卿記 (Diary of Lord Chikanaga) written by the court noble Kanroji Chikanaga 甘露寺親長, beginning in 1470 and ending in 1499. Both diaries provide useful insights into the situations before and after the Ōnin war, but probably the most valuable literary source from this period is the diary called *Daijōin jisha zōjiki* 大乘院寺社雑事記 (Chronicles of Daijōin temple about miscellaneous matters), written by

the abbots of the Kōfukuji temple Daijōin in Nara. This great anthology spans from 1450 to 1527 and was written by several abbots of the temple, the most notable being Abbot Jinson 尋尊 (1430–1508), son of Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402–1481).¹

The second group of the sources consists of heroic eposes *gunkimono* 軍記物. These works are mostly a combination of historical fact and fiction, often accompanied by Buddhist or Confucianist morals. *Gunkimono* are generally written by unknown authors, which is also the case with the most valuable source from this period, the *Chronicles of Ōnin* (*Ōninki* 応仁記).

Ōninki is believed to have been written sometime between the late 15th century and the middle of the 16th century. The author was influenced in his work by another great chronicle, *Taiheiki* 太平記 (Chronicle of Great Peace) describing the events related to the establishment of the Muromachi shogunate), but his knowledge of literary sources, both Japanese and Chinese, is much broader, as he frequently refers to various Chinese poets and Japanese classical authors. For these reasons, it is very likely that the author hailed from the highest strata of the society and may have been personally involved in the affairs.

Daijōin jisha zōjiki and *Ōninki* accurately represent the literary sources of their time, and both were written (in the case of *Ōninki*, presumably) by the highest members of society, so can give us an insight into the situation at the time. For this reason, both figured as the main sources for this research.

In order to understand the development of relations in later periods, other diaries and chronicles were used in this research. Among them were *Sanetaka kōki* 実隆公記—the diary of a court noble written by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三條西実隆 (1455–1537), *Nobutane kyōki* 宣胤卿記—the diary of another court noble named Nakamikado Nobutane 中御門宣胤 (1442–1525) and *gunkimono Ashikaga kiseiki* 足利季世記 (Chronicles of the Ashikaga), describing the situation in the Kansai region in the last decades of the 15th century.

1 Also known as Ichijō Kanera.

2 Prelude to the Ōnin War

But what was the Ōnin war and why is it so important in the course of Japanese history?

The war, named after the first year of the Ōnin era in which it started, was a major conflict lasting from 1467 to 1477. This conflict is also often regarded as a starting point of a subsequential period of the Warring States (*Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代). It is most commonly described as a struggle for succession in the ruling Ashikaga dynasty, but the actual situation was far more complex. It was a combination of various internal factors, such as the growing rivalry between two most powerful clans of that time, the Hosokawa and Yamana clans, as well as succession crises in the Shiba and Hatakeyama clans.²

The crises in the upper echelons of society were accompanied by the struggle of the common people. In the years prior to the Ōnin war, Japan suffered a great famine, known as the Kanshō famine, and more and more people rebelled against their masters, often encouraged by the teachings of the Pure Land Buddhist sect. The combination of these factors thus led to the outbreak of the Ōnin war and to the shogunate's significant loss of power. To understand the shape of relations between the clergy, the military, and the court nobility, we must first describe the overall situation before the war in more detail, focusing on significant political figures of that time.

The starting point of the struggle for the succession to Ashikaga could be placed in 1441. This was the year in which the sixth shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori 足利義教 (1394–1441) was assassinated by one of his vassals, Akamatsu Mitsusuke 赤松満祐 (1381–1441). This political assassination, later known as the Kakitsu Incident (*Kakitsu no ben* 嘉吉の変), was a result of Yoshinori's harsh treatment of his vassals and his tyrannical and cruel ways, and opened the way for prominent warrior clans to profit from it. The united forces of various shogunate vassals stormed Harima province, the seat of power of the Akamatsu, and forced Mitsusuke and his son to commit suicide.

2 These two clans were one of the three (along with the Hosokawa clan) that were eligible for the title of shogun's deputy—*kanrei* 管領.

After the defeat, the territory of the Akamatsu clan was entrusted into the custody of the Yamana clan, which also participated in the campaign against them. This was very important to the Yamana, as they had lost much of their prestige and land during the unsuccessful Meitoku war against Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1391. These territorial gains, along with the ambitions and character of Yamana leader Yamana Mochitoyo 山名持豊 (1404–1473; known as Yamana Sōzen 山名宗全 after taking vow) opened the way for the Hosokawa–Yamana rivalry in a following years.

After Harima campaign, a new shogun was chosen. It was Ashikaga Yoshikazu, who was only eight years old at the time and was to become a mere pawn in the hands of *kanrei* Hosokawa Mochiyuki. Moreover, the shogun died the following year under unclear circumstances, and his younger brother Yoshinari 義成, who was eight years old as well, was named as his successor. Yoshinari took office in 1449 and changed his name to Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436–1490).

2.1 Ashikaga Yoshimasa and the succession crisis

Yoshimasa is known by historians as an indulgent ruler who paid more attention to opulent celebrations than to ruling.³ He listened to the advice of various monks and nuns more than to his own vassals and generally showed no interest in being shogun. Other historians point out that this point of view does not do justice to Yoshimasa, as he actively engaged in politics and wanted to balance the power of his vassals (Goza 2016, 66). Either way, his actions caused two major succession crises in the *kanrei* houses, one in the shogunal house itself and then the war in Echizen province, events that I will now explain in further detail.

Let us first look at the succession crisis in the shogunal house itself, as it is probably the most famous. In 1464, Yoshimasa announced his intention to resign the office of shogun and retire to his palace in Higashiyama. At the time, the shogun was heirless, so he summoned his younger brother Kijin 義尋, at that time *monzeki* 門跡⁴ of Jōdōji temple 浄土寺 and asked him to become his successor. Yoshimasa even assured his brother that even if a son was born to him, Yoshimi

3 According to Confucian principles, the virtue of the ruler is connected with the fortune of the state (Papa 2020: 160).

4 Buddhist priests of aristocratic or imperial lineage.

would remain heir to the shogunate. Because of that, Kijin, after some persuasion, agreed, came out of seclusion, and changed his name to Ashikaga Yoshimi.

In 1465, Yoshimasa's heir, later known as Ashikaga Yoshihisa 足利義尚, was born, but the shogun intended to keep Yoshimi as the successor. This displeased Yoshimasa's wife, Hino Tomiko 日野富子 (1440-1496), who sought support from Yamana Sōzen. Sōzen accepted this call, as he saw it as an opportunity to challenge his rival Hosokawa Katsumoto 細川勝元 (1430-1473). In retaliation, Katsumoto supported Yoshimi's claim, which caused tensions in the central government, and both sides began to gather supporters for their upcoming clash.

The second important succession crisis happened in the *kanrei* house of Shiba in 1465 between Shiba Yoshitoshi 斯波義敏 (1435-1508) and Shiba Yoshikado 斯波義廉 (?-?). After the death of Shiba Yoshitake 斯波義健 in 1452, Shiba Yoshitoshi was elected as his heir. However, this decision did not please Kai Jōchi 甲斐常治 (?-1459), Shiba *shugodai* 守護代⁵ of Echizen, who, indirectly supported by the shogun, launched a war against Yoshitoshi in Echizen province in 1458 (*Chōroku kassen* 長祿合戦) and with the help of Asakura clan, managed to win. This battle seriously affected the relations between the court nobility, the clergy, and the military nobility, as Echizen province was a strong source of income for many nobles and clergymen.

Moreover, according to the *Ōninki* chronicles, Kai, Asakura and Oda, vassals of Shiba, petitioned the shogun's most influential adviser at the time, Ise Sadachika 伊勢貞親 (1417-1473), who persuaded the shogun to strip Yoshitoshi of his titles and his position as head of the house in favour of his son. However, this decision was soon changed; Shibukawa Yoshikado 渋川義廉 was adopted to Shiba, and made the new leader of the clan, while Yoshitoshi was forced to leave the capital and retire to Suo province. The situation calmed down for a while, only to flare up again in 1465 when Yoshitoshi was pardoned by the shogun. According to *Ōninki*, this was due to the fact, that Yoshitoshi's and Sadachika's concubines were sisters and pressured Sadachika to obtain the shogun's pardon for Yoshitoshi, while other sources suggest that it was due to amnesty after the death

5 *Shugo's* 守護 deputy.

of the shogun's mother. Yoshitoshi was allowed to return to the capital and was reinstated as clan leader with all previous official functions.

Yoshikado, son-in-law of Yamana Sōzen, visited his father-in-law and asked for his support. Sōzen used this situation as an opportunity to challenge Hosokawa Katsumoto, and together with other influential clans of the shogunate, succeeded in gaining the shogun's support for Yoshikado, as well as forcing Ise Sadachika, Shiba Yoshitoshi, and two other shogunal vassals out of the capital.

The third dispute over succession arose in the Hatakeyama family in the 1450s between Hatakeyama Yoshinari 畠山義成 (1437?-1491)⁶ and another branch of the clan. When Hatakeyama Mochikuni 畠山持国 (1398-1455) was dying, he wanted his concubine's son Yoshinari to be the next head of the clan. This decision was opposed by his brother Hatakeyama Mochitomi and his son Masahisa 畠山政久 (?-1459). The situation escalated in a battle between Masahisa and Yoshinari, in which Masahisa, with the support of the shogun and other clans, was victorious. The fighting took place mainly in Yamato province, the seat of Kōfukuji temple, and for this reason was well documented by Abbot Jinson in *Daijōin jisha zōjiki*. It is not difficult to imagine that the fighting so close to Kyōto as well as to the old capital of Nara, also greatly influenced the shape of relations between the nobility and the clergy. After his defeat, Yoshinari was forced to flee into exile in Kumano, and as Masahisa died suddenly shortly afterwards, the leadership of the clan was given to Hatakeyama Masanaga 畠山政長 (1442-1493), who also became a *kanrei*.

Yoshinari was pardoned by the shogun's amnesty in 1464 and attacked Kawachi province, where he fought Masanaga and his other opponents from neighboring Yamato province. In the same year he returned to the capital and demanded that Masanaga step down from all official positions and that he be given the clan headship, which the shogun granted in 1467. In reaction to this, Masanaga sought support from his patron, Hosokawa Katsumoto (1430-1473), and shortly thereafter military forces started to gather in the vicinity of Kyoto. Masanaga, encouraged by this, ambushed the forces of Yoshinari in Kyoto, at the Kami Goryō shrine (*Goryō kassen* 御霊合戦), but lost and was forced to flee. This battle, however, can be considered as the starting point of the Ōnin war because open hostilities between Hosokawa and Yamana broke out a few months later at the Battle of Upper Kyoto (*Kamigyō no tatakai* 上京の戦い).

6 Also known as Yoshihiro.

3 The Ōnin War

The Ōnin war was a turning point in the history of the Ashikaga shogunate and marked its terminal phase. According to *Ōninki*, both sides amassed armies of about 80 000 men, and while this may not be entirely accurate, it gives us a picture of the scale of the war. The initial strike was made by the Hosokawa; they were given the shogun's banner and commissioned to suppress the Yamana, now branded as rebel. Fighting took place not only in the capital but also in the provinces since many of the local lords, involved in succession disputes, sided with the various camps. Later, these armies would be known as the Western Army (Yamana side) and the Eastern Army (Hosokawa side).

After a year in which some of the local lords changed sides, war reached a stalemate and turned into trench warfare. The warring sides also employed arson tactics and as a result most of the capital and its surroundings were destroyed. Moreover, in 1469 Ashikaga Yoshimi changed sides and defected to Yamana, which forced the shogun to name Yoshihisa as his heir. War enthusiasm waned and the fighting generals started to return to their home provinces. In 1473, both Yamana Sōzen and Hosokawa Katsumoto died, and even though fighting continued, both sides were probably looking for a way to end it. In April of 1474, a truce was signed between Hosokawa Masamoto and Yamana Masatoyo, formally ending the war, but the fighting continued until December 1477, when Ōuchi Masahiro 大内正弘 (1446–1495), Yamana's greatest ally, finally left the capital, having secured his holdings in the west. Soon after, Yoshimasa abdicated and Yoshihisa became the new shogun. Thus, the war *de facto* ended with the victory of Hosokawa.

4 The Aftermath

After the official end of the Ōnin war, other disputes continued, mainly the Hatakeyama family feud, and the war between cousins ravaged the Kansai region. Other warrior clans also took the opportunity to expand their sphere of influence by seizing neighbouring territory. One of the earliest examples of such warriors is

Rokkaku Takayori 六角高頼 (?–1520). In his conquest of the entire province of Ōmi, he also seized many holdings of the court nobility. The court nobles, naturally dissatisfied with the development of the situation, appealed to the shogun, and Yoshihisa, in an attempt to distance himself from the influence of his father, who now ruled from behind the curtain, launched a punitive expedition against Rokkaku in 1487. Two years later the shogun died of illness in a military encampment, having failed to achieve his goal, only to be followed by his father in 1490.

After Yoshihisa's 足利義尚 death, the Ashikaga house again faced a succession crisis that was resolved by naming Ashikaga Yoshiki,⁷ son of Yoshimi, as the new shogun in 1490. Unfortunately, the appointment of a new shogun did not resolve the situation, as *kanrei* Hosokawa Masamoto 細川政元 (1466–1507) soon grew dissatisfied with the new shogun and in 1493 staged a coup d'état⁸ that led to Yoshiki's exile. He also named Ashikaga Yoshizumi 足利義澄 (1481–1511), the son of Yoshimasa and Yoshimi's half-brother, as the new shogun. Masamoto's actions led to the total collapse of the Ashikaga power and to chaos that was only ended by Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) almost seventy years later.

5 The Court Nobility

The Ōnin war left a huge scar on the Kinai region, and the elite group most affected by it was the court nobility. After the war, the capital was left in ruins and many of the court nobles found themselves facing an existential crisis. Although many of the powerful regental houses, such as Kujō 九条 or Nijō 二条, were able to reconstruct their mansions and regain their respectable status after a few decades, for other houses the situation was much more serious, and some even collapsed, as they were no longer able to support themselves.

Courtiers who were not wealthy enough to remain in the capital, or decided to leave the capital ravaged by fighting, often left for their estates in the provinces. It is only natural that after the end of the war, many of these nobles were hesitant

7 Better known as Ashikaga Yoshitane 足利義植. He took this name after reclaiming the position of shogun in 1508.

8 Known as the Meiō coup (*Meiō no seiben* 明応の政変).

to return and even refused to hear the call of the emperor himself. There is even the case of Abbot Jinson's brother, Ichijō Norifusa 一条教房 (1423–1480), who moved to Tosa province in 1475, and his descendants switched from being a *kuge* to being a *buke*. Later, Ichijō of Tosa alongside with Anegakōji 姉小路氏 of Hida and Kitabatake of Ise 北畠氏, were called “*Sengoku sankokushi* 戦国三国司” (The three civil governors of the Sengoku period). And although they adopted a warrior identity, all three families still maintained relations with the court and participated in court life as much as possible.

The other nobles sought the support of local lords in the provinces in exchange for their services as teachers or advisors, even at the risk of losing their position and court titles in the capital by angering the emperor. Among various examples of such nobles, we may mention the case of Reizei Tamehiro 冷泉為広 (1450–1526), a middle-ranking court noble coming from a family respected for its skills in poetry. Tamehiro visited several provinces, such as Noto and Harima at the invitation of local lords and offered his skills in literature and poetry. He also took disciples, demanding about a hundred rolls of *sen*⁹ or a valuable gift as an entrance fee. In this way, he was able to not only secure his welfare but also provide some funds to the family that remained in the capital (Watanabe 2011, 74).

When the high-ranking nobles fled the capital, they were replaced by middle-ranking nobles who filled the vacant positions needed for serving the emperor. Although these nobles were forced to drastically reduce their expenses and lower their standard of living,¹⁰ they were finally able to fully participate in governance and give their counsel to the emperor. Their lower rank also allowed the samurai to cooperate with them more often and gain access to the emperor.

On the other hand, the poor financial situation of the courtiers was caused not only by the war itself, but also because court, in an attempt to maintain a certain degree of legitimacy, refused to cut back on its expenses and continued to

9 The smallest unit of Japanese currency at the time. The exact value of this sum is not clear, as the value of *sen* varied considerably during the Muromachi period.

10 Although some families, such as the Yamashina family, were able to maintain their estates in the proximity of the capital and secure an income through it.

spend great amounts of money to organize the annual court observation. It was not successful in many cases, as the nobles were seen complaining about the poor state of the court and the fact that certain rituals were held only once in a longer period of time compared to the situation before the war when they were held annually.

5.1 The warrior class

Samurai have controlled Japan since the late 12th century. At the time of the Ōnin war, the country was ruled by the Ashikaga shogunate that came to power in 1338 when Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358) overthrew Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288–1339) and had himself named shogun. Thereafter, Takauji established a very complex network of relationships with both court and military nobles that helped him maintain the status quo for more than a century, but it was the same network of personal relationships that eventually led to the collapse of the bakufu.

Unlike the Kamakura or Edo shogunates, the shoguns of Muromachi personally owned only a small portion of land and had to rely on their *shugo* (military governors) to administer most of the provinces. Over time, the *shugo* grew more powerful and were often able to threaten the government itself (for example, the case of the Meitoku rebellion in 1391).¹¹ Yet these rebellions were sometimes beneficial to the shogunate because through them the shoguns were able to destroy their political opponents and replace them with less powerful and more loyal clans. But though the first five shoguns worked systematically on strengthening their control over the *shugo*, their success was only partial, and they were never able to control their vassals entirely.

But how were these vassals able to gain such power? Aside from amassing land given to them by the shogunate for various political or military exploits, there were various other means in which warriors could legitimize their claim to power or boost their prestige within the structure of Muromachi shogunate. These means rested with the imperial court, for though the warrior class effectively ruled Japan, the samurai were still theoretically subordinate to the court and administered the land only in the emperor's name.

11 Rebellion of Yamana clan against Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The rebellion was a direct result of Yoshimitsu's attempt to seize Yamana territory.

In the times of Taika reform (in 645), the court adopted a system of bureaucratic ranks and titles that survived long after the collapse of the *ritsuryō* 律令制 system.¹² Although these governmental positions lost their relevance and changed into purely ceremonial titles, the bestowal of such titles was still associated with great prestige, especially for warriors who could not receive them hereditarily. The Ashikaga shoguns were aware of this fact and even created a position in their government that was responsible for administering court titles for the vassals of the shogunate.¹³ The Ashikaga then bestowed the titles to their vassals in hope of gaining favour with them and maintaining balance in the country.

Moreover, the Muromachi shogunate, which arose out of the rebellion against Emperor Go-Daigo, affiliated itself with the court early on right after the rebellion, as it was necessary to legitimize the claim to rule the land, and this affiliation was strongest during the time of the third shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. During his lifetime, the life of the shogunate officials in the capital strongly resembled the ways of the court nobles.

During premodern times, it was a common practice to arrange marriages between court and military nobility. In the case of the Muromachi period, an example is the Hino family, a lower-ranking noble family that helped Ashikaga overthrow the Kamakura shogunate and, from the time of Yoshimitsu, provided wives for Ashikaga shoguns. After the Ōnin war, local *sbugo* also took the opportunity to form kinship with the court nobles, ensuring that they would gain legitimacy, while the court nobles often received various gifts and more or less frequent financial support from their warrior relatives.

5.2 Buddhist clergy

In between the court and the warrior class stood Buddhist clergy, as their services were required by both. At the middle of the 15th century, one of the most powerful

12 While the *ritsuryō* system of government effectively collapsed by the end of the 9th century, the court titles continued to be used until the Meiji revolution in the 19th century.

13 The office of *Kanto bugyō* 官途奉行 existed already during the times of Kamakura bakufu, but Ashikaga shogunate incorporated it into its structure as well.

seats of the Buddhist clergy was in the city of Nara. There was the seat of Kōfukuji temple 興福寺, the ancestral temple of the Fujiwara family and one of the seven great temples of Nara. From the time of the Kamakura shogunate, Kōfukuji also acted as the de facto *shugo* of Yamato province, being the most powerful landholder in the area. In addition to the land in Yamato, the temple owned many estates in various provinces, with the most significant properties located in the northern part of Echizen province (called *Hokkoku shōen* 北国莊園).

Kōfukuji also possessed its own body of minor military noble vassals who resided in Yamato province (such as the Tsutsui 筒井, Ochi 越智 or Furuichi 古市 clans). In the mid-15th century, these clans often fought among themselves, which gradually weakened the temple's position and led to the ultimate loss of its power in later centuries.

Kōfukuji however was not the only powerful Buddhist institution in the central provinces. In the northeast of Kyoto was the seat of powerful Tendai school at Enryakuji temple 延暦寺 on Mt. Hiei. Members of the Tendai school often meddled in the politics of the capital and used their warrior monks to threaten the inhabitants of the capital to achieve their political or material goals. The monks of Mt. Hiei also often sheltered political refugees from the capital; the most prominent example being the former emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河法皇 (1127–1192), who fled to Mt. Hiei from Kiso Yoshinaka in 1180s. During the Ōnin war, the monks of Enryakuji also sheltered Ashikaga Yoshimi.

The capital itself was also the seat of many powerful Buddhist temples, such as Shōkokuji 相国寺, a Zen Buddhist temple founded by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu as the Ashikaga family temple. There was also a powerful Honganji temple 本願寺 of the Jōdō Shinshū school, which grew in popularity in the 1450s and became a power capable of withstanding attacks by Oda Nobunaga during his conquest of Kansai during the Sengoku period.

The power of the Buddhist clergy stemmed not only from its wealth and long tradition, but also from the fact that the top members of the clergy were traditionally recruited from the third or younger sons of powerful court and military nobles, thus the relations between these three groups were not only based on institutional contacts but were also deeply personal.

6 Contacts *Prior to the War*

Now that we are familiar with the situation of the court, the warrior class, and the Buddhist clergy, we can take a closer look at the shape of their relations before the Ōnin war. We will set the year 1441, the year in which Ashikaga Yoshinori was assassinated, as a starting date for the analysis. The reason for this is that the subsequent crisis marks the start of the terminal phase of the Ashikaga shogunate, but at the same time the old structures of the court and Buddhist temples remained generally unchanged. Thus, this period serves greatly to illustrate the shape of relations on the brink of this devastating conflict.

The most common form of interactions in this period concerned financial matters, such as the distribution of income from the *shōen* 莊園 estates or disputes over its jurisdiction. To maintain good relations that could eventually help them to press claims in certain matters, the court nobles, warriors, and Buddhist monks also exchanged various gifts and paid courteous visits to each other, both at times of important religious holidays as well as on ordinary days.

All three parties also frequently participated in poetry composing sessions that had been popular since the times of Heian period. These gatherings, which were organized by all three groups of elites, surely served as a means to deepen personal ties and probably also to fulfil certain agendas of individual participants. Moreover, such events greatly contributed to the development of the culture of poetry in Japan.

In the 1450s, however, many court nobles had their own agendas and political ambitions, and one of the prime examples of such behavior may have been the members of the aforementioned Hino family. From 1440s until their deaths, its most dominant members were Hino Katsumitsu 日野勝光 (1429–1476) and his sister, the infamous Hino Tomiko 日野富子. Katsumitsu served as an advisor to Shogun Yoshimasa and at the same time held high positions in the imperial court. Moreover, he acted as the *Nanto tensō* 南都伝奏—mediator between the imperial court and the temples in Nara.

In 1463, Katsumitsu and other members of the court nobility were approached by Hatakeyama Yoshinari who was attempting to obtain the shogun's pardon after the shogunal forces defeated him at the siege of Takeyama castle.

According to *Ōninki*, he was unable to get a pardon because of the court nobles and had to rely on Yamana Sōzen and Hino Tomiko, who helped him obtain a pardon in 1464 (*Ōninki, Hatakeyama sōdō*).

The following year, Hino Katsumitsu acted as the shogunal envoy to Ashikaga Yoshimi with a personal letter from the shogun asking Yoshimi to return to the capital. This was after the expulsion of Ise Sadachika and other members of the shogunal government during the Shiba succession crisis (*Ōninki, Buei ke sōdō no koto*). It is almost certain that Katsumitsu was chosen as envoy due to his personal relationship with the shogun and his position at court.¹⁴ Katsumitsu was also not involved in the conflict, and as a member of the *kuge*, he was the ideal person to act as a neutral mediator between the shogun and his younger brother.

Another influential figure connecting all three groups was Jōshiin Kōsen 成身院光宣 (1390–1470). He was the second son of the Kōfukuji vassal Tsutsui Junkaku 筒井順覚 (?–1422) and entered the priesthood at the Kōfukuji branch temple Jōshiin 成身院 in 1405. Although member of a Buddhist clergy, Kōsen continued to endorse the interests of the Tsutsui clan. Already in 1429, he managed to get help from the shogunal forces, who helped the Tsutsui win in the Yamato Eikyō disturbance 大和永享の乱.

Kōsen was also involved in Hatakeyama succession strife because the fighting took place in Kawachi province and surrounding regions. Initially, he chose to support Hatakeyama Masahisa and due to his opposition to the shogunate, Tsutsui lands were confiscated in 1457, only to be returned to him two years later after the intervention of Hosokawa Katsumoto. When Masahisa died, Kōsen continued to support his younger brother Masanaga, whom he accompanied to Kyoto in 1460.

Kōsen also participated in the following punitive expedition against Yoshinari, and thanks to his planning, the shogunal forces succeeded in capturing Takeyama castle after a three-year siege. After Yoshinari's pardon in 1464, Kōsen continued to support Masanaga, and in 1467 devised a plan that saved Masanaga's life after the lost battle at Kamigoryō shrine 上御霊神社. With the outbreak of the Ōnin war, Kōsen had prominent role among the Eastern army generals, but he died in 1470.

14 In 1465 he was promoted to Junior First Rank and received a title of *gondainagon* 権大納言 (chief councillor of state).

Another member of the clergy who frequently dealt with the court nobility and samurai was Abbot Jinson himself. As abbot of the Kōfukuji branch temple, he was often forced to negotiate the temple's position on the matters of jurisdiction of its major *shōen* estates in Echizen province.¹⁵ The great competition over the position of *daikan* 代官 (administrator) of these estates is clearly visible in his diaries. In the seventh month of 1459, Yamagata Tsunesuke 山形常祐 (*Yamagata Kaga nyudo* 山形加賀入道, ?-?), a vassal of Hino Katsumitsu, desired a position of *daikan* in Hosorogi *shōen* (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, Chōroku 3/7/2). Due to the ongoing conflict in Echizen, it was difficult for the Daijōin temple to effectively collect estate revenues, so choosing the right *daikan* was crucial. On the other hand, assuming the position of *daikan* was profitable for both Hino Katsumitsu and his vassal Yamagata; Katsumitsu would expand his sphere of influence, and for Yamagata, holding the position represented a share (*shiki* 職) of the estate's income.

In 1459, the Hosorogi estate was administered by the Ōdate clan, but Ōdate Noriuji 大館教氏 (1426–1463) neglected to pay tribute several times, so Jinson decided to relieve him from his position and install Yamagata instead. This decision was concluded a month later, on the 14th day of the eighth month and Yamagata assumed the position of *daikan* (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, Chōroku 3/8/14). Unfortunately for the Daijōin temple, Yamagata was unable to fully control the region and was recalled in the eleventh month, in part due to pressure from the shogunate on the Daijōin temple. The administration of the *shōen* was given back to the Ōdate clan, which was also unable to fulfil its obligations, resulting in a lawsuit between the Ōdate clan and the Daijōin temple in the seventh month of the fourth year of the Kanshō era (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, Kanshō 4/7/23).

With the eruption of the Ōnin war, many high ranking court nobles decided to flee the capital and seek refuge in the provinces. Abbot Jinson's father, the famous Ichijō Kaneyoshi, was no exception. He took refuge at Kōfukuji temple along with several other members of the *gosekke* 五摂家,¹⁶ such as the former

15 Namely Kawaguchi *shōen* 河口莊園 and Tsuboe *shōen* 坪江莊園 and its smaller integral parts, such as Hosorogi *shōen* 細呂木莊園.

16 Five regental branches of the Fujiwara clan.

center minister Kujō Masatada or the former *kampaku* 関白 Takatsukasa Masahira 鷹司政平 (1445–1517). Kaneyoshi first resided at one of the Daijōin temples—Zenjōin, but after about a month he moved to Jōjuin temple, where he stayed until the end of the Ōnin war.

Another example of the necessary measures taken under the threat of war is the relocation of the emperor and former emperor to Muromachi palace shortly after the Ōnin war began. According to the *Ōninki* chronicles, this event was preceded by the expulsion of twelve warrior members of the imperial guard identified by Hosokawa Katsumoto as spies on the enemy side. On the same day of their expulsion, the palace was attacked by the Yamana side, and Hosokawa Katsumoto ordered the relocation of both the emperor and the former emperor. Their arrival was preceded by the arrival of the Three Sacred Treasures, delivered by Hosokawa Noriharu 細川教春 (?-?). The emperors themselves arrived later, but their entry into the shogunal palace was delayed for about ten hours due to the disturbance caused by the twelve exiled guards. According to the *Ōninki* chronicles, there was a rumour that the shogun was favourably disposed toward the Yamana side and with the help of the twelve guards could capture the emperors for the Yamana cause. But the shogun agreed with Katsumoto's decision and expelled the guards from Muromachi palace. After that, the emperors entered the palace at 10 o'clock in the evening and remained there for the next ten years, which was necessary due to the increasing violence and incidents of arson in the capital (*Ōninki, Muromachi tei no gyōkō no koto* 室町低の行幸の事).

7 *Did the Contacts Change after the War?*

Although the Ōnin war lasted only ten years, the world it created was completely different from the one in which it began. The country was in a state of continuous warfare ongoing in most of the provinces, and the Ashikaga shogunate had just enough influence and resources to be considered a regional power. This world of constant warfare forced the members of the elites to fight for survival every day.

Nobles who returned to the capital after the end of hostilities found themselves in a dire need of funds and often appealed to the warriors with lawsuits. One such example is Ichijō Kaneyoshi, the most famous scholar of the time and a member of the *gosekke*. Kaneyoshi first fled from the war to Nara, where he and

few other nobles found refuge at the temple of Kaneyoshi's son, Jinson. After the war, Kaneyoshi returned to the capital and tried to get back some land that had been usurped by the warriors during the conflict. To this end, he went to Echizen province, which now solely belonged to the Asakura clan, and demanded the land that had been confiscated during the conquest of Echizen. The Asakura refused his demand, but compensated Kaneyoshi with the sum of 200 *kan*.¹⁷

Yet even in such times, the elite found time to relax and organize various poetry composing sessions that continued almost undisturbed by the surrounding chaos. Court nobles, monks and warriors gathered in mansions that had survived the fires of the capital, or in the various temples around Kyōto or in Nara. Nakamikado Nobutane and Sanjōnishi Sanetaka provide us with a detailed list of the participants as well as the opening verses that were composed at each of such sessions. Furthermore, these sessions could be tracked back to 1474. It is possible that during these times poetry sessions served not only as a relief from the constant stress caused by war, but also as a means of maintaining an imagined status quo and legitimacy, especially for the court nobility.

In the matter of politics, the strong influence of Hino Tomiko was still evident. After the death of both Yoshihisa and Yoshimasa in 1489, she endorsed Ashikaga Yoshitane as the next shogun, thus opposing the will of *kanrei* Hosokawa Masamoto, who supported Ashikaga Yoshizumi. Due to her immense influence, she was able to achieve her goal and Yoshitane became the 10th Ashikaga shogun—only to see Tomiko switching sides and support Hosokawa Masamoto four years later, after the death of Yoshimasa. This resulted in the Meiō coup and started a new chapter in the history of the Kansai region.

After the death of Yoshihisa, however, the influence of the Hino family waned, and with the deaths of both Katsumitsu (in 1476) and Tomiko (in 1496), the Hino family lost most of their power. This can be illustrated by the examples of the wives of the Ashikaga shoguns; the last shogun to take a wife from the Hino family was Yoshihisa. Yoshitane's wife was the daughter of Hosokawa Shigeyuki, which could be seen as a political move from Yoshitane who needed support in

17 Today's equivalent of twenty million yen.

his fight against Hosokawa Masamoto. The 12th and the 13th shoguns, however, took wives from the Konoë family, which might suggest that the Hino clan was no longer desirable as a source of wives.

One exception can be seen in the case of Ashikaga Yoshizumi, who took Hino Tomiko's niece as his wife. This was probably also the result of Tomiko's scheming. It is uncertain when the wedding took place, but in the 1505 Yoshizumi divorced his wife and took a new wife from either the Shiba or Rokkaku clan.¹⁸ This could lead to an assumption that when Tomiko's influence was no longer present, Yoshizumi decided to seek a more profitable alliance.

Other nobles too recognized the need for flexible political thinking and saw opportunity in marrying their daughters to warrior clans. One of such men was Sanjō Kinyori 三条公頼 (1495–1551), a high-ranking noble who often travelled the provinces, visiting his associates from the ranks of military nobility. In 1536, Kinyori travelled to Kai province, where he met young Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521–1573) and decided to give him his daughter in marriage. Later, he also arranged a marriage between his other daughter and *kanrei* Hosokawa Harumoto 細川晴元 (1514–1563). These decisions show Kinyori's deep understanding of the political situation and his willingness to take necessary steps to ensure the survival of his own house.

Aside from marriages between court nobility and samurai, there were also cases of adopting sons between these groups. This is the case, for example, of Hosokawa Sumiyuki 細川澄之 (1489–1507), originally the son of the high-ranking noble Kujō Masamoto 九条政基 (1445–1516), who was adopted in 1502 by the heirless Hosokawa Masamoto to become the heir to the main branch of the Hosokawa family.

It seems that the court and the Buddhist clergy maintained their relationships even after the war, and the clergy often sought counsel of the court nobles. Such is the case of the monks of Sanmonshitōin temple 山門西塔, who petitioned to Sanjōnishi Sanetaka in the matter of interrupted religious lectures by unknown individuals. As a counselor, Sanetaka merely replied that a thorough investigation of the matter was required, and made no further mention of it in his diary. (Sanjōnishi, *Sanetaka kōki*, Bunmei 6/8/9).

18 It is uncertain from which clan Yoshizumi's wife came, as sources only state she was a daughter of Buei, a title that both Shiba Yoshihiro and Rokkaku Takayori were called by.

There is another example of the court's involvement in the matter of Buddhist clergy. On the 27th day of the eighth month of the 6th year of Bunmei era, Sanetaka writes about the case of the monk Kōhan who was given the title of *sbōzu*¹⁹ in the Shōrenin temple 青蓮院. The origins of this man are uncertain, but he was probably adopted by Sanjōnishi family, and thanks to his talent and diligence he received imperial decree that allowed him to achieve this promotion. This was also caused due to the demand to fill this position, as some of the applicants had been rejected in earlier years (Sanjōnishi, *Sanetaka kōki*, Bunmei 6/8/27). This example shows that the imperial court still had significant power over the appointment of religious officials, and this power remained in its hands throughout the Sengoku period. Powerful Buddhist institutions such as Kōfukuji or Enryakuji temples also continued to appoint their heads from among the highest members of the court nobility and this tradition continued unchanged until the end of World War II.

The relationship between the Buddhist clergy and the samurai changed only in some respects. The tradition of taking vows while remaining in control of the clan was still popular among the warrior nobility, and it remained popular until the Meiji period. The most famous examples are the sengoku daimyō 戦国大名 Takeda Shingen (originally known as Takeda Harunobu 武田晴信, 1521–1573) and Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530–1578, originally known as Nagao Kagetora 長尾景虎 and other secular names). Both daimyos took vows to achieve their political goals but remained in control of the clan for several more decades, a practice similar to the case of Yamana Sōzen.

Apart from leaders of the clans, there were other very powerful Buddhist priests hailing from warrior noble houses, such as Taigen Sessai 太原雪齋 (1496–1555, vassal of the Imagawa clan) or Ankokuji Ekkei 安国寺恵瓊 (1539–1600, vassal of the Mōri clan 毛利氏), and their influence could be compared to that of Jōshiin Kōsen. Taigen Sessai orchestrated an alliance between Takeda, Imagawa, and Hōjō clans, which allowed these clans to focus on their further expansion, and Ankokuji Ekkei was a key member in planning of the Sekigahara campaign on the side of the Western army.

19 High ranking priest.

But changing political climate also made an impact on the relationship between powerful Buddhist institutions and their warrior vassals. Buddhist institutions also had to adjust their attitude towards the powerful local lords who were growing more influential. This situation was most obvious in the case of Kōfukuji. After the war, the situation in the Kansai region was far from stable, and Kōfukuji was caught in the midst of this turmoil. Succession strife in the Hatakeyama family continued, and its perpetrators only moved from the capital to Yamato and Yamashiro provinces and surrounding areas. On the 18th day of the eighth month of 1478, *bakufu* ordered Kōfukuji to protect and help Hatakeyama Masanaga and at the same time to take action against Hatakeyama Yoshinari.

The succession struggle influenced Kōfukuji in one other way, as its vassals were on both sides of the conflict and acted almost independently. As a vassal of Kōfukuji, Ochi Iehide 越智家栄 (1432?–1500?) obtained this order and presented it to Yoshinari, further exacerbating the crisis in the Kansai region.

On the 10th day of the ninth month of the same year, Ochi Iehide also imposed a special tax on the territory of Kōfukuji and several other temples. Apparently, he did this without the temple's approval, because on the same day Kōfukuji sent a messenger with orders to cease this action (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, Bunmei 10/9/10). Similarly, in the same year, just three months earlier, Kōfukuji vassal Furuichi Chōin 古市澄胤 (1452–1508) had imposed an order of forced labor on traveling entertainers then residing in Nara (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, Bunmei 10/6/5).

The actions of the two vassals indicate that during these turbulent times Kōfukuji gradually lost control over its subordinates, who used this opportunity to exploit the system. Given the situation, it was only natural that the vassals of the temple that was unable to provide any actual protection would strengthen their positions as they were in constant risk of annihilation, as was the case, for example, with the Tsutsui clan in 1532.

Clearly, the war did not interrupt the tradition of exchanging New Year's gifts. Prior to the end of the war, Abbot Jinson sent his gifts to the shogun couple and Ashikaga Yoshihisa (*Jinson daisō sboki*, Bunmei 10/1/10). Similarly, Jinson paid close attention to the Asakura clan in Echizen. Since the temple lands of Daijōin as well as that of Ichijō family were located in Echizen province, Jinson sent regular gifts to the Asakura, presumably to ensure their protection over the temple lands. This was necessary, in part, because the Hosorogi *sbōen* was seized by the

Asakura and returned only after the intervention of the shogunate in 1480 (*Daijōin jisha zōjiki*, Bunmei 12/11/2). Thereafter, Jinson sent gifts to the Asakura in 1484, 1485, 1487 and 1488.

Buddhist monks also assumed the role of spectators to the conflict, often recording the deeds of warriors. Such is probably the case of the author of *Ōninki* and presumably for some other *gunkimono*. Moreover, various comments have been found in the personal diaries of the monks, suggesting that the Buddhist clergy was well informed about the situation in the country. Nevertheless, with the progression of the Sengoku period, religious institutions gradually lost power and were more often challenged by warriors (for example the Honganji temples in the Kansai region). By the last decades of the 16th century they were but a shadow of their former glory, yet this may be the reason why so many of them have survived to the present day.

Conclusion

This article examined the impact of the outbreak of the Ōnin war on relations among Japanese elites in late medieval Japan. In the case of the relations between the military nobility (*buke*) and the court nobles (*kuge*), it appears that their interactions did not change much and continued in rather the same fashion almost undisturbed. The form of relations remained the same even after the dispersion of the various high-ranking nobles into provinces. Only one significant change could be pointed out, and that was that after the war the court nobles were somehow bolder in their actions, driven as they were by the need for wealth and favours to ensure their own survival.

Another reason for only the slight change in relations was the fact that both groups were dependent on each other. While the court nobles needed the samurai to protect not only them personally, but also their lands in the provinces and provide them with a source of income, the warrior class needed the court nobles to maintain an image of legitimacy through the use of court titles.

Although they were in a better financial situation than the court nobility, the Buddhist clergy also found themselves dependent on the annual tribute provided

by the warriors who administered the temple lands in the provinces. Many temples also lacked their own military forces, so they had to rely on the samurai for protection. Those temples that did have their own vassals often had to mediate between various factions of rival vassals, a practice that stayed unchanged even after the Ōnin war. Yet after the war, the temples lost much of their influence as political institutions, and their territories were often seized by fighting warriors. On such occasions, the temples turned to the shogunate for intervention, which was often granted in the years prior to the war but not so often in the later decades of the Sengoku period.

However, the dynamic situation did not create clear distinctions between the three groups of elites, as they were often linked by blood ties even after the war. There was also the persisting trend of social mobility, as members of the various temples often returned to secular life, influencing the politics of the time (such as Jōshiin Kōsen or Taigen Sessai). This social shift could also be observed in the three cases of the court noble houses. Originally based in the provinces, the houses of Tosa-Ichijō 土佐一条, Anegakōji and Kitabatake adopted a warrior culture while still maintaining significant presence in the capital.

The form of contacts mentioned above could be seen throughout the Sengoku period. They were limited at the beginning of the Edo period, as a strict social structure was created and all three elite groups were encouraged not to interact with each other, while at the same time being controlled by the Tokugawa shogunate.

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Two “Proletarian” Novels of Colonial Korea: *Ingan munje* and *Hwanghon*

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Abstract This study analyses two Korean leftist novels from the 1930s, Kang Kyöngae’s 강경애 *Ingan munje* (인간문제, The Problem of Humankind) and Han Sörya’s 한설야 *Hwanghon* (황혼, The Dusk). Both can be considered typical products of the era: they are published in serial form, introduce new male and female protagonists, and address social problems that are faced by the privileged and the underprivileged. Equally, both authors provide the reader with clear role models, ideals, and ideology. The novels enjoyed popularity after publication, yet later experienced both overvaluation and rejection, or even lengthy periods of obscurity. The present article focuses on the construction of the typical “new hero” and the storyline. It specifically addresses how ideology was incorporated into the plot, and its remarkably fragmentary knowledge of such elementary leftist concepts as “class struggle” and “revolution”.

Keywords Korea, Korean leftist literature, Kang Kyöngae, Han Sörya, *Ingan munje*, *Hwanghon*

Introduction and Context

Several “proletarian” novels were written and published in Korea in the 1930s, a few of which gained the attention of literary critics and historians over a relatively long period of time, and therefore did not die out like many others. In Korean literature, the genre of the novel was a modern innovation and entirely new in certain aspects. As such, their authors tried to shape the rules of the genre not yet “domesticated”, adopting models from French, Russian, or Soviet novels. Their ambition was to present the heroes of the future, along with progressive (i.e., socialist) thoughts.

Of the surprisingly large number of novels published in the colonial era (despite Japanese censorship), two noteworthy examples are discussed in this study. Although presumably identical in intent and theme, these two works are divergent, even directly opposing, in their qualities and other features, which provides another aspect to be evaluated.¹ The novels are Kang Kyöngae's 강경애 (1906–1944) *Ingan munje* (인간문제, The Problem of Humankind, 1934) and Han Sörya's 한설야 (1900–1976) *Hwanghon* (황혼, The Dusk, 1936). Another significant leftist text of the colonial era is Yi Kiyöng's 이기영 (1896–1984) *Kobyang* (고향, The Home, 1934), a major bestseller of the 1930s. This novel however did not strive for a new theme and form, using traditional narrative schemes and pastoral characters of rural origin; its main influence was from Russian and Soviet literature, especially the writings of Maxim Gorky. In the present work, *Kobyang* has been omitted from consideration because of the absence of explicit “revolutionary” ideas, characters, and slogans, and perhaps more significantly, due to the existence of a detailed analysis published by Tatiana Gabroussenko (Gabroussenko 2010, 88–91). Another novel, Kim Namch'ön's 김남천 (1911–1953) *Taeba* (대하, The Tide, 1939), is interesting for its literary qualities and theme. Nevertheless, it is also highly imitative, modelled on the European three-generation social novel, and because its time setting (the beginning of the colonial era) contains no expression of progressive political ideas.

Each of the above novels throw light on Korean literature in general during the period of Japanese annexation, in terms of their prospect, traumas, theories, models, and popularity. In both works, one can discern the creative influences that shaped Korean writers, their links with earlier Korean texts and international literature, the weak points of the prosaic past and present, and even technical

1 While *Ingan munje* has enjoyed a largely positive reception over time and has been translated into Russian and English, the sporadic remarks dealing with *Hwanghon* outside Korea only underscore its seemingly poor literary qualities. See, e.g., Tatiana Gabroussenko, recalling the despair of Soviet translators faced with Han Sörya's storyline and language (Gabroussenko 2010, 175–176). The contradictory reception of these novels in the post-war era in North Korean literature, by contrast, is shown by the complete lack of mention of *Ingan munje* against the reverence shown toward *Hwanghon*.

flaws such as the authors' inability to formulate believable heroes or to create a clear storyline and message. However, the Japanese colonial period is precisely when the literary form of the modern novel first took root in Korea, underscoring the authors' ambition to convey something essential to their readers (either to their colleagues or to a wider audience).

The authors whose works are analysed in this study are not considered the most important figures of the colonial era, but instead only a part of the literary generation that started its career in the 1920s and continued mostly in North Korea. All the same, Kang Kyŏngae remained largely unknown in post-war Korea, while Han Sŏrya spent his first 15 years under the DPRK as a prominent writer, a friend of Kim Il-sung, and as an author whose works became models for the young republic.²

Leftist literature³ in Korea emerged in the early 1920s. During the first period of its existence, its dominant expression was highly emotive, indeed even sentimental, with depictions of the extremely poor, disadvantaged and oppressed populace facing hunger, poverty and injustice in the social context of Japanese annexation and early capitalism.⁴ In the second half of 1920s, leftist authors formed an organization through which relatively widespread and simplified Marxist concepts came to be applied in Korean literary criticism and culture. The source of Marxism came to Korea through Japanese universities, where these Korean writers primarily studied and, together with imported literature of Russian, Soviet, French and Japanese provenance, created the first models of the new literary movement.⁵ As such, the Japanese mediation of these diverse cultural strands provided the most important impetus for establishing the group the

2 For details, see Myers 1994.

3 What should be understood here as leftist ("proletarian") literature is an ideological and organized movement that supported its production through an extensive body of essays, discussions, and literary criticism. As such, the presence of socialist ideas incorporated by every author of the colonial era into their texts cannot be called proletarian literature, in contrast to Park Sunyoung (2015).

4 Such a definition does not essentially differ from the proclamations of the proponents of "pure" literature. However, the authors of "pure" literature in their essays favoured the idea of literature without ideology.

5 For Chinese cultural and literary movements of this period, see e.g., Qian 2020.

Korean Association of Proletarian Art (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio,⁶ KAPF, 1925). Its program, principles, essays, and literary texts outline the transition from an early socialist focus on the underprivileged to the assertion of this class as the bearer of the main or leading role in a future “revolutionary” process that would lead to the liberation of all oppressed people. The essayistic production and the main concepts of KAPF members⁷ closely follow the worldwide trends of what were termed proletarian literatures in the 20th century, each with their specific national variants. Considering its initial influences, Korean proletarian literature would appear similar to its Japanese counterpart, even an offshoot of it⁸, but one essential difference stands out: Korea was a country under colonial domination, a context to which every literary text was forced to respond.⁹ Moreover, Korean proletarian literature was only tangentially linked to any organised Communist movement or Communist Party. In consequence, its discourses are to a degree ideologically eclectic and confined to the framework of art and literature. Its proletarian stance lies less in the social standing of its immediate creators as in the message of the artwork, the role of the writer, and the message of the work as a prescription for future social changes. The implementation of revolutionary ideas in art is not treated as the outcome of social processes, but instead as the duty of the individual author as a member of the elite. The writer is a figure charged with

6 The name of the organization was in Esperanto, hence KAPF, Korean transcription (n , 카프) is additional.

7 We can refer to the selected essays of *Hyōndae chosŏn munhak sŏnjip*, especially to volume 9.

8 Not only was the founder of KAPF himself Japanese, but almost all the leftist writers had studied in Japan, primarily Tokyo, and took inspiration from Japanese proletarian literature (NAPF). The personal connection between these two organizations is evident, as are the many similarities in their programs and development.

9 Not necessarily in nationalist terms, as Korean literary historians later explain. Korean writers of this era mostly collaborated with the Japanese authorities, and though their works treat Japanese colonization as a reality, it is not in any spirit of enmity or aggression toward the Japanese. If a Japanese person is a negative character, his negativity does not arise from his ethnicity but from his social status (he is a landlord or a capitalist) and his more sophisticated method of economic exploitation.

transmitting correct (revolutionary) ideas to poor or the less educated, in essence showing them the path to justice, and as such is little more than a modification of the old Confucian concept.¹⁰

What makes the leftist literary movement in Korea undoubtedly progressive is not so much in its immediate production as in its manifestos, some of its individual ideas, or, above all, its effort to write primarily for the paupers (*musanja* 무산자)—an idea entirely new in Korean authorship, connected with the democratization of literature. The aim of writing for illiterate people called forth mockery from the writers of “pure” literature, such as Yi Kwangsu 이광수 (1892–1950), who proclaimed: “I am not especially interested in the so-called class literature. It is true that there are works which the intelligentsia or wealthy people like. There is also such literature preferred by the great mass of illiterate people [...].” (V. N. Li 1964, 265–284). As a movement, Korean proletarian literature turns its back on literary form and gives priority to content over literary quality, a point explicitly emphasized by the writers themselves in their memoirs.¹¹ Likewise, the content-over-form theme is no less prevalent in the familiar debates among proponents of pure and class literature, or even among leftists themselves.¹² In spite of all this, it is necessary to stress that the deliberate statements of proletarian literature (manifestos, essays, discussions), which are militant and aggressive, and programmatically instructive, are strikingly different from the realization of these ideas in actual literary works.

10 The best example of such a text might be Han Sōrya’s essay *P’ūroretariya yesul sōnōn* (프로레타리아예술선언, Declaration of Proletarian Art), published in *Tong-A ilbo*, 1. 2. 1926.

The author discusses the role of the writer as an intellectual avant-garde, who filters progressive ideas and leads oppressed people on the path to revolutionary deeds. This essay was essentially inspired by Lenin’s “Party Organization and Party Literature” published in 1905, proving its wider influence in the 1920s.

11 Song Yōng 송영 (1903–1976), one of the influential writers of the 1920s, writes in his memoirs: “We were instead young politicians, aiming to depict the socialist order in literature, rather than real poets or novelists.” (Yeremenko and Ivanova 1960, 65).

12 For this study, we consider these ideas irrelevant. For detailed information, refer to the monograph written by Park Sunyoung (2015). They are partially elaborated in articles of South Korean authors after 1988.

In this essay we will attempt to outline, using the cited novels as a basis,¹³ the overall tendencies of the early Korean prose (story building and typical storyline, productive typology of characters, male and female), along with the residua of the traditional dichotomous worldview, evaluative elements and cultural inventory. The present paper seeks to identify the implementation of ideas of modernity and revolution in the plot, dialogues, and monologues. However, primarily it aims to respond to the simplistic evaluations of researchers in the field of Korean studies in Korea and abroad, which mostly lack the proper distance and the perspective in terms of literary qualities.¹⁴ As a central thesis, objectively speaking, Korean leftist literature has brought many constitutive elements to the national literary culture: textual precision in all its parts, the requirement of verbalizing world order, narrative premises, and prescriptive messages for the underprivileged. In short, this movement created the possibility of reducing the novel to a simple thesis, alongside the introduction of an outline of a system of clarified and typical values that display old and new models and combine references to various traditions, domestic or foreign, old and modern. It categorises its characters into actors and non-actors, based on their emotionality, and this mixture is concretized

13 The present study draws upon several editions of both novels, which were edited and reworked before the publication in the colonial era, also in the post-war times. For details, see, e.g., Lee Jae-Yon 2012.

14 Korean leftist literature was highly regarded in the DPRK for a short period in the 1940s and 1950s as a precursor of the new literary movement. Some authors, like Han Sōrya, were influential and immediately articulated the demands for a new literature in their works on Kim Il-sung. Yet by the early 1960s, they had almost completely disappeared from their prominent positions. In the Republic of Korea, anything that appeared to be sympathetic to communism was censored; when the KAPF and its prominent writers were rediscovered as a forgotten legacy in the late 1980s, they were uniformly praised without any objectivity. Today, the history of literature mentions the leftist literature of the 1930s in a more critical way, but the treatment is still limited to the enumeration of some authors and works, or in special supplements. For this, see, for example, the histories of modern Korean literature as An Hamgwang (1956), anonymous *Chosŏn munbak t'ongsa (ba)* (1959), or *Haebangbu uri munbak* (1958), in the North, Kim Yunsik-Chōng Houg (1993), Kwōn Yōngmin (2013) and many others in the South.

over the next decade until they become ideal models. The leftist literature rejects aestheticization, it depicts events without imagery or metaphor and constructs characters, shaping the story line around them. The authors do not give due stress to the narrative; they do not assemble sentences for epideictic effect; they do not care about form. They resolutely omit all aspects commonly designated as aesthetic. As is often the case with ideological literature, this movement did not survive the colonial era, yet it can hardly be dismissed as unimportant, because the sheer volume of its production greatly exceeds that of its opponents, the proponents of pure literature. Finally, we cannot consider this literature to be a predecessor of North Korean literature because it is not directly normative, following and implementing party directives.

From the Wŏnso Pond to the Factory

Kang Kyŏngae is considered the predominant Korean female writer of the pre-war era (Perry 2013, 99-123). Because of her affinity for the leftist movement, as well as her gender, she has been neglected by South Korean literary historians, even though her work has received attention outside of Korea.¹⁵ A very distinctive story-teller, she created “new” female characters from the position of a woman, an achievement neither common nor successful among male authors (whose female characters were conspicuously uniform and one-dimensional).¹⁶ Kang Kyŏngae’s depictions are more truthful in her short stories, especially those set in the Chinese province of Jiandao (Kor. Kando). Her widely known works are *Paegŭm*

15 In the 1950s in the former Soviet Bloc, and sporadically during the 21st century in Western academia; see, e.g., Barraclough 2012. However, this study deals with the novel from the point of view of factory workers as victims of rape.

16 The depiction of women in the colonial era is thoroughly unsatisfactory: the characters are copied from foreign models (Katya from Tolstoy’s *Voskreseniye* (Resurrection), Nora from Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House*) or create an inverted prototype of the classical woman (prostitute). In the 1930s, the prevalent status is that of a victim. Male-authored texts display a poor knowledge of the female psyche or offer only a schematic depiction, which is further influenced by the longstanding discussion about the so-called “new woman” (*sin yŏsŏng* 新女性), women writers, and the debates about the wise mother and good wife (*hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ* 賢母良妻).

(배금, *The Broken Komungö*, 1931), *Ömönriwa ttal* (어머니와딸, *Mother and Daughter*, 1931), *Sogüm* (소금, *Salt* 1934), *Ödum* (어둠, *Dusk*, 1937), and others, in which she deals with the oppressed female self, reduced to the roles of mother and wife.

Ingan munje was serialized in *Chosön ilbo* 조선일보 from 1. 8. to 22. 12. 1934. It was translated into Russian under the title *Problema chelovechestva* by A. A. Artem'eva (Kan 1955), later into English as *From Wonso Pond* by Samuel Perry (Kang 2009). In the opening, the author invokes a local legend¹⁷ about the genesis of a pond, formed by people's tears shed because of the inhuman behaviour of a greedy landlord. Such a beginning offers a wide range of possibilities for a mysterious or romantic narrative trajectory, but it quickly turns to the contemporary local landlord without any obvious connection to the legend; his character does not promise another tragedy or romance, or even the creation of another pond of tears. Now, the demonic characters are the capitalists who have formed a sort of "devil's alliance", the real cause of human misfortune. Readers are thus left with the task of deciphering the title of the novel, the meaning of which remains hidden until the last pages.¹⁸ The storyline in the first part of the novel concentrates on the vicious deeds of the landlord and his family (negative characters) and his victims (poor villagers, positive characters). In between them stands the intellectual Sinch'öl, who hesitates over whom to love, the poor or the rich girl, a decision equally symbolic of his ambivalence between good and evil. The rural narrative provides the essential substance for character formation: the girl Sönbı becomes an orphan because of the landlord, who then takes her home and rapes her until she escapes. Ch'ötchchae, the boy who acts as her counterpart, loses his field, and has to search for another livelihood. Despite many subplot

17 Legends and folklore (heroic stories, stories about places and history of places) are more frequently used in post-war North Korean literature, such as in Yi Kiyöng's *Ttang*, where Tatiana Gabroussenko found over 70 folk songs and folklore motifs (Gabroussenko 2010, 93). This novel is exceptional in this respect, but the leftist literature has implemented folklore motifs more than the literature following the Western models.

18 In his final monologue, Ch'ötchchae labels this "evil machinery" as a problem of humankind. Only by destroying it can people live with dignity (*Ingan munje* 2013, 395).

shifts, the storyline is not dynamic; indeed, it could be described as static and very slow. When the two key figures move to the city, first to Seoul and then to Inch'ŏn, its pace increases; the author seems to be rushing her characters into a sudden self-awareness. The second part of the novel, however, is admittedly chaotic. Kang tries to create a complicated, wide-reaching story with a rapid pace and a tragic end for the main heroine (tuberculosis and death). Her friend from the countryside evolves into a person with a certain level of self-awareness heading towards a career as a revolutionary, while the intellectual fails his very first personal test.

The story is built around the opposition of distinctly polarized pairs: in the first part we follow the stories of a poor and a wealthy girl (Sŏnbi and Okchŏmi) and their male counterparts, one poor and the other not very wealthy but destined for success due to his birth (Ch'ŏtchchae and Sinch'ŏl). After their move to Seoul and Inch'ŏn, the protagonists (except for the minor character of the landlord's daughter) try to find work and understand the meaning of their lives. Sŏnbi's reason for escaping, the sexual interest of the landlord, persists but only in a more sophisticated form (sexual assaults in factories is a common occurrence). The poor Ch'ŏtchchae's naïve vision of acquiring money gives way to achieving an understanding of the basic principles of exploitation. Sinch'ŏl's family conflict, in turn, ends with his leaving home. Searching for his place in the poorest and asocial communities, he finally recognises a role for himself in educating and organizing workers. All the characters meet in Inch'ŏn during the solidarity strike of women factory workers and male dockers. Of their eventual fates, three ends in a manner typical of a leftist novel: Sŏnbi dies, Ch'ŏtchchae realizes that his path is one of self-education and revolution. Sinch'ŏl, on the other hand, after his first imprisonment, quits his work, gets married, and leaves for Manchuria. In this way, he affirms the role of an intellectual, derived primarily from the Russian concept of the "lishniy cheloviek" (superfluous man), but invariably taking on a cryptically negative cast as a character in a Korean colonial-era novel.

The Twilight of the Capitalists

In post-war North Korea, *Hwangbon* was celebrated as one of the masterpieces of proletarian literature, naturally in the context of Han Sŏrya's position of the most

influential figure on the literary scene in the DPRK. A revised translation into Russian was published in 1958 by Y. Berman under the title *Sumerki*.¹⁹ However, to denounce the novel solely because of the author's political position and poor literary style is to oversimplify its standing, and moreover to deny its demonstrable influence. Without doubt, Han Sörya belongs to the best-known writers of the colonial era. Irrespective of the evident overvaluation of his importance during the second half of the 1940s, his prose was widely read in newspaper serials as well as printed books. *Hwanghon*, like the previous work analysed here, was serialized in the periodical *Chosön ilbo* between May and October 1936. In book form, it has the length and attributes of a standard novel.

This work also opens with a highly romantic scene that introduces us to a young man and a governess in a bourgeois house. Similar to the previous text, it has a broad and chaotic cast with several characters who prove to be unnecessary and unimportant for the development of the plot. The storyline particularly is naïve and chaotic, tracing the coming of age of the two main protagonists of radically different origins—female (Yösun, the orphaned governess) and male (Kyöngjae, the son of a wealthy family), their meetings and departures. Han Sörya shows the girl maturing into a fighter and the son of a wealthy family overcoming the purgatory of his ancestry and his own bad choices.

Concentrating more on the social conflict than the individual protagonists, the first half of the story invokes the insurmountable social differences between the characters. Nevertheless, this conflict gradually ceases to hold centre stage, as the real struggle starts to shift to the more general level of “class”, into the factory offices and production lines. Portrayed as clear-cut and deep-rooted, this conflict ends with the protest of the oppressed people and their failure to have their justified demands accepted.

The initial part of the story deals with the two young people: the son of the family and the governess. The following motifs are typical for this situation (he shows interest in her life and displays some positive feelings towards her, she secretly falls in love with him). The young male intellectual is predetermined by his reading of Schopenhauer to the role of the “superfluous man”. He spends the

19 The text was significantly reduced to 188 pages, or one-half its original length.

first third of the novel contemplating his feelings towards the girl and the world. However, his deeds are essentially positive up to the moment when the author lets him definitively fall into the category of negative characters.²⁰ The world of the girl and her maturing exists in the context of a larger human contingent, both positive (the factory workers of different kinds) as well as dramatically negative, dominated by the factory owner Mr. An and his helpers, who throughout the plot keep discussing how to control the workers most effectively. In the author's extensive and detailed depiction of the negative characters, with the good and the evil highly structured and differentiated, the novel becomes strictly polarized. The workers, as well as their antagonists Mr. An and his helpers, display several different levels of awareness and fighting power. While the negative figures are concentrated in the managerial offices, a place dangerous for girls, the factory itself forms another battlefield, but also a positive counterpart, a place where people live, joke, discuss, and tell their family stories.

After the heroes confront their many frustrations, farewells that are never final, as well as an awareness of increasing class differences, the storyline is abruptly broken when the director tries to rape the heroine.²¹ Workers and capitalists start to fight in increasingly serious clashes, which culminates in a conflict sparked by a medical examination which is clearly intended to lead to collective dismissal of redundant workers.²² Action continues in the form of workers' protests, pamphlets, collaboration with newspapers, the director's reaction, offences, and finally the announcement of a strike. In the final chapters, An calls for the police, who subsequently arrest the most radical workers, including the main heroine. The novel ends with a monologue by the intellectual, who knows he is serving evil. He does not join the strike, but on the other hand, refuses to support the director. The ending seems to be open, but it is only an

20 Of course, the novels can be read as romantic stories. However, this idea should be discounted based on the personal ambitions of the authors openly declared in the forewords, essays or memoirs. Such a reading is typical for Korean studies about both novels.

21 This theme is treated in the novel through several chapters, as in Yi Kwangsu's (1890–1950) *Mujöng* (무정, *The Heartless*, 1917). However, in *Hwangbon* the heroine was finally not raped.

22 A character of particular interest is that of a doctor who understands the aim of the capitalists and declares some workers with tuberculosis fit for work.

illusion, because the intellectual cannot defy his ancestry. Unlike the girl and her comrades, he faces the twilight of the capitalist system only from the outside.

Story Building

As mentioned above, both novels are similar in their basic intentions and even in the circumstances of their publication; both authors produced their first longer text as a serial in a newspaper. The serialization is evident in the division of the novel's text into short chapters, in the abrupt shifting of locations and focalization of characters, in the extension and protraction of the story, but also in ending of each chapter with a dramatic climax foreshadowing the subsequent decision. In both cases, the storyline is linear without digressions, only rarely do the authors use analepses (when they need to explain the recent state, relationships between characters, or to demonstrate the tragic mode of the figure). This practice refers to the older Korean biographical tradition, where such prolepses are used only when the author is trying to emphasize his or her intention.

Kang Kyŏngae is at her most convincing in the first part of the novel, which deals with the countryside; the scenes in the city are rather overwrought and lack a unified pace. Such weakness is apparent in the last chapters, where the storyline fixates on an incomprehensible sequence of notes and incomplete scenes in which temporal proportions and, indeed, any verisimilitude, disappear. Sŏnbi dies too soon after the first symptoms of illness, Sinch'ŏl joins the negative characters without any justification, Ch'ŏtchchae's philosophical thoughts seem like an unmotivated revelation given his previous static behaviour, etc. Han Sŏrya's text is steady in its pace; in contrast to *Ingan munje*, the substantial retardation moments come only at the end (the core text is expanded to 20 chapters). The author has divided the sequences into very short units that move forward slowly. It appears as if he cannot make up his mind about the character development: scenes change frequently and the fragile storyline becomes fragmented.²³

23 Han Sŏrya splits the novel into many unnecessary storylines. The plot unfolds up to a crucial point, only to continue without any evident connection. At times, it seems, the narrator has

As for the meaning of their similarly enigmatic titles, both novels enlighten us in the closing chapters. In neither case is the explanation particularly convincing to the reader; likewise, the closing chapters fit together only loosely and indicate a forced ending. *Ingan munje*'s conclusion lacks logic because of the sudden shift in the story, *Hwanghon*'s is ambiguous. However, the main (or surviving) characters mature: in *Ingan munje* the young ploughboy comes to understand the cardinal problem of humanity and his role in it (though his struggle is not fleshed out), while the intellectual in *Hwanghon* suddenly understands the difference between good and evil, though he cannot follow the right path.

The Idyllic Scenic Motifs, the Phenomenon of the House and the Destructive Environment of Factories

Korean novels of the 1930s treat the changing reality of their place and time as something natural, without overt criticism or commentary on the trends of modernity. By following the setting and the opening scene, they have the opportunity to concentrate their stories on what, for them, are the crucial ideas. Both novels ignore Korean traditions such as rituals, festivals and religions, nor do they even reflect the differences in clothing or their hybrid combinations. The sole function of the traditional Korean environment is to generate a set of adequate characters.²⁴ In *Ingan munje*, the countryside is depicted as idyllic,

omitted a part of the story (a father asks his son to leave home, but the son shows up in the same place several chapters later without explanation; the main hero goes to the cinema, he meets a former friend, and the reader does not know whether or not he returns to the cinema; the heroine announces she is leaving Seoul for the country, somewhat later we find her in Seoul; the heroine has to pass a final examination, but the author does not tell the readers whether or not she passes it, whether she even arrives to the examination site, etc.). There are many scenes with no connection to the storyline, or many figures unimportant to the plot.

²⁴ This point is different from the already mentioned depiction of the village in Yi Kiyŏng's *Kobyang*, where the story is associated with standardised characters and the traditional topos. Such a phenomenon is elaborated in the setting of Kim Namch'ŏn's *Taeba*. There the modern and the old stand in opposition, with the modern having an obvious positive coding (school, church, playground, etc.).

though this by no means implies that the traditional relationships within it are idyllic, but only nature itself. In *Hwangbon* we cannot distinguish between the positive and negative space, or we can do so only by absence: an idyll is a place where there is no negativity. The evaluative aspects only emerge after the story moves to the city, to the factories, with the clear contrasts of (naïve) good and (sophisticated) evil.

Ingan munje outlines the difference between the two settings once the main characters escape from the countryside in the hope of a new beginning: the transition from the usual scenery (house, field, nature and the associated activities) to the urban (trams, shops, cinemas, factories), where they work and try to understand themselves. The author presents the countryside and city as opposites, not morally opposed as good and evil, but as two equally hostile places with distinct and separate characters. *Hwangbon* takes place in an undefined physical setting where the heroes can reach the fields as easily as the factory. However, it is not delineated as a cultural hybrid with a defined ratio of traditional and modern aspects, nor does it offer any codes. Whereas in *Ingan munje* the physical location is solidly framed and convincing, in *Hwangbon* the author's terse abbreviations prevent any real visualization of locations or distances. The scenery is vague and without impact on the storyline; essentially purposeless, or at best as a backdrop for the dialogues and monologues. The only negative topos is the factory, especially in Inch'ŏn (*Ingan munje*), described as a magnificent modern institution (in both positive and negative sense) with the attributes that modernity brings i.e., education, sport, entertainment. In this context, the previously valued activities become traps, instruments of exploitation and the exploiters.²⁵

Nature is the only place where a person can experience freedom, and thus is the place where the most powerful emotions find expression. The protagonists of the novels look to nature for satisfaction irrespective of their gender. Young men

25 In Korean literature, the idea of modernity as a positive attribute has been present since the *sin sosŏl* genre (신소설, the "new" prose, traditionally dated to the period of 1906–1916), continuing to the 1920s. Negatively perceived modernity is very rare, extending to modern education, clothing, etc. The trend of the modern as a negative sign starts with the leftist literature, applied to characters considered as exploiters or the exploiters' helpers.

who do not understand their feelings escape to nature; girls go there to complain. The free space of the countryside could form an antithesis to the city, but it does not work as such because even in a natural setting, grave injustices can occur, as for example the theft of the field in *Ingan munje*.²⁶ The move to the city signals a problem: it is where the protagonists escape to because of their naivety, romantic notion of heaven on earth, dreams of easy wealth, or even because of a personal relationship. In the city, the positive characters work, suffer, discuss, plan—in rented rooms, conspirators' flats, dormitories, and factories. Cities are also the homes of the intellectuals and their families: ambiguous characters in the early stages, but later the objects of fallacious hopes, useless people, determined by their birth to be false idols. The urban setting is shown to be explicitly degraded: it contains traps, noise, and false values; most of the events dangerous to the female protagonists, such as the assault on their virginity (both in *Hwangbon* and *Ingan munje*), take place in the cities. Of course, there are coffee shops, cinemas, and in Seoul, attractive neighbourhoods—Chongno, Chonggak, Kwanghwamun and Namsan; the protagonists go to the Mitsukoshi shopping centre, which is framed as a decadent environment of consumerism, yet never are the heroines forced to sell their bodies or the heroes to beg, as in later North Korean fiction. Seoul has its opulent houses and poor dormitories in the suburbs, where dialogues, monologues and private dreams are played out at relevant locations in keeping with the class of the main characters. The countryside vs. city contrast by no means directly symbolizes good and evil or innocence and immorality as in the naturalistic prose. Furthermore, the countryside is never portrayed as an idyll or a refuge to which the protagonists can make a successful escape, which is a common motif not only in the 1930s but equally in prose reflecting Korea's second modernization in the 1960s.²⁷

26 This chain of situations occurs exclusively outside the home: beginning with the awareness of the villagers of their inability to pay their debts, followed by a desperate act to resolve it (stealing grain from the landlord), up to the scene in which the capitalist announces the seizure of their fields.

27 The departure from the city and the idealization of the countryside is typical for the so-called pure literature in the 1930s, especially for the members of Kuinhoe (구인회, The Association of the Nine). However, the motif of a false security of home and the return to the countryside are

Hwanghon and *Ingan munje* introduce a new topos in which the house becomes a place of narrative catharsis: in a clearly described abode, fundamental conflicts take place; positive characters suffer, and negative ones further develop their wicked traits. Its inhabitants are shown as decadent, idle socialites; children do not learn; wives are passive or displayed as evildoers. Inside the house matchmaking arrangements are made for a son or daughter, quarrels arise between father and son, daughter and parents, husband and wife; conflicts break out between generations and plots are hatched. And in turn, the office functions in the same way. Its role is almost an extension of the house, but one explicitly negative and dangerous: here, men rule, and girls become the object of harassment, with no choice but to run away. While the houses of the rich are depicted with their Russian tablecloths, phonographs, or even discussions about acquiring a piano, in stark contrast the inhabitants of the poor houses die, starve and freeze. For the poor, even home lacks its essential attributes (security, warmth and food), and is only a place that the main characters leave behind for a better future, yet it remains a place to which they cling emotionally. Also, the internal monologues of the protagonists, frequent in both novels, can be equally delivered in rural fields or city streets. As the plot moves to the workplace, we see the factory where the women work as a place full of emotions, smiles, chatting, while the men's factory is the site of quarrels, rivalry, and discussions. Houses and interiors, as much as their human inhabitants, pre-determine a significant part of the storyline.

Revaluation of Heroes

Since the 1920s, Korean leftist writers have shifted their focus to a new type of hero. These protagonists show their divergence in different ways, though in principle they possess the characteristics of their era and set themselves apart from the timeless formulaic ideal figures of the *kodae sosŏl* genre. In their traits, they are systematically arranged in pairs, indeed often in stark contrast. Whereas

frequent in the 1960s, typically in Kim Sŏngok's (김승옥, b. 1941) *Mujin kibaeng* (무진기행, Road to Mujin, 1964).

the basic opposites follow classical patterns—older-younger, man-woman, positive-negative, rich-poor—the figures of intellectuals now become disseminated in various meanings and evaluations.²⁸ The intellectual of the colonial era is, in the broadest sense, anyone who graduated from an educational institution, but not necessarily with a modern or Japanese education. Indeed, this person did not necessarily aim for success or did not necessarily belong to the national elite. In leftist prose in the 1920s, such a person is considered as a bearer of positive qualities, assigned to a position of a leader or teacher by authors, but in later manifestations—as in the two fictions analysed here—the intellectual is far more likely to develop into a man of no use and, predetermined by his origin, to show affinity to the enemy.

The plot, as is customary in modern Korean fiction centres on the younger generation. The main female character is assigned two prospective partners: the first is poor and righteous, the second an intellectual. The poor heroine has her counterpart in the rich, spoiled and immoral girl. If the main male character is a promising young man (a student from a wealthy family), he is confronted with the need to choose between the two girls. He is attracted to the rich one because of her origin (he feels something like “kinship” or affinity to her), but the poor one fascinates him by her physical and mental purity. Such a protagonist has very complicated family ties, especially regarding his father, and usually leaves home. The older characters are reactionary, with few exceptions (the labourer, the landless peasant),²⁹ and manifest themselves as enemies in the course of the plot. One such popular character of the 1930s is the landlord, who brings great unhappiness to the families of main characters. As for the young man, the landlord causes the loss of his property; as for the heroine, there is a motive to violate her, whatever his reasons. Male violence against women is not only typical for the countryside and landlords, where it is “personal”, it is also part of life in factories and their offices (*Hwangbon*), or even workers’ dormitories, where girls are raped by wardens (*Ingan munje*).

28 Similarly, this character is new: while in traditional literature the young scholar is a formulaic element, in colonial-era prose he becomes a mutable figure whose connotations can often be misunderstood, especially by today’s readers.

29 The old and wise villager survives in works of classic ruralist prose, for example that of Yi Kiyŏng.

Characters are mostly defined by their birth. The positive ones go through an upward developmental trajectory from inexperience to the awareness of their place in society, or alternately their mortality; the negative ones go through the same trajectory in the opposite direction. The relatively “fatherly” capitalist turns out to be a villain and, when confronted with people’s resistance, evolves into a heartless Japanese-type capitalist. Each of the specific set typologies presume different schemes of the story. However, the initial premises in these novels imply a fixed and predictable sequence of the plot. For example, if a country girl enters the story, we presume the schema: poverty—coercion by the landlord/capitalist and his attempt to rape her/rape—flight to the right/her community—(the adequate level of) awareness. Likewise, the intellectual proves his potential at the outset, arising from his romantic image of righteousness. Throughout the narrative, he remains balanced between his inclination towards frivolity and his sense of justice, a hesitation paralleled by his vacillation between the rich and the poor girl. Ultimately, however, he fails. The clear (static) characters are the poor: selfless, unable to defend themselves, vulnerable. They form a backdrop that puts the main characters, whether positive or negative, in contrasting relief.

The poor, the abused and the exploited are unequivocally positive. Predominantly, their representatives are young, though episodically certain older characters may also appear as positive, usually if they are ill, unable to work properly, etc. Of course, a persistent motif in the leftist novels is the rape of the girl: in the countryside she is at the mercy of the landlord, because she is “at his disposal”, the best examples being widows or orphans. In the factory, all girls can be raped because they have no protectors. Women in factories can be abused because of their status as workers—though not necessarily in the standard Marxist category, i.e., it is the price for their relative personal freedom, though they behave in a childish way.³⁰

The range of negative figures also shows considerable stability and uniformity: landlords, capitalists of the older type (factory owners), modern financial

30 It is necessary to differentiate between seduction as an attempt and seduction as a rape, i.e., between a totally natural act and a violent act. In both novels, the authors create the character of the masculine presence as the aggressor, and the feminine as the oppressed, violated and injured.

exploiters, their flunkys. The worst are those who have adopted the Japanese ways of management. As for the Japanese, they are not depicted as inevitable enemies of the Koreans: they may be class enemies, but their enmity does not stem from their ethnicity.³¹

The characters do not show the slightest dynamism or development, the purposeless dialogues and monologues slow down the tempo, showing the immaturity of the hero or heroine. For Korean literature, monologues and dialogues are a new element, and here they are not organically integrated into the story. Their length can often be excessive, especially in *Hwangbon*, typically in Kyōngjae and Yōsun. Ultimately, the purpose of the monologues, speeches, or even letters within the novel is to show the poor character of the intellectuals, their contradictions, and signs of decadence. Further illustrative points towards this end are the characters' reading choice, ideas, vanity, incompetence for physical work, not very distinct personal goals, and so on. Kyōngjae reveals his true nature in his relationship with his father, whom he cannot reduce to the function of the capitalist and exploiter. "You want me to oppose my father?" he asks the revolutionary. "Not to oppose your father, but his self-interest and exploitation," explains Chunsik, the only positive intellectual in the text (*Hwangbon* 2019, 243). The dialogues and monologues of the negative characters are more pronounced. The capitalists, in thought or action, invariably arrive at various sophisticated dirty tricks to save money, to lure workers into the factory, and to employ women workers (because of their lower salary). At the end of *Hwangbon*, the vicious An tries to convince the main hero and workers of his position; he argues that they are not responsible towards their health and that he has to decide instead of them (*Hwangbon* 2019, 500-506).

Success in the depiction of male and female characters is notably dependant on the gender of the author in question. Recalling that in Korean literature the

31 Almost all literary histories emphasize the anti-Japanese character of leftist Korean colonial literature. Nevertheless, this feature is strikingly uncommon in fictions. One explanation could be censorship, but it may also indicate a social reality in which the Japanese were not uniformly considered as enemies. The thesis of anti-Japanese positions across Korean society cannot mirror the reality, nor does it reflect the Japanese in Korean literature. This mythology is not only confined to North or South Korean researchers, but has also been prevalent among foreigners for many years. See, e.g., Karteva-Danceva 2012, 95-109.

1930s was a period of idealization of the countryside, such an influence is immediately evident in Yi Kiyŏng's *Kobyang* and his iconic pastoral villagers. Kang Kyŏngae's setting is no less elaborate; her characters, in turn, are similar to Yi Kiyŏng's, where the positive ones are naïve, childish, exploitable and exploited, therefore pathetic. The main heroine Sŏnbi is a poor orphan; working in a landlord's house, she deals with housekeeping, preferring the tasks of washing and egg-gathering. In her absolute spontaneity and purity, she is beautiful, as mentioned by both the poor Ch'ŏtchchae and Sinch'ŏl who arrives to the village as the bridegroom of the landlord's daughter. Sŏnbi would like to embroider and considers the craft as an education. Her naivety and ignorance are exposed in Seoul and in Inch'ŏn. Really, do people live in these houses, she asks. She does not even recognize a Shinto shrine, and everything surprises her (*Ingan munje* 2013, 302-303). In Inch'ŏn, where she is employed in the factory, she is afraid of every task and works poorly; she dislikes the Vietnamese rice; she does not want to attend the evening school, etc. (*Ingan munje* 2013, 312-313). Not a woman of the future, self-confident and modern, she represents instead the ideal of a pure country girl. Indeed, she seems to resemble popular characters from the past, especially Ch'unhyang and Sim Ch'ŏng.³²

Her counterpart is represented by the landlord's daughter Okchŏmi, whose prototype appears in the previously mentioned novel *Mujŏng* in the character of the ambassador's daughter Kim Sŏnghyŏng. Here, she is not an example of the new woman, but the antipode of the positive heroine; she lacks any indication of qualities perceived as desirable. Okchŏmi knows what she wants, she is spoiled, foolish, self-centred; the epitome of a petite bourgeois. Father, buy me a piano, she demands, all fathers do it now! (*Ingan munje* 2013, 108). Her interests are in her comfort and her future husband, she has no need for education, wishing only to rule in her narrow world as the outcome of her "bourgeois" education. If this persona is created only to act unpleasantly, the author is successful. Giggling, affectionate gestures, excessive emotions accompany her words and behaviour,

32 Traditional heroines are created following Confucian principles. The first one represents the exemplary wife, the second one the ideal daughter. Both are extremely pathetic, ready to die to preserve their idealised attributes.

along with a great deal of jealousy. The same is true of *Hwangbon*: poor Yösun tries to study while working; she is intelligent and honest, but also sentimental. The rich girl proves her arrogance many times: she takes two hours to get dressed (as the novel tells), enters her fiancé's room with the consent of her future stepmother (inappropriate behaviour indicative of her decadence), insists on a "husband" at all costs, feigns noble intentions etc.³³

As mentioned above, both novels contain an entire host of completely redundant characters. Of particular interest among this group are the mistresses of the landlords and capitalists. They are not evil: both authors give them a chance, they are merely victims of the men's licence, yet at the same time they are sketched as accepting this position in the expectation of benefits. The first type is assumed from the then-popular image of the "new" prostitute that appears in Korean literature under the influence of Tolstoy's *Voskreseniye*, where the authors assign to her a sense of freedom along with a rapid development into a modern woman (Tikhonov 2016, 46-80). Though this is a common and productive typology, this character (mistress or concubine) was eliminated from official literature by Kim Ilsung, who did not like such a "dirty" heroine, as demonstrated in the debate over Yi Kiyöng's novel *Ttang* (땅, *The Land*, 1948) (Gabroussenko 2010, 99-101).

In the 1930s, the portrait of the working-class woman is anything but uniform: we can find a wide range of characterisation, from girls on the road to rebelliousness, through naïve hard workers, to women trying to attract men for quick money. The last typology enters literature through the unforgettable character of Kim Tongin's Pongnyö in his *Kamja* (감자, *Potatoes*, 1925).³⁴ In the context of the still undefined characterisation of the working woman, the same schemata continue in post-war fiction, beginning to replace the function of men by the 1950s. Typical cases include the widely popular trope of older women as selfless suffering victims, living in poverty or utterly dependent on their husbands

33 A similar prototype is presented by Yi Kwangsu in his *Mujöng*. However, her function does not involve a critique of the bourgeoisie, and represents one (not very convincing) possibility of a modern Korean wife.

34 In this short story, the impoverished Pongnyö understands that women who agree to a proposal of sex with their work supervisors are relieved of work duties but still receive their salaries. As such, prostitution is a solution to her poverty. This motif recurs frequently in other stories in the 1930s.

and fulfilling the wishes of their daughters, or acting in the interest of their own children (stepmothers). The importance of such characters to the novel's plot, however, is minimal.

In parallel, the male heroes are required to take the form of the new man, even from the lowest strata (villagers) or the ambiguous intellectuals. The former are simple, startlingly naïve, even though they are created as inexperienced villagers with no development. The best example of such a personality is Ch'õtchchae from *Ingan munje*, who appears almost idle up to the point when he loses his field. His passivity is his basic attribute: if there is no food at home, he and his mother wait to see if the situation will end in starvation or if a miracle will happen. Therefore, his activity is substantially reduced. The situation of losing his property forces him to re-evaluate his habits and ask questions, which are still very naïve, even if they extend to matters of life perspectives or symbolic perception of the world. He flees to the city, a move that brings the slow beginning of a process full of romantic imaginations. Because of his birth, Ch'õtchchae has a healthy background: he does not give up at the first signs of adversity. He is the only person who we can label as the hope for the future; the others die or betray. The workers, if they have no rural origin, are more active and straightforward, rendered in a depiction inspired by Russian/Soviet and Japanese literature, where the tradition of such types has a longer history, and the workers might not be mere figments of the writer's imagination. In 1930s Korea, modern factories are not the obvious locations for the creation of the worker-heroes in their evolution from passive victims to revolutionaries. More typical for the positive male heroes, which continues even in North Korean literature, is their extraordinary physical potential displayed in confrontation with other workers. The positive hero of the working class is simple, temperate and uneducated, indeed a practical man. Sober judgement and leadership potential are his strong suit. Yet, throughout the 1930s, the Korean positive heroes from the lower strata are not leaders, but on the contrary, they are immature and need—in the authors' opinion—the education and guidance that can only be provided by the intellectual.

As mentioned above, the intellectual in modern Korean fiction is usually a fence-sitter. This "tradition" begins with the first modern novel, *Mujöng*, where the main hero's indecisiveness is not explicitly negative. In both analysed novels,

the young men of middle-class origin represent modern education and ideas, but they lack firm and embedded relationships to their own family, property and world order. They are overly theatrical in their revolts, loves and betrayals; their thoughts and imaginations are effeminate, romantic and timid. In particular, their indecisiveness becomes a key plot factor in their relationship to the main female character. She attracts them as a physical being (through which they show a proper understanding of the situation), but the spoiled daughter of the landlord or capitalist remains close to them because of the common reality they share. In *Ingan munje*, when Sinch'öl thinks about his future wife, he welcomes her working; yet at the same time he judges women by their appearance, for instance, he finds Sönbi disgusting because of her worn hands as a sign of hard work. He does not want to marry to gain money, but that is what he precisely does as soon as he is released from prison. His conflict with his father ends with him leaving home, but he cannot find a job, joins the loafers, and feeds them with his earnings as a newspaper seller. In Inch'ön, he tries to work for the underprivileged people, in other words for the workers. Yet he cannot work physically and his help for the workers is reduced to educational activities, in which he offers merely such banal advice as, for example, abstaining from alcohol and women. In prison, he tries to imagine ten years of imprisonment, and in response accepts help from his father to be released; he then gets married and leaves for Manchuria, suggesting a sequence of failures. He abandons his ideas; he sells himself for money and accepts a position from the Japanese. A similar case applies to the hero of *Hwangbon*. His attitude toward his world can be revealed, among other things, through his stance towards the main heroine Yösun: he does not know whether he wants to educate her or protect her, whether he loves her or wants to hit her. He is a coward, and in every situation his hesitation results in mental escape or doing nothing. Since his father is a capitalist of the old fashion, Kyöngjae cannot be positive simply because of his origin. He moves in a decadent environment, does not want to make friends with the workers, and uses the elitist phrase “we intellectuals.” The text characterizes him with the sentence “early fires, but his heart is lazy... his imagination moves him more than reality.” (*Hwangbon* 2019, 315). His relationship with his father and future father-in-law reflects his deficit in class-consciousness,

and only at the very end of the text that he comes to the realisation of how desperately wrong he is.³⁵

In contrast, the negative male characters are expressive, powerful, and active in shaping the storyline. At times, they might not be distinctive from the start. To a European or not very experienced Korean reader, landlords and capitalists can be understandable, however, the possession of wealth also implies belonging to the privileged classes, which is inevitably demonstrated in the course of the narrative.³⁶ The landlord in *Ingan munje* alternates between his pleasant and unpleasant face. The moment he brings the orphan home, everybody knows that he is going to rape her and that she is not his first victim. While the landlord's relationship with individuals may sometimes manifest traditional paternalism or sentimental whimsy, he is uncompromising when it comes to his property or profit. In the scene where his tenants revolt, he has them imprisoned, but subsequently releases them to let them know where the boundaries of his tolerance lie. "What do you want besides work and food? I am thinking about you, and I care about your well-being" (*Ingan munje* 2013, 153). Landlords as a traditional class are exploiters and ranked into the category of "ours". As soon as the capitalist enters the narrative, his arrogance is proved by his words and rhetoric. For example, in *Ingan munje*, the officer replaces the landlord and tells the villagers: "You are not having a good time because you are lazy and wear white clothes. From today you must wear colourful garb. Do not wear rubber shoes, wear straw

35 The text has several endings that vary from edition to edition, but in no version does Kyōngjae join the workers.

36 The best example of this apparent ambivalence is Mr. Pak from the novel *Taeba*. He behaves as a nobleman, even though his position has simply been bought, and he exploits it when he communicates with the Japanese. He is a healthy man; he likes to eat and drink; he understands the world order. Cold-blooded and unscrupulous, he understands the power of property; he can manage his fields, his business, and his two houses (families). He likes his life; he is a traditional parvenu. When he faces problems, he solves them immediately. At the same time, he considers himself a proponent of tradition, viewing modernity as only "machines", yet his traditionalism is corrupted and immoral.

sandals... And limit your ancestor worship. We will take care of you, which means you must also pay taxes.” (*Ingan munje* 2013, 155).

The new enemies are the capitalists; they do not confuse the reader with any trace of ambiguity. The traditional ones are less ambitious, but at the same time not as successful because they do not accept the Japanese way of management. An example of the successful capitalist is the director An and his flunkey in *Hwangbon*, who manipulate, confuse, and cajole their workers with patriotic sentiments: “We are going to produce on a large scale, you must be proud!” (*Hwangbon* 2019, 499). Such capitalists exploit the workers in a modern way: for their appetite, one mistress is not enough. Their behaviour towards the workers culminates in the idea of dismissing all the sick and elderly workers through medical check-up, and calling the police for assistance against the workers at the first sign of the revolt. Similarly, the “modern” capitalists are depicted in *Ingan munje* as invisible, communicating only through notices to the wardens who act in their name. Such dehumanizing treatment marks the factory of the new type (whether Japanese or Western), providing all the attributes of modernity (schooling, education, tours of the city, dormitories, health care, dining rooms). Girls accept the contract because of the benefits they cannot really decipher. “You will work for three years and provide for your family! Once in three weeks you will have a day off, we offer you a sports day, picnics, company benefits.” (*Ingan munje* 2013, 315-6). The workers’ organization tries to expose the truth behind these policies by distributing pamphlets in which they explain the hidden meaning of the benefits. The same motif appears in *Hwangbon*, where the pamphlets explain the medical check-ups. This is, however, a significant exaggeration of modernity: the characters are oppressed, exploited by modernity; their education is a false value. It is no guarantee of work or social position: work as a sign of emancipation for the new woman means a danger to her purity. If a woman leaves her personal space, she put herself in mortal danger.

In both novels, we encounter a crowd of villagers or workers rising to action. The villagers are extremely simple: they suffer and endure everything until the moment they lose their fields. This loss signifies their separation from the soil, which is essential for them. They keep hoping that things will “somehow” be resolved; that the landlord will forgive them. Only in dire situations, they wake up to the realities of life: they have nothing to plant and therefore nothing to eat. Arriving at this realisation is the crucial moment, followed by the anger of the

mob. While it then launches further action in the plot, their response is not constructive at all. The same applies to the urban workers, who do not know what they want or how to articulate it, let alone what resistance will mean. Clearly, the crowd needs a leader and collective action backed by ideas, though the shared anger is the emotion that the authors consider to be a positive seed of revolution. This limitation applies to the entire Korean leftist literature during the colonial era, and indeed corresponds to the historical record in which no strikes or resistance leading to social change took place.

Less prevalent in these novels are the superfluous characters that do not influence the story and do not aspire to personal emancipation. These are characters that readers of the 1930s could decode by their origin. The underprivileged are always positive (servants, *kisaeng*,³⁷ illegitimate sons), the privileged invariably turn out to be immoral. And finally, the villagers show their passive but steady nature that reaches to the state of anger and protest but lacks fighting power.³⁸

The Limitations of Progressive Ideas

In short stories written by Korean proletarian authors in the 1920s, indications of progressive or revolutionary ideas and slogans are usually inserted into the text programmatically and inorganically. The best examples are Cho Myŏnghŭi's (조명희, 1894–1938) story *Naktonggang* (낙동강, 1927), where the author disrupts the rhythm of the story with political slogans, or Yi Kiyŏng's *Sŏbwa* (사화, The Rat Fire, 1932), where he relegates all ideological statements to the final page. The

37 Kisaeng in *Taeba* understands her position as determined by her origin and profession: she is educated, able to write poetry, yet on the other hand is not modern at all; her ideal is a *kisaeng* of the same name. She is emotive, emphatic and sentimental. The author presents her as the most progressive of the women in the novel, in accordance with the popular image of the prostitute influenced by Katya of Tolstoy's *Resurrection*.

38 Women-villagers are entirely and thoroughly passive. The only exceptions are the protagonists of both novels, Sŏnbi and Yŏsun, who attend the preparations for a strike.

isolation of such elements and their minimal continuity with the storyline testify to their lack of integration into the Korean literary tradition and to the authors' not very precise understanding of Marxism. Traditional novels allow more space for the process of maturation of characters, the transition from the phase of innocence to the phase of understanding the necessity of revolt, of struggle, whether personal or collective. However, none of the characters in the analysed novels manages to enter the story as potential revolutionaries: all of them mature at a remarkably slow pace. The intellectuals do so through reading, encounters with teachers, or personal experience, and the villagers or workers do so in the course of their work. It is fair to say that remarkably greater emphasis is placed on experience, since education can be a false path, as *Kyōngja* in *Hwangbon* proves several times.³⁹ The vehicle of the right ideas and deeds can only come from among the poor, like *Ch'ōtchchae*: starting out as a naïve illiterate boy, he comes to the conviction that he has to be the best of the humankind, and for this he must change himself (he is still illiterate), he abstains from alcohol and ... in his face a ... "harsh decisiveness appears" (*Ingan munje* 2013, 393). Such a hero is finally the most productive: in the 1930s, authors still depict poor villagers as struggling towards development of vague feelings, while industrial workers are shown as having no tradition in Korea. Nevertheless, it must be said that the authors bring into the text personages similar to themselves, i.e., educated people who eventually understand the sincerity of physical labour and enter the factory themselves.⁴⁰ Up to the end of the Japanese colonial period, no professional revolutionary or leader appears as a novelistic character. If the authors choose to use some variation of

39 In the opening chapter, this individual expresses his emotions several times in monologues, mostly referring to his education. He seems to be a modern person with rational ideas on the necessity of education (to be achieved not only in Berlin but also in Vienna or the Soviet Union). He is not extremely romantic; he mocks the practice of early marriage and the foolish reverence of romantic love. He understands the class differences, but scoffs at the popular slogans that ask the intelligentsia to work in the fields or in the factory because only praxis gives them the right perspective (*Hwangbon*, chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 14-47).

40 Several of Han Sōrya's short stories end with this motif: the character, walking aimlessly, finally enters a factory that symbolizes hope and the right life-path for such a person. See, for example, his short stories *Kwadogi* (과도기, The Period of Transition, 1928), *Ssirūm* (씨름, The Fight, 1929), and *Sagwa* (사과, Apple, 1936; *Hyōndae chosŏn munhak sŏnjip* 4).

such a hero, the later does not act, only gradually develops a conviction of the need to do something. The contrast is all the stronger when we compare these ambivalent heroes with the protagonists of post-war North Korean literature. In this tradition, authors, in a very short time period, portray a variety of positive characters: first as reflections of Soviet literature (builders of villages and towns, soldiers fighting against the enemy), later through a range of model heroes, men and women in the emancipation era of Korean literature, to the figure of the universal, all-capable superhero who is the only one to solve the problems of the whole country and establish the criteria for life in DPRK in the age of the personality cult.

In principle, the narratives in the 1930s texts tend to follow the characters' initial proposition, i.e., the first meeting with the character influences the plot. According to the hero's propositions, it guides him or her to personal resistance. Everything positive begins with anger that arises from repeated and accumulated injustice. Such cathartic incidents in *Hwanghon* are the announcement of the medical check-up and the reaction of one worker who declares that she will kill the director An. Somewhat later, the workers discuss sabotaging the factory machines (*Hwanghon* 2019, 256 and 258). From spontaneous anger and declarations, the situation escalates in the workers' gradual rise in awareness. However, leadership is needed, as is evident in the scene of the medical check-up, which the chattering and laughing mass of women workers take as a chance to enjoy free time. Awareness is explicitly attributed to individuals: not every villager or worker can understand the situation. As, for example, during the workers' discussion, a resolution needs to be passed, but the workers do not get to the point: "Maybe we invoke the conflict ... strike ... they will arrest us ... you told us we are young, that we have to grow ... but the revolution in Russia was not carried out by old people." (*Hwanghon* 2019, 348). Yet the outcome can indeed assume the form of a genuine utopian idyll, like the scene of the strike in *Ingan munje*. "Only when the sun rises do they see how magnificent the power of solidarity is." (*Ingan munje* 2013, 351). This power is manifested in their collective expression of demands; the factory workers are proud when the factory whistle sounds to announce the start of the strike, matched with the expected raised fists and shouts. However, since most such "revolutionary" situations end in an unsuccessful strike, we cannot, in

consequence, label these novels revolutionary, containing a direct prescription for the coming struggle or a bright future.

In essence, the conclusion offered is that the main difference between pre-war and post-war literature in Korea lies in the position of culture, its objective limitations and demands. What was unthinkable in the 1930s was an accepted, even prescribed reality only a decade later. Ideological ambivalence turned into ideological models. Further, the changed reality also introduced new characters and situations they face. Now, exploiters of any of the earlier types no longer existed, strikes and revolts were unnecessary. If such an exploiter appeared in the text, he lacked demonic power and turned into a ridiculous figure.

Ingan munje and *Hwanghon* deal with many of the themes connected with the modern era: education, individualism, solidarity, social differences and the new justice, all models that they work to revise, some of which were thematised over a relatively long time. Nevertheless, leftist authors placed social injustice at the centre of their stories, yet in doing so they concentrated and fixed the image of positive heroes and heroines who are pure and oppressed, who do not react to the injustice and whose purity remains untouched by it.⁴¹ These characters are uniformly simple, naïve villagers who face a situation in which they cannot win but only survive. Not only does this modus refer to the older literary tradition, but it also points towards a similar path taken in the future, in the writings of the Juche era (Myers 2010). As a result, irrespective of the various labels and identifications, these novels are neither socialist nor revolutionary, remaining confined merely to “hopeful” schemes and “hopeful” characters that are far from the heroic Soviet and post-war North Korean models.⁴² The authors of the colonial era do not turn to an ideal Korean past, do not reflect contemporary reality in detail, or even depict an ideal future at all. Their novels are set into a stable, semi-realistic space that cannot be understood as the reality of the colonial Korea, but rather as a

41 This finding is more applicable to female characters; in the old prose, the males are active.

42 There is a significant difference if a novel deals with Japan, Japanese and characters with specific Japanese names. The reality of Japanese annexation is rarely thematised, the situation of the Japanese military actions in Asia is not criticized. Even the Japanese villagers are a part of the community though they are not part of “us”. On the other hand, Japanese police officers and officials are arrogant, but from their position of power, not because of their ethnicity.

thoroughly fictitious literary world coloured by formulaic characters, some of which are drawn from the neighbouring literatures. The result is an artificial construct designed to give the reader a model of heroes who are unrealistic but exemplary, whether positive or negative, and thus calling upon a connection to the traditions of Korean prose fiction that is still stronger than any developed and accepted modernity in all its aspects.

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Recenzie · Reviews

Benická, Jana. *Staroveká čínska filozofia a myslenie* [Ancient Chinese Philosophy and Thought]. Bratislava: Comenius University Press, 2022—200 pp. ISBN 978-80-223-5522-3

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The book is the first monograph written in the Slovak language on ancient Chinese philosophy and thought. It adheres to the categorization of six philosophical schools by Sima Tan (Yin and Yang School, Confucianism, Mohism, School of [correct] Denominations (i.e., Logicians), Legalism, and Taoism), as outlined in his and his son Sima Qian's monumental work *Records of Historians*. Although Sima Tan's categorization is a later construct aimed at organizing the intricate landscape of ancient Chinese thought and was subject to criticism for inaccuracies, it is generally accepted within Chinese historiography. A question arises as to whether it was judicious to adopt Sima Tan's categorization in this monograph. However, the author adeptly elucidates the philosophical or socio-political implications of the six schools while acknowledging the interconnections among them. This nuanced approach challenges Sima Tan's rigid classification, allowing readers to discern the intricate influences between these schools.

The text extensively explores early Chinese cosmology, with a focus on Yin and Yang, Five elements, the *Taiji* diagram or "River diagrams"—and the author extends these interpretations to their use in Taoism, Buddhism and (Neo)-Confucianism.

Buddhism, which is not listed in the Sima Tan's categorization due to its post-first-century introduction to China, is also incorporated in the book. The author convincingly argues for its inclusion, highlighting the profound impact of Buddhism on and from indigenous Chinese schools, particularly Taoism.

The book includes numerous passages from philosophical works in original, written in Classical Chinese, and their translations into Slovak. We greatly appreciate a good selection of the texts, and, especially, the great attention which the author pays to the translations. Some texts are translated by Prof. Benická herself; elsewhere she relies on qualified translations.

While the majority of the monograph adeptly captures the essence of various philosophical schools, a reservation arises regarding the chapter on the School of

[correct] Denominations. The focus on a single text, “The Treatise on the White Horse” (though excellently translated by Jana Benická herself, equipped with footnotes rich in information; notable and representative), limits the representation of various ancient Chinese logicians. A more comprehensive exploration of ancient Chinese logicians, beyond the brief introduction in the chapter on Mohism (later Mohists), would have been appreciated.

The chapter on Taoism distinguishes itself through its avoidance of traditional idealistic interpretations, presenting the basic canonical work, the *Daode Jing*, as a Taoist-legalistic survival manual, infused with elements of internal alchemy, which today has its application in *Qigong*. Benická has very well uncovered its references to alchemy and the practices of cultivation of life, also in other Taoist works that mainly Chinese authors describe as philosophical (pointing to the fact that Taoism has two levels: philosophical and practical—in the sense of practices of seeking immortality or longevity). The author wisely unveils this dual nature of Taoism, philosophical and practical, highlighting the intertwining of these facets.

The chapter on Buddhism goes back to the earliest Indian Buddhism and to its later development, namely, to the philosophy of the Indian thinker Nagarjuna. It is the reference to *Emptiness*, the term which this philosopher elaborated in detail that is crucial for understanding Buddhism in its Chinese developments. All Chinese schools of Buddhism are based on the theory of *Emptiness*. The author presents two of them: Huayan and Chan. Chan Buddhism is well known; the fascinating story of Huayan is less so. We appreciate that Benická has included it in her book.

The monograph is an excellent text that analyses the most important schools and trends in ancient Chinese thought that stand at the birth of Chinese civilization and includes also Buddhism for enrichment and completion.

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