

THE JAPANISATION OF SHAKESPEARE: FROM SHAKESPEARE'S *KING LEAR* TO KUROSAWA'S *RAN*

SHIH PEI CHUN

Introduction

Shakespeare's tragedies have continually proven to be a popular choice among film directors from the silent era to the present day. Among thirty films credited to him, the Japanese film director Akira Kurosawa has twice based his story on Shakespeare's plays. Not only has he adapted Shakespeare's works, including the story of *Macbeth*, but he also produced *Throne of Blood* (1957). He furthermore spent more than ten years preparing an adaptation of *King Lear* and then directing the film *Ran* which was released in June 1985. Among all the adaptations of *King Lear*, *Ran* stands out for its replacement of the Shakespearean stage with a Japanese background.

Kurosawa shifts the location of *Lear* to medieval Japan and he also writes *Ran's* script in Medieval Japanese, which differs substantially from modern Japanese. As a period film, *Ran* is based on the story of a Japanese general, Mouri Motonari, and his clan during the Muromachi Period (1497-1571 CE). Thus, Judith Buchanan (2005) notes that Kurosawa successfully transplanted his adaptations of two of Shakespeare's plays into a Japanese background by "having uprooted the plays both linguistically and culturally" (72). However, discussions of *Ran* up to the present emphasise the film's visual and audio features rather than its linguistic aspects. For instance, J. Lawrence Gunter (2007) compares the "brilliant colours" of *Ran* with the grey hue of Grigori Kozintsez's adaptation of *King Lear* (1970) and mentions the striking contrast between the brightness and the cruelty of the battle scenes (136). Judith Buchanan discusses the effect of music and sound in different scenes of the film. However, Ib Johansen (1994) quotes some lines from both *King Lear* and *Ran* only in order to analyse how characters have been transferred from the original play to the film. Conversely, this essay explores the use of Medieval Japanese in *Ran*, and compares it with the English language employed in *King Lear*, in order to examine how Kurosawa recreates linguistically the spirit of a Shakespearean play in his film.

1. Background

Every language in the world inevitably changes with time. According to Victoria Fromkin and Robert Rodman (1998), transformations in a language refer to “changes in the lexicon as well as the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic components of the grammar” (450). In other words, a language changes as certain grammatical rules are added, eliminated or altered. For instance, the case-marking system which can be detected in both Classical Latin and Old English no longer exists in modern English. Moreover, according to Fromkin and Rodman (1998) assimilation of pronunciation is employed in order to achieve “ease of articulation” (481). The “reduction of the number of exceptional or irregular morphemes” (ibid.) also partly accounts for the changes in language.

The history of the English language can be roughly divided into three phases (Fromkin and Rodman 1998): Old English (449-1066), Middle English (1066-1500) and modern English (1500-present day). For instance, the language used in *Beowulf* typically illustrates Old English, while Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* is representative of Middle English. Shakespearean English, although labelled as “Early Modern Language” by Trask (1994: 8), still exemplifies some noticeable differences from contemporary English. However, the majority of the vocabularies in Shakespeare’s plays are intelligible to modern readers. According to Nanette Twine (1991), the Japanese language, especially written Japanese, also suffered substantial changes after the Meiji Restoration (1867). Therefore, the language used in the Muromachi Period (1392-1573), in which Kurosawa sets his Shakespearean adaptation *Ran*, also differs from contemporary Japanese.

In this essay, the Japanese data used for the analysis of language changes are transcribed from the subtitled version of a *Ran* DVD distributed by Toho Group Japan, one of the biggest and most popular film distributors in the country. The following discussion is divided into three sections, namely, case-marking/formality, verbal change, and imperative form. Section 2.1 discusses the variation of the pronoun system in English which has a similar function to the case-markers in Japanese, in that the pronoun system in Shakespearean English, similarly to the copula in Japanese, also indicates hierarchy and formality. Therefore, the variation of case-markers and copula in Japanese will also be included in the discussion of Section 2.1. Further, section 2.2 examines the verbal change in terms of the inflectional suffix and modal verbs in English, as well as the formal and the gerundive forms of verbs in Japanese. Finally, Section 2.3 briefly outlines the difference of imperative verb forms observed in Medieval

Japanese and Shakespearean English. To facilitate discussions in the following sections, Table 1 below lists the main characters in *Ran* and their counterparts in *King Lear*, and mentions their gender within brackets, since the three daughters of Lear have been changed to three sons in *Ran*.

<i>Ran</i>	<i>King Lear</i>
Hidetora (M)	King Lear (M)
Taro (M)	Gonerill, the eldest daughter (F)
Lady Kaede (F)	Duke of Albany, Gonerill's husband (M)
Jiro (M)	Regan, the second daughter (F)
Lady Sue (F)	Duke of Burgundy, Regan's husband (M)
Saburo (M)	Cordelia, the youngest daughter (F)
Lord of Hujimaki (M)	King of France (M)
Lord of Ayabe (M)	Duke of Burgundy (M)
Kyoami (M)	Fool (M)
Tango (M)	Earl of Kent (M)
Kurogane: Jiro's retainer (M)	Oswald: Gonerill's steward (M)

Table 1: Main Characters in *Ran* and their counterparts in *King Lear*

2 Data

2.1 Case-marking and Formality

Case is expressed through the pronoun system in English. In Shakespearean English, the pronoun system and particularly the second-person pronoun slightly differ from those used in modern English. Table 2 shows the second-person pronouns recurrent in *King Lear* and their corresponding frequency of usages in brackets.

Nominative	Accusative	Possessive
You (463)		Your (225)
Thou (229)	Thee (139)	Thy (161)/ Thine (24)

Table 2: Second person pronouns in *King Lear*

The second-person pronoun system in *King Lear* falls into two groups. On the one hand, 'you' and 'your' are used; on the other, there also exist cases of 'thou,' 'thee' and 'thy/thine' which are usually foreign to modern readers. In contemporary English,

‘you’ functions as both the nominative and accusative cases. However, the contemporary ‘you’ corresponds both to the nominative marker ‘thou’ and to the accusative marker ‘thee’ in Shakespearean English. ‘Thou’ is a singular nominative second-person pronoun, and its plural form ‘ye’ appears five times in *King Lear*. Equivalent to the contemporary ‘your,’ two different forms of possessive marker (i.e. ‘thy’ and ‘thine’) exist in Shakespearean English. ‘Thy’ is normally used before words which start with a consonant, while ‘thine’ occurs with words which start with a vowel.

The case marking system in Japanese also underwent some changes. Case is expressed through the subject marker *ga*, the accusative marker *wo* and the possessive marker *no* in Japanese. In contemporary Japanese, the post-nominal subject marker *ga* must follow a noun. The nominaliser *no* will be added to a verb to nominalise it before it is used together with the subject marker *ga* as shown in 1(b). However, in old Japanese (tenth to twelfth century), *ga* can be used immediately after a verb (Tsuji-mura 1996), as in 1(a), which is taken from the *Ran* script.

1(a)	逃げる nigeru escape	が <i>a</i> subject-marker	よい。 <i>yoi</i> ll right
1(b)	逃げるの nigeru-no escape-nominaliser	が <i>ga</i> subject-marker	よい。 <i>yoi</i> ll right

“You can just escape.”

Besides the subject marker *ga*, the topic marker *wa* immediately follows a verb in *Ran*. In the figure below, 2(a) is a sentence taken from the *Ran* script and 2(b) is from contemporary Japanese.

2(a)	逃げぬ nige-nu escape-negative	は <i>wa</i> topic-marker	阿呆。 <i>abou</i> idiot
2(b)	逃げぬの nige-nu-no escape-negative-nominaliser	は <i>wa</i> topic-marker	呆。 <i>hou</i> idiot

“(Person) who does not escape is an idiot.”

In her discussion of language variation, Natsuko Tsujimura (1996) does not refer to the use of *wa* after a verb in ancient Japanese. However, in Kurosawa’s *Ran*, *wa* follows the same pattern as *ga* in Muromachi Japanese. In modern Japanese, *ga* and *wa* follow nouns, or verbs that have been nominalised by the *no* insertion; Tsujimura demonstrates that

medieval *ga* did not require *no* insertion, and that *ga* could follow (subjectise) a verb. In *Ran*, this same pattern holds for *wa*. Although we do not know if Kurosawa's scriptwriters, Hideo Oguni and Masato Ide, had access to Muromachi-period text, the extrapolation of the *ga* pattern to *wa* is perfectly consistent from a grammatical point of view, and even though Tsujimura fails to note this diachronic pattern change, Kurosawa's writers do seem to have ably researched the Muromachi-period text in order to detect such a pattern.

Apart from marking cases, second-person pronouns in *King Lear* also function as markers of interpersonal relationships. A further examination of the addressers and addressees of the 'you' and 'thou' groups respectively suggests that the 'you' group is used when the addresser wants to show reverence to the addressee; at the same time, a sense of distance between the addresser and addressee might be detected. On the contrary, the use of the 'thou' group suggests both the inferior status of the addressee and the intimate relationship between the addresser and addressee. The characters of Gonerill and Regan address their father consistently as 'you' and in most instances Lear addresses them as 'you,' especially when he regards them as dukes' wives. However, Lear now and then switches from 'you' to 'thou' when he regards Gonerill and Regan as his daughters instead of duchesses. For instance, Lear switches between 'you' and 'thou' several times when he talks to Regan. At first, Lear greets Regan and Cornwall by saying "Good morrow to *you* both" (2.4.22; my emphasis), but when he starts to complain to Regan about how he is mistreated by Gonerill, he changes from 'you' to 'thou.' According to Penelope Brown and Steven Levinson (1987), positive politeness is achieved by demonstrating in-group recognition of the addressee and furthermore reducing the social distance between the addresser and addressee, while the addresser adopts negative politeness to show deference and thus to maintain the distance within the interlocution. The use of 'thou' and 'you' in *King Lear* also implies that the characters adopt positive and negative politeness, respectively. In the conversation with Regan, Lear uses the strategy of both positive ('thou') and negative ('you') politeness, but none of these helps him achieve his goal of staying in his daughter's house and keeping all his soldiers. Gonerill and Regan's consistent use of 'you' when addressing Lear indicates that they no longer care for Lear as their father but only as a king who transfers his power and possessions to them.

Kurosawa represents the same feature of interpersonal relationship and social-linguistic hierarchy in a different way. One substantial difference which distinguishes Japanese nouns from English ones is that "Japanese nouns are associated with a

conjugational paradigm” (Tsuji-mura 1996: 127), as exemplified below with the noun *hon*, ‘book.’

3	a. non-past	<i>hon-da</i>	‘it is a book’
	b. non-past negative	<i>on-ja nai</i>	‘it’s not a book’
	c. past	<i>hon-datta</i>	‘it was a book’
	d. past negative	<i>on-ja na-katta</i>	‘it wasn’t a book’
	e. tentative	<i>hon-darou</i>	‘it is probably a book’
	(examples taken from Tsujimura 1996: 127)		

Instead of *da*, which has become the standard form of contemporary Japanese after the Meiji Restoration, the non-past copula *ja* is more frequently used in *Ran*. Table 3 demonstrates the frequency of the use of *ja* and *da* in the film. In the Kansai Area, including Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe, *ja* has been employed since the late-medieval era in Japan. Because Kurosawa sets the story of *Ran* in the Muromachi Period (1392-1573), which was founded in Kyoto, the use of *ja* in the film is fully justified. However, sixty-one instances of *da* can still be found in the film.

	<i>Ja</i>	<i>Da</i>
Overall frequency	84	61
Spoken by	Frequency	Frequency
Hidetora before insanity	20	8
Hidetora after insanity	0	16
Lady Kaede	19	1
Kurogane	9	1
Juro	7	6
Saburo	5	5
Hujimaki	5	1
Tango	5	4
Tsurumaru	6	0
Hidetora’s soldiers	4	0
Lady Sue	1	0
Kyouami (The Fool)	1	17
Naganuma	1	1
Igoma	1	1

Table 3: Frequency of the use of *ja* and *da* in *Ran*

According to Twine (1991), it was not until the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867), which marked the transfer of the political center from Kyoto to Edo (present-day Tokyo), and that the use of *da* appeared frequently in daily conversation and literature. Before that, the occurrence of *da* in Kyoto literatures indicated that “the speaker was a provincial from the east” (Twine 1991: 72). As shown in Table 3, *da* is mainly used by Kyouami (Fool, seventeen times) and Hidetora (King Lear) after insanity (sixteen times). After his madness, Hidetora never uses *ja*, while throughout the film, Kyouami uses *ja* only once, in a song meant to entertain both Hidetora and his guests. The use of *da* by Kyouami and Hidetora after insanity implies the inferior status of these characters in comparison with users of *ja* (mainly Hidetora before insanity and Lady Kaede). However, if Hidetora consciously switches from high-status *ja* to low-status *da* after becoming insane, we may tentatively suggest that he is aware of his change of status and, by extension, of the state of his insanity. One interpretation of this is that Hidetora, after his insanity, can discern the falseness and corruption of his high-status life, and, therefore, he deliberately abandons high-status language in favour of the honesty of low-status language in low-status society. This also suggests Kurosawa’s interpretation of *King Lear* that “the blind are the true seers, the madmen the true philosophers” (Gunter 2007: 133).

2.2 Verbal Change

Verbs in both English and Japanese have undergone dramatic changes. In contemporary English, verbal inflection occurs with the third-person singular subject. However, verbal inflection also occurs with the second-person singular pronoun ‘thou’ in Shakespearean English, not only in the present tense, but also in the past tense. Table 4 exemplifies the distinction in verbal inflection between contemporary and Shakespearean English. As shown in Table 4, in addition to the third-person verbal inflection *-(e)s*, the other inflectional form *-(e)st* in Shakespearean English is added to verbs after the second-person singular pronoun ‘thou’ both in the present and past tenses:

	Contemporary				Shakespearean			
Pronoun	I	You	Thou	s/he	I	you	thou	s/he
Present	love	love	X	Loves	Love	love	lovest	Loves
Tense	go	Go	X	Goes	Go	go	goest	Goes

Past	gave	gave	X	Gave	Gave	gave	gavest	Gave
Tense	made	made	X	Made	Made	made	madest	Made

Table 4: Verbal inflection in contemporary and Shakespearean English (inflectional suffix in bold letters)

In addition to verbal inflection, modal/auxiliary verbs which occur with ‘thou’ also differ from those with the second-person pronoun ‘you’ as well as from those with first- and third-person (both singular and plural) pronouns. Table 5 illustrates the respective distinct forms of modal/auxiliary verbs used in contemporary and Shakespearean English:

	Contemporary				Shakespearean			
Pronoun	I /we	you	thou	s/he	I/we	You	thou	s/he
Present	will	will	X	will	Will	Will	wilt	will
Tense	shall	shall	X	shall?	Shall	Shall	shalt	shall
	do	do	X	does	Do	Do	dost	doth
Past	would	would	X	would	would	Would	wouldst	would
Tense	should	should	X	should	should	Should	shouldst	should
	did	did	X	did	did	Did	didst	did

Table 5: Modal/auxiliary verbs in contemporary and Shakespearean English

As shown in Table 5, in Shakespearean English, various modal verbs occur with the second-person pronoun ‘thou.’ Also, the *-th* ending of the auxiliary verb ‘doth’ underwent the change into *-es* in contemporary English. The usage of the modal verb *shall* has also suffered some changes. Table 6 summarises data taken from The Cobuild Bank of English. The modal verb *shall* occurs 33,131 times in the corpus. Based on 331 cases of *shall* (i.e. about one percent of the whole data), this section records the pronouns which collocate with it:

Total	331	
I	63	19.03%

We	55	16.62%
You	7	2.11%

Table 6: Frequency/percentage of pronouns which collocate with *shall*

Among the pronouns which collocate with *shall*, the singular first-person pronoun ‘I’ constitutes the majority (sixty-three times in total), followed by ‘we’ (fifty-five times). The second-person pronoun ‘you’ occurs seven times, compared to no record of ‘s/he’ in the examined data. However, in *King Lear*, we can still find the collocation of the singular third-person pronoun ‘s/he’ with the modal verb *shall* as shown in the following examples:

- 4 When *she shall* hear this of thee, with her nails/ She’ll flay thy wolvisish visage. (1.4.304-5)
 5 If he be taken, *he shall* never more / Be fear’d of doing harm. (2.1.109-10)

Verbs used in the Muromachi period also differ from those used in contemporary Japanese. In *Ran*, we can find some antiquated formal expressions. These expressions are mostly out of use in modern spoken Japanese and might be regarded as stiff usage even in modern written Japanese. For instance, *-masuru* has the same function as the verb ending *-masu*. The contemporary formal present tense inflection is *-masu*, while the informal present tense inflection is *-ru*. Muromachi-period Japanese uses *-masuru* (an even more formal expression than *-masu* as well as *-ru*). There exist twenty-six cases of *-masuru* in *Ran*. For instance, 6(a) is a sentence from *Ran* which corresponds to 6(b) in contemporary Japanese.

6(a)	裸に <i>hadaka-ni</i> naked-particle	なります <i>nari-masuru</i> become	が。 <i>ga</i> but
6(b)	裸に <i>hadaka-ni</i> naked-particle	なります <i>nari-masu</i> become	が。 <i>ga</i> but

“I will become naked, so . . .”

The formal verb ending *-masuru* is seldom used in contemporary Japanese, but it still appears frequently in *Kyogen*, a traditional Japanese comedy with its origins in the Muromachi Period (Sugiura and Gillespie 1993). With the adoption of *-masuru*, Kurosawa successfully reproduces the sense of distance which Shakespearean plays might arouse among his modern readers.

In addition to verb endings, the gerundive form of verbs has suffered changes as well. Different categories of conjugational endings (i.e. *-(r)u*, *-ta* and *-te*) are added to a verbal root to produce non-past tense, past tense and gerundive forms of a verb in Japanese as exemplified below:

7	root	gloss	non-past	past	gerund
(a)	<i>tabe</i>	eat		<i>tabe-ru</i>	<i>tabe-ta tabe-te</i>
(b)	<i>omo</i>	think	<i>omo-u</i>	<i>omot-ta</i>	<i>omot-te</i>

Phonological changes take place in the past tense and gerundive forms of certain verbs, as shown in 7(b), in which a moraic consonant (i.e. the first part of a long consonant) /t/ was inserted before the past tense root /ta/.

According to Tsujimura (1996), there have been some remarkable changes in gerundive forms of verbs throughout the evolution of contemporary Japanese. In order to illustrate these modifications, she cites David Ashworth's example (1976-77: 30):

8	8th-12th C	14th-16th C	Modern	gloss
	<i>omoΦi-te</i>	<i>omou-te</i>	<i>omot-te</i>	think

As demonstrated in examples 7 and 8 above, the gerundive form of the verb *omou* ('think') in contemporary Japanese is *omot-te*, instead of *omou-te* as used in medieval Japan. This diachronic change might result from convenience in pronunciation. Ashworth (1976-77 in Tsujimura 1996: 356) explains how the gerundive form of the verb *omou* ('think') evolves from the ancient form *omoΦi-te* to the contemporary *omot-te*:

9	8th – 12th C:	<i>omoΦite</i>	[Φ: voiceless bilabial fricative, like the sound when one blows out a candle]
	labial assimilation:	<i>omoΦute</i>	[/i/→/u/ under the influence of the sound Φ]
	deletion:	<i>omoute</i>	[the bilabial sound Φ was deleted]
	replacement:	<i>omotte</i>	[u sound is replaced with a moraic consonant /t/, the first sound of a long consonant]

This temporal variation of gerundive forms can also be found in the *Ran* script:

10	我が <i>wa-ga</i> I-possessive	物 <i>mono</i> thing	と <i>to</i> as	思うて <i>omou-te</i> think-gerund	見る <i>miru</i> see	と <i>to</i> as soon as
	この	景色が	まるで	違うて	見える。	

kono *keishiki-ga* *marude* ***chigau-te*** *mieru*
 this scene-subject completely differ-gerund look like

“As soon as I think and see (this scene) as my own thing, this scene looks like completely different.”

Like *omou* (‘think’), the verb *chigau* (‘differ’) has also undergone the same diachronic changes (i.e. *chigau-te* → *chigat-te*), but in the Muromachi Period (1392-1573 CE), when *Ran* is set, people still used *omou-te* and *chigau-te* as the gerundive forms of *omou* and *chigau*. Similar to the effect of the formal verb ending *-masuru*, the adoption of ancient gerundive forms in *Ran* also helps to place audiences in a period that differs linguistically from the modern time.

2.3 Imperative Form

The imperative form is another category which demonstrates diachronic changes in both English and Japanese. In contemporary English, the imperative mood normally occurs without a subject, because the subject is easily understood to be ‘you’ when the addresser gives an order to the addressee. However, in Shakespearean English, subject, either ‘thou’ or ‘you,’ occurs immediately after the imperative verb. The following are examples extracted from *King Lear*.

11 Take *thou* this note. (5.3.28)

12 O, you sir, you, come *you* hither, sir. (2.4.77)

Different from modern Japanese, an imperative form in the Muromachi Period consists of a verb followed by the conjugation ending *rei*. Even though it is imperative, the use of *rei* expresses a commanding mood that still shows reverence for the hearer (*Koujien*, 1998). In total, there are eleven cases of *rei* in *Ran*, as summarised in Table 7 below:

Verb	Gloss	Imperative Form	Gloss	Frequency
<i>Matu</i>	‘wait’	<i>mata-rei</i>	‘Please wait’	3
<i>Kiku</i>	‘listen’	<i>kika-rei</i>	‘Please listen’	2
<i>Nusumu</i>	‘steal’	<i>nusuma-rei</i>	‘Please steal’	1
<i>Yurusu</i>	‘forgive’	<i>yurusa-rei</i>	‘Please forgive’	2
<i>Nasu</i>	‘do’	<i>nasa-rei</i>	‘Please do it’	1
<i>Kudasu</i>	‘give’	<i>kudasa-rei</i>	‘Please give’	2

Table 7: The use of imperative *rei* in *Ran*

Since *rei* is an imperative form with reverence, characters in *Ran* use it only when they address people with a higher social position than their own. For instance, five cases out of eleven are used by Fujimaki (King of France) to address either Hidetora (Lear) or Saburo (Cordelia); Jiro (Regan) uses two of them when he asks his sister-in-law, Lady Kaede (wife of the eldest son), for forgiveness; and by either Hidetora's or Jiro's retainers use it in these instances when they give advice to their master.

3. Conclusion

In this essay, I have examined the change and variation in English and Japanese by looking at Shakespeare's *King Lear* and the script of its Kurosawa's cinematic adaptation *Ran*. As Shakespearean English differs from contemporary English in its pronoun system, verb change (in terms of verbal inflection and modal verbs) and imperative mood, Medieval Japanese is also distinct from contemporary Japanese in case markers, verb change (in terms of gerundive forms) and imperative mood. In *Ran*, Kurosawa and his script writers make considerable effort to demonstrate the differences between contemporary and Medieval Japanese, and also to represent the parallels between Muromachi Japanese and Shakespearean English. A particularly striking example of such a parallel is provided in the way Kurosawa has dealt with the question of socio-linguistic hierarchies. In *King Lear*, the use of the different second-person pronouns 'you' and 'thou' reinforces the hierarchy established between characters, while in *Ran*, Kurosawa has managed to achieve the same effect through the use of the different copulas *da* and *ja*. Most analyses of *Ran* focus on the evaluation of colour and other film effects. However, my analysis has considered how language also plays a significant role in creating a parallel between *King Lear* and Kurosawa's adaptation. Via the adoption of Medieval Japanese for his script, Kurosawa not only creates the same emotional response to the linguistic environment which Shakespearean English might elicit in contemporary readers, but he also successfully maintains interpersonal relationships as the main theme in *King Lear*.

Works Cited

- Ashworth, David. "Historical Perspective on Voicing and the Gerund Japanese." *Papers in Japanese Linguistics*. 5 (1976-77): 27-39.
- Brown, Penelope and Steven C. Levinson. *Politeness, Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987.
- Buchanan, Judith. *Shakespeare on Film*. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2005.
- Fromkin, Victoria and Robert Rodman. *An Introduction to Language*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998.

- Guntner, J. Lawrence. "Hamlet, Macbeth and King Lear on Film." *Shakespeare on Film*. Ed. Russell Jackson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. 120-40.
- Hunter, George. K. Ed. *King Lear*. London: Penguin, 1996.
- Johansen, Ib. "Visible Darkness: Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Kurosawa's *Ran*." *Screen Shakespeare*. Ed. Michael Skovmand. Denmark: Aarhus UP, 1994. 64-87.
- Shinmura, I. *Konjien*. (5th Ed.). Tokyo: Iwanami Shyoten, 1998.
- Sugiura, Yoichi and John K. Gillespie. *Nihon Bunka no Eigo de Syougaisuru Jiden* [*Traditional Japanese Culture & Modern Japan*]. Tokyo: Dotunasya, 1993.
- Trask, Robert Lawrence. *Language Change*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Tsujimura, Natsuko. *An Introduction to Japanese Linguistics*. Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1996.
- Twine, Nanette. *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese*. London: Routledge, 1991.