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Special theme: Languages and Linguistics at an Ethnological Museum

Language is a window into the human mind and reflects human activities, while linguistics is an academic field where languages are analyzed from a scientific view-point. As an ethnological museum, Minpaku has a strong focus on fieldwork, which is necessary for linguists and ethnologists to study languages and learn about human beings and their diversity. Essays in this issue present glimpses of the thoughts of linguists at Minpaku who combine linguistic fieldwork and later analysis at their desks. What is unique to researchers at Minpaku, however, is that we are also involved with exhibitions for the public and have everyday communication with anthropologists in other fields. Languages do not exist without humans and humans do not exist without language. We believe that linguistic research is a good starting point on the path to a better understanding of who we are.

Yak and Pig, Glacier and Sea

Noboru Yoshioka

National Museum of Ethnology

Why do many Japanese-language dictionaries contain the word *yaku* [jaku] 'yak'? When I was in the field, this question all of a sudden struck me. To make sure that my facts were correct, I checked the desktop dictionaries that I was carrying

— a pocket-size dictionary published in 1979, a student dictionary published in 1996, and one published in 2008 — and confirmed that all of these actually contained the word as I had thought. Living in Japan, it is hard to see real yaks. Even in zoos, since there are only three that currently keep yaks, and we hardly hear the word *yaku* in Japan in our everyday life. I wonder how many people actually know what yaks are. Or, *hyōga* [hjo:ga] 'glacier'. There is no glacier in Japan, but the word appears in many Japanese-language dictionaries. I do not think it would be difficult to find such words in a dictionary of any language, provided that the language is a so-called major language — even words whose references are seemingly unrelated to the area where the language is spoken, or to the lives of its speakers.

Since the modern keywords 'information technology' came into fashion, all kinds of information have been flying around through various kinds of media, all over the world. We can see cubic crystals of salt naturally build on the water's edge of the Dead Sea on an iPad, while lying on a couch in the living room of our own house. It seems as if everybody in the world can fully get to know

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Yoshioka is an assistant professor at Minpaku. His doctoral dissertation for the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (2012) was entitled 'A reference grammar of Eastern Burushaski'. His current research concerns the documentation of languages in northern Pakistan, in particular, Burushaski, Domaaki, and Shina. He is also interested in conducting a multilayered areal typology of languages spoken in the region.

each other without leaving home. In this age of diffusion of information, when information is so readily available, what I do is go to villages deep in the mountains of Pakistan from a city in Japan, carrying large bags for research on their languages. How worthwhile is this kind of fieldwork?

Burushaski is a target language for my research, an unwritten language isolate spoken by about 100,000 speakers. The language does not have a word for 'sea', because there is no sea in the area where the speakers live. It does not have a word for 'pig'. People there have been Muslims for hundreds of years and so there are no pigs in their life. Are there any words at all for entities which do not exist there? Verifying existing entities is easy. In Japanese, we can easily confirm that there are words 'yak' and 'glacier' (you can do it just on the web), despite the truth that there are no yaks and have been no glaciers in Japan. (Three glaciers in Toyama were verified only in 2012.) By contrast, it is very difficult to confirm if there are any words in Japanese for 'the oldest bull on the innermost side of a group of bulls that are walked in circular movements for threshing wheat' (in Burushaski, *ʔʰindíʃ*) and 'dried apricot having a kernel inside after removing its shell' (*ʔʰanóʔ*). In fact, I never knew that these concepts existed before I started to do fieldwork.

Why do yaks live and glaciers flow in Japanese, while we can neither bathe in a sea nor see pigs in Burushaski? Perhaps it reflects the differences between a major language, a national language with millions of speakers, and a minor language, a language with relatively few speakers in a remote area. For doing fieldwork, there is no practical

difference between study of a major or a minor target language. (Of course, minor languages have less chance to be made into a form of 'information', such as to be digitized.) Even for major languages, field research is still necessary to understand how they developed, and how they are changing.

What my experience tells me is that there are notions which we do not, or cannot, become aware of without actually going to the field and conducting linguistic fieldwork. In the field I learned why the variety 'bitter apricot' (*yaqáuyum q̄zuú*) is cultivated, even though it is too bitter to eat. People mix this particular kind of apricot into livestock feed. In the field I recorded and learned the names of two ways of grafting apricot trees, one of which was an indigenous method and the other introduced. And such realization is not limited to what exists in the local culture itself. In the field I became aware that the idea of the four cardinal points, namely north, south, east, and west, are not very useful in a non-flat land. (Burushaski originally did not have these words.) And in the field, again, the question occurred to me — that I mentioned at the beginning of this article — why do languages differ in the extent to which each contains culturally external information? I had not realized, growing up in Japan, the simple fact that a language that does not have a word for 'sea' may not have a word for 'island' either. (Of course, such language may have special terms for sandbars along a river, or small islands in a lake.)

In the field, people kept on asking me in Burushaski, *gósulo balimia?* 'Did it fall into your heart?', or in Domaaki, a neighbouring Indo-European language, *jána pegáa?* 'Did it fall into the heart?' I did not understand the meaning of these questions, but, one day, it all of a sudden became clear to me that they were saying: 'Do you understand?' These expressions are parallel to the Japanese somatic expression *huni ochiru* [*ɸu ni oɕiru*], 'fall into the guts', having the general sense 'to feel one completely understands something'. Semantically, this resembles the English phrase, *to get one's head around something*. In the latter case, the part of body used in the expression is different. Such idiomatic expressions, with body parts in particular, can be like a hydroscope clearly revealing to us the background thinking of a language community. Burushaski speakers offer to feed someone by making his lip run (*ʔil é:skartsas*), while Domaaki speakers respect someone by swinging their hand (*hot pʰira:ná*). In Urdu they deeply



Bualtar Glacier, Pakistan (Yoshioka, 2008)

love someone with their livers burned (*daiḡar so xta* جگر سوخته). Or Japanese people get unhappy and become obstinate with their navels bent (*heso-o mageru* [*heso o mageru*]), while English speakers do not, but can have a *broken heart* following an unhappy love relationship.

What we can learn about while conducting fieldwork are different systems of knowledge that have developed in the environments where

different languages are spoken. Such systems are found not only through language study. They can also be found through various facets of anthropology (for example, social, cultural, and psychological). In this age of information diffusion, some researchers may be able to gather a lot of information without going to the field, but I believe their methods will never achieve more than what can be gathered through field research.

“What is Your Name?” Variations in Fijian Languages and Their Pre-historic Implications

Ritsuko Kikusawa

National Museum of Ethnology

I often feel that field linguists form a unique category of mankind. And I happen to be one of them. When visiting a new place, probably one of the most common first considerations is how likely s/he will manage with the language skills that s/he has. If your own language, or a language you are familiar with, is spoken or known to be understood there, many people feel secure. But what if none of these languages is likely to work? I have seen many polyglot Europeans hesitate to visit Japan, because none of the many languages they speak is commonly used in this country.

Fieldwork linguists are peculiar from this point of view, in the sense that we often choose to stay where a language that is not well-documented is spoken. Encountering communication problems is thus a default condition. And we even enjoy it; gradually getting to know the language, deciphering the meanings of words, and analyzing and describing the grammatical structures of the target language, while acquiring skills to handle the language at the same time.

When I first visited a village on Kadavu Island in Fiji, Paul Geraghty, a linguist who has a wide knowledge of Fijian languages, taught me several expressions of the dialect spoken on that island. The one I found most useful was *Xo yava na nomu ila?* ‘What is your name?’ When seeing a visitor, it is a natural response for local people to speak Standard Fijian, if not English, rather than their own local dialect. And

this would be their response to me if I were to utter a single word there in Standard Fijian or English. However, using the above phrase immediately made the other person switch back to their own dialect, being now aware that I wanted to learn *their* language, and not ‘Fijian’. It was as though I had waved a magic wand or something similar.

How different can languages be in such a small country? Well, very. The reason why the above phrase works is that the expression differs enough for the speakers to realize that I am using their very local version. Just to show this, sentences with the same meaning from three different Fijian languages are listed below.



Scenery in Navala Village in Viti Levu, Fiji (Kikusawa, 2014)

Kikusawa is an associate professor at Minpaku. Her current research concerns the history of Austronesian languages, in particular the comparison and reconstruction of grammatical structures. She also specializes in the prehistory of Oceania, and is involved in various interdisciplinary research projects. In addition, she has initiated projects aiming to bridge research on spoken and signed language linguistics. Her publications include: Proto Central Pacific Ergativity (*Pacific Linguistics*, 2002), and 'The Austronesian language family', in C. Bower and B. Evans (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (Routledge, 2015).

How to say 'What is your name?'

Standard Fijian (Eastern Fijian)	O DETERMINER	cei who	na DETERMINER	yaca-mu? name-your
Navala (Western Fijian)	O DETERMINER	cei who	mu-yaca? your-name	
Kadavu (East/Western Fijian)	Xo DETERMINER	yava who/what	na DETERMINER	nomu ila? yours name

Just looking at these I expect gives some idea as to how different languages can be, even among those that are referred to by a single name; in this case, Fijian. The same holds for Japanese and other languages with relatively large number of speakers. Thus, whenever a discussion appears about 'Japanese' or 'Fijian', I keep questioning in my mind 'Which Japanese?', 'Which Fijian?'

When 'dialectal difference' is mentioned, people typically assume that the difference exists in the lexicon, that is, in the words used, or their pronunciation. That is true, but there are many other aspects to consider, as can be seen even the limited data shown above.

We can see that the word for 'name' is *yaca* in Standard and Navala Fijian, but *ila* in Kadavu. However, if we assumed that the word for 'who' is a parallel example, that would be a mistake, because in this case, the elements show different semantic coverage. In Standard and Navala Fijian, the form *cei* means 'who' and there is another word *cava* for 'what'. In Kadavu, on the other hand, the form *yava* serves for both 'who' and 'what'. When it is preceded by a personal determiner *xo*, it indicates 'who' and when preceded by a non-personal determiner *na*, it indicates 'what'. However, what I find most interesting is finding grammatical differences. For example, looking at how 'your name' is expressed above, we can see that in Standard Fijian, the form *mu* indicating 'your' follows the form *yaca* 'name' to form *yacamu* 'your name', while in Navala, it precedes it to form *muyaca*. In Kadavu, the meaning 'your' is expressed by the form *nomu*, which could be translated as 'your thing' and the sequence *nomu ila* is the only way to express 'your name'. And the list continues, expanding to every possible linguistic feature, including sentence structure, grammatical differences, pragmatic aspects, and other matters.

How did such diversity come to exist? Paul Geraghty, based on the examination of sound correspondences

and shared lexical items, argues in *The History of the Fijian Language* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1983) that before there were separate languages, there were two dialect linkages (or, dialect chains) that had developed in Fiji and part of Polynesia. A dialect linkage is a chain of dialects forming a kind of gradation of each linguistic feature from one end to the other. The parts of these linkages located in Fiji merged into one, then subsequently split into the Eastern- and Western-Fijian linkages, which have developed now into the groups of languages referred to as Eastern and Western Fijian. According to this hypothesis, the diversity found today in the languages of Fiji springs from the very beginning of the spread of people into Fiji and Polynesia.

In addition to regular language change that brought about such macro-diversity, there must have been some micro-level changes, including for example: independent innovations and contact induced changes, in sounds and lexical items. It is also possible that a group of people split into two or more groups, with one group moving to a remote area and forming an exclave there, and then a language enclave. In Fiji, for example, it is commonly believed that people west of Viti Levu and those west of Kadavu were 'cousins' in the past and are thus distantly related. If this is true, then perhaps part of the population moved from Viti Levu to Kadavu, or from Kadavu to Viti Levu. But, did this happen before formation of the eastern and western language division, or long after?

Traditional historical linguistics has contributed a lot towards the understanding of events in prehistory, such as people's migration across the Pacific, but mostly at a macro-comparison level. By examining the details of variation in the morphology, syntax, and distribution of languages at the micro-level, I dream that we will eventually be able to answer more questions about human life during the prehistory of Fiji, the Pacific, and the world.

Numeral Systems in Sign Languages Across the World

Keiko Sagara

National Museum of Ethnology

Numbers appear in all human languages, and are a well-researched topic within spoken language typology. However for sign languages relatively little is known about how numbers are expressed morphologically and what features or strategies are typologically common or unusual.

At the International Institute for Sign Languages and Deaf Studies (iSLanDS, University of Lancashire, Preston, England), I participated in a Sign Language Typology project, part of which explored the semantic domains of color, number and kinship in about 30 countries (see dots, Fig. 1). This essay focuses on the findings relating to number. In typological research, samples should be balanced across language families and not only drawn from one geographical area or language family. With sign languages, it is important to include both urban and rural sign languages. Interesting findings in the domain of number included the use of different types of iconicity, numeral incorporation, a large variety of sub-systems, and lexicalization patterns, each of which will be explained in the following paragraphs.

Types of iconicity can be clearly seen when considering signs for the number 'zero'. The options seen across sign languages are summarized in Fig. 2. Signs for 'zero' in some sign languages involve tracing a '0' shape with the finger. However, the most common way of indicating 'zero' cross-linguistically is by using the 'O' handshape. Other sign

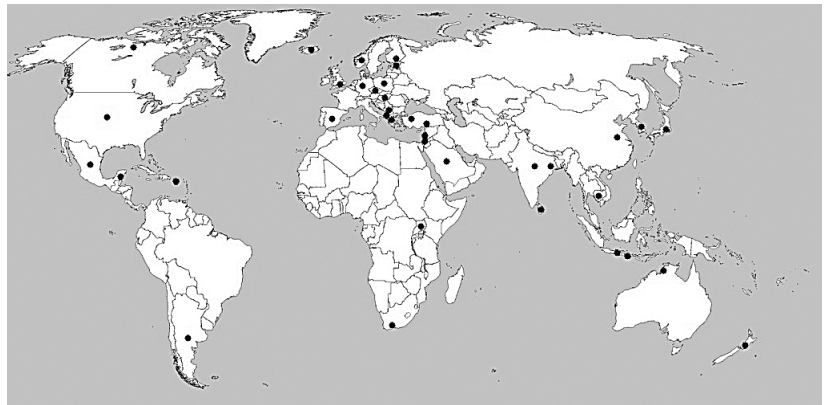


Fig. 1 Countries participating in the sign language typology project

languages point to parts of the body, such as the eyes in Indonesian Sign Language and the western variant of Chinese Sign Language, to indicate 'zero'. Obsolete signs for 'zero' and higher numerals (10, 100) in Japanese Sign Language also make iconic reference to the eyes and the mouth (Fig. 3). Use of 'stamping' the fingertips was also found, wherein the three fingertips represent three zeros (Fig. 4).

Some sign languages use number signs influenced by writing, including the written forms of Kanji or Arabic numerals (Fig. 5). Regardless of the specific written language involved, the practice of using handshapes based on written forms for numerals is found in many places around the world.

Unusual iconic motivations were noted in Alipur Sign Language (used in an Indian village with a high incidence of hereditary deafness), which uses an increasingly large signing space to indicate increasingly large numerals (Fig. 6), and Argentinean Sign

Sagara is a project researcher at Minpaku. She was a research officer at the iSLanDS Institute (2010-2014), where she participated in various sign language typology projects. The topic of her MPhil degree (completed in 2014 at the Institute) was the numeral system of Japanese Sign Language from a cross-linguistic perspective. She is now preparing a monograph on the lexical typology of semantic aspects of sign languages with Ulrike Zeshan.

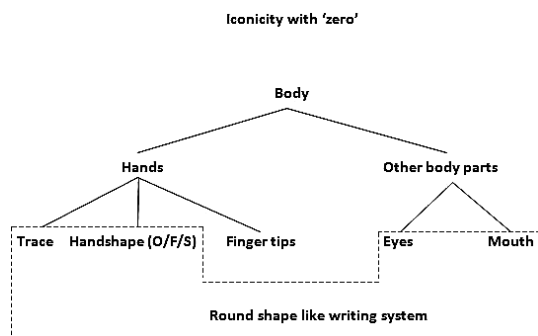


Fig. 2 Options for realization of iconicity in signs for 'zero'

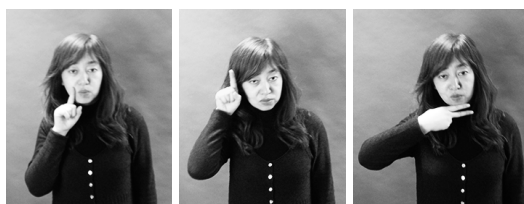


Fig. 3 Obsolete variants for '10', '100' and '0' from Numazu Deaf School

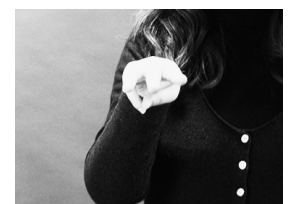


Fig. 4 A variant for '1,000' from Indo-Pakistani Sign Language




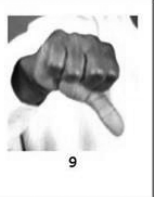


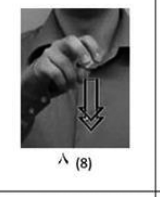

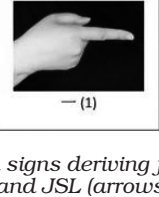
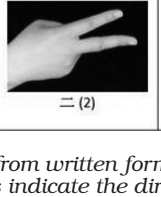
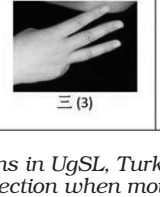
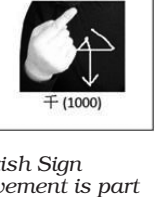
Hindu-Arabic numerals (Ugandan Sign Language)				
Arabic-Indic numerals (Turkish Sign Language)				
Kanji (Japanese Sign Language)				

Fig. 5 Numeral signs deriving from written forms in UgSL, Turkish Sign Language (TID) and JSL (arrows indicate the direction when movement is part of the sign)



Fig. 6 Alipur SL '100', '1,000', '100,000' (de Vos & Zeshan 2012)

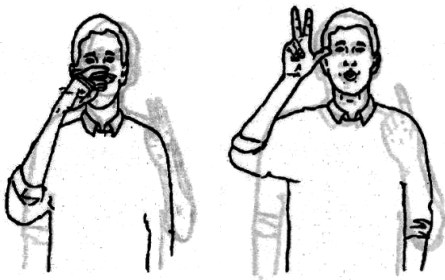


Fig. 7 ArgSL '7' '8' from the dictionary of ArgSL (Crespo et al. 1993)

Language, which derives some number signs from the name signs of pupils in the numbered dormitory beds of an old deaf school (Fig. 7).

The notion of sub-systems refers to how a language composes its number forms, e.g., in an additive way (where a sign for '10' and a sign for '2' are combined to indicate '12', as in Japanese Sign Language), or in a multiplicative way (where a sign for 'thousand' combines with a sign for '2' to indicate '2,000', as in British Sign Language). Cross-linguistically, additive and multiplicative sub-systems are the two most common patterns in both signed and spoken languages (Fig. 8-1). Other options found include using a digital strategy, where each signified

series of digits is reflected directly by a series of numeral signs that mirror the way the number is written, e.g., TWO FIVE ZERO for 'two hundred and fifty', as in Indo-Pakistani Sign Language. Additive and multiplicative strategies were found in around two-thirds of the sign languages in the study, while other strategies (such as subtraction and spatial modification) are cross-linguistically rare. The subtractive sub-system was noted in two rural sign languages, Mardin Sign Language (MarSL, in Turkey, Fig. 8-2) and Alipur Sign Language.

Numeral incorporation is unique to sign languages as it exploits the simultaneous expression of a numeral and a countable unit, which does not occur in spoken languages. It is most common across sign languages in the domain of time units and involves the compounding of two morphemes, normally one numeral sign and one unit sign (e.g., a sign for 'three weeks'; Fig. 9). Out of 24 sign languages that were investigated with respect to numeral incorporation, 23 sign languages use at least some numeral incorporated forms to talk about time (e.g., 'hour', 'year', etc.). Larger cardinal numbers may also be formed using numeral incorporation, for example combining a number handshape with a sign for a unit such as 'hundred'.

Numeral incorporation is a more frequent phenomenon in urban sign languages than in rural sign languages. Among the few instances of numeral incorporation in rural sign languages are signs associated with money in Adamorobe Sign Language (in Ghana).

Sign languages also feature lexicalization, wherein two separate signs become fused over time to create one single lexical sign. For example, in ASL the sign for '25' was originally two signs (for '2' and '5') but the form shown at the right of Fig. 10 is now much more common. The sign now is clearly one morpheme, the origins of which cannot be detected by looking at its form. Similarly, one variant of '12' in Japanese Sign Language has gone from two morphemes to one, and the two original morphemes can no longer be distinguished.

These various findings on the numeral systems of sign languages across the world, including the use of numeral incorporation, lexicalization, iconic motivation and numeral sub-systems, have also helped to advance the documentation and protection of sign languages. There are also substantial opportunities for researchers of signed and spoken language typology to collaborate and learn from each

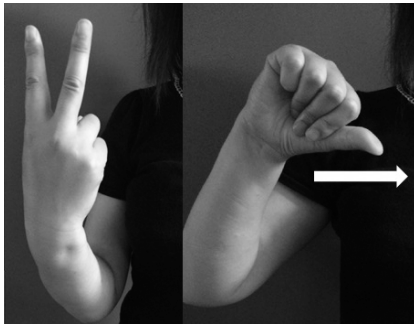


Fig. 8-1 TWO (x) THOUSAND '2,000' in BSL



Fig. 8-2 TWENTY MINUS-TWO '18' in MarSL (Zeshan et al. 2013)

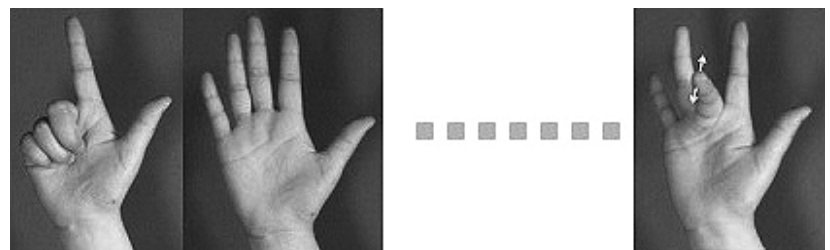


Fig. 9 JSL sign for 'three weeks'. The handshape indicating the number 'three' is incorporated with the movement which expresses 'week'

other's theories, methods and ethos. However, the greater empowerment and involvement of deaf community members from all countries, especially developing ones, is very much needed if this work is to continue and sign languages are to be fully appreciated, investigated and preserved.

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25 in American Sign Language



A variant of 12 in Japanese Sign Language

Fig. 10 Compositional and lexicalised numerals

Head-marked Languages in Middle America

Yoshiho Yasugi

National Museum of Ethnology

The exhibitions of Minpaku cover the whole world. When I was employed in 1980, I was assigned to the Middle America section. At that time there was almost nothing in the Middle America section, so I went to Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Belize, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico to collect ethnological materials. At the same time, in order to cover Middle America as a linguist, I searched all the linguistic materials of Middle American languages. Thanks to these projects I became familiar with the distribution of all the ethnic groups in Middle America and their languages.

Since about the mid-1980s, autonomous movements of indigenous people have been active. For example, native Guatemalan Maya linguists established the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala and legalized a standardized orthography, which became a symbol of new movements. Until then children were punished if they spoke their own language but now they receive bilingual education. People regained their identity and pride. I learned that linguistics has the power to change cultural attitudes.

One of the foremost characteristics

Yasugi is a professor at Minpaku. His current research concerns the history of Mayan languages, and Kaqchikel language change over five centuries. His publications include: Native Middle American Languages: An Areal-Typological Perspective (National Museum of Ethnology, 1995), *Materiales lenguas mayas de Guatemala*, 4 vols. (ELPR, 2003), and 'Fronting of nondirect arguments and adverbial focus marking on the verb in Classical Yucatec' (International Journal of American Linguistics 71, 2005).

of Middle American languages (except for some languages such as Tarascan) is head-marking, in which agreement between different words of a phrase is marked on the head, or main word of the phrase. Many grammars have been written following the example of dependent-marking languages such as Latin, but we may be able to explain

- [1] *noh be*
big road
'big road' (Motul Dictionary, late 16th century)
- [2] *noh culic-Ø Ioan*
big sit-he Juan
'Juan sits arrogantly' (Coronel Grammar, 1620)

The normal verb form for 'to sit' is *cultal*. The special form *culic* is used when *noh* is preposed as an adverb. Why does the adjective *noh* function as an adverb? Why does the verb conjugate differently from the normal verb? After long consideration, it suddenly struck me that the verb might take a special form to make the adjective adverbial. Since the language is head marked, the verb is head and naturally enough it must be marked. Finally I noticed adverbial marking on the verb, and found that such marking is expressed by a full set of conjugational suffixes. In dependent-marking languages adverbial functioning words usually take a marking by themselves. For example, in English, the adjective *beautiful* takes *-ly* when it functions as an adverb, while the verb does not change because of this. In head-marking languages, it

grammar differently if we take a head-marking perspective. I am now studying Colonial linguistic materials of Yucatec and Colonial Kaqchikel from a head-marking perspective.

I was perplexed when I first encountered the following two examples of Classical Yucatec [1, 2].

is reasonable that words that function as adverbs take no adverbial marking while the verb is marked instead. This was the moment that I discovered the head-marking perspective.

The dominant word order verb-object-subject (VOS) in Mayan languages is formally verb-noun-noun (VNN). A noun can also appear before the verb. In order to distinguish which particular noun is placed before the verb, the verb itself is marked to indicate the function of the noun before the verb. The construction in which a subject occurs before the verb is called 'agent focus antipassive'. Originally the preverbal position was used to emphasize the fronted noun. Fronting of a direct argument, i.e., the subject or agent of the action, into this position triggered the agent focus antipassive. Other nouns can also occur before the verb. An instrumental phrase, which is a non-direct argument, is also focused by fronting. In a number of Mayan languages, agent and instrumental noun phrases are preposed when they are focused, questioned, negated, or relativized. The strategy of placing focused constituents in sentence-initial position is schematized as follows:

Agent Focus: S+V-M±O±NA

Instrumental Focus: NA+V-M±O±S

(Where S, V, O, NA, and M represent subject, verb, object, non-direct argument, and marker, respectively. In Kaqchikel, M--the marker on the verb--is *-o/-on* for agent focus and *-b'e* for instrumental focus. In Classical Yucatec, however, the verb is marked by a full set of conjugational suffixes.)

In Classical Kaqchikel the instrumental phrase is preposed without the preposition which occurs with it when it follows the verb, and *-b'e* is attached to the verb to indicate when it is preposed [3].



Examining costumes of a Maya deer dance. The costumes are included in the Minpaku collection (Yasugi, 1993)

[3] way t-Ø-in-watasi-b'e-j meb'a
 tortilla INCOMPLETE-IT-I-FEED-M-TRANSITIVIZER poor
 "With bread I feed the poor." (Torresano Grammar 1754)

In Modern Kaqchikel, however, the preposition *chi* is obligatory when the instrumental noun occurs before the

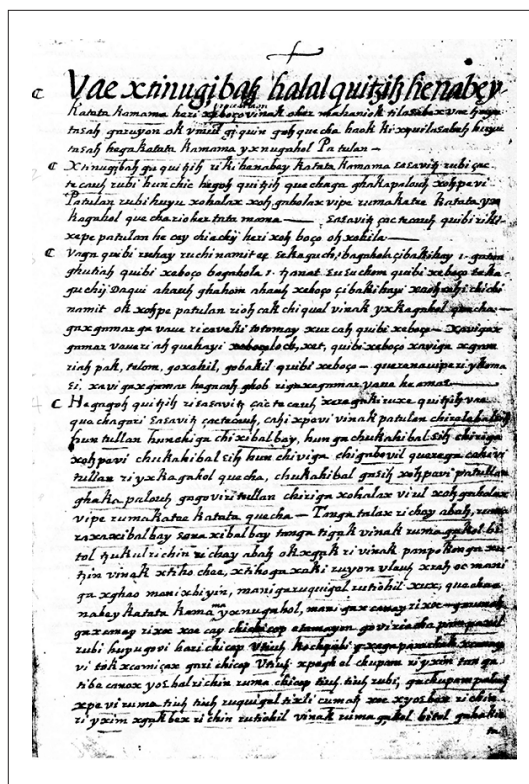
verb, which in turn is attached by *-b'e* and its original position is filled with the fronting marker (FM) *wi* [4].

[4] chi ikāj x-Ø-u-choyo-b'e-j wi ri che' ri achi
 with AX COMPLETIVE-IT-HE-CUT-M-TRANSITIVIZER FM the tree the man
 "With an ax the man cut the tree."
 (Gramática Kaqchikel, Garcia Matzar et al., 1997)

I have discovered many interesting changes that have occurred over the last four hundred years, for example, adverbial marking on the verb is now almost in disuse in Yucatec; instrumental constructions in Kaqchikel are becoming obsolete and the instrumental fronting marker *-b'e* has almost no function. Instrumental phrases need a preposition even when fronted, and the language is developing a dependent-marking strategy, where relations between the words in a phrase are marked on the dependent words in the phrase. The particle *wi* occurs immediately after the verb and so we may identify it as either a part of the verb phrase, or as kind of verbal suffix. If it is the latter, we can say that the language is regaining the head-marking strategy after the suffix *-b'e* no longer functioned as a fronted instrument marker.

Maya people live on almost the opposite side of the world from Japan. The Mayan languages are ergative, head-marking, VSO languages (though some have VSO or SVO order), while Japanese is an accusative, dependent-marking, SOV language. Japanese and Mayan languages exhibit mirror-image relations, their word orders are in many respects completely opposite from one another. Do Maya and Japanese see things differently from each other? If

Maya people have an opposite way of seeing things, do Japanese people see only half of this world?



The first page of Annals of the Kaqchikel after Simón Otzoy, Memorial de Sololá (CIGDA, 1999)

Examining the Linguistic Mind of Japanese

Hiroshi Shōji
 National Museum of Ethnology

The recent increase of foreign populations in Japan has brought with it notable changes in ethnic and linguistic relations, in a country that had been long regarded as having a

highly mono-ethnic and monolingual society. With immigrant languages emerging in daily life, people have perhaps for the first time come to realize that Japan is no longer an

Shōji is a professor at Minpaku. His recent research themes include immigrant languages and multilingual phenomena in Japan and Northern Europe. In 2004 he organized a special exhibition at Minpaku, called 'Multi-ethnic Japan: Life and History of Immigrants'. His recent publications include *Immigrants, Local Communities and the States: Transitions in Asia and Europe* (in Japanese, *Senri Ethnological Reports* 83, 2009), *Linguistic Landscape in Japan* (in Japanese, co-ed. with P. Backhaus and F. Coulmas, Sangensha, 2009).

isolated monolingual society, and that they cannot function well without resorting to other languages. My recent interest has concerned whether Japan really is becoming a multilingual society, as is assumed widely today. This question, naturally, requires definition of what is meant by the phrase 'multilingual society'. The number of foreign languages spoken in a society, for example, is not a sufficient criterion.

Since the early 1990s, when the so-called renewed immigration law was adopted, Japan has seen a marked increase of 'de facto' foreign laborers, who were formally categorized with different residential statuses. The population of registered foreigners in 2014 numbered around 207,000, more than double the number recorded in 1989. In many places, even in remote rural areas, so-called foreigner concentrated districts began to emerge due to the urgent need for workers in factories. Along with this, peoples' face-to-face contact with foreigners became a part of everyday life, in neighborhoods and shops, on streets and public transportation, in schools and working places. Notable changes have been observed also in the socio-linguistic sphere:

- (1) Growing awareness of foreign language communities through economic and community activities carried out in their own languages.
- (2) Emergence of multilingual signs, providing visual evidence of immigrants and their linguistic activities.
- (3) Communication problems and conflict concerning foreigners arising and reflecting their integration and adaptation to society.

- (4) Provision for multilingual transactions and services by local authorities, with language support provided by NGOs.

These recent linguistic phenomena were something new to many Japanese, who still relied on the myth of a mono-ethnic and monolingual Japan. Korean workers and their family members, estimated at around two million at their peak during the war and half a million after it, have long tended to be ignored, together with indigenous Aynu and other minorities, in the concept of Japanese statehood. For many, the imagined highly monolingual Japan, which political and educational institutions attempted to strengthen even after World War II, has been seen as providing a necessary uniformity for Japan's postwar prosperity. The almost sudden increase of foreigners and their languages, however, has brought visible changes to the outlook of the monolingual society as well as conflict. The question arises, then, whether it is legitimate to call the present Japan a multilingual society, as scholars and other writers now often do.

Against this polemical background, one of my recent interests has concerned re-examination of the notion of the 'multilingualness' of a society. In the course of my study I have proposed the following four criteria for judging a society to be multilingual, including the existence of multiple communal or regional languages in a society, or a 'multilingual situation', as I simply call it here:

- (1) Multilingual situation
- (2) Multilingual competence
- (3) Multilingual policy
- (4) Multilingual mind

Of these criteria the first three are at least to some extent visible and possible to describe objectively. But a problem remains — how to examine the multilingual mind, or the multilingual attitude, of a society? Language mind is, in short, the way people think and what their attitude is towards their own and others' languages. Being an internal conceptual matter, it is not so easy to observe externally as the other criteria are, yet it is perhaps the most salient and essential factor underlying people's verbal behaviors.

In approaching the present language mind of Japanese, I have tried to examine, from a comparative aspect, their peculiar linguo-communicative behaviors, widely observed before and after the recent massive influx of foreigners in the 1990s. As was said, Japan had remained under an overwhelmingly monolingual atmosphere until this period, due to the monolingual policy and the general lack of linguistic



A free-paper stand for Brazilians on a street, Ooizumi, Gunma (Shōji, 2013)

contacts with the outside world. For more than a century of nation building since the Meiji era, and during several decades of economic build up after World War II, Japan mobilized various means to establish a single, common national language. It seems that a kind of exclusive monolingual attitude towards other languages has naturally emerged among people as a result. I wish to understand the underlying monolingual mind of Japanese people, and its transition to the multilingual mind that is possibly reflected in some linguo-communicative behaviors.

The monolingual mind often reveals itself in explicit behaviors aimed at eliminating other languages. It often manifests itself in aggressive verbal or physical forms such as violence to public signs written in other languages, or punishment of a child who uses a prohibited language in school, e.g. by requiring them to hang a humiliating card around their neck. These are well-known examples often seen around the world. In Japan, the monolingual mind has not been observed in an explicitly offensive way until very recently, perhaps because of the scant experience of confronting foreign languages. Instead, according to my initial observation, the Japanese reaction to foreign languages has probably turned inward, creating various passive and introverted behaviors such as: a kind of 'foreign language allergy', complicated self-images of the Japanese language, skeptical reaction to a foreigner's spoken Japanese, and racialization of foreign languages. Furthermore, all these factors may have contributed to the apparent Japanese inability to learn foreign languages.



A Brazilian garden party, Konan, Shiga (Shōji, 2013)

Fortunately, the linguistic situation of Japan appears to be gradually changing with the increase in the flux of immigrant arrivals, trade globalization, international travel by many Japanese, and an attendant exposure to progressive multilingual ideologies. I have seen some apparent changes in linguo-communicative behaviors, especially among youth, in their less withdrawn reactions to foreign languages and foreigners. A profound in-depth study is needed to determine whether these changes can break open the cul-de-sac of the monolingual mind of Japanese people, lead to a multilingual mind, and lead ultimately to a true multilingual society. But what, after all, would a true multilingual society be like? That is another question for us to consider.

Column

A Visit to the Boathouse

Peter J. Matthews

National Museum of Ethnology

A new boathouse has been built at Minpaku. This is not the reproduction of a traditional boathouse used to protect boats from the natural elements (wind, sun, rain, sea), or theft. After many years of planning, we now have a modern facility for managing the museum collection of boats.

In the original plan for this museum, the boat collection was to be displayed in an Eighth Exhibition building that

has never been built because of cost limits. Instead, most of the boat collection was stored in what was meant to be a temporary shed, two large tents supported by metal frames. The internal temperature and humidity were not controlled. Here and there in the long-term exhibition galleries, boats are displayed, and these have enjoyed much greater protection, and frequent inspections by staff who monitor the

Matthews is Associate Professor and a curator of the Oceania Gallery at Minpaku. His research is focused on the origins and dispersals of cultivated plants in Asia and the Pacific. In 2007, he was a co-organiser of the exhibition Vaka Moana and Island Life Today (Minpaku, 2007). His most recent publication is, On the Trail of Taro: An Exploration of Natural and Cultural History (Senri Ethnological Studies 88, 2014).

galleries. For many years, we have displayed a Southeast Asian houseboat filled with the utensils of daily life (I expect the former inhabitants to reappear at any moment), and an outrigger canoe from Satawal Island in the Pacific, with its sail raised and recalling adventures on the open sea.

So what is in the new boathouse? Formally, it is called a 'Multi-functional Storage Facility'. Currently, most of the boat collection is in a new temporary structure (again a tent), or scattered under the eaves of the museum building with wrappings to keep out the weather. The new Facility houses a machine room, a treatment room, and a much larger storage space. The latter has two levels, with 767 m² on the first floor, and 430 m² on the second floor. The first two rooms are being used to give incoming boats treatments that will help prevent further decay, before they enter the storage space. For one very large boat from Okinawa, the museum tried to find an alternative home, but none of the institutions approached could receive it, so the boat was broken up and discarded. In fact, we still have too many boats to fit comfortably into the new building. The new 'temporary shelter' might become permanent storage, since it is better than the previous shelter.

How are the boats being treated? To learn more about this, I spoke with our conservation scientist, Naoko Sonoda, and visited the new building with Haruka Tamaki, who works in our Artifact Management Group. At present, to kill insects, CO₂ gas is being used to fumigate boats, which have been placed inside gigantic plastic bags that are sealed at all edges. Next to the machine room, cylinders of liquid CO₂ supply gas that is carried by a system of pipes and regulators into the treatment room, and then into the bags with boats in them. As a precaution against leakage, ambient

CO₂ and oxygen levels in the building are constantly monitored, and digital displays showing the levels are located inside and outside the building. In the treatment room, we saw two large bags, each filled with stacks of six boats, while one enormous bag in the main storage space contained a further 17 boats. The boats in each bag will be exposed to 60–75% CO₂ for two weeks.

The ambient temperature is also being maintained at slightly more than 25°C. Back in the machine room, another device is filled with hydrated silica gel, over which the gas is passed in order to add humidity, thus helping prevent the boats from losing water and changing shape. As permeable wooden objects, the boats are very sensitive to atmospheric conditions.

To check that everything is actually working, a collection of innocent rice weevils, maintained in vials with a diet of rice grains, are being used to track the effects of the treatments inside the bags. These dietary specialists can be used because there is no danger that they will attack the boats, even if they escape. If they die, then hopefully any wood-boring insects in the boats will also die. For boats with thick timbers (more than 10 cm diameter) CO₂ may not penetrate effectively. If there is no paintwork, and the construction is entirely wooden, then heat treatment can be used. These will require different equipment, and further testing and monitoring to ensure that the treatments work and do not cause damage.

At the time of my visit, approximately one quarter of the total stored collection was undergoing simultaneous treatment, but the more we learn, the more difficulties we discover. The collection is composed of boats made from many different kinds of wood, held together in many different ways, and often decorated with paints of different kinds. For long-term preservation, the complexity of the task seems overwhelming. In principle, all boats should be treated and stored by the end of March 2015, but this may be over-optimistic.

After the collection is installed, there will still be activity in the building. The treatment room has been designed to serve as a facility that can also be used by other organisations. In one corner, there is a wet area where objects can be washed if they have been covered with mud, as often happens during a natural disaster. As a National Institute, we should have some capacity to help museums in other regions of the country, if help is requested. Non-emergency uses of the facility can also be requested. Few museums have the capacity and experience needed to treat



The new 'temporary' shed, with a small ship waiting to be moved (Matthews, 2014)

large objects for long-term storage.

Even after the treatments, the stored boats will require continuous monitoring. To minimise energy costs, while maximising preservation, some variation in temperature has to be accepted. Devices that record temperature and humidity have been placed in strategic locations in the storage area. These will keep a continuous record of conditions actually experienced by the boats, and will be checked every month.

The new boathouse is a long way from the sea, where most of our boats naturally belong. My favourite boat-

storing device in some part of Oceania is a canoe storage rack made from two branched tree trunks. Each trunk is cut to form a pole with a Y-shape at top, and the poles are placed a few metres apart on the shore, below high-tide level. A single small canoe can be easily lifted onto this rack or launched. A frequently used canoe will not last forever, but its life can be extended by keeping it out of the sea, whenever it is not used for a few hours. Keeping objects in a museum for long periods is certainly expensive, but the boats we preserve are important reminders of other ways living, in other places, and other times.

Exhibitions

The Power of Images: The National Museum of Ethnology Collection

Special Exhibition

*February 19 – June 9, 2014
(The National Art Center,
Tokyo)*

*September 11 – December
9, 2014 (National Museum
of Ethnology)*

Are there universal features in the creation and perception of images that can be appreciated by all humans?

The exhibition 'The Power of Images: The National Museum of Ethnology Collection' sets out to directly address this question. The history of humanity is a history of images. Images preceded writing and can also be seen as the origin of language. Visualizing the state of the world through shapes and colors is a basic human endowment.

For this exhibition, we carefully selected objects made all over the world from the National Museum of Ethnology collection and attempted to join the viewer in experientially verifying whether or not there is a universal quality inherent in the sensations and effects that are aroused by images created by humans — in how images are created and appreciated. Rather than classifying these images based on geographical

region or historical period, we have focused on their effects and functions.

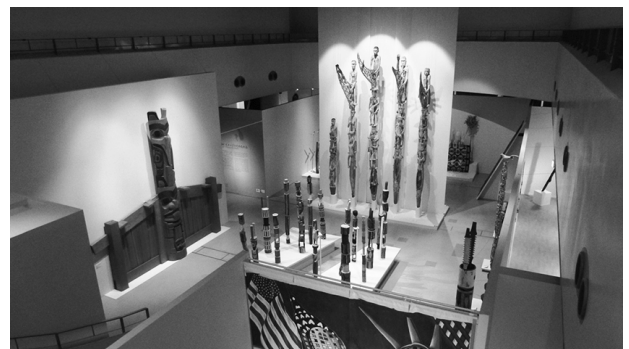
The exhibition was composed of four sections, 'Images of the Invisible', 'Dynamics of Images', 'Playing with Images' and 'The Translation of Images' with additional corners for 'Prologue' and 'Epilogue'. Displayed were objects created in the course of everyday life by ethnic groups all over the world, and works by currently active artists. By coming into contact with images that stem from ritualistic practices, with the lambency of hybrid forms that arise from cultural exchanges, and with the dynamism of images from our globalized contemporary society, we are confident that visitors can experience the power of images created by humans.

The exhibition was realized through collaboration between Minpaku and the National Art Center, Tokyo, with additional cooperation from the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology. The exhibition was first held at the National Art Center, Tokyo from February 19 to June 9, 2014, receiving more than 60,000 visitors. The same exhibition was held at Minpaku between September 11 and December 9, 2014. Although the composition and objects on display are the same, the impression of the

two exhibitions seems rather different. The space realized at the National Art Center, Tokyo could be called a temple of images, embracing the entire exhibition in one open floor. At Minpaku, the exhibition became a wonder and wanderland of images, as exhibition sections were divided by walls and between two floors.

'The Power of Image' exhibition was also an attempt to overcome the distinction between art museum and ethnological museum, or art and anthropology. We hope that it has also inspired the audience to reconsider other distinctions we often take for granted, such as the distinctions between art and artifact, West and non-West, and self and other.

In planning 'The Power of Images', we were especially concerned to avoid exhibiting the collection in a way that would cause the objects be identified as 'primitive' or 'ethnic' art in relation to Western art. For this reason, we consistently used the word 'image' rather than 'art' in developing the exhibition. We



'Dynamics of Images' section at Minpaku (2014)

also included images created in Japan in each section of the exhibition. The focal point of this project was to highlight the diversity and commonality of images created by 'us', all human beings, and to not a display of images created by 'others' who are differentiated from 'us'.

Kenji Yoshida
Chief Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Unknown Land, Greenland: Its Nature and Culture

Thematic Exhibition
September 4 – November
18, 2014

Although the Japanese know Greenland by name, knowledge of its nature, history and present situation is generally very limited. This exhibition was therefore designed to inform Japanese people about these aspects of Greenland.

Greenland, located between the Arctic and Northern Atlantic Oceans, is the world's largest island. It is about six times larger than Japan, but about 80% is covered by thick ice sheets.

Ninety percent of the total population of approximately 57,000 are Inuit, who call themselves Greenlandic People or, in their own language, *Kalaallit*. Since the 18th century, Greenland has been under the political control of the Kingdom of Denmark.



Greenlandic Tupilaks from the H.I.H. Prince Takamado Collection

Although it became self-governing in 1979, the Danish government retains control of defense, foreign affairs and monetary policy. Today, the people of Greenland are Christian and engage in diverse occupations, the most important of which is the commercial fishing industry. This is in contrast to the previous traditional hunting-gathering lifeway.

The exhibition consists of an introductory part and four specialized sections. The geography and present situation of Greenland are introduced by video and map. In Section 1, the Greenlanders' worldview is presented using twenty examples of *tupilak* (devil spirit) figure, six masks, one drum, and thirteen close-up photographs.

Section 2 introduces the nature of Greenland and its human history over about 4,600 years. We focus on the distribution of people and their activities in Greenland and how these have been affected by global climatic changes.

Section 3 introduces the activities of the Norse people, or the Vikings, from the late-10th to the mid-15th centuries, as well as the culture of Greenland since the Thule Inuit (Eskimo) arrived, around the 13th century.

In Section 4, the modern culture of Greenland since 1979 is illustrated through art, music and comics. Visitors can learn about contemporary Greenland through computer displays and enjoy four Greenlandic songs with two audio-visual monitors.

This exhibition has special points that deserve mention. The first is that it is a joint international undertaking organized cooperatively by Minpaku, the Greenland National Museum and Archives, and the National Museum of Denmark with special assistance of the Danish embassy in Tokyo and the Greenlandic Home-Rule government.

Second, Section 1 was planned and designed by museum specialists from the Greenland National Museum and Archives, to show their own culture to the Japanese. It was our great fortune that Daniel Thorleifsen and Naja Rosing-Asvid of the museum came to Osaka from Nuuk, Greenland for one week to prepare for the exhibition and participate in the opening ceremony.

Third, valuable objects such as the *tupilak* figures and Greenlandic masks were borrowed for this exhibition from the H.I.H. Prince Takamado Collection and also from the collection of the Danish Royal Family, and were displayed for the first time in Japan. These objects greatly enriched the exhibition.

Fourth, the objects in the Section 3 originally came from three collections of the University of Tokyo, the Japanese Association of Ethnology and Naomi Uemura.

The first collection was originally acquired by the Anthropology Department of the Faculty of Science, Imperial University of Tokyo, through material exchanges with the National Museum of Denmark in 1927. The second collection was obtained by the Association through an exchange between Kaj Birket-Smith in Copenhagen and Masao Oka in Tokyo in 1954. Both collections were transferred to Minpaku in the late 1970s by the Japanese Ministry of Education. The third collection was gathered in Greenland by Naomi Uemura, a Japanese adventurer, from 1974 to 1977. These collections include traditional clothing, daily utensils, hunting tools, toys, and stone lamps.

Sections 1, 2 and parts of the Section 3 will also be shown at the Daikanyama Hillside Terrace gallery in Tokyo from December 4 to 27, 2014. I believe that the exhibitions in Osaka and Tokyo provide a splendid opportunity for Japanese to become interested and begin understanding the nature and culture of Greenland.

Nobuhiro Kishigami
Chief Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

The 8th Symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Music and Minorities

*International Symposium
July 19 – 23, 2014*

The International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), established in 1947 and first known as the International Folk Music Council, is one of the largest organizations today for the study of traditional music and dance. Apart from organizing biannual world conferences, the ICTM has study groups, each with a specific thematic or geographical focus. The study group on Music and Minorities has organized symposia since 2000.

The symposium at Minpaku attracted a total of 65 ethnomusicologists and anthropologists, including many younger scholars. Held only for the second time in Asia (after Hanoi, Vietnam, in 2010), the symposium provided a much-needed venue to bridge the Europe-based study group and scholars in Asia and other areas with similar interests. The symposium also provided a platform for more general or universal theory building by broadening the study group's geographical base.

After the opening session, Ricardo Trimillos (University of Hawai'i) gave the keynote lecture in which he disputed the binary construction of minority and majority and called for more conscious theorization beyond individual case studies. His points effectively set the tone for the entire symposium and were frequently referenced by subsequent presenters. In the following ten sessions, 24 papers were presented in four categories (cultural policy, tourism, gender-and-sexuality, and new research) by scholars from 16 countries. A Minpaku-produced film on Philippine music was also screened.

Two special events were organized in conjunction with

the symposium. In the concert on July 20, *Over the Arirang Pass*, three distinguished groups of *Zainichi* Korean musicians, performed together for the first time, overcoming their conflicting political affiliations. *Zainichi* Koreans refer to those who came to Japan during its annexation of Korean Peninsula (1910-45) and their descendants. On July 22, the participants went on an excursion to the *buraku* minority neighborhood in the Naniwa section of Osaka. A guided tour at the Osaka Human Rights Museum was followed by a hands-on workshop on Japanese drumming, a visit to a drum manufacturer and participation in the local summer festival.

The symposium ended with a session for general discussion where some of the major points discussed were recapitulated. A few senior participants called for sustained efforts to problematize the basic concepts used in the study group such as 'minority' and 'identity', while others cautioned against the decreasing attention given to music analysis. The importance of the body as a locus of identity construction was also reiterated.

A collection of essays based on the presented papers is scheduled to be published in 2016. In that year, the next symposium will be held in Bretagne, France.

Yoshitaka Terada
Chair, Local Organizing
Committee
National Museum of Ethnology

The 3rd International Symposium on Signed and Spoken Linguistics (SSLL3): Language Description, Documentation and Conservation, and Cross-modal Typology

*International Symposium
October 4 – 5, 2014*

This symposium was the third in a symposium series 'Signed and Spoken Language and Linguistics'. The aim of this series is to re-examine basic

notions in linguistics through the study of both signed and spoken languages. Presentations this year covered the following topics: phonology, aspect, directional verbs, bilingualism, lexical typology and research methods.

In three of the five sessions, presentations were made on signed language and spoken language on the same general topic, followed by a public discussion between the two presenters led by a facilitator. We adopted this presentation method the first time in this symposium series. Participants and audience enjoyed the public interaction between researchers who share similar interests but specialize in languages with different modality. The presentation method also helped highlight linguistic approaches that may be good for future collaborations between signed and spoken language linguists, who usually do not have many opportunities to meet. The presentations and discussions took place in the auditorium on the first day and morning of the second day, and were made open to the public. The afternoon of the second day was set aside for discussion among researchers, without public participation.

Among the ten presenters, three were Deaf researchers and delivered their presentations in either American Sign Language (ASL) or Japanese Sign Language (JSL). The other presentations were in English except for one in Japanese. Communication among the presenters (and the audience) was made possible through English-Japanese, English-ASL and Japanese-JSL interpretation. In addition, an English captioning service was provided for the visual presentations. One presentation was given through Skype from Brazil, due to an urgent situation that prevented the speaker from coming to Japan for the symposium.

The total number of participants was 211 (including speakers, collaborating researchers, staff members, and the general public). This symposium was also webcast using Ustream and there were a total of nearly 300 viewers.

The infrastructure at Minpaku probably makes this the only Institution in Japan that has provided multiple sign language interpretation for an academic conference.

Ritsuko Kikusawa
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Information

Award

Tomoaki Fujii (Professor Emeritus) was recently decorated with The Order of the Sacred Treasure, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon from the Japanese government for his prolonged academic contributions (November 3, 2014).

Visiting Scholar

Kim Chang-Ho

Curator, *The National Folk Museum of Korea*



Kim earned his master's and doctorate degrees in cultural anthropology at the graduate school of Hanyang University in

Seoul, Korea. He has worked at the National Folk Museum of Korea (NFMK) as curator since 2002. His core research themes are folk religion and shamanism in Korean culture. He always has been interested in the communal religions of each village and in shamanism ceremonies for the dead in the Seoul area and Gyeonggi Province. He has curated a special exhibition on shamanism in Siberia and Lamidanda in Nepal. At the NFMK, he has also contributed to developing digital archives at the museum and in research projects relating to the organization.

(July 1, 2014 – June 29, 2015)

Publications

From July to December 2014, we published the following issues and articles:

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 39

Issue 1: R. Kuramoto, 'Monks living in a city: A case study of Yangon in Myanmar'; H. Suzuki, 'A phonetic analysis of the Choswateng [Chuiyading] Tibetan spoken in Shangri-La county and a wordlist: With reference to dialectal variations within the rGyalthang subgroup'; and A. Saito, C. Rosas Lauro, J.R. Mumford, S.A. Wernke, M. Zuloaga Rada and K. Spalding, 'Nuevos avances en el estudio de las reducciones toledanas'.

Issue 2: K. Sudo, 'An anthropological study of sea tenure and the conservation of marine resources in Micronesia'; T. Nakata, 'Buddhism and spirit worship in a relocated village of ethnic minorities in southern Laos: From the perspective of Wittgenstein's language-game'; and R. Kurosaki, 'The dynamics of afforestation in the Matengo Highlands, Tanzania: A perspective on the internalization process of a newly introduced technique'.

Senri Ethnological Studies

No. 90: Han, M. and M. Suenari (eds.) *Discourses on Family, Ethnicity, and State in China: Theoretical Explorations by East Asian Anthropologists*. 278pp.

Senri Ethnological Reports

No. 120: Suzuki, N. (ed.) *Healing Alternatives: Care and Education as a Cultural Lifestyle*. 147pp.

No. 121: Konagaya, Y. and I. Lkhagvasuren (interviewed), M. Rossabi (trans.), and M. Rossabi (ed. and Intro.) *Mongolia's Transition from Socialism to Capitalism: Four Views*. 195pp.

No. 122: Konagaya, Y. (ed.) *Umesao Tadao's Cards of Romanized Japanese: Fieldwork in Inner Mongolia, 1944-45*. 397pp.

No. 123: Konagaya, Y. (ed.) and J.I. Elikhina (written) *Some Archeological Findings of the Mongolian-Soviet Expedition Led by S.V. Kiselev: Karakorum Settlement Relicts Stored in Hermitage Museum*. 376pp.

No. 124: Hijikata, H. [K. Sudo and H. Shimizu, eds.] *The Diary of Hisakatsu Hijikata (V)*. 611pp.

These publications can be found at the Minpaku Online Academic Repository (<http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/english/research/activity/publication/>).

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

The Newsletter is published in June and December. 'Minpaku' is an abbreviation of the Japanese name for the National Museum of Ethnology (*Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan*). The Newsletter promotes a continuing exchange of information with former visiting scholars and others who have been associated with the museum. The Newsletter also provides a forum for communication with a wider academic audience.

The Newsletter is available online at: <http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/english/research/activity/publication/periodical/newsletter>

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