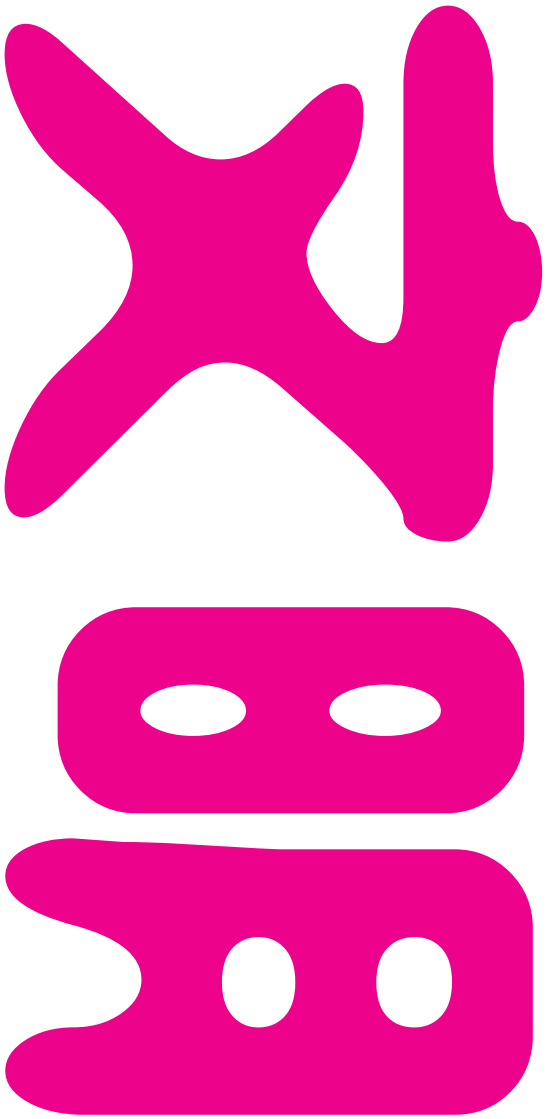
ISSN 1347-6424



文明

Civilizations

東海大学文明研究所

International Journal
Institute of Civilization Research,
Tokai University

NO.37 (2025)

The Dialogue between Civilizations

Civilizations (『文明』)　No.37（2025）

The Dialogue between Civilizations

Preface

The Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University, publishes the journal *Bunmei*. In addition, the Institute also publishes an international journal, *Civilizations*. The impetus for publishing the international journal dates to the 2015 international symposium "The First Dialogue between Civilizations" at the Tokai University's European Center in Denmark, which brought together researchers from across Europe and elsewhere. In addition to its usual content, that year's edition of *Bunmei* included research papers presented at the symposium. If that combined issue marked the beginning of the International Journal, then the present issue, *Civilizations* 37 (2025), is its tenth anniversary. Notably, Professor Emeritus Philippe Martel of the University of Montpellier in France has contributed a valuable research paper on the problem of linguistic and cultural diversity. We would like to express our deepest gratitude to him. Similarly, the Institute would like to express its sincere gratitude to all the researchers who have contributed to the continued publication of the International Journal for the past decade.

After the fourth international symposium in March 2019, the COVID-19 pandemic forced a temporary hiatus. The "The Fifth Dialogue between Civilizations" would be rescheduled for January 2025 and subsequently "The Sixth Dialogue between Civilizations" was held in October of that year. The themes of these two symposia were related to regional cultural diversities. The fifth symposium was focused on modernization and regional linguistic and cultural diversity, centered on southern France, inviting a researcher from the University of Montpellier in France. It addressed the issue of the revival and preservation of regional languages (*patois*) amid the modernization trends that led to the nineteenth-century national policy of unifying the French language (*francization*) as the modern nation-state was being formed.

The sixth symposium invited three researchers from the University of Hawaii to discuss the significance of the survival of Hawai'ian native language and culture (see the symposium report for details). In fact, the subjects of globalization and cultural diversity offer important insights when considering modern cultures and civilizations, making them ideal themes for dialogues between civilizations. Indeed, the Institute has been conducting a variety of research into this topic through research groups and other events.

Behind these global circumstances lies the mechanistic thought based on positivist science, originating in the seventeenth century with Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and René Descartes (1596–1650). In fact, from the eighteenth century onward, science became closely intertwined with technology in Europe and developed in ways that provided comfort to people—or at least that was the belief at the time. This was the foundation of the scientific and technological civilization we enjoy today. Nowadays, these developments have compounded through the remarkable evolution of

information technology, further advancing globalization. This is not simply a matter of infrastructure; it creates a global civilization that emphasizes science and technology. This momentum can even erode traditional values rooted in regional communities, raising the question of how to respect cultural diversity in the face of globalization. This is truly a question concerning the nature of culture and civilization. It is here that we can locate the significance of the Institute of Civilization Research's continued hosting of dialogues between civilizations. However, these issues also relate to the entire structure of the society in question, and cannot be fully addressed within a single discipline. Therefore, the Institute has set out to examine the issue from a transdisciplinary perspective.

Today, Descartes' mechanistic worldview—particularly his logical thinking based on causal relationships in the material world—is recognized to have, in some ways, reached its limits in explaining human behavior. This has brought us to the matter of the so-called theory of embodiment, which states that human speech and behavior are not necessarily based solely on mechanistic knowledge. For example, regarding the issues surrounding regional languages (or even languages in general) mentioned above, language is not approached simply a means of communication, but rather a bodily act that arises through the "lived experience" between speaker and listener, a concept coined by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961). In other words, language is understood less as a collection of fixed, predefined signs (*parole parlée*) and more as a creative, living act of expression (*parole parlante*).

Here, too, a reexamination of Descartes—including a departure from or overcoming of him—is necessary. The Institute of Civilization Research's "First Transdisciplinary Humanities Symposium" in January 2026 addressed this topic. Panelists included Shogo Tanaka and Mina Adachi of the Institute, as well as artist Miyu Imashuku. Yuki Takatori of Toyo University served as discussant. The symposium was held under the theme "Speaking Bodies, Generating Meanings: Rethinking Humanities Knowledge from the Perspective of the Embodied Language." Here, discussions of the theory of embodiment focused on human activity itself. This required an approach from multiple academic fields, hence the emphasis on transdisciplinary humanities.

The present issue of *Civilizations* is centered around the aforementioned activities of the Institute of Civilization Research. It includes a report on the October 2025 symposium on linguistic and cultural diversity in Hawai'i and a research paper from the January 2026 symposium on theory of embodiment. We sincerely hope that this issue of *Civilizations* will serve as a guidepost for further international research activities over the next decade.

Shogo TANAKA
Director, Institute of Civilization Research
Yoichi HIRANO
Visiting Professor, Institute of Civilization Research

List of authors

Research Papers and Reports

ADACHI, Mina	Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University
FUTAESAKU, Masamitsu	Social Science Research Institute, Tokai University
HATTORI, Toru	Institute of Civilization Research, School of Tourism, Tokai University
HIRANO, Yoichi	Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University
LEE, Soji	School of International Cultural Relations, Tokai University
MARTEL, Philippe	Professor Emeritus, University of Montpellier
MORIZONO, Nana	School of Tourism, Tokai University
NAKAMURA, Tomoko	Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University
TAKATORI, Yuki	Faculty of Letters, Toyo University
TANAKA, Shogo	Institute of Civilization Research, School of Cultural and Social Studies, Tokai University
WATANABE, Sei	Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University
WONG, Laiana	Professor, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

Abstract (International Symposium: The 6th Dialogue between Civilizations)

LEE, Soji	School of International Cultural Relations, Tokai University
MAAKA, Margaret	Professor Emeritus, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
MORIZONO, Nana	School of Tourism, Tokai University
NAKASHIMA, Takuo	Professor Emeritus, Tokai University / Secure Cycle Co., Ltd.
PERRY, Kekailoa	Associate Professor in Education Foundations, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa College of Education
TAKATORI, Yuki	Faculty of Letters, Toyo University
WONG, Laiana	Professor, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

****

Civilizations (『文明』) No.37（2025）

International Journal of the Institute of Civilization Research

The Dialogue between Civilizations

Table of Contents

****

Invited Research Paper

Mistral, Occitan literature and Paris: a very problematic relation

Philippe MARTEL *

Abstract)

1859: Frederic Mistral, a young Provençal poet, is celebrated by French critics of his time for his great epic poem *Mirèio*. But this success is most ambiguous: the literary french establishment likes the poem's exotism, but dislikes a very simple fact: *Mirèio* is not written in French, but in Occitan, that is, from its point of view, a popular language improper for great literature, what French common sense calls a « patois ». This initial misunderstanding grants Mistral a certain amount of recognition which permits, beyond his personal success, a certain development for a new, modern, Occitan literature. But this literature is not accepted as a legitimate part of « normal » French national culture. Here appear the basic contradictions that characterize French national ideology and social structures: Paris vs Province, North vs South, higher classes vs lower classes, right vs left. Mistral and Occitan « renaissance » are the victims of those traditional contradictions.

Keywords: Mistral, Occitan language, French national ideology, literary French market.

Let us begin with a paradox: Frédéric Mistral is a French poet who received the 1904 Nobel Prize for literature (actuallly he had to share it with the Spanish writer Etchegaray). He is therefore one of the happy few nobelized French authors. But, most curiously, he is widely unknown in his own country.

School and university handbooks devoted to French literature from the beginnings unto today hardly mention his name (generally only in relation with his friend Daudet's biography), but none will provide its reader with any sample of Mistral's production. To such an anomaly there is a very simple explanation: Mistral is a French author who did not write in french : he created his work in another language of France, Occitan, or, to put it in his own terms, *Provençal, or langue d'oc*. Whatever recognition he may have received out of France, Japan included, France has chosen to ignore him, alongside with the whole of an Occitan literature that however exists since the eleventh century. We shall try here to explain why this occurs, starting from the beginning, that is the year, 1859, when the young Mistral was apparently received and accepted by French mainstream literary circles, with his first masterpiece, *Mirèio*. « Apparently » is the important word here. A thorough survey of the way the critics of this time talk about this epic poem reveals the roots of an everlasting misunderstanding[1].

1. The time of illusions.

« Going up » to Paris with his new book, in order to present it to the capital's main critics was not so evident for Mistral, the son of a well-to-do peasant born in Maillane, a small « Provincial » village more than 700 km far from Paris : another planet[2]. But it was a strategic calculation: in France, all important

* Professeur des Universités honoraire, Montpellier.

[1] See Philippe Martel, *Les Félibres et leur temps, Renaissance d'oc et opinion*, 1850-1914, Bordeaux, Presses universitaires, 2010.

[2] See Mistral's latest biographies, Claude Mauron, *Frédéric Mistral*, Paris, Fayard,, 1993, and, from a more literary perspective,

things take place in Paris, particularly success. It was in Paris that renowned intellectuals had « discovered » at the beginning of the XIXth century the Troubadours, that is those poets who had been influencing the whole of vernacular medieval European cultures. Simultaneously, important national historians had brought attention upon a relatively obscure event of medieval history, the Albigensian crusade (XIIIth century), a both religious and political conflict leading to the annexion by France of a great part of southern regions hitherto fairly autonomous. From a « liberal », that is at that time politically progressist point of view, this « crusade » was perceived as an episode of the long struggle between « enlightment » and a reaction embodied in the alliance of feudal northern France and Catholic Church. Later, the romantic interest for both Middle Ages and popular culture led some important intellectuals to pay attention to local traditions in some distant « provinces ». Brittany for instance: the 1839 published *Barzaz Breiz*, a collection of Breton folksongs by La Villemarqué was a success in Paris[3]. Or Occitan regions: the southwestern poet Jasmin with his melodramatic poems in « gascon » dialect was received by the King Louis-Philippe and celebrated by such influent critics as Sainte-Beuve[4].

Problem: that does not mean any acceptance of any language other than French. For the common sense shared by the elites of that time, those other languages were all merged in the same disparaging category of « patois », reserved to illiterate populace and doomed to disappear with Progress and the development of purely French-speaking schools.

But in the southern-French case, this led to an obvious contradiction: the same country, the same population had to be simultaneously associated with the record of the glorious Troubadour and Albigensian times and with the present situation of rural, underdeveloped and politically suspect « Midi ». A possible solution was the concealment of the first dimension: as soon as the 1830's and 1840's years, the canonic scholarly presentation of medieval literature puts aside the Occitan Troubadours: only « oïl » language and literature will be studied. As for the historians, they will minimize both the horrors of the crusade and the previously claimed excellence of Occitan civilization, in order to draw a « clean » picture of national French history beginnings.

Too late: back in southern France, young local intellectuals have already read about those topics, and discovered that beyond their not so flattering present situation, they may boast of a brillant past that allows them to dream about a revival of its prestige. This revival is the core of the project built in 1854 by a handfull of young Provençal poets who call themselves the Félibres, members of the Félibrige. Mistral is one of them, and becomes very soon their true leader. His ambition is clear: The « langue d'oc » has once been a great language expressing precious values of civilization. It is still alive, despite some centuries of decline and social marginalization, and it is still able to be the instrument of a great literary production. For that purpose, Mistral chooses to write a poem that will clearly demonstrate a rupture with the average Occitan production of his time. This production restrains itself in the only range of familiar or burlesque poetry, Jasmin's melodrama being the most audacious attempt to pass those limits. *Mirèio* will be, on the contrary, a long poem (twelve cantos), plainly referring to the epic model: « humble pupil of great Homer », states the poet in the first lines of his opening invocation. The plot is about the impossible

Jean-Yves Casanova, *Frédéric Mistral, l'enfant, la mort et les rêves*, Canet, Trabucaire, 2004.

[3] Jean-Yves Guiomar, « Le Barzaz Breiz », *Lieux de mémoire*, dir. Pierre Nora, vol. III, 2, p. 527-565, Paris, Gallimard, 1992.

[4] *Jasmin*, Annales de Littérature occitane, 7, s.l. CELO/William Blake, 2004.

love between two teenagers separated by the social difference between them, and it ends with the death of the girl. Along with this story, Mistral displays elements of description of Provençal landscape as well as a critic of the local society with its traditional and oppressive rules and prejudices. Explanatory notes, about history, nature, traditions close the poem, as a kind of handbook for Provençal culture.

Clearly, such a poem is not aimed at popular readers, but at those who can understand its purpose and judge of its literary quality because they share with the author the same references and the same cultural background: Mistral may be a peasant's son, but he has had a classical and universitary formation. Given the cultural climate of his time, he has quickly understood that such readers were to be found in Paris first. His idea, explicitly stated in his correspondences, is that if Paris accepts and recognize *Mirèio*, it will automatically bring the adhesion of the southern public: first the aristocratic and bourgeois educated circles who have yet adopted French, later the popular classes who still use Occitan. From the start, Mistral has renounced to a « bottom up » strategy, so to speak, based on the direct contact with the lower classes, and preferred a « top down » operation, staking on the conversion of the national and regional elites as prior condition to an ulterior adhesion of the whole society to the idea of a renewed status for an Occitan language which would not be anymore a « patois ». To achieve that goal, Mistral plans very carefully the launching of his poem: very logically, he will go to Paris, and try and meet personally the more important critics, first of all Lamartine, the great romantic veteran, somewhat out of fashion, but whose opinion still counts.

Factually, Mistral may feel he has won his bet: Lamartine publishes an enthusiastic *Quarantième Entretien*, tens of pages that describe the birth of « a great epic poet », made by the « southern nature ». And others join him: more than fifty articles, mostly in Paris newspapers. And for once, right-wing and left-wing press agree: *Mirèio* is a masterpiece. Very few critics explicitly dissent, and consider that a « patois » poem does not even deserves to be seriously taken in account.

For Mistral, this success is a wonderful surprise, that he would not even have dared to imagine. And in his lack of experience of the hard reality of French literary world, he fails to notice that those who praise him do not have fully understood what he meant them to understand, or, worse, have chosen not to understand. They all mechanically compare, after Lamartine, the young Provençal poet with the great ancestors, Homere, Virgile, Theocrite, as if, in fact, he was not a man of his time but belonged to Antiquity : a mythical past, not the nowadays civilization. This induces a first distanciation, a temporal one.

Furthermore, it is not innocent if the epithets most frequently assigned to *Mirèio* are « charming, harmonious, moving, simple, naive », in that order. As if the poem was basically some inoffensive elegy, in strong contrast with its reality, made of passion and climatic, social and physical violence, inexorably leading to despair and a tragic death. Here we have a second distanciation, more problematic.

A third one, now: an important element of *Mirèio*'s charm for our critics is its exotism: the story takes place in a region, Provence, that from a parisian point of view is still very distant, in spite of the recent arrival down there of railway. Another country with its specific vegetation, its landscapes, another climate with a brighter sun, another population with its colorful folklore. Frenchmen perhaps, but so different from what the ideal Frenchman has to look like for a normal Parisian bourgeois.

All this may explain the pleasure *Mirèio* provides to our critics, an esthetic and sentimental pleasure. But there are some other dimensions in the poem's positive reception, of a more ideological nature.

Some articles suggest a comparison between Mistral's poem and other works, clearly much less appreciated. For Louis Ratisbonne, (*Journal des débats*, April 30th), *Mirèio* has nothing to do with any « *fleur atrophiée et maladive* », (degenerated and sickly flower) grown in « city miasms ». Every reader in 1859 could here identify a malvolent allusion to Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal* (1857), a book which had been perceived as particularly scandalous. Other critics, mainly conservative ones, have exactly the same reasons to oppose the fresh, naive and virtuous *Mirèio* to the sordid « realist » productions of the contemporary literature. Mistral, therefore, is used as a polemic weapon against what is stigmatized as morally and esthetically decadent. And in the same movement he gets locked in a very precise literary camp, the « classical » one, and involved, largely against his will and without his knowledge, in polemics that do not concern occitan literature according to what Mistral intend to make of it.

Beyond the literary battlefield we find another one, more ideological still: for many critics, Mistral and his poem have another function, linked with the alleged social status of the poet and the language he uses. The title of Lamartine's *Quarantième entretien* is « Littérature villageoise », and Mistral is a countryside poet, a peasant who talks to his fellow peasants in their language to teach them Beauty alongside with Morals and respect of social order. This last dimension is not the less important for the elites of this time: after all, ten years sooner, France was not an Empire but a Republic, and when Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte's coup (December 1851) had put an end to this republic, it was precisely southern peasants who had been actors of the revolt against it. This rebellious population needed to be vigorously lectured about respect of authority, and if « patois » could help, it was welcome. The fact that Mistral, with his degree in law, is evidently no peasant is here immaterial: just as he must be locked up in the « good » camp of traditional literary values, he has to remain locked up in his social origins, that definitely separate him from the Parisian establishment.

At this point we reach the core of the misunderstanding between the mistralian project and its national reception. Among the notes of his poem Mistral had inserted a long one, « félibres de Provence », actually a public proclamation. In it was affirmed that Provençal was no patois, but a noble language, spoken by a particular population which had its history and its dignity. This language was the only one adapted to the ethnic characteristics of this people, and would not die. Moreover, Provençal was a particularly poetic idiom, and its literature, conveniently dignified by the Félibres, could perfectly bring fresh air in a French literature that gave signs of a certain shortness of breath. In addition to those very herderian considerations came as a conclusion a long list of Occitan writers, félibres or not, meant to prove that Mistral was not an isolated individual, but the first representative of a new literature, claiming its recognition by the national culture. In this note there was a not insignificant element of bluff, but it was rather cleverly built. One problem, however: it was utterly inacceptable by its addressees, and it actually was not accepted. The critics who mention it condemn it more or less ironically as preposterous, and stress clearly that in spite of Mistral's qualities, « patois » has no place in the authorized field of French literature. Those who stand on the « progressist » side furthermore consider the language as doomed anyway, as the ultimate trace of old times. On the other side, « patois » is seen as intrinsically improper to the expression of « true » culture. The charming poem of Mistral may be an exception, but one that confirms the rule. Ratisbonne states « *Tel est ce poème, qui n'a vraiment qu'un défaut sensible, c'est de n'être pas un poème français* » (such is this poem, which actually has only one serious shortcoming, that is, not to be a French

poem). Even Lamartine at the end of his panegyric cordially gives Mistral a good advice: to go back in Maillane, his village, and stop writing, for « one cannot make two masterpieces in his life »; the young Provençal peasant must satisfy himself with *Mirèio*, and leave a Paris that is not his own, modest world. Did Lamartine really think so? The fact is, it is what his readers could read. Other critics were apparently more indulgent, and allowed Mistral to come back, at one condition: that his next work be written in French. The use of Occitan could be tolerated as an amusing anomaly, but it would be amusing only once.

Mistral understandably overwhelmed with joy in front of the mass of « good » articles, conforted by the publishing of a second edition for *Mirèio*, in Paris, by Charpentier, fails to discern the thorns hidden in so many flowers. He feels persuaded that he is now accepted as a full-time member of French literary comunity, and Félibrige alongside with him. He writes enthusiastic letters to his friends, urging them to publish as soon as possible their own works, in order to benefit from the attention *Mirèio* has drawn upon Occitan new literature. Meanwhile, instructed by the hostility met by his polemic note about « Félibres de Provence », he chooses to suppress it in the Charpentier edition: he means it as a tactical move, but it is in fact a strategic withdrawal.

Anyway, he is not alone being optimistic. The Félibrige before 1859, a handfull of young poets as said before, was utterly marginal in the Occitan literary field : the older Jasmin and the Marseille established « troubaires » were the foremost recognized masters of this field. After *Mirèio,* it changes drastically. Anyone who wishes to gain any success will be more and more subject to the attraction of the Avignon group. As soon as 1862, this hitherto informal group gets doted with carefully devised statutes, with the nomination of 50 « félibres » as the top of a new hierarchy: the model, clearly, is the French Académie. Two years later, with Gounod's opera *Mireille*, Paris meets again with the poem. At that moment, Mistral hopes to make his Félibrige the center of the whole intellectual and literary life of a great « Miejour », (Midi), from Atlantic to Alps. Simultaneously, he discovers the existence, beyond the Pyrénées border, of a Catalan people who speaks a language so close to Occitan that it is then generally considered as a mere dialect of it. During the following years, Mistral may even imagine a political development for the Occitan revendication, initially purely linguistic and literary: with a Catalan friend, Victor Balaguer, he dreams of an European federalism which would allow the small « nationalities » to get back an autonomy of which they had been deprived by the construction of « national » states, namely France and Spain. Everything seems then possible.

2. The time of disillusion.

But it is not that simple, and disappointment awaits our poet. His friend Aubanel publishes in Avignon in 1860 his *Miougrano entre-duberto* (half-open pomegranate). But Paris is not really interested, and the few critics who accept to review this poetic compilation do not praise it at the same level as *Mirèio*. As for the works of other félibres, only silence greets them. This means a first setback: the door had been grudgingly opened for one « patois » book, but enough was enough.

Worse: when Mistral publishes his second poem, *Calendau* (1867), he may hope a renewal of his 1859 triumph, leading, why not? to his entry at French Academy. For that purpose he submits a work meant to bear a militant message, in contrast with his previous tragic love-story. *Calendau* is a kind of initiation-roman, versified (at a time when the more favored literary manner begins to be the prose novel), that tells the heroic story of a young fisherman fighting a vicious nobleman for the sake of his beloved.

Mingled with this plot, rather classical in the cloak-and-dagger style, the poem displays descriptions, historical and ethnographic considerations, object of copious notes.

The reception by Parisian critic is not what was expected, far from it. Quantitatively, first : only some fifteen articles in national newspapers. Lamartine, still alive however, is silent, this time, as many of those who had wept while reading *Mirèio*. Some accept again to give their opinion, but without enthousiasm. The story does not appeal to their sensibility, and the parnassian-like description of a country which is by now much less exotic than at *Mirèio*'s time does not stir much interest. Some critics politically left-inclined are rather suspicious in front of a poem in which they feel a kind of nostalgy for old times, unwelcome from a progressist perspective. A promising newcomer in the literary world, Émile Zola, is particularly representative of that point of view.

But the main grievance aims at the essential. The 1859 critics had provided Mistral with a charitable advice: if he wished really to make a significant career, he had to prove he was able to produce something valuable in the only legitimate literary language, that is, French of course. To come back stubbornly before his judges with a second « patois » artefact was a disastrous demonstration of bad taste, politically suspect at that. A year later, Mistral is accused of separatism by some republican journalists. Here, in fact, men who know more or less of Mistral's ambitions use him as a tool in a political fight between two tendencies of the republican movement: those who consider that the only possible republican system must be a centralized one, against those who in the name of direct democracy want a decentralized Republic. Mistral is not familiar enough with the national debates to understand what is really at stake, and, though a republican himself since the 1848 revolution, he begins to swing to the right side, even more after the French disaster of 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war, and after the revolutionary movement of the Commune (1871). Henceforth he prefers avoiding any risk of a new anti-separatist polemic. Anyway, his old friend Balaguer is now an important Spanish politician, who has no real influence on the growing Catalanist political movement, so that the previous federalist dream loses much of its sense.

During the following period, and until Mistral's death (1914), what prevails is a certain stability, as if all had been settled between 1859 and 1870. The hegemony of Félibrige as the leading force of Occitan renaissance is stronger and stronger: initially mainly Provençal, the association gradually conquers the whole of Occitan-speaking zone, even if the southern, mediterranean part of this zone weighs more than the northern peripheries (Auvergne, Alps). But in the whole, the number of those who are really active in the associations' life does not pass some hundreds, that is virtually nothing reported to an Occitan domain with over 10 million inhabitants. Among those félibres, there are indeed writers able to produce works of a great quality. But the national literary world ignores them. The only one they know remains Mistral, on behalf of *Mirèio*'s record: every time he publishes a new book, Parisian critics review it, be it to a far less extent than in 1859. Amongst Occitan writers he is probably the only one to earn regular copyrights for his works - the others must pay themselves to publish their book, or use subscription. One must add that Mistral's copyrights are not the main part of his income (essentially provided by the rents of his landed estate). It may be noted, too, that *Mirèio* is very soon translated in various languages, Catalan, English, German... Interestingly, his candidature to Nobel prize is proposed by German and Austrian scholars in romance languages: no French university professor would have had spontaneously such a curious idea, even if two at least joined their colleagues, afterwards.

Nevertheless, the Maillane poet is still taken in account on the national literary market, and newspapers duly mention every one of the visits he pays his Parisian friends and publishers. However, the tonality of their articles gives a disquieting impression: it sounds as if they actually did not have read the work they talked about. We find here a suspiciously great amount of clichés, about the southern sun, the Southerner's temperament (slightly laughable), the beauty of "Arlesian" young women, the picturesque Provençal traditions, and so on. Mistral himself appears, not without a hint of condescension, as a curious character, regularly compared to the Alexandre Dumas heros, d'Artagnan, the « mousquetaire », because of his broad hat and his goatee. And of course, he remains forever the peasant celebrated by Lamartine. Some Parisian journalists who pay him a visit in his Maillane homeland will describe the poet as a kind of farmer watching over his domain's harvests. Anyhow, what is very clear is that for the average member of the literary circles as well as the capital's high society Mistral, with his social background and his strong provincial accent, is alien to their milieu. He may be received as a short-stay guest, he will never be a real insider. Interesting, in this regard, is the debate about a possible candidature for a seat in French Academy. From time to time, when one of the « immortals » dies, someone suggests the idea of his replacing by the Provençal poet. This immediately arouses reactions, more or less positive, amongst « authorized » personalities. If very few consider his literary merits as insufficient according to the academic standards, many will reject the idea of his entry in the temple, because of Mistral's linguistic choice, antagonistic to the Academie's mission, the protection of French language's purity. Those who favour a possible candidature may stress that every Mistral's poem is duly translated by the author hismself, who can therefore be considered as a genuine French writer. But very often, the main argument is that the Provençal poet, with his fidelity to « good », classical literary and moral values, is to be highly preferred to more questionable and younger authors, with their dangerous esthetic innovations: the name of Émile Zola often appears in this context. Here lurks the ghost of Louis Ratisbonne. And once more, Mistral gets involved in the petty polemics of the literary Parisian small world, the everlasting war between « ancients » and « moderns ». In that epic battle, even a « patois » author may help[5]. Similarly, national opinion may consider there is something positive in the defense of local traditions, so long as this defense keeps in safe limits. Nostalgy for the good old times of idyllic rurality is acceptable, in a time of dull industrial modernity. Folklore is acceptable, too: traditional regional costumes, so colorful, are attractive for tourists. And from a political perspective, the cult of the « *petite patrie* », (the small fatherland) is perceived as logically leading to the more important love of Great Fatherland, Eternal and Universal France. But hierarchies that do not even need to be explicitly recalled must imperatively be respected. « Patois » is no real language, patois poets are no part of the first-class literary market, and « small fatherlands » are not nations.

Conversely, as soon as Mistral and his fellow félibres dare present a too audacious revendication, they meet with no indulgence. Mistral, as said above, avoids carefully to renew any expression of his old federalist dream; but younger félibres regularly revive this theme : the leader-to-be of monarchist Action Française, Charles Maurras, félibre in his young days, launches in 1892 a Federalist Declaration that provokes bitter debates outside the Félibrige as well as inside. The more timid ones get satisfied with a modest aspiration to « decentralization ». Federalists and decentralizers alike are largely rejected by the

[5] Ph. Martel, « Mistral sera-t-il académicien ? Un débat bien parisien », in *Vidas, des hommes et une langue*, Marie-Jeanne Verny, Yan Lespoux éd., Limoges, Lambert-Lucas, 2018, p. 55-64.

various parties, right and left in accordance on that point. In the French political system, it may be possible for a party to rhetorically lament « *centralisation à outrance* » (excessive centralization) as long as it is not in charge; but it will change as soon as it will leave opposition, and benefit of the comfort of centralized administration. Politically, our félibres are therefore utterly inaudible, if not suspects of separatist aspirations.

A second revendication put forward by the Félibrige concerns the school, and its attitude toward the language spoken by southern pupils. From 1833 onwards, French government decides to gradually install an educational system, which ultimately becomes free and obligatory with the laws Ferry (1881). This primary school is aimed specifically at popular classes (the others -some 2% of a generation, have access to paying « lycées »). Beyond the basic knowledge (to read, to write, to count) the purpose of the « communale » is to provide pupils with simple notions of national history and geography, a succinct access at the works of some « great authors », with a stress put on the patriotic content of what has to be taught. And, of course, the language used is and can only be official French with its most special orthography and complicated grammatical rules. No place here for popular French in the regions where it is in use, and still less for other languages, all mingled in the « patois » category. The children who use it at school may sometimes be harshly punished, or, at best, taught charitably to avoid doing it. Therefore, very soon, parents and pupils are led to consider their native language as not only improper in respect with the official French, but furthermore as a hindrance to acquisition of a better social position. And consecutively, parents are led to try and speak French - the French they know, to their children instead of the original « patois ». Progressively this means the end of the familial transmission of the language.

Mistral and the félibres identify by the 1870 years the danger that school represents for the mere survival of Occitan. It is impossible to fight against an educational system controlled by the State, and accepted by popular classes as a way of escaping their current poverty. The only solution, then, is to try and obtain a place for Occitan at school. But that implies a solid reflection, from a pedagogic point of view, that very few félibres are competent for. Mistral, here, is of no help, with his juridic formation, and the bad records he himself keeps of his own school-time. The result is clear: the félibres sometimes produce inspired but platonic speeches about the necessity of introducing « *lou prouvençau à l'escolo* », without trying to be more specific on the means to achieve that goal. At the most, some who have a real experience, being teachers themselves, may propose methods to teach French starting from Occitan, through comparison, with a system of themes and versions which permit the pupils to master both French and Occitan orthography. These methods are steadily refused by the educational institution. At that time, the average opinion is that bilingualism perturbs the children's intelligence. And anyway, French being considered, in France, as the only true « universal » language, intended to be one day the planet's one, it is therefore preposterous to imagine « patois » could be accepted in school, even as an accessory to French acquisition. The first concerned, people whose Occitan is the daily only language, are not consulted, and once they accept the idea of sending their children to school (it was not so evident at first), they have nothing to object, and trust the new institution to do the best. As for the authorized public opinion, as expressed by the national press, when informed of the felibre revendication, its reactions, between irony and indignation, are anyway strongly negative.

March 1914: the more than 83years old Mistral is dead. Hundreds people follow his funerals in

Maillane. And the press unanimously celebrates the Provençal poet whom Lamartine praised so much, more than fifty years sooner, with once more the same old clichés : Mistral was a peasant, enrooted in his « *petite patrie* », but deeply loving the Great, Eternal France. No journalist can miss to evoke the poet's big hat and goatee, and, in an afterthought, the beauty of his verses, that most would be perfectly unable to quote. The right-wing papers (Charles Maurras and his *Action Française*, first of all) enlist him a follower of their opinion, while the left-wing ones will prudently skip the political subject or remind the moment when young Mistral was a 1848 democrat-socialist. As for a genuine appreciation of his literary value or the true nature of his project for his language and culture, very little can be read in the press, national as regional. Curiously (but not so much after all), it is perhaps outside France that reactions are the most sincere: German, Hungarian, Italian, Spanish intellectuals, and particularly those who fight for minority languages and cultures are often more apt to understand Mistral than their French colleagues. Anyway, the burst of World War I a few months later promptly gave Europa other problems to deal with. And many observers, if asked about what would become of the Félibrige, would have willingly adopted the equation of the Sâr Peladan, a rather peculiar occultist:

> *Mistral + Mistral = Félibrige.*
> *Félibrige - Mistral = 0.*
> Even if the future would have proved them wrong.

One would be entitled to wonder why Mistral and his fellow félibres eventually met with so little success. After all, they had arguments to support their claim to a recognition by France of the dignity of Occitan language and culture. And it was the French culture itself that provided them with a good part of those arguments. Their literary production was not insignificant, neither for its accordance with the formal criterions of the literary mainstream of their time nor for its intrinsic value. After all, Mistral's works as those of some of his best companions are still available (in chosen bookshops, that is), and still find readers, when most of those illustrious authors who jeered at the mere idea of an academic election for Mistral are utterly forgotten alongside with their books. It was not so absurd, from a political point of view, to consider that the existence of an Occitan « nation », an « imagined community », to put it in Benedict Anderson’s terms, had some right to be at least theoretically considered: a territory, a language, a history, a literature and to some extent a self-conscience, these canonic criterions apply to the Occitan case, at least by the middle of the XIXth century. Mistral’s bet was ambitious, but not altogether absurd.

However, it did not work, because of the hard reality of French political, social and ideological system, which let no place for such an ambition. The centralist tradition of the French State, inaugurated by the ancient monarchy and efficiently carried on by the successive regimes, from Empire to Republic, still comforted by the 1870 defeat and the nationalist thirst for revenge it stirred, did not allow any aspiration to a local counterbalance that could weaken the State, and actually nobody seriously contested it. The national common sense imposed the universal acceptance of a impassable gap between Paris, center of the power as well as of the good society and the right manners, and the « Province », indistinct mass of underdeveloped and undereducated territories. Against the sacralization of the french language, any pretension in favour of any other local idiom could only meet with irony and contempt, all the more

because of the social factor: progressively abandoned by upper-classes, and more and more by the middle ones, those idioms were both a sign of ignorance and a hindrance to social promotion. No poetry, as magnificent as it could be, had any chance against this reality. Mistral could arrive in Paris with a masterpiece, it was still in « patois », and its author was after all nothing but a naive peasant of Maillane, wherever it be. And the sociological composition of Félibrige shows the absence of both upper - and most popular classes, and the pre-eminence of men (very few women) freshly integrated in the new middle-classes, without real influence nor power upon their society. Who would listen to them, when they spoke in defense of the very language everyone wanted to forget?

Mistral had correctly identified the spot where to attack: Paris. He had underestimated the strength of its protections, and his apparent 1859 success had lured him into the illusion of a possible break-through. The reality showed him that it was an illusion, precisely. But reality is always contradictory. Without this success, and the status it granted Mistral in the cultural French world, nobody today would know anything about Occitan language and literature, and nobody would care about their fate, in spite of the fact they still survive. Ironically, Paris, once more, supplied the very tools of its contestation. One may consider this closing paradox as somewhat rejoicing, and moral.

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 11-18

Invited Research Paper

E Mālama ʻia ka Hawaiʻi o ka ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi

K. Laiana WONG *

Abstract

The intent of this paper is to challenge the notion that translation offers an alternative expression, the meaning of which is represented as equivalent to that of the original. In the Hawaiian context, the shift from Hawaiian to English has created a divide betwen the two with regard to worldview and language use norms. With the decline of Hawaiian as a language of wider currency across the community, English now guides the thinking of the community. Hawaiian texts are now viewed through an English lens. This creates a problem for language revitalization efforts. Of particular concern in this paper is the question of appropriate language use in various contexts. English tends to view words and phrases that denote body parts and bodiliy functions as inappropriate for some contexts. This view tends to dominate the sensibilities of the community, including those segments engaged in Hawaiian language education. Whereas children are intrigued by body parts and bodily functions, I decided to write a more traditional story, one that had been told to me by an elder and which highlighted feces and defecation. Although the chidren were attracted by the defecation, the point of the story was to be aware of tricksters.

Keywords: revitalization, domination, translation, censorship, worldview

Introduction

Aloha mai nō kākou e nā hoa mālama ʻōlelo makuahine o ke ao e huli aʻe nei. Eia nō ke nalowale liʻiliʻi aku nei nā ʻōlelo ʻōiwi o ko kākou mau lāhui ma muli o ka mīʻoi ʻana mai o ka ʻōlelo Pelekane me ka ʻapakau ʻana hoʻi i nā wahi a pau o ka honua nei, kahi e hoʻokaʻaʻike ai nā manaʻo o kākou ma o ia mea he ʻōlelo. I ka wā e hiki koke mai ana, inā he nānā maka wale aku nō ka hana a kākou, ʻaʻole nō e nele ka hala loa ʻana aku o ia mau ʻōlelo i ke ala hoʻi ʻole mai.

This article starts with a foreboding prediction, in Hawaiian, about the future survival of indigenous languages around the world as they gradually, yet persistently, fall victim to the dominance of what has been called a “killer language,” specifically English (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). It outlines some of the challenges faced in the ongoing efforts to revitalize Hawaiian, and, by extension, any other minority language being overwhelmed by English. Reviving a dying language is far easier than trying to bring back one that has already disappeared.

The title of this paper comes from the titles of two oral presentations I gave in October 2025 in Tokyo, Japan. One was at Tokai University in Shinagawa, and the other at Toyo University in Bunkyo. As proof of the dominance of English and my limited ability to speak Japanese (only a few words and phrases), both symposia were conducted in English, even though both focused on efforts to revitalize the Hawaiian language. Interestingly, I was in Japan to speak to Japanese-speaking college students about revitalizing

* University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa

the Hawaiian language, and because they understood English, I had to deliver the presentation in English. This reliance on English as the medium of communication highlights the "ominous prediction" mentioned earlier. For those readers who manage to get past the title and the first paragraph, I hope that someday you will be able to understand what the Hawaiian means without translation. It would make me happy to know my prediction was wrong.

Revitalization Without Adulteration

In efforts to revive a minority language like Hawaiian within a context dominated by a "killer language" like English, it is essential to maintain a clear distinction between the two and avoid treating them as interchangeable. A false equivalence between the two would cause problems in language revitalization efforts. There should be some separation between the languages. A well-known story I heard during my time as a linguistics major involved a Russian linguist named Roman Jacobson. Upon his passing, he was eulogized by his colleagues who teasingly claimed that he had a tendency for speaking Russian in six different languages. Clearly, his dominant language influenced his worldview, which, in turn, shaped his use of all the other languages he commanded. This is a common phenomenon in second-language learning, and in Hawaiian, it likely means that most learners' worldviews have been influenced by English.

The steady decline of Hawaiian as a practical means of communication, alongside the rising prominence of English, does not merely signify the replacement of Hawaiian with English. There is a constantly growing gap between the ways of speaking in the dominant language of a community and those of a minority language, such as between English and Hawaiian, and this is evident in Hawai'i today. This includes recent lexical items related to technological advancements, the indiscriminate addition of neologisms to support common speech patterns in the dominant language, the construction of thought reflecting a distinctly different worldview, the varying acceptability of certain expressions in different contexts, and a seemingly endless list of other language features that the minority language no longer accounts for. Therefore, efforts to revitalize Hawaiian tend to follow a path already established by English, often creating a false sense of equivalence between the two. Still, neologisms are a necessary evil in the language's revitalization, especially considering it was already approaching extinct about fifty years ago.

He Pelapela Anei Ka 'Ōlelo A Ka Hawai'i?

The question in the heading immediately above aims to challenge the idea that Hawaiian language can be described as "pelapela" (meaning filthy, dirty, nasty, indecent, vulgar, lewd, obscene[1]). The concept of language being metaphorically dirty or filthy is clear. Is it possible that such a metaphor might have developed in pre-contact Hawaiian, and that the phrase "'ōlelo pelapela" was traditionally used to refer to inappropriate language? It is somewhat remarkable that the same sentiment appeared in both Hawaiian and English prior to their coexistence in Hawai'i. I should take the opportunity here to apologize directly to the reader. Clearly, I am being fecetious. Filthy language was not likely an issue in traditional Hawaiian language contexts. I believe this idea was introduced by foreign settlers, especially those who came to Hawai'i to save souls.

In this paper, I will focus on traditional words and how they are understood through different ways

[1] Pukui & Elbert, 1986. Hawaiian Dictionary.

of knowing and speaking in English. To explain this to second-language learners of Hawaiian, I use a mathematical metaphor, i.e., "pua ≠ flower" to illustrate the difference. Although "pua" is often translated into English as "flower," the two words do not exactly match. The English word "flower" can be expressed as "pua" in Hawaiian, but "pua" has many other meanings. For example, the Pukui and Elbert (1986) in their bilingual dictionary, lists nine different English translations for "pua." Besides "flower," it can also signify the emission of smoke, wind, or speech. It can refer to a child or descendant, an arrow, a type of tree, a float or buoy, a cloud bank, a goddess of sorcery from Molokaʻi, or even a fishhook for turtles. Although these meanings vary widely, the potential to use "pua" to indicate multiple meanings in one context remains, along with the risk of confusion. From an English perspective, which most Hawaiʻi residents likely share, this might seem problematic. However, I believe the ability to create multiple meanings should be seen as a resource rather than a problem. An excerpt from an article I wrote and published years ago states that, in English: "lack of clarity is viewed as problematic. From a Hawaiian perspective, though, lack of clarity is a resource that, when skillfully used by competent Hawaiian speakers, allows for the mitigation of behaviors that might otherwise be considered mahaʻoi or 'presumptuous'." (Wong, 2011, p.165)

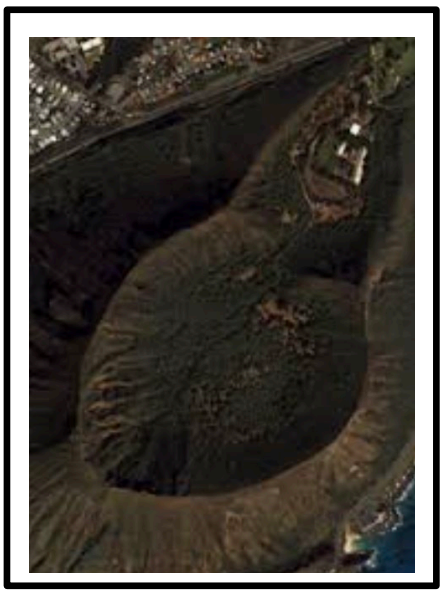
Although the total number of phonemes in Hawaiian is fewer in comparison to English, this is not the only reason the Hawaiian lexicon is limited. The syllable structure of Hawaiian does not allow consonants to appear in the coda of a syllable, nor does it permit consonant clusters. That is, all syllables must end in a vowel, and consonants can only appear singly, followed by a single vowel or a diphthong. As a result, the number of possible syllables is fewer in Hawaiian than in English. Consequently, Hawaiian has many homophones, as shown by the word "pua," which has multiple meanings in the dictionary, and many single forms have multiple entries. This creates the possibility for individual words to be interpreted in different ways, increasing the potential for purposeful wordplay. This resource was likely used in a way that provides what I have characterized as the right of deniability. That is, if someone perceives a slight in an interlocutor's words, it could easily be unintentional. There is a strong possibility that a benign meaning was intended. Any accusation of bad intent can be easily countered by explaining that the more benign meaning was the one intended.

It should also be noted that most data involving Hawaiian words come from old Hawaiian newspapers, other documents, and oral sources such as taped interviews, recorded songs, chants, and public performances. The glottal stop and the macron, which are used phonemically to distinguish meanings of similar words, have become more common recently. Their use helps disambiguate meanings that appeared historically in identical written forms. For example, pua, puʻa, or pūʻā, are currently spelled with glottal stops and macrons, but all three were spelled as "pua" in early Hawaiian newspapers. Since 1978, when Hawaiian became one of two official languages for the State of Hawaiʻi (the other being English), the ʻAhahui ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi recommended using glottal stops and macrons in all official documents. Since then, their use has grown significantly among second-language learners. However, despite their recognition as phonemes and their normalization in writing, many writers still omit them, especially in texting and other informal written contexts.

Kohelepelepe and Ulehawa

Unfortunately, this official recognition did not resolve the problems in translation. There remains an issue regarding the relative power of words. Before Hawaiian declined as a language of wider communication in Hawai‘i, words describing body parts and bodily functions were quite common. Terms such as “kohe” (vagina) and “ule” (penis) are even found in traditional place names such as Kohelepelepe (Vagina labia minor), the name of a well-known volcanic crater on the eastern coast of O‘ahu now called “Koko Crater” or “Koko Head.” Another example is “Kohemālamalama” (Bright vagina), an ancient name for the island of Kaho‘olawe in the Hawaiian archipelago. On the west end of O‘ahu, there is a place called Ulehawa (Stink penis). Each of these place names is linked to a story that served as a mnemonic device to preserve its history in an oral society. I believe this would have included children, as well, in order to ensure the intergenerational transmission of that history.

Before contact, all the ancient place names were passed down orally and shared within families and communities through stories and chants. I have selected two illustrative stories to share here. One is about Kohelepelepe, as documented in the book “Place Names of Hawai‘i” (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini 1974), and the other is about Ulehawa, as narrated by Aunty Aggie Cope[2].



We look first here at Kohelepelepe . Due to the shift from Hawaiian to English, the passage of several generations, and the renaming of the crater with names partly based on English, such as Koko Crater or Koko Head, its traditional Hawaiian name and the related story have become obscured. Many Hawaiians today, after many generations of language shift, have lost the ability to speak or understand Hawaiian. Therefore, they are unlikely to know the traditional Hawaiian names of many important places, and if they do, they probably lack awareness of the stories behind those names or their English translations. Gaining access to this knowledge now often requires research. As a child, I too was unaware of the Hawaiian name or the story behind Koko Crater or Koko Head, the two common names used today—even though I lived relatively close to the site. I only learned the story later in life through research. According to “Place Names of Hawai‘i,” under the name “Pua‘a-kanu”: “Land division. Puna district. Hawai‘i, where Pele was attacked by Kama-pua‘a. Pele’s sister Kapo sent her vagina to lure away the pig man. He followed it to Koko Crater, O‘ahu, where it left an imprint, and then flew off to Ka-lihi. The old name for Koko Crater is Kohe-lepelepe, vagina labia minor.” The shape of the vagina can still be seen today, and I have included a picture showing an aerial view of the crater. It is clearly visible from the subdivision near Awāwamalu, a

[2] An article I wrote in Hawaiian for the Kauakūkalahale column in the Honolulu StarAdvertiser on December 5, 2015 entitled *Auwe, ua hala aku nei o Kalanihookaha*, was a kanikau (eulogy) for a prominent elder most people knew as Aunty Aggie. It was written in poetic form to celebrate her life after having passed a couple of weeks prior, on November 16, 2015. The English synopsis is reproduced here: “*This is a chant of lamentation for Aunty Aggie Kalanihookaha Cope, an icon of Hawaiian education, politics and the arts. She exemplified the term “doer and shaker” in her work to elevate the condition of the Hawaiian people. We will surely miss her.*” The article was written without the macron and glottal stop, both of which she did not approve while she was alive.

well-known body surfing spot now called Sandy Beach. Although the Awāwamalu area attracts many beachgoers, especially on weekends, and Kohelepelepe is visible from around the area, very few people are aware of its Hawaiian name and even fewer know the story behind it.

Ulehawa is the name of a stream and a beach park located between Nānākuli and Lualualei on the west end of Oʻahu (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini). It is also the name of a street, with public signage marking each location. As mentioned earlier, it translates to "stink penis," but, again, most people are unaware of this translation or the story behind it. I was fortunate to know Aunty Aggie Cope, and she shared her version of the story about the demigod Maui and his efforts to slow the sun's daily journey across the sky, thereby allowing enough time for fishing, harvesting, and daily chores like washing and drying clothes. Her story focused specifically on the sun's path over Nānākuli Valley. According to Aunty Aggie, the sun moved too quickly across the sky, making it difficult for clothes to dry and for people to fish or harvest crops. When Maui's mother washed his malo (loincloth) and hung it out to dry, at the end of the day, it remained damp and emitted a musty odor (hawa). To solve the problem of this persistent odor, Maui caught the sun with a rope and forced it into submission, causing it to move more slowly thereby, amongst other benefits, allowing sufficient time for drying. The name Ulehawa reminds us of these stories and explains how things came to be as they are today. Nānākuli, on the leeward side of western Oʻahu, has a very hot, dry climate.

A Few More Examples

There are many other important Hawaiian words whose English translations might seem inappropriate for mixed audiences or those that include young children. For instance, the word "kanaka" is most often used to refer to human beings—people, individuals, and specifically males when in the singular. Most people, including students learning Hawaiian as a second language or being taught through the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program of the Hawaiʻi Department of Education, are unaware of other meanings of "kanaka," one of which is glossed as "clitoris." It appears that the most common meaning (person) is the only one they focus on, and they rarely consider that other meanings are possible. I would posit that, even if the English gloss "clitoris" is known by teachers or adult family members today, children are likely shielded from its use due to its prurient connotations in the English worldview. It would probably be considered inappropriate for use with this particular intent while in their presence.

Two additional examples worth noting are "ʻōkole" and "kūkae." The former is most commonly translated as "anus," and the latter as "excrement." Unlike their English counterparts, which include various synonyms used in different contexts, including those that are intentionally offensive, these terms are rarely used offensively by fluent Hawaiian speakers. For instance, it would be unusual to hear someone say, "He ʻōkole ʻoe!" (You are an asshole!) or "Auē ke kūkae ē!" (Oh shit!). Such usage would show a lack of understanding of the power of words in Hawaiian and possibly a belief that English ways of expression can be produced directly through Hawaiian. Unfortunately, after Hawaiian declined due to

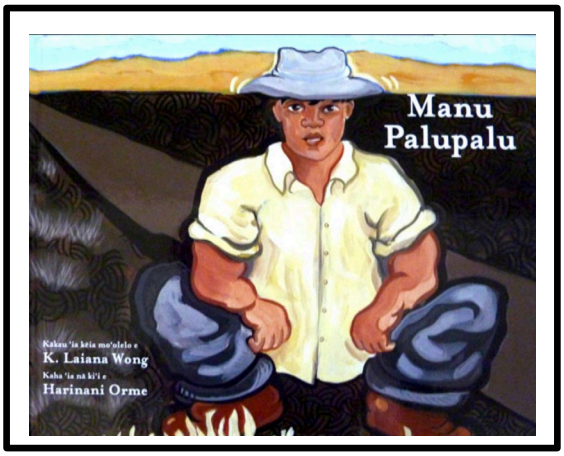
English dominance, much of what we know about Hawaiian today comes from translating Hawaiian into English. Even more problematic is translating or transliterating English into Hawaiian during its ongoing revitalization.

Translation establishes a sense of equivalence between the meanings of words in two different languages; however, if one language becomes dominant, its meaning eventually overrides that offered by the other language. This effect applies not only to the referential meanings of words but also to how they are used. As previously mentioned, words for body parts and bodily functions were not traditionally taboo or censored in Hawaiian. Additionally, English has a wider range of synonyms than Hawaiian for describing body parts and bodily functions. Therefore, more clinical terms are appropriate in certain settings, especially in more serious contexts. Vulgar terms would be kept for less formal situations.

As discussed earlier, lexical items and even more complete phrases referring to body parts and bodily functions were not traditionally kept from children. However, words and phrases in Hawaiian carry spiritual power that can influence change in the natural world, either harming or healing them. Therefore, such language should not be used carelessly. Once spoken, and released into the world, they can cause both physical and spiritual harm. There is a Hawaiian word, kūamuamu, which means to chant a curse or reviling song. Pukui, Haertig, and Lee (1972) state "'ōlelo, "word" or "speech," was far more than a means of communicating. To the Hawaiian, the spoken word did more than set in motion forces of destruction and death, and of forgiveness and healing. The word was itself a force."

Since the arrival of Christian missionaries in Hawai'i in 1820, Hawaiian beliefs have changed and diminished. Today, it is not common, even among Hawaiians, to believe that words hold such power. Over more than two centuries, the traditional Hawaiian worldview shifted mostly toward English. In our current efforts to revive Hawaiian, it makes little sense for us to work so hard that pī ka 'amo (the anus sputters), just to produce an English version of Hawaiian. Clearly, revitalization will require many new words in order to keep up with a changing world. The key question here is: Are we speaking Hawaiian in Hawaiian or English in Hawaiian?

Manu Palupalu



The examples in the sections above aim to create a context that supports efforts to maximize the use of Hawaiian that reflecting a Hawaiian worldview. This is especially important in developing curriculum materials for all learning contexts of Hawaiian. This section highlights a picture book created for the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program of the Hawai'i Department of Education. The specific book discussed here is one I wrote called Manu Palupalu (soft bird) . Like many children's books, it features full-page illustrations with a few lines of Hawaiian text to tell the story. The project was funded by a grant from the U.S. federal government, secured by my colleague, Professor Sam L. No'eau Warner, to develop curriculum materials for the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program.

The story itself was part of a larger, more complex story told to me by another prominent elder named Joseph Makaai, a native speaker of Hawaiian hired by the University of Hawai‘i as a resource kupuna (elder) to assist Hawaiian language students. It was about a man walking from Kawaihae to Puakō, Hawai‘i Mokupuni (Island of Hawai‘i), a long journey across wide, deserted fields of ancient lava flows. Somewhere halfway between the two towns, he felt an intense need to defecate. Seeing that there was no one else around, he squatted by the side of the path and began to relieve himself. As he was still doing his business, he saw a figure approaching from a distance. Not wanting this stranger to know what he had been doing, he took off his hat and used it to cover the evidence. When the stranger got closer, he asked why the man was holding his hat on the ground. In response, the kolohe (fraudster) made up a story about catching a bird that was a favorite food of the chief. The stranger then asked why he didn’t just take the bird to the chief. In response, the kolohe tried to support his story by saying that if he lifted the hat, the bird would escape and the chief would miss his meal. What a dilemma! Luckily for the kolohe, the stranger agreed to hold down the hat while he went off to get the chief. The stranger then watched as the kolohe walked away. He waited quite a while until his curiosity got the better of him. He wanted to see what kind of bird it was. So, he tried to lift the brim of the hat just slightly until there was enough of a gap to look inside at the bird. Unfortunately, the sun was shining brightly, and it was too dark under the hat to see anything. So, he decided to lift it just enough to slip his hand in and grab the bird. Once he did, he immediately realized he had been deceived!

He pelapela anei ka ‘ōlelo a ka Hawai‘i?

Warner’s federal grant funded the creation of a set of 31 books, including Manu Palupalu. It also financed the printing of more than enough sets of these books to provide every student in the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program with a personal set at no cost. Manu Palupalu was copyrighted in 2009 along with the 30 other books. Although, at the time, this particular book faced some pushback from parents who felt that body parts and bodily functions were inappropriate topics for young children to study, especially through an educational resource, this sentiment seems to have shifted since the book was copyrighted in 2009. For the children, however, I have heard from many people that, even when first published, this was their favorite book. No‘eau’s theory was that, for educational success, it is necessary to “go to where the children are at.” Clearly, children are intrigued by bodily functions, which, from Warner’s perspective, was half the battle. If good Hawaiian vocabulary and grammar are used in resources that appeal to students, they will learn it more quickly and more thoroughly than lessons merely designed to satisfy adult-generated curriculum standards.

One final point to emphasize is that, in my view, the lesson of the Manu Palupalu story has little to do with the uninhibited use of language that describes body parts and bodily functions. The knee jerk response that assumes censorship would fix an ostensible problem misses the whole idea behind the purpose of education, which seeks to lead us out of ignorance. From a traditional Hawaiian perspective, the main lesson of Manu Palupalu is to remind us of the consequences of being gullible, even when performing honorable acts.

REFERENCE

Pukui, M. K. (1983). *ʻŌlelo noʻeau: Hawaiian proverbs & poetical sayings*. Bishop Museum Press.

Pukui, M. K., & Elbert, S. H. (1986). *Hawaiian dictionary*. University of Hawaii Press.

Pukui, M. K., Elbert, S. H., & Mookini, E. T. (1974). *Place names of Hawaii*. University of Hawaii Press.

Pukui, M. K., Haertig, E. W., & Lee, C. A.. (1972). *Nānā i ke kumu (Look to the source). Volume 1*. Hui Hānai.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education—or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Routledge.

Wong, K. L. (2009). *Manu Palupalu.* Ka Lau ʻUlu.

Wong, K. L. (2011) Hawaiian methodologies of indirection: Point-less vs pointless. In K. A. Davis (Ed.) Critical qualitative research in second language studies. Agency and Advocacy. A volume in Contemporary Language Education (pp. 151-170). Information Age Publishing Inc.

Wong, K. L. (2015). Auwe, ua hala aku nei o Kalanihookaha. *Kauakūkalahale: Honolulu StarAdvertiser*12/05/2015. https://www.trussel2.com/HAW/kuk/kuk-2015-12-05.htm.

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 19-27

Research Paper

Meaning in language and bodily performances: From Merleau-Ponty's perspective

Shogo TANAKA *

Abstract

This article explores the ontological foundations of language and meaning by challenging the modern conception of language as a disembodied, abstract system. Drawing on the phenomenology of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the author repositions speech as a fundamentally embodied performance, grounded in the radical assertion that "speech is a genuine gesture." The discussion distinguishes between "spoken speech" (*parole parlée*), representing sedimented linguistic norms, and "speaking speech" (*parole parlante*), the generative act through which meaning is co-constituted in real time via the lived body's engagement with the world. To illustrate this embodied meaning-making, the paper analyzes various expressive modes, including early childhood joint attention and Jackson Pollock's action painting, where meaning emerges not as a pre-fixed referent, but through situated bodily movement. Ultimately, the author proposes a "theory of embodied expression" that integrates the speaker's physical, emotional, and social presence, suggesting that language is a primary mode of the world's self-articulation.

Keywords:) Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Embodied Expression, Speaking Speech, Phenomenology of Language

Introduction

What is language, and where does it begin? This article revisits this fundamental philosophical question by challenging the modern conception of language as an abstract system. In the modern tradition, language has frequently been treated as a tool for encoding and transmitting ideas, detached from the lived world. For example, Saussurean (1916/1959) structural linguistics distinguishes *langue*—the abstract system of linguistic rules—from *parole*—the individual act of speech—and prioritizes the former as the primary object of scientific study, thereby distancing language from its lived, bodily execution. This perspective, which reduces speech to data in linguistic corpora or analyzes grammar in isolation from the speaker's context, obscures a vital reality: speaking is not merely "saying" but "doing." It is an embodied action rooted in breath, gesture, rhythm, and even silence.

The theoretical framework of this article is grounded in the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945/2012, 1960/1964). Merleau-Ponty challenges the notion that language merely conveys pre-formed thoughts. Instead, he argues that "speech is a genuine gesture" (2012, p. 189), inseparable from the body and the world it inhabits. From this perspective, meaning does not preexist language; rather, it emerges through the embodied act of expression.

To illustrate this claim, consider the act of shared attention, such as a mother and child pointing toward a ship in the distance (Figure 1). This scene exemplifies a significant developmental trajectory underlying the emergence of communication. Typically, infants around nine months of age attain the capacity for joint attention, characterized by the ability to follow a caregiver's gaze and identify an object

* Institute of Civilization Research, School of Cultural and Social Studies, Tokai University

of shared focus. By approximately twelve months, infants begin to employ pointing gestures to actively direct a caregiver's attention toward an object, a behavior that serves as a foundational precursor to early language acquisition (Tomasello, 2008). Consequently, the child does not merely acquire a vocabulary; rather, they learn to inhabit a shared world with others through joint attention, pointing, and the relational bond established within a common environment. In this primal act, meaning is not an abstract referent but a lived experience emerging through the body's expressive response to the world. Pointing, therefore, is not a mere supplement to language; it constitutes language in its most fundamental, embodied form.

Figure 1: Embodied Shared Attention in Early Communication (Source: PxHere)

This philosophical reorientation, anchored in the developmental foundations of communication, suggests that speech is invariably embedded within a landscape of human relationships and perceptual experiences. When we speak, we do not merely transmit information but engage in a situated, lived response to the world, where the voice emerges from a "body in place"—a presence shaped by affective rhythms and interpersonal relations. Language, therefore, is not an abstract system separate from life; it is a primary mode through which life expresses itself. Building on this embodied perspective, the following sections will explore the implications of this view for rethinking language and meaning—reframing these not as operations of an abstract code, but as modes of profound resonance with the world.

Rethinking Language as Embodied Expression

To comprehend the radical nature of Merleau-Ponty's philosophy of language, one must first examine the modern view he sought to challenge. In much of modern philosophical thought, language is frequently conceptualized as a mere instrument—a tool utilized to externalize ideas that are presumed to exist within the mind. Within this framework, thought is seen as primary, while language is secondary; we are thought to possess a fully formed idea before seeking the appropriate linguistic "container" to house it.

This instrumentalist view finds its typical expression in the dualism of René Descartes (1642/1984). Descartes posited the mind as a private, interior theater—*res cogitans*—where clear and distinct ideas reside independently of the physical body or the external environment. In this Cartesian schema, language functions as a translation mechanism, a means of packaging internal mental states into external signs for transmission, analogous to placing a message within an envelope to be sent out into the world.

Consequently, the body is relegated to the status of a mere delivery system, a mechanical apparatus secondary to the essential cognitive work occurring within the mind. This paradigm was later formalized in the mid-20th century through Claude Shannon's (1948) information theory, which conceptualizes communication as a linear transmission of encoded data from a source to a destination. By reducing the complex act of speech to a technical process of encoding and decoding pre-constituted messages, this model reinforces the view of language as a neutral carrier of information, detached from the speaker's lived experience. While Shannon's model was never intended as a theory of meaning, its widespread philosophical appropriation has reinforced the view of language as a neutral conduit for transmitting pre-constituted content.

Merleau-Ponty (2012) radically inverts this traditional hierarchy. He contends that we do not first inhabit a silent realm of thought only to later clothe it in words; rather, *we think through speaking*. For Merleau-Ponty, speech is not a supplementary addition to an already completed thought; it is an intrinsic and constitutive part of the thinking process itself. To understand the significance of this shift, one must consider Merleau-Ponty's re-conceptualization of the human body. Whereas Descartes viewed the body as a machine—distinct from and controlled by the mind—Merleau-Ponty posits the body not as an object we possess, but as the very subject through which we perceive, act, and exist. He designates this as the "lived body" (*le corps propre*): a sensing, moving, and intelligent presence that is inextricably intertwined with our experience of and in the world. The inherent intelligence of the lived body is most clearly demonstrated in its immediate, pre-reflective engagements with its surroundings. Consider, for example, the experience of navigating a crowded space when a projectile suddenly moves toward one's face. Before any conscious deliberation or explicit cognition of the object can occur, the body has already enacted a response—ducking, flinching, or turning away. This immediate reaction is not the result of a cognitive analysis; rather, it is the body itself that "understands" the situation and responds with its own embodied intelligence. In this sense, the body is not a passive recipient of cerebral commands; it is an active agent already engaged in making sense of the world through its situated presence and movement.

Extending this phenomenological insight to the realm of language, Merleau-Ponty offers the seminal assertion that "speech is a genuine gesture" (2012, p. 189). Much like a smile, a sigh, or a manual signal, speech is a bodily act. It is not merely the transmission of data between two isolated brains, but an expressive action that arises directly from our embodied experience of the world. This is vividly illustrated in the experience of intense emotions, such as anger. When one is truly angry, the voice does not remain a neutral carrier of information; it becomes sharper, louder, and more rhythmic. The tone may break, the face tightens, and the hands move in a way that is often unconscious to the speaker. One might slam a fist on a table or gesture expansively as the entire body becomes alert and alive with affect. In such moments, the individual is not detachedly selecting words to describe an internal state; rather, they are *in* the anger, and their speech emerges as a direct manifestation of that state. The words, the vocal quality, and the physical gestures form a single, continuous flow of expression. Here, speech is revealed as part of the body's way of being in the world—it is the body itself expressing its situatedness. The tremulous voice and the quickened breath are not mere additions to language; *they are language* in its most primordial and embodied form. Furthermore, it is crucial to recognize that this expressive speech is always situated. It occurs in a specific place, at a specific moment, and in relation to others. Speech is a response to the

environment, enacted by a lived body that is fully immersed in the world. From this perspective, language is not an abstract code applied to reality from the outside; it is something that develops out of our sensory and motor experiences. When we speak, we are not merely delivering pre-packaged meanings; we are actively creating meaning in real-time through the body's expressive response to its situation.

This philosophical reorientation demands that to fully understand language, we must pay close attention to the speaker's bodily performance and their specific position within the world. This perspective opens a powerful trajectory for understanding not only everyday discourse but also more complex forms of human expression, such as poetry, ritual, music, and storytelling. These are not to be viewed as abstract language games, but as deeply embodied actions that carry the weight of emotion, memory, and social life.

Speaking Speech vs. Spoken Speech

To further refine the phenomenological account of language, it is imperative to examine the distinction Merleau-Ponty introduces between "speaking speech" (*parole parlante*) and "spoken speech" (*parole parlée*) (2012, p. 202). This distinction delineates the difference between the embodied act of expression and the conventionalized system of linguistic signs.

Speaking speech refers to the act of speaking as a dynamic, generative process involving the entirety of the lived body. It is far more than the mere articulation of phonemes or the production of sound; it represents a primordial engagement with the world. In this modality, the body is not an inert medium for linguistic transmission but an active participant that constitutes meaning through the very act of utterance. For Merleau-Ponty, this performance is essentially a gesture—a direct, embodied encounter that infuses speech with significance through rhythm, tone, and breath. The speaker expresses from the depths of their lived history and situated relationship with the environment, thereby producing a unique and unrepeatable speech act.

In contrast, spoken speech denotes language as a conventionalized system used for social communication. This is the structured repository of vocabulary and grammatical rules—the ordinary language that serves as a tool for representing pre-established concepts. Within the Merleau-Pontian framework, this form of speech operates as a distinct functional layer; it is the sedimented product of previous expressive gestures and lived experiences. Spoken speech is not merely a collection of rules, but a socially constructed system shaped by communal history, culture, and collective norms. These conventions provide the necessary framework for effective communication, ensuring that individual expressions are intelligible within a shared social context.

While individuals internalize these linguistic norms, spoken speech is never purely private; it is inherently interpersonal, passed down through social interaction. Crucially, however, this system remains grounded in the embodied foundations of speaking speech. Linguistic rules are not abstract intellectual constructs but are lived, felt, and expressed through the body. Merleau-Ponty (2012) contends that failing to recognize this distinction leads to the common misconception of language as a neutral, disembodied carrier of information. From a phenomenological perspective, the spoken speech encountered in everyday life is an abstraction derived from the richer, more primordial experience of speaking speech. In addition, the broader significance of this distinction lies in its challenge to the Cartesian legacy of mind-body dualism. Modern philosophy has frequently reduced speech to a mechanical process of "thought

translation"—a procedure detached from the speaker's embodied existence. Merleau-Ponty, conversely, demonstrates that speaking speech is always already embodied. Meaning is not a mental message transmitted through a vocal apparatus; it is a real-time creation emergent from the body's interaction with its world.

This dynamic is clearly illustrated by the figure of a politician delivering an impassioned address. The speaker inevitably relies on a vast repertoire of "spoken speech"—the established lexicon of political rhetoric, culturally resonant slogans, and formal grammatical structures that offer a stable and intelligible framework for communication. However, this sedimented language remains a mere abstraction until it is re-activated through the generative act of "speaking speech." As the politician performs the address, their lived body—through the melodic rise and fall of the voice, the strategic use of pauses, and the vitality of gesture—takes these conventional symbols and infuses them with a lived urgency. Speaking speech is thus not opposed to spoken speech as pure creation to mere repetition; it is its temporal deformation, through which inherited language is bent, displaced, and renewed in the present. The power of the speech, therefore, does not reside in the transmission of pre-packaged linguistic codes alone; rather, it emerges from the way the speaker's embodied performance animates the shared norms of language, transforming an abstract message into a resonant, real-time event. Furthermore, this performative power of speech underscores what Merleau-Ponty (1964) calls "indirect language" (*langage indirect*). Meaning is not a transparent message delivered directly from one mind to another through a neutral medium. Instead, it always involves detours, gaps, and margins. In the politician's address, the profound resonance is not found in the explicit definitions of words, but in the silences, the shifts in tone, and the "lateral" movement of the speech act. Meaning is not already there, waiting to be designated; it is something that arises with a certain delay, crystallizing in the very movement of the generative discourse.

Ultimately, Merleau-Ponty invites a reconsideration of language as a living action rooted in the speaker's sensory and emotional engagement with the world. While spoken speech is indispensable for social coordination, it remains a subset of the more primordial act of speaking speech—the embodied event through which meaning is continuously and authentically brought into being.

Meaning as Embodied Action

To further appreciate the implications of Merleau-Ponty's philosophy for language, one must examine his radical redefinition of "meaning" itself. In traditional linguistic and philosophical frameworks—often grouped under the "referential theory of meaning"—it is assumed that the meaning of an expression is determined by its correspondence to a pre-existing object or concept in the external world (exemplified by Locke's (1689/1975) theory of ideas and by early analytic semantics). From this representationalist perspective, words function as labels that point to discrete entities, and meaning is viewed as an external product that can be packaged and transferred between isolated minds through the conduit of language.

Merleau-Ponty (2012) fundamentally challenges this view by situating the root of meaning in the primordial interaction between the body and the environment. Meaning is not a static property of signs; rather, it is an unfolding process embedded in lived experience. It emerges through the act of speech, the rhythm of the voice, and the body's expressive engagement with its surroundings. Just as language is an embodied performance, meaning is co-constituted through the sensory-motor resonance between the

subject and the world. In this sense, language does not simply encode pre-existing thoughts; it is a creative act where the body's affective and physical situation shapes the very significance being articulated.

In my view, this conception of meaning as a dynamic, environmental interaction finds a vivid illustration in Jackson Pollock's "drip painting" technique. In Pollock's work, meaning is not a fixed referent or a representation of an external object; instead, it is generated through the artist's embodied actions. As Pollock moved around the canvas, his bodily movements—dripping, splashing, and pouring paint—were inseparable from the resulting work (Karmel, 1999). The canvas functions not as a passive surface for representation, but as a site of embodied engagement where the artist's body interacts directly with the physical properties of the materials—gravity, fluidity, and space. This interaction creates a continuous flow of meaning that is indexical of the artist's presence. The viewer, in turn, does not merely "read" the painting as a code but engages in a secondary bodily resonance, as the abstract forms evoke a sensory and emotional response tied to the traces of the artist's movement. Pollock's paintings thus exemplify the view that meaning is not an objective transfer of data, but a lived phenomenon mediated through bodily movement and perceptual engagement with the world. Crucially, this process reveals that expression is not solely a capacity possessed by the subject, but a way in which the world itself "speaks." This claim should not be understood metaphorically, as if the world possessed intentions or language of its own, but structurally: the sensible field articulates itself through bodily differentiation and expressive movement. In Pollock's interaction with the materials, the artist's body serves as a circuit through which the sensible world achieves its own articulation. Meaning, therefore, is not a fixed referent that the artist points to; it is an event that emerges indirectly through the detours and margins of the bodily movement, arising only in the unfolding of the performance.

Figure 2: Jackson Pollock, *One: Number 31*, 1950

If we accept that meaning is rooted in the body-environment interaction, it follows that "speaking speech" is not confined to the verbal realm. Various modes of performance—such as poetry, painting, dance, and music—operate according to the same primordial principle of meaning-making. For example,

poetry, when performed, transcends the intellectual arrangement of lexical items; it becomes a manifestation of embodied meaning where the poet's breath, cadence, and physical presence are integral to the expression. Similarly, in dance and music, despite the absence of linguistic signs, meaning is conveyed through the lived rhythms of the body. The dancer's movements and the musician's physical engagement with their instrument function as "living gestures" that transmit meaning beyond the limits of abstract code. These art forms demonstrate that meaning is not separate from the body but arises through the body's interaction with the world. In their performative execution, they reveal that meaning is a dynamic, lived experience shared between the performer, the environment, and the audience—a resonance that constitutes the very foundation of all human communication.

Toward a Theory of Embodied Expression

Building upon the insight that meaning arises from the primordial coupling of the body and its environment—as exemplified by the dynamic engagement of action painting—we can now delineate a more comprehensive "theory of embodied expression," even though it is a mere brief sketch. This theory posits that artistic and ritualistic expressions are not merely the transmission of predefined symbolic codes, but are generative processes of meaning-making that emerge through the lived presence of the body.

(a) Primordial Resonance: Body-World Interaction as the Source of Meaning. The first pillar of this theory is the recognition that meaning is fundamentally grounded in the body's active engagement with the world. As we have seen, the body is not a passive object but the primary subject of perception and action. Consequently, meaning does not precede expression; it is co-constituted in real-time through the body's interaction with its surroundings. This principle, which we identified in the physical traces of Pollock's canvas, extends to all forms of performance. In the case of poetry, for instance, the performative act of recitation is not a mere vocalization of a pre-existing text. Rather, the poem's meaning is continuously reshaped by the speaker's embodied presence—their breath, cadence, rhythm, and tonal modulation. The voice, in a Merleau-Pontian sense, is not a disembodied instrument but a "living gesture" that resonates within a specific spatial and affective landscape. The meaning of the poem thus emerges from a situated encounter between the body, the language, and the environment at that unique moment. Similarly, in dance or music, bodily movements and sounds are not secondary to a hidden meaning; they are the very medium through which the world is sensed and expressed.

(b) Sedimentation and Reactivation: The Vitalization of Cultural Memory. The second pillar concerns the dimension of collective memory and its transmission through embodied practice. Here, the distinction between "spoken speech" and "speaking speech" becomes central to understanding how cultural traditions are preserved and transformed. In this framework, cultural memory—encoded in rituals, chants, and ceremonial forms—functions as a species of "spoken speech." It is a sedimented repository of shared meanings, prayers, and norms that have accumulated over generations. However, as Merleau-Ponty emphasizes, a tradition remains a mere abstraction if it is not periodically re-animated. It is through the "speaking speech" of ritual performance that these sedimented meanings are re-embodied and brought to life. In a ritual, the bodily performance does not simply reproduce a static past. Instead, through the specific gestures, rhythms, and movements of the performers, the community dynamically reorganizes and reshapes its shared history in the present moment. The ritual act becomes a site of "reactivation,"

where the tradition is not only passed down but actively re-imagined. This explains why embodied practices such as communal dance and song are not static representations of culture but vital processes of regeneration. They bind individuals together through an intersubjective, sensory-motor experience, ensuring that collective identity is not a fossilized knowledge but a living action that continues to reshape the world with each repetition.

By situating the body at the heart of this process, the theory of embodied expression reveals that language is more than a human tool—it is a primary mode of the world's self-articulation (Merleau-Ponty, 1964). All forms of communication share a common root in the expressive structure of perception itself. They are all modes of "speaking speech" through which the world, via the medium of the lived body, continuously brings forth its own meaningful dimensions. In this light, to speak or to perform is to participate in the ongoing self-differentiation of the resonant landscape we inhabit.

Conclusion

This article has explored the ontological foundations of language and meaning through the phenomenological lens of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. By challenging the Cartesian legacy and its modern formalization in Shannon's information theory—which conceptualizes language as a disembodied tool for encoding pre-existing thoughts—we have sought to reposition speech as a fundamentally embodied performance. Our investigation has centered on the radical assertion that "speech is a genuine gesture." Meaning does not reside in an abstract referential system that precedes the act of expression; rather, it is co-constituted in real-time through the lived body's engagement with the world. Through the distinction between "spoken speech" and "speaking speech," we have illustrated how the sedimented norms of language are not static codes but frameworks that must be periodically re-animated through the generative act of bodily performance. As demonstrated through the example of Jackson Pollock's action painting, this embodied process of meaning-making transcends the boundaries of verbal discourse. Whether in the cadence of a poem, the rhythm of a ritual dance, or the physical traces of paint on a canvas, the body acts as the primary site where meaning is brought into being. These performances reveal that meaning is not an intellectual object to be transferred, but a dynamic, situated resonance shared between the performer, the audience, and the environment.

While the conclusions presented here remain tentative and exploratory, they point toward a broader "theory of embodied expression" that re-integrates the speaker's physical, emotional, and social presence into the heart of communication. Recognizing language as a living action—rather than a mechanical code—invites us to pay closer attention to the ways in which our bodily existence shapes the world we inhabit and describe. In this light, the study of language becomes inseparable from the study of the lived body, opening new trajectories for understanding the diverse ways in which human life continuously expresses its own meaningful depths.

REFERENCE

Descartes, R. (1984). *Meditations on first philosophy* (J. Cottingham, Trans.). In *The philosophical writings of Descartes* (Volume 2, pp. 1-62). Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1642)

Karmel, P. (1999). *Jackson Pollock: Interviews, articles, and reviews*. Museum of Modern Art.

https://assets.moma.org/documents/moma_catalogue_226_300198614.pdf

Locke, J. (1975). An essay concerning human understanding. Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1689)

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1964). *Signs* (R. C. McCleary, Trans.). Northwestern University Press. (Original work published 1960)

Merleau-Ponty, M. (2012). *Phenomenology of perception* (D. A. Landes, Trans.). Routledge. (Original work published 1945)

Saussure, F. de. (1959). *Course in general linguistics* (W. Baskin, Trans.). Philosophical Library. (Original work published 1916)

Shannon, C. (1948). A mathematical theory of communication. *The Bell System Technical Journal, 27*(3), 379–423.

Tomasello, M. (2008). *Origins of human communication*. MIT Press.

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 29-40

Research Paper

La poésie produisant de la Provence et la parole parlante : la sonorité et l'esprit culturelle provençale[1]

Mina ADACHI *

Abstract

This article analyzes the practices of phonetics, recitation, and collective singing in Provençal poetry through the lens of Merleau-Ponty's bodily epistemology, in order to examine how poetry generates and perpetuates the spirit of a regional culture. In Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, the subject is a "perceiving body," and poetry emerges as the crystallization of a sensory experience. The act of singing the poem allows for a participation in the intentions of poets from the past; by intertwining the present with history, it establishes a continuity of the "life-world." Collective singing, particularly during festivities, weakens the boundaries between the self and others through vocal resonance and rhythm, thereby forming a communal experience. The poets of the Félibrige in the 19th century inscribed the ideal of Latin solidarity at the heart of their verses by utilizing phonological expressions unique to the langue d'oc. This article pays particular attention to Frédéric Mistral's "The Santa Cup" (La Coupo Santo), examining how, through ritual song, this work symbolizes the fraternity between Provence and Catalonia, and how poetry embodies the memory of a historical community. Ultimately, the aim is to demonstrate that poetry is a practice of recreating regional spiritual culture, uniting language, the body, and the community.

Keywords: embodied epistemology, effect of poetry, phonetic, minority language, formation of spiritual culture.

Résumé

Cet article analyse les pratiques de la phonétique, de la récitation et du chant collectif dans la poésie provençale à la lumière de l'épistémologie corporelle de Merleau-Ponty, afin d'examiner comment la poésie génère et pérennise l'esprit d'une culture régionale. Dans la phénoménologie de Merleau-Ponty, le sujet est un « corps percevant », et la poésie y apparaît comme la cristallisation d'une expérience sensorielle. Le comportement de chanter le poème permet une participation aux intentions des poètes du passé ; en faisant s'entrecroiser le présent et l'histoire, il instaure une continuité du « monde de la vie ». Le chant collectif, particulièrement lors des festivités, affaiblit les frontières entre soi et l'autrui par la résonance des voix et le rythme, formant ainsi une expérience communautaire. Les poètes du Félibrige au XIXe siècle ont inscrit l'idéal d'une solidarité latine au cœur de leurs vers en exploitant les expressions phonologiques propres à la langue d'oc. Cet article porte une attention particulière à « La Sainte Coupe » (La Coupo Santo) de Frédéric Mistral, en examinant comment, à travers le chant rituel, cette œuvre symbolise la fraternité entre la Provence et la Catalogne, et comment la poésie incarne la mémoire d'une communauté historique. En dernier lieu, il s'agira de démontrer que la poésie est une pratique de recréation de la culture spirituelle régionale, unissant le langage,

*Institut de Recherche sur la Civilisation, Université Tokaï

[1] Je remercie Professeur Shogo Tanaka pour les compléments et les conseils fructueux liés à la « parole parlante » et à mes études. C'est grâce à ce soutien que mes travaux bénéficient actuellement de l'aide de l'Association des Supporters de Université Tokai. Cet article est une version enrichie de ma communication présentée lors du symposium: Sciences humaines transdisciplinaires.

le corps et la communauté.

Mots clés: épistémologie corporelle, effet de la poésie, phonétique, langue minoritaire, formation de la culture spirituelle.

1. L'importance d'éclairer la poésie à la lumière de l'épistémologie de Merleau-Ponty

Merleau-Ponty affirme que la phénoménologie est une étude des essences de tous les problèmes[2]. Le monde, selon lui, « est cela que nous voyons »[3]. Merleau-Ponty ne situe pas l'essence dans la transcendance du monde, mais dans la facticité. C'est la Chair qui est ancrée dans ce monde, et dans ce contexte, le sujet désigne un sujet perceptif et corporel[4]. La perception signifie une ouverture primordiale au monde, agissant comme le fondement de toute expérience et connaissance ; elle ne dépasse pas l'horizon de notre monde cognitif. La Chair est la gangue de ma perception, le point zéro de l'expérience perceptive. Ce point est la rencontre originelle avec les choses[5], ou toutes les dimensions du monde[6]. Le monde où nous nous trouvons effectivement — le « il y a » — est le monde sensible[7].

Face au sujet pur tel que conçu par Merleau-Ponty, la poésie apparaît comme la manifestation d'un fragment des plis de la chair du monde vivant. On peut dire que la poésie est une cristallisation de l'expérience sensible, où s'entrelacent et se réfléchissent incessamment la « cōgitāta » et le noème, c'est-à-dire le versant objectif de l'intentionnalité chez Husserl, et l'objet idéal, dans un mouvement de chiasme perpétuel[8].

Dans sa Poétique, Aristote affirmait que la poésie exprime « ce qui pourrait arriver selon le possible, la vérité comme essence universelle de ce qui existe »[9]. S'il en est ainsi, la poésie est un acte orienté vers la potentialité. Par le chant et la répétition poétique, elle possède cette propriété de régénérer continuellement cet acte. En particulier, lorsqu'on examine une poésie qui aspire à fixer durablement la culture et de l'esprit d'une communauté locale, la philosophie et la théorie de la cognition de Merleau-Ponty offrent des perspectives d'une importance capitale.

2. La poésie et le monde vivant

L'acte d'écrire de la poésie reflète l'épaisseur de l'histoire et de la société auxquelles appartient le poète. Rendre manifeste la pensée par l'expression de la parole poétique signifie porter une vision sur l'objet visé par l'esprit, et ainsi l'imaginer en tant que pensé. Cet acte n'est pas un repli de la pensée sur l'intériorité,

---

[2] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception*, Gallimard, Collection « Tel » (n. 4), Paris, 1976 [1945], p. i.

[3] Merleau-Ponty, *Le Visible et l'invisible, suivi de notes de travail*, éditeur Claude Lefort, traducteur Morio Nakajima, Yasuo Ito, Tokuo Iwami, Toyotaka Shigeno, Université Hosei, 1994, p. 12.
Cf. Merleau-Ponty, *Le visible et l'invisible*, traducteur Takiura Shizuo et Kida Gen, Misuzu Shobo, Ltd., 1989., Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Le Visible et l'invisible, suivi de notes de travail*, éditeur Claude Lefort, Gallimard, coll. « Tel », Paris, 1979 [1964].

[4] Merleau-Ponty, *Le visible et l'invisible*, 1979 [1964], p.187.

[5] Merleau-Ponty, *Le Visible et l'invisible*, traducteur Morio Nakajima, Yasuo Ito, Tokuo Iwami, Toyotaka Shigeno, 1994, p. 22.

[6] Yuji Tsuburaya, *Perception, Langage et Être: Dialogue avec la philosophie de Merleau-Ponty*, Université Kyusyu, 2014, p. 286.

[7] Merleau-Ponty, *Le Visible et l'invisible,* traducteur Morio Nakajima, Yasuo Ito, Tokuo Iwami, Toyotaka Shigeno, Université Hosei, 1994, p. 350.

[8] Merleau-Ponty, *Le visible et l'invisible*, 1979 [1964], p. 303.

[9] Aristotle, *Poetics* (Peri poietikês), Ch. 9, 1451b, 1-10., Aristotle, *ibidem*, traducteur Fujisawa Norio, Chikuma Shobo, 1968., Aristotle, *ibidem*, traducteur Matumoto Nisuke et Oka Mitio, Iwanami-shoten, 1997., Aristotle, *The poetics of aristotle, with critical notes and a translation*, Macmillan, london, 1907.

mais une manière d'être présent à l'objet visé.

L'acte de chanter la poésie permet à la collectivité qui la partage de se tenir ensemble face à l'objet de cette intentionnalité, sans distance entre soi et l'autre. Par exemple, lorsque je chante aujourd'hui une poésie écrite au XIXe siècle, je participe à l'acte par lequel les poètes du passé se sont rendus présents à leur objet. De plus, par le fait de m'engager, je ramène la pensée vers mon monde contemporain, tout en me dégageant du monde tel que je l'ai perçu à travers la poésie.

C'est par la répétition de cet engagement et de ce dégagement, par cet acte de maintenir le chiasme entre ces deux mondes et par cette itération incessante de la pensée, que l'écart temporel entre le passé et le présent s'amenuise, jusqu'à ce que les deux mondes s'entrelacent et se confondent.

Énoncer la parole poétique est un acte par lequel on éprouve le temps historique et social de l'époque où la poésie fut écrite. Pourtant, ce monde demeure toujours du côté de celui qui parle ; on ne saurait revivre intégralement le monde passé. Néanmoins, dès l'instant où la poésie est vocalisée, une approche vers ce monde révolu s'amorce. Dans le temps du chant et dans celui de sa résonance, la pensée du chanteur (le « je ») est conviée vers le monde visé par la poésie. En tentant de revivre l'histoire — les traces et le souffle de ceux qui nous ont précédés — à travers la poésie, le monde visé par la poésie et mon propre monde s'entrelacent.

L'acte de chanter collectivement est une expérience perceptive. En chantant avec les autres, je perçois instantanément et continuellement l'intensité, la hauteur, la cadence et l'échelle des voix qui m'entourent, et il est attendu que je m'y accorde. Cet acte avec autrui est un acte de collaboration. Il s'accomplit à travers le corps vocal (la Chair), rendant le monde que je vois et celui que l'autre voit infiniment proches. Car, par le corps qui accomplit l'acte de la parole, le soi et l'autre ne cessent de faire s'entrecroiser leurs mondes respectifs dans un chiasme permanent. Ainsi, dans la poésie, le double monde — celui de soi et de l'autre, celui du passé et du présent — s'entrelace comme une trame et une chaîne.

L'acte du chant commun dispose le corps à s'ouvrir à ce double monde.

De plus, la poésie est chantée au rythme des instruments. Ici, la mélodie scande le rythme à même le corps. En ce sens, le chanteur chante de manière subjective, tout en étant, simultanément, « chanté ». Par la mélodie qui s'adresse à la Chair, ou par l'environnement du chant lui-même, le chanteur est invité à chanter. Ce rythme corporel se propage à autrui par l'intermédiaire de la Chair. Cette résonance rythmique fait apparaître les sens et les émotions du corps avant même toute pensée réflexive. Les sons, les vibrations, les balancements — tous ces mouvements rythmés — sont perçus par la Chair, sans distinction entre soi et l'autre. Ces gestes sont partagés et vécus réciproquement à travers la Chair. À cet instant, entre soi, l'autre et les choses, les affects et l'esprit s'enchaînent à partir du champ sensoriel de la vitalité, et l'on éprouve la formation d'une unique « Chair du monde ». Chanter ensemble la poésie est l'acte même de cette épreuve.

Lors des festivals dans le Midi de la France, la poésie se chante en plein air, et non à l'intérieur. Chanter dehors, c'est faire converger une multiplicité de pensées vers un objet unique, entre deux mondes : le monde naturel et le monde historique (ce monde qui garde la trace de tout agir humain). Ces deux mondes sont ceux où nous vivons, ou plutôt, où nous sommes « fait vivre », au passé comme au présent. Entre le monde naturel, qui engendre la « provençalité » (l'idiome culturel), et le monde historique, qui a façonné la société et la culture provençales (y compris sa poésie), la distance entre soi et l'autre s'amenuise.

Une « Chair du monde » dotée d'une intentionnalité commune se constitue. C'est ici que surgit le sens profond de la poésie et de l'acte de la chanter ensemble.

3. La poésie vivante : littérature provençale

Cette étude s'intéresse aux littératures provençales dont les origines remontent au temps des troubadours médiévaux entre la moitié du Xième siècle et le XIIIème siècle. Dante Alighieri qui a loué la contribution des troubadours à la poésie en langue vernaculaire, est le premier poète à écrire en toscan en l'Italie. L'Italie possède aussi une épaisseur historique en matière de littérature, et notamment de poésie. En raison de cette situation, Dante est considéré comme l'un des poètes nationaux italiens par excellence. De ce fait, sa poésie constitue une littérature nationale au sens abstrait, distincte de la société locale qui l'a produite. La littérature provençale, quant à elle, s'est affirmée tout en perpétuant la tradition des troubadours ; elle perdure aujourd'hui comme littérature régionale, ou plutôt, elle n'a jamais existé comme littérature nationale française. Elle a également influencé la poésie catalane de la région voisine. L'étude de la poésie du XIX^{e} siècle, période de renaissance de la littérature provençale - vivante et nourrie par son histoire et sa société, et rayonnant d'une énergie littéraire - permettra de saisir l'esprit vécu de la société provençale.

Le Félibrige est le mouvement régionaliste provençal organisé au XIX^{e} siècle, dont les membres développaient leurs idées par la poésie afin de contribuer à la renaissance de la littérature et de la langue provençales. Pourquoi le Félibrige manifestait-il toujours ses idées par la poésie ? Ses représentant étaient-ils fermement attachés à la langue provençale ? Qu'est-ce qui fait ressentir l'âme ou l'esprit provençal dans l'expression poétique ?

Premièrement, nous commencerons par examiner la poésie de Marius Bourrelly (1820-1896) membre éminent du Majoral du Félibrige de 1876 à 1896. Poète et dramaturge d'Aix-en-Provence, il rencontre un grand succès auprès de ses contemporains provençaux. La poésie suivante commémore le concours officiel du Félibrige en 1876. Le concours réunissait les membres du Félibrige ainsi que les habitants du Midi, dont la plupart étaient des agriculteurs et des ouvriers locaux capables de parler et de comprendre le provençal. Ils adhéraient aux principes du Félibrige ou, du moins, ne les regardaient pas avec mépris. Bourrelly lut la poésie suivante aux participants, espérant diffuser l'âme vivante de la Provence.

	Traduction française provisoire (auteur)
Se lei raço latino, antan, èron unido,	Si les races latines, jadis, étaient unies,
Fau que, lei rejougnent, li dounen mai de vido;	Il faut que, les rejoignant, nous leur donnions plus de vie ;
La forço es dins l'unien, e li a ni mar, ni mount	La force est dans l'union, et il n'y a ni mer, ni mont
Que pouscon aplanta l'idèio, quand se founde	Qui puissent arrêter l'idée, quand elle se fonde
Dins la testo dei pople, e va de mounde en mounde	Dans la tête des peuples, et va de monde en monde
Desempièi lou trelus en jusque lou tremount[10]	Depuis l'aurore jusqu'au couchant.

[10] M. Bourrelly, Poesia provenzal con motive del certamen de 1876.
(en japonais) かつてラテン諸民族が連合していたのであれば／我々も彼らに合流し、より多くの生命を吹き込まねばならない。／力は連盟の中にあり、いかなる山も海も／人々の結びつきを阻むことはない／思想の敷衍を止めることはできない／一度、思想が築かれれば、／人々の頭のなかに、世界から世界へ、／曙から日の入りまで〔広がっていく〕

Ce passage exprime l'espoir et un appel à l'union, à l'instar des anciennes nations latines, et à inspirer la pensée latine dans le cœur de ceux qui l'entendent. L'appel final de la poésie emploie des mots propres au provençal. Les nuances uniques du provençal, que le français ne peut remplacer, touchent profondément les Provençaux. Deux mots de la dernière strophe méritent une attention particulière.

Le premier est « trelus ». Il signifie « la première lueur perçant l'obscurité »[11]. Son étymologie vient du latin « tre- », qui signifie « traverser » ou « pénétrer », et « lus », qui signifie « lumière ». Son équivalent français est « aube ». Même phonétiquement, « aube » évoque l'image de l'aube, lorsque le soleil se lève lentement et que la lumière s'intensifie. À l'inverse, « trelus » évoque une image dynamique, celle de la lumière qui jaillit dans l'air pur du matin. Dans le contexte de cette poésie, le terme « trelus » (tremont) compare le lien renouvelé qui rompt une longue période de division, où les liens d'union avaient été oubliés, à la « lumière », et semble exprimer un désir de renaissance du peuple latin.

Le deuxième est « tremount ». Il signifie « le soleil se couchant derrière les montagnes escarpées de la région méditerranéenne, une lumière qui disparaît au-delà d'une frontière »[12]. Son étymologie vient du latin « tramontare », qui signifie « aller au-delà des montagnes ». L'image qui se dégage est celle d'une scène en trois dimensions d'un voyage à travers les Pyrénées ou les Alpes. En français, cela correspond à « couchant ». Cependant, en français, cela évoque simplement l'image du lever et du coucher du soleil. En revanche, écrire « trelus » et « tremount » évoque 'une série de lumières pénétrant les montagnes ondulantes, et cela rappelle à l'âme d'un peuple dont la langue maternelle est le provençal l'image vivante d'une communauté unie par un simple éclat de latin.

Par cette parole, comme le souligne Merleau-Ponty, sans distinction entre soi-même et autrui, le schéma corporel dynamique des participants - davantage attachés au provençal lors du concours de poésie - produit un sens latin et spirituel dans le monde que renferme une poésie. Le mot provençal « vido », équivalent du mot français « vie » exprime une force quasi latine, ce discours poétique amplifie les énergies vibrantes. À travers cette parole de la poésie provençale, qui évoque l'idée d'unité latine, les peuples provençaux du XIX^{e} siècle forment un monde reposant sur une expression propre à cette l'histoire et la société régionale.

4. « La Sainte Coupe » de Mistral (1867)

Nous allons examiner une poésie qui constitue un pivot de l'esprit provençal, chantée du XIX^{e} siècle à nos jours. « La Coupo Santo » (« La Sainte Coupe »). Ce poème a été écrit par Frédéric Mistral (1830-1914) et publié en 1868 dans l'Armana prouvençau, le journal officiel du Félibrige. La coupe d'argent à laquelle il fait référence fut offerte au Félibrige par Victor Balaguer (1824-1901), poète et homme politique catalan, en témoignage de gratitude et d'amitié pour l'accueil que les félibres lui avaient réservé durant son exil. La poignée de cette coupe représente une personnification de la Provence et de la Catalogne, symbolisant leur fraternité et leur reconnaissance mutuelle. Lors de la cérémonie de remise de la coupe, en août 1867, le chant de « La Coupo Santo » suscita une vive émotion et captiva l'assemblée. Tandis que la coupe, remplie de vin rouge, circulait de main en main, « un enthousiasme sacré gagnait les cœurs et le chant nouveau s'élevait dans le paradis du dieu ». À cet instant, ce geste par lequel les convives se transmettent

[11] Frédéric Mistral, *Lou trésor dóu Felibrige; ou, Dictionnaire provençal-français, embrassant les divers dialectes de la langue d'oc moderne*, librairie Roumanille, Avignon, vol. 2, 1879, p. 1036.
[12] Frédéric Mistral, *Ibidem*, p. 1037.

la coupe sacrée devient un moyen d'échanger des paroles incarnées ; les participants ne font alors plus qu'un, comme dans une forme de rituel. Depuis, cette poésie est devenue un hymne à l'amitié internationale entre la Catalogne et la Provence. Je me rends chaque été aux Fêtes du Mistral, à Maillane, berceau de cette poésie, où elle est chantée avec ferveur et enthousiasme.　Elle constitue l'un des textes au programme des examens finaux du diplôme d'occitan à l'Université de Montpellier.

	Traduction française provisoire (auteur)
Prouvençau, veici la Coupo	Provençaux, voici la coupe
Que nous vèn di Catalan	Qui nous vient des Catalans.
A-de-rèng beguen en troupo	Tour à tour buvons ensemble
Lou vin pur de nostre plan	Le vin pur de notre cru.
Coupo Santo	Coupe sainte
E versanto	Et débordante
Vuejo à plen bord,	Verse à pleins bords,
Vuejo abord	Verse à flots
Lis estrambord	Les enthousiasmes
E l'enavans di fort!	Et l'énergie des forts!
D'un vièi pople fièr e libre	D'un ancien peuple fier et libre
Sian bessai la finicioun;	Nous sommes peut-être la fin ;
E, se toumbon li felibre,	Et, si tombent les félibres,
Toumbara nosto nacioun[13]	Tombera notre nation.

La première strophe décrit une scène de boisson festive où l'on partage un élan de régionalisme et où l'on ravive le moral entre Provençaux et Catalans. Cette poésie constitue ainsi un témoignage d'amitié internationale.

	Traduction française provisoire (auteur)
D'uno raço que regreio	D'une race qui regerme
Sian bessai li proumié gréu;	Peut-être sommes-nous les premiers jets ;
Sian bessai de la patrìo	De la patrie, peut-être, nous sommes
Li cepoun emai li priéu.	Les piliers et les chefs.
Vuejo-nous lis esperanço	Verse-nous les espérances

[13] Frédéric Mistral, "La cansoun de la coupo", *Armana prouvençau pèr lou bèl an de Diéu et dou bissèst*, librairie Roumanille, Avignon, 1868, pp. 15-18.
(en japonais) プロヴァンスの皆さん、盃がここに／カタルーニャから我らの元に／代わる代わる　飲みましょう／我が土地の清らかな極上のワインを／【コーラス】／聖なる盃よ／溢れんばかりに／なみなみと／とめどなく注げ／強き者たちの熱狂を／エネルギーを！／誇り高く自由な　古の民の／我々は　命尽きんとす／フェリーブルが没すれば／我が同郷人も　果てゆくだろう

E li raive dóu jouvènt,
Dóu passat la remembranço,
E la fe dins l'an que vèn,

Et les rêves de la jeunesse,
Le souvenir du passé
Et la foi dans l'an qui vient.

Vuejo-nous la couneissènço
Dóu Verai emai dóu Bèu,
E lis àuti jouïssènço
Que se trufon dóu toumbèu.[14]

Verse-nous la connaissance
Du Vrai comme du Beau,
Et les hautes jouissances
Qui se rient de la tombe.

Le vers mentionné ci-dessus suggère que la Provence et la Catalogne ne formaient à l'origine qu'un seul peuple, et que le vin vient resserrer ce lien sacré. La strophe cherche ainsi à exprimer une réflexion sur le rapport entre la vie et la mort. La connaissance, le vrai et le beau, ainsi que les plus hautes jouissances de l'esprit, portent une vérité de vie qui ne redoute pas la mort. Autrement dit, la parole poétique fait naître une communauté historique enracinée dans la tradition et capable de dépasser la mort individuelle. Cette idée semble évoquer une forme de « fil d'Ariane » conduisant vers le paradis dans la perspective du christianisme, auquel adhéraient la plupart des membres du Félibrige. Dans la pensée chrétienne, comme le rappelle la formule « le salaire du péché, c'est la mort », la mort représente une menace pour l'homme : celui-ci sera jugé selon ses bonnes actions et ses péchés lors du Jugement dernier, qui scellera son destin éternel. Cependant, ce verset rappelle aussi le pouvoir d'évocation de la poésie. Il évoque une inspiration presque sacrée, qui fait penser à la croyance dans les Muses de la mythologie grecque, plutôt qu'à l'intervention de l'archange Saint Michel.

Traduction française provisoire (auteur)

Vuejo-nous la Pouësìo
Pèr canta tout ço que viéu,
Car es elo l'ambrousìo,
Que tremudo l'ome en diéu

Verse-nous la Poésie
Pour chanter tout ce qui vit,
Car c'est elle l'ambroisie
Qui transforme l'homme en Dieu.

Pèr la glòri dóu terraire
Vautre enfin que sias counsènt.
Catalan, de liuen, o fraire,
Coumunien tóutis ensèn! [15]

Pour la gloire du pays
Vous enfin qui êtes consentants nos alliés,
Catalans, de loin, oh frères,
Tous ensemble communions !

[14] (en japonais) 同じ根から生まれた／我々は　最初の若芽かも／祖邦（そこく）の　我々は／幹であり　頂芽かも／注ぎたまえ／我らに希望を／若者の夢を／過去の思ひ出を／来たる年への信念を／注ぎたまえ／我らに知恵を／美と同じく真理を／崇高な慶びを／死を笑い飛ばすほどの

[15] (en japonais) 注ぎたまえ／我らに詩を／生きるところのすべてを歌うため／詩こそが　アムブロシア／人を神へと変えるもの／我が大地の栄光のために／ついに　我が盟友と認めた／カタルーニャの皆さん、古の兄弟よ／ともに集いましょう！

N.B. Concernant le couplet « Vous enfin qui êtes consentants nos alliés », bien que la traduction de Mistral privilégie la forme poétique et la phonétique (« Vous enfin nos complices »), nous avons opté ici pour une traduction littérale du provençal afin de faciliter la comparaison entre les deux langues.

Les deux dernières strophes évoquent l'esprit de la mythologie grecque préchrétien. L'ambroisie est un fruit qui était la nourriture des dieux de l'Olympe et représente l'élixir d'immortalité. Autrement dit, la poésie est une preuve de vie, et tant que la poésie perdure, la spiritualité du poète et celle de son peuple demeurent éternelle. L'esprit du polythéisme s'exprime ainsi avec force à travers cette image de l'ambroisie. Il se rattache à la vision du monde gréco-romaine antique, qui concevait le divin au-delà de la vertu humaine. Dans cette vision, les dieux étaient un prolongement de l'homme,, conception qui rejoint en partie l'héritage de l'humanisme. De plus, l'affirmation selon laquelle la poésie est une preuve de vie est aussi liée à la notion de « parole » de Merleau-Ponty.

Compte tenu du contexte, du contenu du poème et de la terminaison verbale, il apparaît que ce mot signifie avant tout « l'unification ». Toutefois, pour un lecteur qui ignorerait ces circonstances, il peut revêtir un double sens. Le mot « communions » correspond à la première personne du pluriel du présent de l'indicatif du verbe « communier », employé ici comme verbe intransitif. Dans ce cas, il peut être interprété, dans le contexte de la foi chrétienne, comme l'idée de « communier ensemble ». En l'absence de complément d'objet, le sens demeure cependant relativement indéterminé. Par ailleurs, si l'on se réfère à l'étymologie du mot, proche du latin commūnicō, le sens de « s'unir » ou « partager » tend à s'imposer. L'expression poétique privilégie ainsi la sonorité et la sensibilité, et possède des propriétés qui dépassent les explications strictement grammaticales. C'est précisément parce qu'il s'agit d'une expression poétique que des écarts apparaissent entre le texte original et sa traduction, ce qui contribue à renforcer la dualité de sens. Dans la poésie, les sociétés de Provence et de Catalogne se lient horizontalement par-delà les frontières, révélant l'éveil d'une conscience régionale commune. On y voit surgir « l'espace vécu », tel que défini par Merleau-Ponty. La poésie fusionne les visées de la pensée. Conjuguée à l'intonation et à la phonologie à la fois brillantes et puissantes du provençal, au ton et à l'expression vifs et énergiques de la voix chantée, et aux gestes physiques de contact propres à la culture latine provençale, comme passer le bras autour de l'épaule de quelqu'un, les frontières entre les personnes s'estompent littéralement, et ceux qui chantent ensemble ne font plus qu'un, unis dans la solidarité. C'est là que la fonction des mots prononcés et l'importance de la physicalité deviennent évidentes. En prononçant les terminaisons o, u et e, la voix est projetée avec puissance ; en ouvrant grand la bouche, le chant est empreint d'une impression d'ouverture. Et en chantant les bras autour des épaules, en se regardant et en écoutant leurs voix, naît spontanément un puissant et chaleureux sentiment de solidarité. Si la poésie peut parfois être récitée, « La Sainte Coupe » est chantée avec ferveur par la foule, et en ce sens, la différence entre « chanter » et « réciter » devient perceptible.

5. La poésie provençale et l'« esprit latin »

Pour conclure cet essai sur la « culture sonore et spirituelle » de la poésie provençale, j'aimerais aborder les perspectives linguistiques et culturelles du concept de « latin », en m'appuyant sur mon propre domaine d'expertise.

En 1877, Alphonse Roque-Ferrier (1844-1907) publiait un article intitulé « De l'idée latine dans quelques poésies en langue d'oc en espagnol et en catalan » dans la *Revue des langues romanes*, journal de la Société pour l'étude des langues romanes[16]. Roque-Ferrier soutenait que les chants latins exprimaient

[16] Alphonse Roque-Ferrier, "De l'idée latine dans quelques poésies en langue d'oc en Espagnol et en Catalan", extrait de la

les liens forgés dans la pensée catalane et provençale (pensée), liens dont l'ampleur pouvait être comparée à celle de l'ancienne et vaste région latine. Ce lien avait le pouvoir de toucher les cœurs et de conduire à l'établissement d'une « fédération future ».

L'association fut fondée à Montpellier en 1869, mais son journal était publié à Paris et rédigé en français. Pourtant, la poésie provençale n'y fut jamais citée avec une traduction française. De fait, nombre d'œuvres de poètes provençaux n'ont pas été traduites en français (Mistral étant l'exception). Roque-Ferrier limitait également son analyse de la spiritualité latine aux locuteurs de langues facilement compréhensibles en provençal. Il est important ici de s'interroger sur le sens de l'expression « en espagnol » dans le titre de son article. On peut en déduire que les communautés unies par le « latin » incluent l'Espagne, les pays occitans et la Catalogne. Toutefois, Roque-Ferrier ne s'intéressait pas tant au cadre national espagnol qu'à la mise en valeur du concept de latinité comme lien culturel entre les locuteurs des langues romanes présents en Espagne, dans le but de favoriser leur compréhension mutuelle. Néanmoins, comme mentionné précédemment, la poésie y est décrite comme la réalisation d'une « future fédération » ; il est donc probable qu'il espérait susciter une conscience politique et culturelle chez ceux qui en porteraient la responsabilité.

Je conclurai ici mon analyse de « Lei Mouro » (1875), un drame en trois actes écrit en provençal par le poète aixois Jean-Baptiste Gaut (1819-1892), cité dans l'essai de Alphonse Roque-Ferrier. Ce dernier souligne que la pièce s'inspire fidèlement du concept latin, conçu par Gaut lui-même, et qu'elle l'intègre dans ses anecdotes. La poésie dramatique provençale, créée à Forcalquier, s'adressait principalement aux paysans et aux ouvriers locaux. Cependant, la conception latine était un thème récurrent dans les œuvres des régionalistes, notamment Roque-Ferrier, des années 1870 aux années 1900. Située en 980, la pièce relate les batailles héroïques du comte de Provence, du roi de France au nord, du roi d'Aragon à l'est et à l'ouest, et du comte d'Italie, chacun menant ses vassaux respectifs pour repousser les Maures musulmans à l'extrémité sud de la Provence.

Dans l'acte final, ces chefs chrétiens croisent le fer en signe de victoire et scellent une alliance. Ils se jurent mutuellement que cette alliance sera perpétuelle et que le monde entier la verra et l'entendra.

	Traduction française provisoire (auteur)
Vuei la Prouvènço emé la Franço	Aujourd'hui la Provence et la France
Pachon uno eterno alianço.	Pactise une éternelle alliance.
Sanche d'Aragoun, iéu te diéu	Sanche d'Aragon, moi je te dis
Que li aura plus de Pirenéu ;	Qu'il y eu plus des Pyrénées ;
Sèmpre, Jaufret de Ventimiho,	toujour, Geoffroy de Vintimille
Nouesto Prouvènço e l'Italio	〔, Raymond Geoffroy de Fos〕,
Saran souerre.	Notre Provence et Italie seront sœurs.
Pople latin, Luse à peno voueste matin,	Peuple latin, il luit à peine votre matin
Mai me sènti meravihado,	Mais je me sentis émerveillé

Revue des langues romaines, Paris, 1877, p. 5, 7p.

Prevesènt vouesto escandihado.[17]	Prévoyant votre Échappée〔éclat〕de soleil

La Provence et la Catalogne partagent une histoire commune, et la Provence et l'Italie partagent un fondement catholique commun. Les « peuples latins », englobant ces trois nations, ont profité de cette victoire pour établir une alliance solide à travers la région méditerranéenne.

J'aimerais attirer votre attention sur un mot propre au provençal : « escandihado », au dernier vers. Ce mot désigne le moment où le soleil perce les nuages, projetant un rayon de lumière brûlante, plus éclatant que d'ordinaire[18]. Bien qu'il n'existe pas d'équivalent français, on pourrait le traduire par « Échappée de soleil », signifiant « la splendeur du soleil ». Compte tenu du titre, ce mot fait référence à la lumière de Jésus-Christ. Cela ressort clairement de l'apparition du Seigneur Jésus-Christ et de la Vierge Marie dans la section suivante. Cependant, considérant l'autre thème sous-jacent, un concept latin, il fait également référence à la gloire future du peuple latin. Ce double sens est un jeu de mots avec le mot provençal « escandihado ». Ce mot est probablement utilisé par les Provençaux, amoureux du soleil, pour reconnaître la lumière divine perçant les nuages et la partager avec un proche. En confiant leurs espoirs à ce beau mot, la chanson exprime leurs émotions et leurs attentes courageuses et dynamiques, tandis qu'ils s'efforcent de faire jaillir un rayon de lumière sur la Provence.

Voyons maintenant le passage suivant de la poésie citée :

	Traduction française provisoire (auteur)
Pèr la Vièrgi n'en fau proumesso,	Pour la Vierge j'en fais promesse,
Viéuren, mourren en s'embrassant.	Nous vivrons, nous mourrons en nous embrassant.
Au noum dóu Crist, au noum dei Sant,	Au nom du Christ, au nom des Saints,
Toujour, per apara ta testo,	Toujours, pour protéger ta tête,
Prouvènço, aurai l'espaso lèsto.	Provence, j'aurai l'épée prête,
Pople latin, tóutei juren	Peuple latin, tous jurons
Que de longo s'ajudaren.	Que sans cesse nous nous aiderons.
'Mé lei vouestro crousant ma lamo,	Avec les vos croisant ma lame,
Jùri pèr Diéu e Nouesto-Damo	Je jure pour Dieu et Notre-Dame
Que nouesto pacho se tendra,	Que notre pacte se tiendra,
E que lou mounde l'entendra.	Et que le monde l'entendra.
(Tiron tóutei leis espaso e lei crouson.)	(Ils tirent tous les épées et les croient.)
Vitori, nous a ri ta facho !	Victoire, nœud a ri ta fait !
Mouro dóu Miejour o dóu Nord,	Maure(More) du Midi ou du Nord,
Lei fraire latin an fa pacho[19]	Les frères latins ont fait pacte.

[17] Jean-Baptiste Gaut, *Lei mouro : dramo en très ate e en vers*, Remondet-Aubin, Ais-en-Prouvènço, 1875.
(en japonais) 今日、プロヴァンスとフランスは／永遠なる盟約を結ぶ。／サンチョ・ダラゴンよ、君に言おう、／ピレネー山脈を超えていた。／ジョフロワ・ド・ヴァンティミーユよ、／我らがプロヴァンスとイタリアは／姉妹となるだろう。／ラテンの民よ、／心痛に、光り輝く、あなた方の朝は、今はまだかすかに輝いているに過ぎない。／しかし、私は驚きに満たされている、／あなた方〔将来の〕の燦然と輝く太陽の煌めきを予見して。

[18] Frédéric Mistral, *Lou trésor dóu Felibrige*, vol. 1, 1878, p. 980.

[19] (en japonais) 聖母マリアを目前に、私は誓おう。／我らは生き、抱き合いながら死ぬことを。／キリストの名において、諸聖人の名において、／汝の頭を常に守るため、／プロヴァンスよ、私は剣を構え続けよう。／ラテン

Ce passage montre que l'esprit chrétien résonnait avec l'esprit latin et qu'ils étaient unis dans un engagement envers Dieu et Marie. Les deux derniers vers appellent les Maures à l'unité du peuple latin. Dans la poésie de Go, les liens religieux traditionnels du christianisme, enracinés dans la vie rurale, sont liés aux liens du peuple latin. Le concept de « latin » ne se réduit pas à une seule signification stéréotypée, et certains soutiennent que l'esprit chrétien ne devrait pas interférer avec ce concept. Cependant, la portée du concept de « latin » partage l'objectif d'une fédération de la région méditerranéenne méridionale.

La poésie dramatique se conclut ainsi : « Car, la France, la Espagne, l'Italie et la Provence, qu'une famille ! »

Gaut envisageait une unification très simple des trois régions et nations méditerranéennes, et il fit des lieux de culte des habitants, au cœur des villes, les endroits où ce concept latin pouvait se manifester. Les membres du Félibrige étaient quant à eux tournés vers l'alliance des idées latines, cherchant à partager et à nourrir leurs conceptions naissantes avec d'autres communautés.

La poésie naît de « l'espace vécu », cet espace familier que chaque individu expérimente au quotidien dans des situations spatiales précises. Le désir des membres du Félibrige de transmettre les traditions et les particularités culturelles de la communauté provençale ne peut s'exprimer qu'à travers la langue de leur propre société.

C'est la poésie qui permet d'exprimer de la manière la plus directe cette parole vivante, intimement liée à l'espace qu'elle occupe. Lire une telle poésie revient à s'affirmer au sein de l'espace qui l'a engendrée : leur propre pays. L'acte de chanter ensemble possède cette faculté de constituer le contenu de la poésie là où les gens se rassemblent, créant et partageant ainsi un monde commun. Dans le chant collectif, on inspire et on expire ensemble ; lorsque les corps entrent en résonance, le volume des voix et la conscience résonnent à l'unisson, à l'image des pleurs d'un nouveau-né qui se propagent à autrui.

Si le concept de l'« idée latine » qu'ils manifestaient à travers leurs vers s'est diffusé dans les régions latines au XIXème siècle, c'est sans aucun doute parce qu'ils n'ont cessé de le porter par la poésie -cette forme écrite où la parole parlante s'exprime le mieux, chantant les émotions et créant un monde au plus profond de l'âme des hommes.

REFERENCE

Aristotle, *Poetics* (Peri poietikês), Ch. 9, 1451b, 1-10.

Aristotle, *The poetics of aristotle*, with critical notes and a translation, Macmillan, london, 1907.

Aristotle, Poetics, traducteur Fujisawa Norio, Chikuma Shobo, 1968.

Aristotle, Poetics, traducteur Matumoto Nisuke et Oka Mitio, Iwanami-shoten, 1997.

Bourrelly, M, Poesia provenzal con motive del certamen de 1876, dans Roque-Ferrier, Alphonse, "De l'idée latine dans quelques poésies en langue. d'oc en Espagnol et en Catalan".

Gaut, Jean-Baptiste, *Lei mouro : dramo en très ate e en vers*, Remondet-Aubin, Ais-en-Prouvènço, 1875.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, *Phénoménologie de la perception*, Gallimard, Collection « Tel » (n. 4), Paris, 1976 [1945].

の民よ、皆で誓い合おう、／絶えることなく、互いに助け合うことを。／諸君の剣に我が刃を交え、／神と主の母マリアにかけて誓おう。／我らの結盟は維持され、／世界がそれを耳にすることを。／（一同、剣を抜き、それらを交差させる）／勝利、固い絆で結束された！／南あるいは北のムーア人よ、／ラテンの兄弟たちは、ここに盟約を結んだのだ。

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, *Le Visible et l'invisible, suivi de notes de travail*, éditeur Claude Lefort, Gallimard, Collection « Tel » (n. 36), Paris, 1979 [1964].

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, *Le Visible et l'invisible, suivi de notes de travail*, éditeur Claude Lefort, traducteur Morio Nakajima, Yasuo Ito, Tokuo Iwami, Toyotaka Shigeno, Université Hosei, 1994.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, *Le visible et l'invisible*, *suivi de notes de travail*, traducteur Takiura Shizuo et Kida. Gen, Misuzu Shobo, Ltd., 1989.

Mistral, Frédéric, *Lou trésor dóu Felibrige; ou, Dictionnaire provençal-français, embrassant les divers dialectes de la langue d'oc moderne*, librairie Roumanille, Avignon, vol. 1, 1878.

Mistral, Frédéric, *Lou trésor dóu Felibrige; ou, Dictionnaire provençal-français, embrassant les divers dialectes de la langue d'oc moderne*, librairie Roumanille, Avignon, vol. 2, 1879.

Mistral, Frédéric, "La cansoun de la coupo", *Armana prouvençau pèr lou bèl. an de Diéu et dou bissèst*, librairie Roumanille, Avignon, 1868.

Roque-Ferrier, Alphonse, "De l'idée latine dans quelques poésies en langue. d'oc en Espagnol et en Catalan", extrait de la *Revue des langues romaines*, Paris, 1877.

Tsuburaya, Yuji, *Perception, Langage et Être: Dialogue avec la philosophie de. Merleau-Ponty*, Université Kyusyu, 2014.

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 41-52

Research Paper

Perception of Nature in the Renaissance from the Perspective of Embodied Knowledge: Focusing on Leonardo da Vinci's Work

Tomoko NAKAMURA[*1], Sei WATANABE[*2] and Yoichi HIRANO[*3]

Abstract

This paper focuses on Renaissance artists' perception of nature and examines the characteristics and historical significance of their knowledge as a form of scientific intellect, particularly incorporating the perspective of embodied knowledge, centering on the work of Leonardo da Vinci. In addition, it raises questions regarding the necessity of revisiting the knowledge of Renaissance artists—particularly in the modern era—from the perspectives of the history of science and civilization studies.

Chapter 1 begins by examining examples of Renaissance artists' perceptions and representations of nature, and then puts geometry (and linear perspective based on it), which has existed since antiquity, as a condition for elevating artists' perception of nature to scientific knowledge. Chapter 2 focuses on Leonardo da Vinci, who held geometry in high regard and viewed painting as a science, and examines his perception of nature and scientific methodology—concretely, geometry and linear perspective, as well as observation and analogy. In Chapter 3, building upon the discussions so far, we reconsider the characteristics of Leonardo's "science of painting." When we examine the characteristics of his intellect as a form of scientific knowledge, it becomes clear that it exists at the border between theoretical knowledge and embodied knowledge, and can be considered a kind of representational knowledge that is a fusion of theoretical and embodied knowledge.

Chapter 4 points out that the knowledge of Renaissance artists, symbolized by Leonardo da Vinci's work, has a different meaning from the modern model of human knowledge that began to take shape in earnest after the 17th century, and discusses the significant on civilization studies paying renewed attention to it, especially in the present day. Finally, In Chapter 5, it can be revealed that the forms of knowledge in the Renaissance, while implicit including elements characteristic of modern scientific knowledge—such as formality, generality and objectivity—strongly reflect the synchronic elements that could be considered to be more fundamental to human knowledge. Re-examining Renaissance knowledge from this perspective is likely to raise further points for discussion in the future.

Keywords: Renaissance, Leonardo da Vinci, the science of painting, representational knowledge, human knowledge and civilization

1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background: Renaissance Artists' Perception of Nature

Renaissance artists are well-known to have widely pursued an interest in nature. For most people, the first thing that comes to mind is the work of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), whose thousands of manuscripts

[*1] Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University
[*2] Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University
[*3] Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University

vividly document the process of his extremely wide-ranging scientific research.

However, other examples include Sandro Botticelli (1445–1510), who is known for his elegant humanistic style and accurately depicted more than 100 species of plants in one of his masterpieces, *Spring* (c. 1480), probably using herbarium specimens[1]. In the same period, painters of the Danube School (*Donauschule*) in Germany, represented by Albrecht Altdorfer (1482–1538)[2], produced detailed depictions of nature and are considered to be the forerunners of modern landscape painting. Furthermore, the master Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) meticulously depicted familiar plants and creatures such as grasses and hares using his keen observational eye[3].

These examples suggest that many artists of that period turned their gaze to the outside world and produced diverse, lively expressions based on their perceptions of nature. Here, we see an element of "scientific interest" in the observation of nature, revealing a significant difference from medieval art, which was highly decorative and showed little interest in nature.

However, Renaissance artists' understanding and representation of nature were not universally considered "scientific." That is, many artists' perception of nature was ultimately subordinate to their intended artistic expression, and their ultimate goal lay in the completion of each work. Meanwhile, to elevate the perception of nature to a science or a form of knowledge, one must subject insights yielded through individual, concrete observations and perceptions to processes such as objectification, abstraction, and formalization based on some theoretical foundation. In fact, among the artists active during the Renaissance were first-rate creators who simultaneously devoted themselves enthusiastically to mathematical or scientific theoretical research. This raises a question about the sort of knowledge that provided them with their theoretical foundations.

1.2. Raising Issues: What Are the Requirements for Scientific Knowledge by Artists?

The surviving writings on Renaissance art theory show that the mathematics (geometry) of classical antiquity, which was then reviving in Europe, primarily fulfilled this role. For example, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), arguably the greatest humanist of the early Renaissance, wrote the following in the preface to the Italian edition of his treatise *On Painting* (*De Pictura*/*Della Pittura*, 1435/36), addressed to the sculptor and architect Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446):

> I shall be glad if you will look over this little work of mine, *De Pictura*, which I did into Tuscan for you. You will see that there are three books. The first, which is entirely mathematical, shows how this noble and beautiful art arises from roots within Nature herself. The second puts the art into the hands of artist, distinguishes its parts and explains them all. The third instructs the artist how he may and should attain complete mastery and understanding of the art of painting. [Alberti (1436/1991), p. 35]

This shows that Alberti was acutely conscious of the Euclidean style of argumentation when writing

[1] According to the Uffizi Gallery's official website, at least 138 species of plants have been identified so far. Cf. https://www.uffizi.it/en/artworks/botticelli-spring (accessed March 17, 2026)

[2] His representative works include, for example, *The Danube Valley with Wörth Castle* (c.1520/25) and *The Battle of Alexander at Issus* (1529). These works are in the collection of Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

[3] Dürer produced numerous sketches and watercolors depicting nature. Among his most famous works are *Hare* (1502), *The large Piece of Turf* (1503), and *Wing of a Blue Roller* (1512). These works are in the collection of Albertina, Vienna.

his treatise on painting theory.

Moreover, Dürer, in the dedication to his first theoretical work, *Instructions for Measuring with Compass and Ruler* (*Underweysung der Messung mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt,* 1525), declared to all young Germans aspiring to the fine arts that painting theory constitutes the true foundation of all painting and that learning it is the path to true and greater intellect [Dürer (1525/2000), p.15]. In addition, Luca Pacioli (c. 1447–1517), a mathematician and friend of Leonardo, asserted in the preface to his treatise on *Divine Proportion* (*Divina Proportione*, 1498/1509) that mathematics is the most sacred of disciplines, bringing joy to all who study the "mathematical arts" such as painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and philosophy [Pacioli (1509/1889), p.164].

The above examples reveal the artists' strong admiration for and trust in mathematics (particularly geometry), which originated in ancient Greece. We can also see that they regarded geometry as the foundation of academic knowledge, including the visual arts, and because it has this theoretical foundation, painters held the linear perspective technique in high regard.

This study positions geometry (specifically, linear perspective) as the primary premise for Renaissance artists' understanding of nature and examines Leonardo da Vinci's approach to understanding nature. The study of geometry and perspective is widely known to have flourished during the Renaissance, but in Leonardo's case, painting was regarded not only as an art but also as a form of knowledge—namely, "the science of painting" (*la scienza della pittura*). Leonardo's "science of painting" was believed to be based on his experiential knowledge as well as knowledge gained from the classics. By incorporating the perspective of embodied knowledge, this study clarifies the significance and characteristics of Leonardo's "science of painting" as a form of knowledge.

2. Leonardo da Vinci's Perception of Nature: As a Model of Scientific Knowledge in the Renaissance

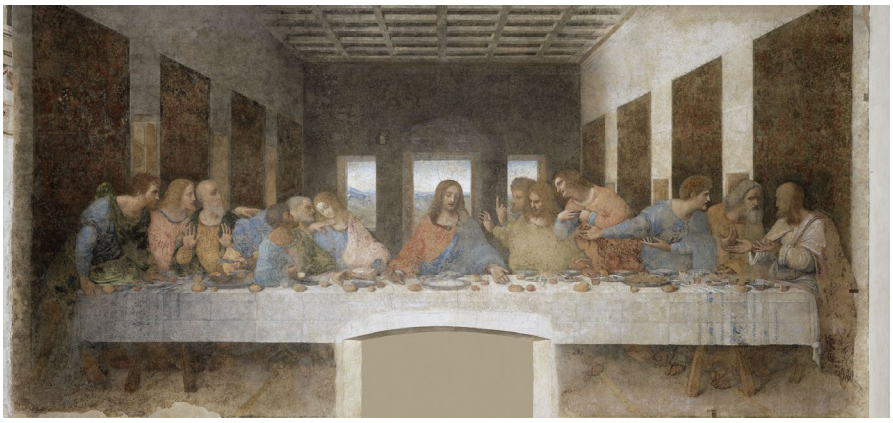
2.1. Geometry and Linear Perspective

Linear perspective is a technique based on ancient geometry (geometric optics) that rationally depicts one's inherently subjective and three-dimensional perception of the world onto a two-dimensional plane using mathematical methods. During the Renaissance, the first theoretical foundation was laid by Alberti's *De Pictura*, which profoundly influenced subsequent generations of artists. Leonardo also held it in high regard. In his so-called *Treatise on Painting* (*Trattato della pittura*), stated, "Perspective is the best guide in the art of painting" (Ash. I. 22b) [da Vinci (1883/1970), p. 27], asserting that nothing could be accomplished without it.

Three aspects highlight the importance of linear perspective for Renaissance artists: (1) the theoretical foundation for formalizing artists' perceptions of nature (theoretical aspect), (2) techniques for rationally depicting images on a two-dimensional plane (practical aspect), and (3) the foundational principles of painting as an academic discipline comparable to the liberal arts (value-based aspect). Not only was linear perspective useful as a theory and practical method; it was also significant in that it bore a cultural and social value itself, precisely serving as a key connecting art and scientific knowledge.

Leonardo's manuscripts clearly demonstrate his energetic pursuit of perspective studies. The greatest painting based on these research findings is undoubtedly *The Last Supper* (1495–1498) [Fig.1],

which was painted in Milan. Leonardo spent approximately four years during his first Milanese period (1482–1499) creating this subject as a large mural 460 cm high and 880 cm wide. Within it, the tense moment of the apostles gathered around the table with Jesus at its center is portrayed under a meticulously conceived design.



[Fig.1] Leonardo da Vinci: *The Last Supper* (Refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan)

The work's realism creates an illusion for the viewer, as if they were witnessing a scene from the real world. In reality, however, a world rendered using linear perspective is not a reproduction of reality. What is depicted here is, first, a limited virtual space based on the artist's fixed "eye," which is both their viewpoint as the "subject who sees" and the viewer's perspective. Second, this work is the skillful embodiment of such a virtual space by the artist's "hand," which encompasses the author's actions as the "subject who depicts," including specific acts involving techniques and tools. Here, it becomes clear that it is essentially a kind of stage set that only holds true from the author's established perspective. In this work, characters are also strategically placed within the set, based on close observation and interpretation, like actors in a staged performance. Underlying it all is a calculated harmony born of its mathematical thought. This entire structure is contained within a rational space governed by a consistent order, which is precisely why the viewer perceives the extraordinary sense of presence conveyed by this stage design.

We now focus on the elements associated with embodied knowledge in Leonardo's works. On the one hand, representation through linear perspective aims for a mathematical formality and objectivity based on a certain theory. On the other hand, it contains elements derived from concrete bodily perceptions or actions. The latter can be discussed in two respects.

First, the work relies on an experiential reality based on the author's (and the viewer's) specific perspective. Here, the perspective of the "subject who sees" is fixed on a specific situation and cannot be separated from it. Second, within the work, spatial perception is embodied through the artist's technique using concrete objects. Put simply, while this work is based on mathematical theory, it is actually the artist's (namely, the "subject who depicts") sense of touch and technique that bring the work into being. Therefore, the work is essentially a concrete expression and inevitably entails finiteness and particularity.

E. Panofsky (1892–1968) described perspective in the Renaissance as "an objectification of the subjective" (*eine Objektivierung des Subjektiven*), which aptly captures the situation [Panofsky (1924–25/1980), p.123]. That is, during the Renaissance, perspective remained merely one method for objectifying the subjective and could not become a complete abstract and general theory—even if it held

the potential. The insights above show that Renaissance artists' knowledge can be considered to be situated on the boundary between theoretical and embodied knowledge.

2.2. Observation and Analogy

Next, we will examine Leonardo's scientific method from a different viewpoint. Leonardo placed the utmost importance on observing subjects with his own eyes while also learning from various texts, including the classics. Indeed, his manuscripts clearly show traces of his own meticulous observations and experiments as he built on the knowledge of his predecessors. Furthermore, he sought to discover the truths of nature by drawing analogies between insights gained from one phenomenon and their relevance to other phenomena.

For example, in a manuscript on his study of water—one of Leonardo's key themes—a sketch of swirling currents is accompanied by his observation of this phenomenon as akin to the movement of hair [Cf. Fig.2, 3] Here, Leonardo links the swirling of water to the curling of hair to understand the common principle of motion between the two through analogy. In this connection, F. Capra (1939–) pointed out the astonishing accuracy of Leonardo's observations of water and noted that he had correctly explained the phenomenon of turbulence, albeit qualitatively [Cf. Capra (2013), C.1.1].

[Fig.2] Leonardo da Vinci: *Studies of water* (RL 12579r (Part))

[Fig.3] Leonardo da Vinci: *The head of Leda* (RL12516)

Additionally, in his study of human proportions, Leonardo developed a method where he identified the length of one body part in another part, and by repeating this process, he captured the proportions of the entire human body [Cf. Panofsky (1921/1980), pp.187–193]. This is an extremely characteristic element of Leonardo's scientific inquiry, and from this orientation, the audience senses Leonardo's view of nature—one that posits a truth universally present at nature's foundation.

In this regard, M. Kemp (1942–) mentioned in his work (2004) the primacy of geometry in Leonardo's conception of intelligence, making the following observations:

> Governing everything we can see is one overriding principle. This is the principle of

> "Necessity".... The universal architecture of Necessity is geometry. To understand its primacy of Leonardo, we need to grasp why he revered it over any other branch of mathematics.... He recognized that number is important,... But number was ultimately inferior to geometry, since arithmetic relied on "discontinuous quantity" while geometry dealt with "continuous quantity." (pp. 83–84)

> In a way, "continuous quantity" serves as a perfect metaphor for Leonardo's own system of thought. He never looked at anything without thinking of something else. Everything exited in a continuity of cause and effect, under the command of Necessity, which, far from causing uniformity amongst created things, resulted in the most wondrous variety of forms fitted to perform uncountable functions in every nook and cranny of the natural world. (p. 89)

Underlying all the diverse aspects of the natural world is the fundamental principle of what Kemp calls "necessity," which connects to the universality inherent in geometry. Therefore, for Leonardo, geometry became the supreme discipline, and its subject matter—"continuous quantity"—overlapped with Leonardo's system of perception and thought. Leonardo believed that geometry held a significance that was not confined solely to the technique of perspective; it was also fundamental as a method for understanding nature.

Even more intriguing is Leonardo's intuitive development of analogies even when the basis for the commonality among multiple phenomena could not necessarily be theorized. At first glance, the flow of water and the curl of hair seem to have no logical commonality, but Leonardo sensed something there that defied words and simultaneously activated a mode of thought that explored what multiple phenomena shared. Indeed, his approach was not necessarily purely rational; it was also intuitive and, in a sense, concrete and physical.

3. Representational Knowledge by Leonardo

In examining his vast body of work, this study explores the defining characteristics of Leonardo's intellect, focusing on geometry, perspective, and analogy. When considering his intellect, it is worth recalling that Leonardo placed "painting" at the pinnacle of all human activities:

> If you contemn painting, which is the only imitator of all visible works of nature, you will certainly despise a subtle invention which brings philosophy and subtle speculation to the consideration of the nature of all forms—seas and plans, trees, animals, plants and follows—which are surrounded by shade and light. And this is true knowledge and the legitimate issue of nature; for painting is born of nature—or, to speak more correctly, we will say it is the grandchild of nature; for all visible things are produced by nature, and these her children have given birth to painting. Hence, we may justly call it the grandchild of nature and related to God. (Ash. I. 15b) [da Vinci (1883/1970), pp. 326–327)

Leonardo used the phrase "the science of painting" precisely because painting mirrors nature and

instantly captures its true form. For him, painting is not merely a reflection of scientific knowledge, nor is the latter itself a subordinate element of the former. Leonardo's works are the very embodiment of scientific understanding, merging art and science into a single knowledge—the science of nature and true knowledge. In other words, to make it true knowledge, his field of inquiry extended to all things in the natural world.

However, science cannot be achieved by merely visualizing one's subjective observations and insights. As we have seen, it was primarily the sciences of antiquity, especially geometry that afforded Leonardo's science of painting a formal structure and theoretical foundation. He sought to objectify his subjective perceptions and insights by relying on this. In that sense, Leonardo's exploration of nature was underpinned by a scholarly and rational approach. Meanwhile, it is also important that his natural studies contain a significant element based on his particular and concrete perceptions and ideas.

Put simply, through painting, Leonardo attempts to capture the overall image of phenomena that cannot be clearly theorized solely by observation or even phenomena that can only be grasped intuitively. This includes the potentially hidden principles and laws within nature's depths, the intricate mechanisms and interconnections inherent in nature, and even the commonalities and relations lurking between phenomena that appear superficially unrelated. This is evident, for example, in the aforementioned thought process linking the flow of water to the movement of hair. A hallmark of Leonardo's intellect is that such intuitive ideas—while possessing a certain formal and theoretical quality—were pursued mainly through visual expression.

Therefore, Leonardo's knowledge can be regarded as embodied. He advanced the objectification of his subjects through the physical act of translating his visual observations into representational forms (painting) created by hand. Here we also find the structure of the "subject who sees" and the "subject who depicts"—that is, their dual embodied elements in Leonardo's process of perception and expression as pointed out in the analysis of *The Last Supper* in Section 2.1. Put simply, his knowledge being situated on the boundary between theoretical knowledge and embodied knowledge applies not only to his paintings but also more broadly to his manuscripts and various aspects of his scientific research.

For example, as in the sketches in his anatomical manuscripts, Leonardo skillfully performed perspective-based visualization even when capturing structures and mechanisms too complex to explain in words [Cf. Fig.4]. Here too, we find a process where Leonardo formalizes insights derived from his unique "eye" (the subject who sees) through mathematical thinking while embodying knowledge through expressions born from his own "hand" (the subject who depicts). It is a fusion of theoretical knowledge and embodied knowledge, one we might call a kind of representational knowledge produced by Renaissance artists with characteristics such as essential

[Fig.4] Leonardo da Vinci: *The skull sectioned* (RL 19057r)

concreteness, particularity, and individuality that reject complete generalization or abstraction. This form of knowledge is thought to carry a different meaning when compared with the modern model of human knowledge that began to take shape in earnest after the seventeenth century.

4. Considering Artist Intellect in the Renaissance: From the Viewpoint of Civilization Studies

4.1. Artist Intellect as an Aspect of the History of Scientific Knowledge

As explained in Leonardo's case, Renaissance artists' knowledge can be thought of as existing on the border between theoretical and embodied knowledge. The former can be accumulated and shared through formalization and generalization whereas the latter is implicitly acquired through each individual's physical actions and experiences and is therefore highly personal and difficult to theorize. Indeed, the knowledge that artists developed during the Renaissance—the eve of the seventeenth-century Scientific Revolution—can be viewed as containing elements that, on the one hand, held the potential to evolve into more advanced and sophisticated scientific knowledge while, on the other hand, encompassing elements that could not be fully formalized or generalized.

What exactly are these "elements that cannot be fully formalized and generalized"? We know that since the modern era, scientific knowledge has become increasingly abstract, subdivided, and formalized, developing strong disciplines and producing powerful technologies, which have exerted a major influence even on human civilization itself. However, especially since the twentieth century, various problems have been identified with regard to such scientific and technological knowledge. Perhaps we are at a stage where we should reexamine the history of the formation of scientific knowledge and focus on the "elements that cannot be formalized or generalized" that are so strongly present in Renaissance knowledge. Put simply, it is probably nothing more than an element that has been lost or diminished during the historical development of scientific knowledge. By paying renewed attention to this, we may obtain some clues for examining the various problems that knowledge has faced since the modern era. To do so, inspired by Polanyi's thought, we will propose a perspective for discussing human knowledge as a civilizational issue.

4.2. From the Perspective of Polanyi's "Explicit Knowledge" and "Tacit Knowledge"

Michael Polanyi (1891–1976), a Hungarian scientist and philosopher of science, proposed the concepts of explicit knowledge and tacit knowledge in relation to human knowledge [Cf. Polanyi (1966/2009)]. By "explicit knowledge," he meant knowledge that can be formulated through linguistic expression or diagramming. By being explicitly expressed, this knowledge allows for logical and rational cognition and can consequently be shared within a group. This corresponds to what is commonly called theoretical or scientific knowledge.

In contrast, "tacit knowledge" refers to knowledge that individuals create within their own minds regarding an object. Because of its personal and experiential nature, tacit knowledge is considered difficult to present or communicate externally and thus challenging to share with others. It includes techniques and skills acquired through understanding and is also called practical or experiential knowledge.

Considering this in accordance with Polanyi's concept, we find that the personal character and experiential, practical tendencies inherent in tacit knowledge share common features with Leonardo's

knowledge. That is, Leonardo's representational knowledge is not theoretical but rather rooted in bodily actions such as memory, experience, and practice rather than theory and mainly takes shape through visualization. Put simply, it sheds new light on the concreteness and distinctiveness that should be inherent to human knowledge.

5. Conclusion: Toward a Further Discussion

The state of knowledge in the modern era presents a distorted situation. On the one hand, we can no longer sustain civilization without highly developed scientific and technological knowledge, and in that sense, our dependence on it will continue to grow. On the other hand, the contemporary situation, where the value-based and cultural dimensions have become extremely diluted while the influence of prominent formal knowledge has grown overwhelmingly powerful, presents a significant crisis, particularly in human ethics and spirituality.

Compared with modern civilization, the shape of knowledge in the Renaissance presents quite a different picture. As discussed through the case of Leonardo, Renaissance artists wandered in search of "knowledge" amid the chaos that would eventually lead to scientific knowledge. While these artists certainly relied on classical knowledge, they pursued "their own knowledge" based on the memories, experiences, and practices they gained through their own bodies. Even if such knowledge was not compactly refined and therefore not widely applicable, it provides a glimpse into the state of human knowledge, rooted in the spirituality of the time.

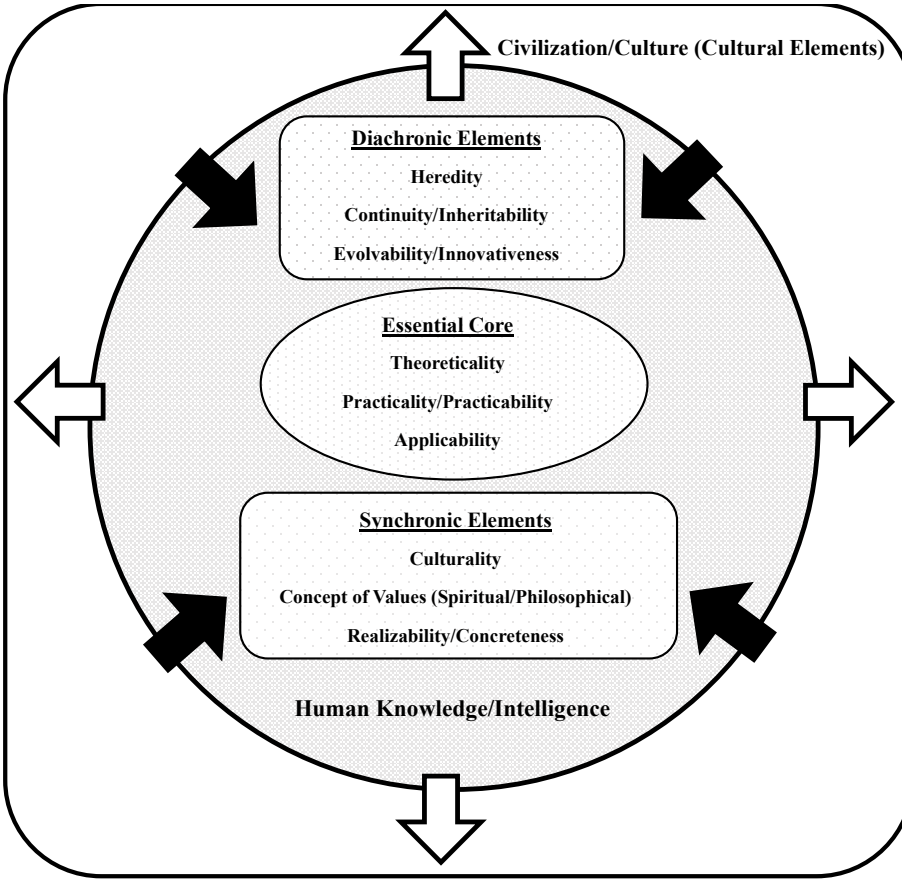
In a study discussing the mutual influence between human knowledge (or academia/science) and civilization, one of the authors, Nakamura, identified various elements that can be considered as requirements for knowledge to influence civilization and attempted to illustrate the relation between these elements and civilization/culture [Fig.5] [Cf. Nakamura (2023)]. This diagram divides the elements of knowledge into three categories: core elements, diachronic elements, and synchronic elements.

First, the three crucial core elements are "theoreticality," "practicality/practicability," and "applicability." For example, Greek mathematics, represented by Euclid, is precisely the "core" of mathematics, possessing all three elements. Second, diachronic elements include "heredity," "continuity/inheritability," and "evolvability/innovativeness." "Heredity" is precisely like genes that are passed down uninterrupted regardless of the life or death of individual entities; one might even call it the "memory" of knowledge. It is precisely because of this that knowledge can continuously unfold and be passed down, transcending the prosperity and decline of the humans, communities, cultures, and societies involved. Simply put, it is "continuity/inheritability." Knowledge that can survive for such a long time continues to develop through mutual influence with civilizations and sometimes undergoes dramatic evolution, demonstrating its "evolvability/innovativeness." Finally, synchronic elements include "culturality," "concept of values (spiritual/philosophical)," and "realizability/concreteness." "Culturality" and "concept of values" refer to the relation among the various values, spirituality, ideology, religiosity, views of nature, and views of humanity inherent in the culture of the community underlying that knowledge. These can be considered elements that fundamentally define the relation between such knowledge and the community. "Realizability/concreteness" refers to the property of knowledge to manifest and develop something concrete in reality as a result of its application. This property reflects not

only the theoreticality of knowledge but also its usefulness and practicality. It also possesses the power to directly influence people's lives and the very nature of civilization, making it profoundly significant.

Finally, this study highlights the importance of synchronic elements, which reject simple generalization or abstraction; encompass the particular, the specific, and the unique; and connect each human being to the world they inhabit. In our contemporary world, where theoretical knowledge and technical knowledge seem strangely prominent and where everything is being standardized and threatened by this uniformity, we must once again recognize the concreteness and physicality of knowledge. This is precisely the element that the knowledge of Renaissance artists demonstrates so richly. Therefore, examining the nature of knowledge during the Renaissance can serve as an opportunity to reconsider the ideal form of human knowledge.

[Fig.5] Indicators of the Potential Impact of Human Knowledge/Intelligence on Civilization/Culture



Note: This diagram was first published in Nakamura (2023). Some parts have been revised for the English translation.

Figures

[Fig.1] Leonardo da Vinci: *The Last Supper*, 1495-1498, dry wall-painting, 460 x 880 cm, Refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan.
Cf. https://cenacolovinciano.org/en/museum/the-works/the-last-supper-leonardo-da-vinci-1452-1519/ (accessed March 17, 2026)

[Fig.2] Leonardo da Vinci: *Studies of water, and a seated old man*, c.1512-1513, Pen and ink, 15.2 x 21.3 cm

(sheet of paper), RL 12579r (Part), Windsor Castle, Royal Library.
Cf. https://www.rct.uk/collection/912579/recto-studies-of-water-and-a-seated-old-man-verso-architectural-studies (accessed March 17, 2026)

[Fig.3] Leonardo da Vinci: *The head of Leda*, c.1505-8, Black chalk, pen and ink, 20.0 x 16.2 cm (sheet of paper), RL12516, Windsor Castle, Royal Library.
Cf. https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/6/collection/912516/the-head-of-leda (accessed March 17, 2026)

[Fig.4] Leonardo da Vinci: *The skull sectioned*, 1489, Traces of black chalk, pen and ink, 18.8 x 13.4 cm (sheet of paper), RL 19057r, Windsor Castle, Royal Library.
Cf. https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/43/collection/919057/recto-the-skull-sectioned-verso-the-cranium (accessed March 17, 2026)

[Fig.5] Tomoko Nakamura: *Indicators of the Potential Impact of Human Knowledge/Intelligence on Civilization/Culture*, first published in: Nakamura (2023). (Some parts have been revised for the English translation.)

REFERENCE

Alberti, L. B. (1436/1991): *On Painting*, translated by Cecil Grayson, with an Introduction and Notes by Martin Kemp, Penguin Books.

Alberti, L. B. (1436/2002): *Della Pittura –Über die Malkunst,* herausgegeben, eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentariert von Oskar Bätschmann und Sandra Gianfreda, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.

Capra, F. (2013): *Learning from Leonardo –Decoding the Notebooks of a Genius.* Berrett-Koehler Publishers, San Francisco, California.

da Vinci, Leonardo (2006): *Trattato della pittura* –condotto sul Codice Vaticano Urbinate 1270, prefazione di Marco Tabarrini, Ristampa anastatica del volume edito nel 1890 dall'Unione Cooperativa Editrice di Roma, Grandi Tascabili Economici Newton.

da Vinci, Leonardo (1883/1970): *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, compiled and edited from the original Manuscripts by J. P. Richter, 2 volumes, Dover publications, Inc., New York (Based on The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci (1883)).

da Vinci, Leonardo (1978–1980): *Corpus of the anatomical studies in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle (1978–1980)*; [edited] Kenneth D. Keele and Carlo Pedretti, 3Bde., Johnson Reprint Co., London.

da Vinci, Leonardo (2003): *Leonardo da Vinci 1452–1519; The Complete paintings and drawings*, written by Frank Zöllner, Johannes Nathan. Taschen GmbH, Köln.

Dürer, Albrecht (1525/2000): *Unterweisung der Messung mit dem Zirkel und Richtscheit*, Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe Nürnberg 1525, mit einer Einführung von Matthias Mende. 3. Auflage., Verlag Dr. Alfons Uhl, Nördlingen.

Dürer, Albrecht (2003): *Nature's Artist –Plants and Animals by Albrecht Dürer,* with an introductory essay by Victoria Salley, Edited by Christopher Wynne, Prestel.

Kemp, M. (2004): *Leonardo*, Oxford University Press.

Nakamura, T and Hirano, Y (2022): A Consideration of Mathematics in the Renaissance: In the Terms of Modern Science and Bricolage. In: *Civilization*, No.29, Special Issus of Resilience, pp.49-58.

Nakamura, T. (2023): The Civilizational Elements in Renaissance Mathematics: A Study on the Interactive Influence between Human Knowledge and Civilization. In: *Comparative Civilization*, No.39, Journal of The Japan Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations, pp.105-130. (in Japanese)
（中村朋子 (2023):「ルネサンス数学の「文明性」–学問の影響可能性に関する一試論」, 『比較文明』第 39 号，比較文明学会，pp.105-130.）

Pacioli, Luca (1498/1982): *De Divina Proprotione*, Introductione di Augusto Marinoni, Silvana Editoriale, Milano.

Pacioli, Luca (1509/1889): *Divina Proprotione –Die Lehre vom goldenen Schnitt*; nach der Venezianischen Ausgabe vom Jahre 1509. Neu herausgegebem, übersetzt und erläutert von Constantin Winterberg, Verlag von Carl Graeser, Wien.

Panofsky, E. (1921/1980): Die Entwicklung der Proportionslehre als Abbild der Stilentwicklung. In: *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*. Oberer, H. Und Verheyen, E. (hrgb.), 3. Auflage, Verlag Volker Spiess, Berlin, pp.169-204

Panofsky, E. (1924–25/1980): Die Perspektive als „symbolische Form“. In: *Aufsätze zu Grundfragen der Kunstwissenschaft*. Oberer, H. Und Verheyen, E. (hrgb.), 3. Auflage, Verlag Volker Spiess, Berlin, pp.99-167.

Polanyi, M. (1966/2009): *The Tacit Dimension*, University of Chicago Press (Reprint).

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 53-59

Research Paper

Environmental Perception and Tourism Behavior from the Perspective of Embodied Knowledge: Cross-cultural Understanding in the Longhouse Tourism

Toru HATTORI [*1] and Nana MORIZONO [*2]

Abstract

This paper demonstrates the importance of studying logical and embodied knowledge in the study of tourism behavior. In particular, it will address the issue of affordance in environmental cognition of tourism situations as a form of embodied knowledge. In examining the relationship between logical and embodied knowledge, this study focuses on tourists' cross-cultural understanding, using longhouse tourism in Borneo as a case study. This suggests that cross-cultural understanding in tourism should be conceived as a practical process through which meaning emerges through the interaction between formal knowledge and embodied engagement with the environment. The multiple realities of cross-cultural understanding presented here represent multiple knowledge and examining these multiple knowledge is crucial in tourism research.

Keywords: Tourism behavior, Logical knowledge, Embodied knowledge, Cross-cultural understanding, Longhouse tourism.

1. Logical and Embodied Knowledge in Tourism

1.1. Background

In the tourism industry and academia, tourism has long been discussed within the context of human "movement." The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) defines tourism as "traveling and visiting places different from one's own environment," meaning it involves movement (World Tourism Organization, 2025). Here, the subjects that "visits," the subjects of tourism, is the body that is moving. When bodies move from daily life to a tourist destination, minds move too. There tourist can find things that move, overwhelm, and heal them. Other times, they may feel perplexed, tense, or even bored. Tourism is thus understood as fundamentally rooted in the bodily actions and behaviors of human beings. The various emotions born from it are something humans physically sense at a site, and it is to the objects of tourism that tourists assign meanings and values distinct from everyday life.

Two issues have recently arisen in this framework. One is online tourism, which proliferated during the COVID-19 pandemic as people sought ways to experience new locations without physical travel. However, it is unlikely that anyone found online tourism truly satisfying; it lacked physical movement, and the technology to create the illusion of bodily travel does not yet exist. The other issue is the dichotomy between the subjects and objects of tourism. Critics argue that for tourism to function as an industry, one cannot ignore the various positions involved beyond just the "providers" and "consumers" of tourism (Koda, 2002, pp. 69–71). However, despite these diverse roles, the primary objects upon which meaning and value are imposed in tourism remains the tourist's body. The relationship between subject and object

[*1] Institute of Civilization Research, School of Tourism, Tokai University
[*2] School of Tourism, Tokai University

meanwhile remains the essential requirement for tourism to exist.

Once tourism emerged as a major industry with significant economic value, it became an object of study in the social sciences. It is still fair to say that the social sciences continue to lead tourism studies. Studying destination management or the social significance of tourism fundamentally involves studying the relationship between tourism providers and tourists. Crucially, tourist objects—also referred to as visitors or destinations—occupy a distinct position from that of tourism providers. This implies differing perspectives on the meaning and value attributed to tourism, leading to distinct forms of knowledge.

1.2. Affordance as Embodied Knowledge in Tourism

One crucial element in the relationship between the subjects of tourism and the objects of tourism is cross-cultural understanding. The subjects of tourism stepping outside their daily lives may encounter tourist objects from different cultures. At such times, they are expected to understand, accept, and enjoy cultural diversity. However, cross-cultural understanding is not necessarily innate, necessitating explanations and learning about other cultures. This may involve understanding relativism, universalism, or communication theory, but it nevertheless constitutes what is known as logical or academic knowledge. For the objects of tourism, the relationship with tourism entities, which is based on this logical knowledge generates economic value and sustainability.

However, the subjects of tourism assign meaning and value through their moving bodies, they understand and act not only through logical cognition but also through bodily and sensory cognition, which contrast with logical cognition. Here, “affordance” can be used as one example of bodily cognition in tourism. Affordance stems from ecological psychology theories concerning environmental cognition (Sasaki, 2024, p.13). Conventionally, it was thought that people perceive their surroundings as stimuli through the five senses, the brain processes this information, and then assigns meaning to the object in the mind. However, James Gibson, the first proponent of affordance theory, explains that meaning is inherent in an environment itself (Gibson, 1966, p.87). We will also use examples in this study; as one example, consider the cognition of an environment containing a door. For example, a curtain-like cloth called a *noren* typically hangs in front of the doors of Japanese sushi restaurants. People typically perceive and construct this environment and its visual stimuli—the fabric, the characters written upon it, the metal, wood, and glass panels visible beyond—as the door. However, the fundamental concept of affordance entails that perceiving meaning and function from the environment itself. For instance, the cloth curtain can be pushed aside with one's arm to pass through, signifying the shop is open; the sliding door behind it moves left and right, revealing an expansive space beyond that can be entered. Tourist activities involve experiencing unfamiliar environments through physical engagement, making them rich examples of affordances.

In another example, tourist destinations in places like the United States and Japan often have photo spots featuring face cutout boards. More than being pictures depicting the characteristics or history of the tourist spot, their meaning and function—taking a photo with your face sticking out of the hole—is widely recognized, and such actions are encouraged. Gibson's assertion that “affordances are facts of the environment as much as facts of action” (Gibson, 1979, p.38) captures this point. Within tourism, the concept of affordance can be positioned as embodied knowledge, contrasting with logical or academic knowledge. Thus, in tourism settings, one can understand the characteristics, history, and culture of a space

as logical and embodied knowledge.

1.3. Multiple Realities and Multiple Knowledge

In tourism settings, the culture in question is explained to tourists based on logical knowledge, prompting their understanding. Simultaneously, tourists cognitively perceive an environment through their bodies, sensing the meanings and values inherent in environments and spaces that are distinct from their daily lives. This entails understanding the foreign culture as embodied knowledge.

Alfred Schutz, known for his work in phenomenological sociology, explained how people in different positions (i.e., subjects and objects) and different forms of knowledge coexist using the concept of meaning domains through multiple realities theory (Schutz, 1967). In the lifeworld (Lebenswelt), multiple realities and multiple meaning domains, each seemingly distinct, coexist in an intersecting manner, each constituting an element of the lifeworld (Schutz, 1970, pp.192-194). In tourism studies, it has been thought that the subjects and the objects rely on opposing positions and forms of knowledge, teleologically and economically, and that this opposition undermines tourism's sustainability.

However, Schutz's argument views these not as opposing realities, but as intersecting realities and constituent elements forming a whole. Interculturality does not mean one side understanding another; rather, both sides must be intercultural. Therefore, tourism represents a space where difference and commonality intersect, and each culture can be seen as a constituent element forming the tourism site.

To grasp this pluralistic reality in tourism, logical knowledge and embodied knowledge—which appear to be in opposition—must also be understood as intersecting. This is particularly important for understanding different cultures in tourism, or through tourism, as it is crucial for considering contemporary topics like tourism's diversity and sustainability.

2. Two Domains of Meaning in Longhouse Tourism

2.1. The Structure of Representing Cultural Difference

The Iban are an ethnic group whose origins are commonly traced to the middle basin of the Kapuas River in western Borneo. Today, they are widely distributed across Sarawak (Malaysia) and East Kalimantan (Indonesia). They are known for their traditional residential form—, the longhouse—, which is a large, stilted structure in which multiple families live communally. Alongside visual and physical expressive practices such as colorful costumes and dance, the Iban have historically been associated with ritual headhunting. Men’s tattoos meanwhile function as a symbolic marker of strength, spiritual protection, and social maturity.

These practices, which are embedded in the religious and social contexts of Iban society, have been objectified and consumed as “exotic culture” by outsiders. Since the late 1980s, they have attracted growing interest from international tourists. Longhouse tourism was formally developed in Sarawak from the 1990s onward under the initiative of the state tourism authorities as a program designed to present Iban lifestyles in experiential form (Hattori, 2019, pp. 3–5). The authors conducted fieldwork on longhouse tourism in Sarawak and Brunei Darussalam in February 2015. The following analysis is based on participant observation and interview data collected during that period.

In longhouse tourism, tourists typically follow predetermined routes under the guidance of tour staff. These involve visiting the longhouses where Iban families reside, observing the interior spaces, and in

some cases staying overnight. Architectural features, communal living arrangements, rituals, and other elements are thus reconfigured within this system as cultural differences "worth seeing." Cultural difference is verbalized as something explainable and understandable. Through guides' narratives and promotional materials, longhouse life is framed as traditional culture living in harmony with nature or as representing a pre-modern lifestyle, thereby situating it within cognitive schemas readily accessible and appealing to visitors. Cultural difference is thus constituted in advance as an object of formalized knowledge.

Observations of longhouse tours suggest that they are structured primarily around guided explanations. Spatial layouts, everyday tools, and traditional attire were interpreted in terms of their functions and symbolic meanings, as tourists moved through the space listening to commentary. Such interpretive practices position the longhouse as an object to be understood rather than simply being a lived environment. This mode of cultural representation resonates with John Urry's concept of the "tourist gaze." Urry and Larsen (2011, pp. 1–30) argues, the ways tourists perceive and evaluate objects are socially organized through institutional mechanisms such as tourism industries, media representations, guides, and advertising. Through this constructed gaze, objects are perceived as "touristically meaningful," and this mode of perception itself becomes socially shared and reproduced. In longhouse tourism, what counts as valuable or worthy of attention is largely pre-structured within such institutional frameworks. Tourists are positioned as the subjects who learn and interpret objects' cultural difference according to these frames.

In this sense, tourists are positioned within institutionally organized regimes of visibility rather than being free agents. Although visitors often feel they have directly encountered "authentic" culture, what they experience is cultural difference that has already been curated and reconfigured within that system. As MacCannell (1999, pp. 91–107) argues, the authenticity presented in tourism is institutionally constructed in accordance with tourists' expectations, producing what he terms "staged authenticity." Cross-cultural understanding in tourism is thus shaped less by an intrinsic reality of cultural difference than by the forms through which this difference is organized and rendered visible.

However, this constructedness should not be understood merely as distortion or falsification. Drawing on James Clifford's (1988) distinction between a "narrative of loss" and a "narrative of becoming," Yamashita (2007, pp. 96–97) argues that the cultural transformations associated with tourism should be interpreted as processes through which new meanings emerge through interactions between tourists and hosts. From this perspective, tourism can be understood as a site where cultural meanings are continuously negotiated and renegotiated. Because this form of tourism is inherently embedded within institutional frameworks, some degree of formalization and staging is unavoidable and indeed constitutes a condition of its possibility.

Rather than evaluating this mediation normatively, this study explores how tourists experience such institutionally-structured cultural differences as a particular domain of meaning; namely, as a specific mode of knowing. The ways tourists receive and enact these mediated differences cannot be fully reduced to linguistic explanation or formal knowledge. The next section therefore examines how the longhouse environment itself acquires meaning through tourists' embodied engagement.

2.2. Embodied Experience of Environment and Space: The Longhouse as Affordance

The environment encountered by tourists in longhouse tourism cannot be understood solely in terms of

institutionally-constructed interpretive frames like verbal explanations or promotional imagery. Upon entering a longhouse, visitors climb the narrow wooden stairs leading up from the ground, sensing the slight flex of the planks beneath their feet and the creaking of the floor. Before they come to understand the longhouse cognitively, the dim interior, smells of daily life, and shadows stretching into the depths of the structure emerge as embodied experiences, often accompanied by surprise, awe, tension, or unease. Tourists may feel that they have stepped into a different lifeworld. Their cautious glances and adjusted steps reflect a bodily process of exploring new environmental cues.

These environmental perceptions can be interpreted through the concept of affordance. The spatial configuration of the longhouse and the arrangement of everyday objects present possibilities for action directly to those who inhabit the space, independent of institutional guidance. The openness of the central communal gallery (ruai), for example, affords sitting and gathering, while displayed costumes and handicrafts afford walking, viewing, and photographing. Even without explicit instruction, tourists thus perceive action possibilities through spatial layout and object placement. In this sense, environmental features—openness, continuity of space, dispersed displays—orient behaviors prior to verbal regulation. These actions arise from the perceived functional qualities of the environment itself.

Tourists acquire meanings and values specific to longhouse tourism through such environmentally elicited bodily actions. This domain of meaning emerges through sensory engagement—vision, touch, sound, smell—and the emotions that accompany them. Environmental cognition thus reveals that the value of tourism practices is generated through accumulated embodied experiences rather than merely received as predefined meaning.

Importantly, affordances shape the range and direction of possible actions and even influence the selection among them. In the longhouse, the presence of doors distinguishing communal and private areas and the placement of amulets invested with sacred significance guide tourists' conduct without explicit prohibitions. Spatial arrangement and the atmosphere of quiet tension typically prompt visitors to refrain from entering certain areas or touching particular objects. These limitations arise within the interaction between environment and embodied perception, through which tourists themselves apprehend and delimit possible actions. This understanding resonates with Ingold's (2000, pp. 5–26) dwelling perspective, which conceptualizes perception and action as emerging through ongoing engagement between body and environment.

Field observations supported this interpretation. Visitors explored the space, photographed displays, and occasionally reached toward handicrafts. However, most refrained from entering private rooms or adjusted their gaze to maintain distance from residents. Such conduct appears less the result of consciously internalized norms than of embodied sensitivity to spatial structure and atmosphere. Environmental perception within the longhouse thus directed tourists' behavior and constituted its meaning at a bodily level. This dimension of embodied or sensory knowledge formed a distinct domain of meaning that sustained the quality of the tourism experience beyond linguistic explanation or institutionalized knowledge.

2.3. Formal and Embodied Knowledge in Longhouse Tourism

As the preceding sections have shown, the experience of longhouse tourism can be understood as a composite structure of meaning in which linguistically constituted knowledge and bodily generated

sensory experience overlap and interact. In Schutz's (1967) terms, the elicitation and avoidance of actions grounded in embodied knowledge may be interpreted as the simultaneous experience of multiple provinces of meaning within a tourism setting. This articulation between environment and knowledge is given additional significance because it becomes intertwined with prior explanatory knowledge in shaping how actions are selected and enacted.

Fieldwork observations again provide a concrete example. During guided tours, amulets created by shamans that are displayed in domestic spaces for spiritual protection were explained in terms of their religious and cultural significance. Many tourists showed strong interest and photographed the objects but refrained from touching them. Notably, this did not stem from explicit prohibition. Rather, the guide's explanation of their religious meaning combined with the material presence of the objects—their placement, atmosphere, and perceived sacredness—to shape tourists' actions. Visitors simultaneously processed verbal information and sensory cues like spatial distance, quiet tension, and the object's physical immediacy, adjusting their comportment accordingly. Not touching the amulets here appears less as conscious rule-following than as the emergence of a felt certainty that such contact would be inappropriate.

Crucially, this choice cannot be reduced to embodied knowledge alone. It is at this intersection that multiple provinces of meaning become experientially articulated. It becomes intelligible as consideration for the host community's values only insofar as bodily perception is mediated by the formal knowledge provided in advance. Cultural understanding (formal knowledge) and environmental perception (embodied knowledge) thus operate reciprocally, enabling tourists' actions to be constituted as internally generated, practical judgment[1].

The longhouse case suggests that understanding grounded in formal or logical knowledge and experience rooted in embodied or sensory knowledge arise simultaneously as distinct yet interrelated domains of meaning. Tourists' adjustments and acts of consideration are therefore better understood as being formed generated through the mediation of formal and embodied knowledge. They bodily perceive cultural difference by negotiating distance from sacred objects or sensing reverence and restraint. At the same time, they experience a sense of commonality that resonates with their own everyday lives in the shared human concerns of avoiding misfortune and seeking well-being. Engagement with cultural difference thus entails a simultaneous encounter with alterity and shared humanity, with this duality being assumed and negotiated at the level of embodied experience.

Environmental cognition mediated through embodied knowledge thus brings the unfamiliar into view as a relational presence in which difference and commonality intersect. Cultural difference is apprehended not only as objects to be explained through discourse but also as sensed experiences. From this perspective, cross-cultural understanding in tourism should be conceived as a practical process through which meaning emerges through the interaction between formal knowledge and embodied

[1] In this regard, recent discussions of overtourism can be reconsidered from the perspective developed in this article. Overtourism may be interpreted as a situation in which the adjustment of action through the interaction between environment and embodiment fails to function adequately. Tourists may increasingly engage in excessive touching, photographing, or entering spaces without bodily attunement to the spatial and social context, while host societies may increasingly rely on external regulations and prohibitions as primary management strategies. As a result, the values and meanings of the host community are consumed without being bodily shared or experientially mediated, generating social friction and environmental strain. From this perspective, overtourism can be understood as being marked by a breakdown of the mediating relationship between formal and embodied knowledge.

engagement with the environment. Longhouse tourism thus illustrates how the understanding of cultural difference emerges through the situated interplay of explanation, perception, and bodily adjustment.

3. Conclusion

As seen in longhouse tourism in Iban, embodied understanding through affordances can be observed in ethnic tourism where cross-cultural understanding is an objective. Rational and embodied knowledge are here shown to be complementary. In longhouse tourism, the concept of "sacredness" acted as one notable mediator that both promoted and inhibited certain tourist behaviors. This allowed the subjects and the objects of tourism to maintain an appropriate balance. Finding meaning in such tourism lies in this interplay of different semantic domains and forms of knowledge, which together constitute the elements of a tourism site. Research on embodied knowledge will become increasingly important going forward. When studying the lifeworld, which extends beyond to tourism studies, it is therefore crucial to view logical and embodied knowledge as two sides of the same coin.

REFERENCE

Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art.* Harvard University Press.

Gibson, J. J. (1966). *The sense considered as perceptual Systems.* Bloomsbury Academic.

Gibson, J. J. (1979). *The ecological approach to visual perception.* Houghton Mifflin.

Hattori, T. (2019). Boruneo ronguhausu kankō no hen'yō ni miru saibashoka ["Re-territorialization" in Transformation of Longhouse-Tourism in Borneo]. *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō: Kankō Gakubu,* (10), 1–11.

Ingold, T. (2000). *The perception of the environment: Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill.* Routledge.

Koda, M. (2002) Kokusaikankō niokeru bunkachūkaisha no hataraki [A Study of Function of Culture Intermediator in International Tourism]. *Nihonkankōgakkaishi*, 41(0), 62-72.

MacCannell, D. (1999). *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class (3rd ed.).* University of California Press.

Sasaki, M. (2024). *Saishūkōgi Afōdansu chikyūnoshinrigaku [Latest Lecture Affordance terrestrial psychology].* Gakugei Miraisha.

Schutz, A. (1967). *The phenomenology of the social world.* Northwestern University Press. (Original work published 1932)

Schutz, A. (1970). *On phenomenology and social relations.* The University of Chicago Press.

Urry, J., & Larsen, J. (2011). *The tourist gaze (3rd ed.)*. Sage.

World Tourism Organization (UNWTO:UN tourism). (2025). *sustainable-development.* https://www.untourism.int/sustainable-development

Yamashita, S. (2007). *Kankō bunkagaku [Tourism cultural studies]*. Shinyōsha.

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 61-67

Research Paper

A Study of Embodied Knowledge in the Ultraman Series

Masamitsu FUTAESAKU *

Abstract

Focusing on the t*okusatsu* hero show *Ultraman* (1966), produced by Tsuburaya Productions, which celebrated its 60th anniversary in 2026, this study examined the series' defining characteristics, centered on three main elements: the hero (Ultraman), monsters (such as Alien Baltan), and the special investigation team (the Science Special Search Party). Subsequent works have adopted the program's structure with these three elements, allowing the Ultraman series to continue for approximately 60 years. Therefore, this study examines the embodied knowledge depicted in *Ultraman* as "potential for the future." It also investigates why the series has sustained its narrative structure through three perspectives: (1) body knowledge as seen through the hero, (2) body knowledge as seen through the monsters, and (3) body knowledge as seen through the special investigation team. The results suggest that the appeal of *Ultraman* has been passed down to subsequent generations for a long time because the characteristics of the three parties—Ultraman's superhuman abilities, the monsters born from various backgrounds, and the advanced science and technology of the Science Special Search Party—resonated with the sensibilities of child viewers.

Keywords: body knowledge, Ultraman, Monsters, Special Investigation Team

1. Research Background

In Japan, various initiatives have been implemented through the content industry, encompassing anime, manga, and games, which include the distribution of video works, print media campaigns, merchandise sales, and large-scale events attracting many attendees. This phenomenon is no longer confined to the domestic market, however; many examples can now be observed in overseas markets as well[1].

Among these, *tokusatsu* (a term for special photography), which uses props such as costumes and miniatures to create extraordinary visuals, has undergone multifaceted development including the release of works through different visual media such as television, film, and the Internet;[2] the hosting of events;[3] and even town development[4]. A defining characteristic of *tokusatsu* is the exceptionally long-term production of visual works, which span more than half a century. For example, the Godzilla (1954) series of kaiju (monster) films produced by Toho Co., Ltd., boasts a history of more than 70 years to date. Similarly, the Kamen Rider (1971) series produced by Toei Company, Ltd., holds an approximately 55-year history, with derivative works continuing to be broadcast. Parallel to the release of these visual works, *tokusatsu* is also characterized by many events organized for approximately 70 years, such as live shows and exhibitions displaying the suits and miniatures used in filming[5].

* Social Science Research Institute, Tokai University

1 *Ultraman* (1966) used three types of masks for filming: type A (episodes 1–13), type B (14–29), and type C (30–39).

2 Broadcast on July 17, 1966: "ULTRAMAN" Episode 1, "Ultra Operation No. 1."

3 In *Ultraman* episode 31, "Who Goes There?" broadcast on February 12, 1967, the ring-shaped "Ultra Attack Beam" was used to defeat the blood-sucking plant Keronia.

4 In episode 16, "Science Patrol Into Space" (broadcast October 30, 1966), the Ultra Slash, which cuts through enemies, was used against the space ninja Alien Baltan II.

5 In episode 39, "Farewell, Ultraman" (broadcast April 9, 1967).

Among these tokusatsu works, *Ultraman* (1966), produced by Tsuburaya Productions, reached a milestone in 2026 with its 60th anniversary. The series originating from this work has released television and film productions for approximately six decades while also continuing to organize events, entering a phase where the works can be enjoyed by three generations of families. The defining feature of *Ultraman*'s narrative is its three central elements: the hero (Ultraman), the monsters (such as Alien Baltan), and the special investigation team (the Science Special Search Party). The series ended its 39-episode run to tremendous acclaim, with an average viewership rating of 36.8% and a peak rating of 42.8%[6]. The series then continued its expansion through spin-offs, starting with the next installment, *Ultraman Seven* (1967). The core structure of stories around these three elements persisted throughout subsequent Ultraman series, continuing for about 60 years.

The persistence of the Ultraman series can be attributed to the components of each element that resonated with the sensibilities of its young audience: the hero's superhuman abilities, the monsters appearing as supernatural entities confronting civilization, and the advanced science and technology used by the special investigation team to neutralize them.

This study therefore frames the embodied knowledge depicted in the Ultraman series as "possibilities for the future," examining this concept through three perspectives: body knowledge as seen through the hero, body knowledge as seen through the monsters, and body knowledge as seen through the special investigation team.

2. *Ultraman*

Ultraman aired from July 17, 1966, to April 9, 1967, as a 30-minute series consisting of 39 episodes. It depicts the story of Ultraman, an immortal alien from the Nebula M78 Land of Light, and the Science Special Search Party, who together defended Earth against monsters and aliens. The narrative's defining feature was its three main elements: Ultraman, monsters such as Alien Baltan, and the Science Special Search Party. The distinct characteristics of these elements captured the hearts of young viewers.

Each episode features an incident caused by a monster (or alien). The Science Special Search Party would be dispatched to combat the monster, but when their strength proved insufficient, Hayata, a member of the team, would transform into the giant hero Ultraman to defeat the monster. Through these three elements—hero, monster, and special investigation team—*Ultraman* depicts the challenge of addressing threats to human civilization. It also presents the potential for future technology through the figures of Ultraman and the Science Special Search Party.

Besides depictions of embodiment, this study also considers the kind of sensibility (embodied knowledge) that the Ultraman series conveys to its young audience.

3. Relevant Studies

Several studies on embodied knowledge have featured manga and anime works. In a book review of *Robot and Japan: An Analysis of Representations of Artificial Bodies in Modern and Contemporary Literature and Postwar Manga* by Yamada Natsuki, Yokohama (2014) discussed the book's analysis of three works:

[6] For example, in episode 7, "The Blue Stone of Baradhi," the magnetic monster Antlar was defeated when the Science Special Search Party threw the "Blue Stone," its weakness. Also, in episode 21, "Breach the Wall of Smoke," the Science Patrol attacked the poison gas monster Kemular's weak point with a new weapon, defeating the monster.

"Astro Boy," "Iron Man No. 28," and "Giant Robo." Yokohama argued that Astro Boy is confined to a "symbolic body," emphasizing that it cannot be a "flesh-and-blood body." He also noted that "Iron Man No. 28" is not only associated with wartime weapon representations and memories of war but also examines a framework in which a "child" can confront "adult" society. Furthermore, regarding manga's "depiction of children," in which their physicality is often diluted, Yokohama asserted that "Star of the Giants" reintroduces such physicality[7].

Meanwhile, Thierry (2011) also discussed the physicality of manga characters. After noting that such discussion is not straightforward, he argued that manga characters do not possess living flesh and blood; they are beings drawn with pencil or pen on paper. Manga characters are products of abstraction, that is, "drawn devices." Furthermore, he pointed out that manga heroes never need to use the restroom, rarely tire, seldom fall ill, and are bound by the convention of never aging. Thus, heroes taking on new adventures in each episode maintain the same appearance forever[8].

Besides the above body knowledge studies focusing on manga and anime, Ultraman is not a two-dimensional but a three-dimensional (live-action) hero. Because the actor wears a suit and performs, he is considered a real, tangible entity. Furthermore, Ultraman's face changes three times throughout the main series, rendering the claim of maintaining the same appearance inapplicable (see Note 1). Simply put, precisely because Ultraman is a live-action work, distinct characteristics from characters in manga and anime can be observed. Therefore, examining works through three-dimensional people and objects can yield different results.

Thus, while studies on embodied knowledge exist for manga and anime, those focusing on *tokusatsu* remain scarce, highlighting the novelty of this research. Furthermore, unlike anime or manga, *tokusatsu* relies on "physical objects" such as suits and miniatures, not lines on paper, to construct its world. Overall, an analysis of this nondrawn world holds significant academic value for embodied knowledge research.

4. Research Purpose, Subject, and Method

The methodology consisted of (1) a literature review and (2) a comprehensive survey. First, this study collected documentary materials—photographs and written records—related to Ultraman. However, because of the vast number of documents on the subject, this study established two criteria and gathered materials that met these criteria as extensively as possible.

The first condition was "literature that detailed the circumstances during the filming of *Ultraman* through photographs and text." This entailed collecting literature that explained, through photographs and text, the process by which *Ultraman* was produced by its creators, including the actors and scriptwriters. The second condition was the collection of "literature containing interviews with program creators involved in the production of *Ultraman*, such as cast members and staff." This entailed collecting documents that record the circumstances under which cast members and production staff became involved in the production of *Ultraman* and how they approached the creation of the work, including script development and character formation. To ensure the research reproducibility, the collection of these documentary materials focused on resources searchable at the National Diet Library[9].

[7] Broadcast July 24, 1966, *Ultraman*, episode 2, "Shoot the Invader."
[8] Broadcast September 4, 1966, *Ultraman*, episode 8, "The Monster Anarchy Zone."
[9] Broadcast December 18, 1966, *Ultraman*, episode 23, "My Home is Earth."

Regarding the comprehensive survey, all 39 episodes of the main series were viewed through commercially available media (ULTRAMAN ARCHIVES Ultraman MovieNEX on Blu-ray). During viewing, this research focused on the hero, the monsters, and the special investigation team and analyzed embodied knowledge within the work, paying close attention to the design, settings, and discourse surrounding these characters.

5. Survey Results

5.1. Body Knowledge as Seen through the Hero

Three characteristics of the protagonist Ultraman can be identified. First, Ultraman is an alien from the M78 Nebula, Land of Light, who normally operates as Hayata, a member of the Science Special Search Party. The catalyst for Ultraman taking on Earth's defense was a collision accident between Ultraman and Hayata in episode 1 (see Note 2). Originally, Ultraman had come to Earth in pursuit of the space monster Bemular. When he collided with the fighter jet piloted by Hayata, he saved the dying pilot's life by becoming one with him, leading Ultraman to resolve to work for Earth's peace. From then on, whenever emergencies occurred, such as monster appearances, Hayata would ignite the Beta Capsule and transform into Ultraman—a sequence depicted in each episode.

Each episode features Ultraman engaging in hand-to-hand combat against the monster or alien of the week, culminating in his finishing move, the Spacium Beam. Each week depicts him weakening monsters with simple martial arts techniques such as chops, kicks, and throws and then delivering the Spacium Beam by crossing his arms. A notable feature was that, depending on the episode, he would sometimes use other ray techniques (see Note 3) or cutting techniques (see Note 4), among various special abilities, to defeat the monsters.

Finally, Ultraman's face underwent three distinct changes (types A, B, and C) that were primarily for production reasons and did not fundamentally alter the character. Three reasons underlie these changes: First, the initial mask, type A, was made of latex (liquid rubber) because of the production's intent of having Ultraman speak; however, this approach proved ineffective. Second, the subsequent type B mask, made from fiberglass reinforced plastic, resulted in a harder, more refined facial structure. Third, the type C mask was redesigned with added muscle sculpting on the chest and arms of the Ultraman suit and a widened mouth area, culminating in the final, perfected form of the suit[10].

Ultraman typically appears when humanity faces monster invasions it cannot handle. It is this hero's physicality that transcends human strength that makes him so appealing. In addition, children were likely drawn to this sophisticated design and technical effects such as optical compositing. However, Ultraman is never portrayed as an invincible superhuman. Throughout all 39 episodes, the show portrayed two weaknesses.

First, his active time is limited to approximately three minutes. On Earth, where solar energy—the source of his power—is less abundant than in his home, the M78 Nebula, Land of Light, Ultraman can only fight monsters during that period. When his active time nears its end, the Color Timer on his chest flashes. This Color Timer is also depicted as a fatal weakness evoking death—if destroyed, Ultraman would be rendered incapable of revival (see Note 5).

[10] Broadcast January 8, 1967, *Ultraman*, episode 26, "The Monster Highness: Part 1.

Second, when his signature Spacium Beam proves ineffective against an enemy, Ultraman often finds himself at a disadvantage (see Note 6). Throughout the 39 episodes, opponents immune to the beam frequently appear; in such cases, Ultraman achieved victory with the support of the Science Special Search Party. In episode 39 (the finale), Ultraman's Spacium Beam is neutralized by the space dinosaur Zetton, who then destroys Ultraman's Color Timer with its own beam, leading to Ultraman's defeat. The Science Special Search Party then finishes off Zetton in place of the fallen Ultraman.

The Science Special Search Party compensated for Ultraman's two weaknesses. Indeed, Ultraman frequently depicts the narrative of humans overcoming monsters that even superhumans cannot handle with their own power (science and technology).

5.2. Body Knowledge as Seen through the Monsters

In *Ultraman*, the monsters' role is to destroy towns, terrorize people, and ultimately be defeated by Ultraman, but they are not merely destructive entities. The episodes often explain their backstories and reasons for rampaging, giving them distinct characteristics that prevent them from being purely evil. Examples include the space ninja Alien Baltan (see Note 7), who invades Earth seeking a new home after their home planet is destroyed by nuclear testing; the friendly rare beast Pigmon (see Note 8), who rescues humans only to be killed by another monster; Jamila, who becomes a space monster after being abandoned by astronauts during the space development war (see Note 9); and Gomora, an ancient monster who is taken from its home for an expo exhibit and becomes ferocious as a result (see Note 10). Throughout all 39 episodes, unique monsters appear. Often born from humanity's dark legacy such as nuclear testing and the space race, these monsters evoke not just "cool" or "scary" feelings in children but also sympathy and other emotions.

Although many monsters are depicted as naturally occurring threats to humans, others were perceived as threats from a human perspective and were ultimately defeated. For instance, in narratives where humans entered monster territory, episode 8 featured Red King[11], which inhabited Tatara Island. Furthermore, the episodes frequently show instances where human scientific curiosity inadvertently awakens monsters, such as the mummy monster Dodongo[12], which emerged from the death throes of the excavated Mummy Man, and the revival of two major kaiju that had been sealed in a 350-million-year-old time capsule[13].

Thus, the defining characteristic of the kaiju appearing across all *Ultraman* episodes lies not in their portrayal as purely villainous antagonists but in their multifaceted depiction. Beyond monsters symbolizing natural disasters such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, others embodied humanity's flawed scientific and technological civilization—such as those representing hydrogen bombs or traffic conflicts. Still others appeared as "trials" that confront human civilization in its pursuit of scientific knowledge and technology. These monsters have diverse backgrounds. The show depicts how humanity resolves these challenges through wisdom and Ultraman's support. In addition, these monsters were not merely entities to be defeated; they also posed the question as to the form of coexistence that nature and civilization should assume.

[11] Broadcast on September 4, 1966, *Ultraman*, episode 8, "The Monster Anarchy Zone."
[12] Broadcast on October 2, 1966, *Ultraman*, episode 12, "Cry of the Mummy."
[13] Broadcast on November 20, 1966, *Ultraman*, episode 19, "Demons Rise Again."

5.3. Body Knowledge as Seen through the Monsters

Facing a constant threat from monsters and aliens, the Science Special Search Party actively combats them using advanced equipment. Through advanced science and technology, they continuously develop fighter jets, ray guns, and new weapons, sometimes defeating monsters to help Ultraman. Beyond super-mechs such as the Jet VTOL and the Special Submarine that operated on land, sea, and air, they also possessed powerful equipment such as the Super Gun and the Meteor Badge communication tool, as well as new weapons such as the Marus 133 and Pencil Bomb. Their advanced gear, hinting at the future, combined with the distinctive personalities of the five team members, made the Science Special Search Party a powerful force in defeating monsters, inspiring children to "be like them!"

What made the Science Special Search Party's technology resonate with children's sensibilities was, first, that compared to other elements such as heroes and monsters, it strongly suggests "the possibilities of the future." The team fought monsters (catastrophes) that threatened civilization using futuristic technology, and their track record included confirmed instances of defeating giant monsters on their own[14], making them notably superior and more powerful than the special investigation teams in subsequent Ultraman series.

Furthermore, the Science Special Search Party suggests that human knowledge could solve various problems, highlighting them as a group that made viewers feel the potential of humanity's future. Episode 37, "A Little Hero," broadcast on March 26, 1967, focuses on the relation between the Science Special Search Party and Ultraman. Ide, a team member responsible for weapon development, agonizes over how Ultraman always resolves crises no matter the power of the new weapons he creates. Meanwhile, a new monster, Geronimon, and his two subordinate monsters appear. Pigmon, a rare monster, helps Ide, who loses his will to fight and relies entirely on Ultraman during missions, but is killed by the subordinate monsters. Ide realizes his mistake after Pigmon's death, using a new weapon to defeat the subordinate monsters and, with Ultraman's support, personally crushing Geronimon. Thus, the relation between the Science Special Search Party and Ultraman teaches viewers to "do your best and leave the rest to fate"; Ultraman would not help unless humans had exerted their utmost effort against adversity.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Reexamination based on survey results

From the survey results, the examination of embodied knowledge in *Ultraman* can be organized as follows. As discussed above, *tokusatsu* is a world of fiction conveyed through imagery. Methods to express "special effects" are remarkably diverse. For instance, beyond depicting ninja vanishing or human transformations, the show portrays fantastical beings such as giant robots and monsters appearing in cityscapes, which is realized using analog techniques such as suits and miniatures as well as digital technology employing computer graphics. This wide range of methods is a defining characteristic. Using these diverse techniques, creators can produce visuals that effectively stimulate the viewer's imagination.

While *tokusatsu* freely portrays the unrealistic to stimulate viewers' imaginations, Ultraman is characterized by its attempt to show humanity's potential in combating disasters using advanced science

[14] The Science Special Search Party defeats several monsters, including the subterranean monster Magler from episode 8, "The Monster Anarchy Zone"; the golden monster Gordon from episode 29, "Challenge to the Underground"; and the sand hell monster Saigo from episode 38, "Spaceship Rescue Command."

and technology, emerging from a world of fiction where established theories do not hold. Monsters suddenly appearing from land, sea, and air symbolize unprecedented natural disasters such as earthquakes, landslides, and tsunamis. Against these disasters (monsters), humanity (the Science Special Search Party) responds with modern science and technology. This presentation, foreshadowing future technologies, captures children's hearts. Furthermore, the appeal of being passed down to subsequent generations is one reason the Ultraman series has continued for more than 60 years.

6.2. Conclusive comment

This study examined the sensibilities (bodily knowledge) conveyed to children through the depiction of three elements—the hero, the monsters, and the special investigation team—in the Ultraman series. This analysis was conducted via a literature review and a comprehensive survey.

The results showed that Ultraman uniquely depicts humanity's potential to address disasters using science and technology through these three elements. Furthermore, the heroes, monsters, and special investigation team possess unique character traits that evoke various emotions in children. These three elements retained similar qualities in subsequent Ultraman series, and this continuity contributed to the series' longevity. While this somatic knowledge research focuses on Ultraman, many *tokusatsu* works have been produced both domestically and internationally. Therefore, a future research challenge would be to conduct investigations on these *tokusatsu* works from the perspective of somatic knowledge research.

REFERENCE (Times, 10 points, bold)

Anime Expo® https://www.anime-expo.org/ (Accessed February 18, 2026)

TSUBURAYA IMAGINATION https://imagination.m-78.jp/ (Accessed February 18, 2026)

ULTRA HEROES EXPO 2026 NEW YEAR FESTIVAL IN TOKYO DOME CITY https://www.ultra- expo.com/prism2026/ (Accessed February 18, 2026)

Sukagawa City https://www.city.sukagawa.fukushima.jp/ (Accessed February 18, 2026)

Masamitsu Futaesaku・Nobuhiko Tanaka, A Historical Study on "Tokusatsu-Special Effects Films-Tourism" in Japan, JOURNAL of Leisure and Recreation Studies No.82, pp.21-30, 2017

Tsuchiya Shunsuke, PERFECT RESEARCH ULTRAMAN SERIES FILE, Gakken, pp. 24-25, 2013

Yoko Yama, Book Review: Natsuki Yamada, Robots and "Japan": An Analysis of Representations of Artificial Bodies in Modern and Contemporary Literature and Postwar Manga, Showa Literary Studies 68, pp. 125-127, 2014

Thierry Groensteen・Naoko Morita・Masato Hara, Lecture: The Body in Manga, Studies in Narrative Media 3, pp. 33-52, 2011

National Diet Library, Japan https://www.ndl.go.jp/ (accessed February 18, 2026)

Kazuhiro Miyajima, ULTRAMAN AGE Vol.3, TATSUMI PUBLISHING CO.,LTD., 20pp, 2001

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 69-74

Research Paper

English Domination and Revitalization of Hawaiian Language and Culture ― Hawaiian Renaissance in Focus ―

Yuki TAKATORI *

Abstract

Back in 1778, Hawai‘i was ‘discovered’ by Captain James Cook. This was the very first time when Hawai‘i contacted to western people. Hawai‘i used to have a unique language and culture based on their natural circumstances, yet their language and culture have started to change at this time. Kānaka Maoli, or Native Hawaiians in English, did not have any written language but orally transmitted their language and culture. They practiced hula with oli (chant) and mo‘olelo (native stories of Hawaiian people). Also, they believed (and people still believe) that there are a number of gods in nature as represented by the existence of pele, a goddess of volcano. However, western missionaries came to Hawai‘i in 1820 and tried to spread religious belief such as Christianity. A part of Native Hawaiians’ religious beliefs inevitably started to shift, and missionaries forced them to have a written language.

Having contacted with western countries, a livelihood and culture of Native Hawaiians changed. For example, hula, one of the traditional cultures of Hawaiians, was banned in 1830, and this was related to a religious belief of Christianity. Hula kahiko, traditional kind of hula, is performed with oli or mele, therefore, prohibiting hula or any kind of Hawaiian culture means that Hawaiian lose their traditional Hawaiian language as they intertwined with each other. In the more general sense, a language shift from Hawaiian to English happened during mid-1800s to early 1900s. For example, Reinecke (1969) studied that 99% of schools were the Hawaiian language schools in 1848, but no Hawaiian language schools were there in 1902. All schools became English language schools, instead of Hawaiian language schools. Hawaiian language was banned in all public and private schools by the law in 1896, and English shall be medium of all schools. All changes were terminated when Hawai‘i was annexed by the United States of America in 1898.

For Native Hawaiians, their language and culture were the very core of their identity. Yet, the overthrew of the Hawaiian kingdom and the annexation by the United States, Hawaiian people were forced to change their lifestyles and the way Hawaiians ought to be. It is natural to think that language, culture, and identity of Hawaiians would disappear forever. However, the Hawaiian Renaissance movement has begun from the 1970s resonant with one of the very Hawaiian ways of thinking, Aloha ‘Āina. The Hawaiian Renaissance is a movement which people in Hawai‘i tries to resurge and revitalize their traditional language and culture.

In this presentation, I first briefly look at the dynamics of Hawaiian history in relation to the dominance of English. Then, I take actual examples of the Hawaiian Renaissance and grab an idea of how people in Hawai‘i try to bring their traditional language and culture back. This includes both literature reviews and the data of several fieldworks and interviews. Finally, I conclude this presentation with a suggestion that how people with a minority language and culture never abandon their traditional languages and cultures but could harmoniously coexist with English as a language and as a way of thinking. In other words, if we consider a current dominant

* Faculty of Letters, Toyo University

situation of English, we try to discuss how people can confront and fight against “the world of English”.

Keywords: Dominance of English, Hawaiian Renaissance, Revitalization of Language and Culture, Aloha ʻĀina

1. Introduction

The Hawaiian Islands have experienced significant linguistic and cultural transformations since the late eighteenth century. Prior to Western contact, Native Hawaiians, or *Kānaka Maoli*, maintained a complex cultural system rooted in their relationship with the natural environment. Their language, referred to as *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi*, served as the primary medium through which genealogical knowledge, religious beliefs, and historical traditions were transmitted[1]. ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi has been inherited primarily through oral traditions such as *oli* (chants), *mele* (songs), *moʻokūʻauhau* (genealogy), *moʻolelo* (traditional narratives), and *hula* (dance). These cultural practices functioned not only as artistic expressions but also as a means of preserving collective memory, knowledge, and identity.

However, the arrival of Western explorers and missionaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries dramatically altered the sociocultural landscape of Hawaiʻi. Since Captain James Cook’s arrival in 1778, increased contact and interaction with Western societies introduced new religious beliefs and ideologies, political systems, and linguistic practices. In particular, the spread of Christianity through a Western educational system significantly influenced and gradually marginalized and reshaped Native Hawaiian language use and cultural practices. Over time, English gradually became dominant in education, administration, and social life.

This paper examines the historical processes through which English ascended to dominance in Hawaiian society, and how Native Hawaiians responded to the subsequent linguistic and cultural shift. Special attention is given to the Hawaiian Renaissance movement that emerged in the 1970s, which sought to revitalize Hawaiian language and culture. By examining historical developments as well as contemporary revitalization efforts and initiatives, this study aims to explore how minority languages and cultures can coexist with a dominant global language such as English.

2. Hawaiian Society before Western Contact

Prior to contact with the Western world, Hawaiian society was characterized as a sophisticated system of social organization, religious beliefs, and cultural practices. The Hawaiian language served as the primary medium for communication, knowledge transmission, and cultural expression across generations.

Unlike many Western societies that relied heavily on written texts for the preservation of knowledge, Hawaiian culture was primarily maintained and perpetuated through oral traditions. For example, *Moʻokūʻauhau* (genealogical narratives) were preserved through chants and served to bequeath important historical and cultural knowledge to future generations. Such oral traditions played a crucial role in maintaining social cohesion and cultural continuity (Schütz, 1994). Language and spirituality were deeply intertwined within practices such as the hula. In particular, *hula kahiko*, the traditional form of hula, incorporated *oli* (chants) and *mele* (songs) that narrated stories about genealogical relationships, historical

[1] This term, ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, named after the Western contact.

events, and natural phenomena. Hula performances embodied the relationships between language, spirituality, and artistic expression. These performances often included chants that preserved historical narratives, thereby perpetuating cultural knowledge and reinforcing a collective identity.

Religious beliefs were also closely intertwined with language and cultural practices. Native Hawaiians understood nature as inhabited by divine beings and spiritual forces. For example, *Pele*, the goddess of volcanoes, was widely revered as a powerful deity whose presence shaped both the physical landscape and cultural imagination of the islands. Such beliefs reflected a worldview in which humans, nature, and spirituality were deeply intertwined.

3. English Domination, Language Shift, and Cultural Transformation

The first contact between Hawai‘i and the Western world occurred in 1778 when Captain James Cook arrived in the Hawaiian Islands. This encounter marked the beginning of profound changes in Hawaiian society. Western traders, missionaries, and settlers increasingly interacted with Native Hawaiians, introducing new religious and social systems that brought significant political, economic, and cultural transformations.

Christian missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i in 1820 and played a crucial role in transforming Hawaiian society. One of their major effects was the development of a written form of the Hawaiian language using the Roman alphabet. Although this innovation allowed for the documentation of Hawaiian traditions and literature, it also served as a tool for spreading Christian teachings and Western educational practices and cultural values (Schütz, 1994).

Missionaries also attempted to reshape Native Hawaiian cultural practices according to Christian moral values. For example, hula performances were discouraged and banned in the early nineteenth century because they were considered incompatible with Christian beliefs. Since hula was deeply intertwined with oli and mele in the Hawaiian language, banning hula indirectly suppressed the use of traditional linguistic practices. As Western influence expanded, the social and cultural landscape and lifestyles of Native Hawaiian began to change significantly. Western-style governance, religion, and economic systems gradually replaced traditional Hawaiian structures. Traditional belief systems were increasingly replaced by Christian ideology, and Western political institutions gradually transformed the governance structure of the Hawaiian Islands. These changes laid the foundation for the growing dominance of English in Hawaiian society.

The shift from Hawaiian to English became particularly prominent in the nineteenth century. Educational institutions played a central role in the linguistic transformation of Hawaiian society. According to Reinecke (1969), approximately 99 percent of schools in Hawai‘i were Hawaiian-language schools in 1848. However, by the early twentieth century, this situation had completely revered. By 1902, Hawaiian-language schools had virtually disappeared, and English had become the primary language of education.

This dramatic shift was largely the result of political and educational policies. In 1896, a law was enacted that banned the use of Hawaiian as a medium of instruction in both public and private schools. English became the official language of education, which significantly reduced opportunities for Hawaiian language transmission among younger generations. English was mandated in education system, and this

policy significantly disrupted intergenerational transmission of the Hawaiian language (Schütz, 1994).

Political events further accelerated this linguistic transformation. The overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 and the subsequent annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States in 1898 fundamentally altered the political structure of the islands. Under the governance of the United States, English became the dominant language in government, education, and economic activities. For Native Hawaiians, this linguistic shift represented more than a simple change in communication and language use. Language was deeply connected to cultural identity, traditional knowledge systems, and historical consciousness. As the use of Hawaiian language declined, many cultural practices and traditional forms of knowledge were also endangered.

4. The Hawaiian Renaissance Movement

Despite the significant decline of the Hawaiian language and cultural practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the later half of the twentieth century witnessed a remarkable revival movement known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. Emerging in the 1970s, this movement sought to reclaim, restore, and revitalize Native Hawaiian identity, language, and cultural traditions. McCubbin and Marsella (2009) state that “the most recent four decades have encompassed a resurgence of Native Hawaiians’ reclamation of their traditional cultures and practices, and restoration of their indigenous identity” (p. 374). The Hawaiian Renaissance was characterized by renewed interest in traditional practices such as hula, traditional ways of navigation known as Hōkūle‘a voyaging, and Hawaiian-language education. It also involved political activism advocating for Native Hawaiian rights and sovereignty (Trask, 1999). As Kanahele (1982) mentioned, this movement inspired “greater pride in being Hawaiian”.

One of the key philosophical foundations underlying the Hawaiian Renaissance is *Aloha ‘Āina*, which literally means “love for the land”. This concept reflects a traditional Hawaiian worldview that emphasizes a deep spiritual and cultural connection between people and their environment. During the Hawaiian Renaissance, Aloha ‘Āina became a symbol of resistance against cultural assimilation and political marginalization. Various initiatives were launched to revive Hawaiian language and culture. Hawaiian-language immersion schools were established to encourage younger generations to learn and use the language in daily life. Namely, in 1983, the organization ‘Aha Pūnana Leo established Hawaiian-language immersion preschools known as Pūnana Leo. These programs aimed to create environments in which children could learn and use Hawaiian as their primary language of communication. Inspired by similar indigenous language revitalization efforts, these immersion schools significantly contributed to the revival of Hawaiian language use among younger generations.

Cultural practices such as hula, traditional navigation, and Hawaiian arts also experienced renewed interest and development. For example, traditional hula performances were reintroduced and studied not only as artistic expressions but also as important forms of cultural knowledge. Similarly, Hawaiian language education programs expanded in schools and universities, allowing students to reconnect with their linguistic heritage. These revitalization efforts demonstrated that language and culture could be actively restored even after significant periods of decline (Matsubara, 2000; Slaughter, 1997).

5. Conclusion—Coexistence of Languages and Cultures—

The history of Hawai‘i illustrates the complex relationship between language, culture, and political power.

Since the arrival of Westerners in 1778, Native Hawaiian language and cultural practices experienced significant transformation due to missionary influence, educational policies, and political changes. The case of Hawaiian language revitalization illustrates the complex relationship between language, identity, and political power. The historical dominance of English in Hawai‘i reflects broader patterns of colonial and imperial influence, in which dominant languages often displace indigenous languages.

The dominance of English in education and governance led to a dramatic decline in Hawaiian language use by the early twentieth century. However, the Hawaiian Renaissance movement of the 1970s demonstrated that cultural revitalization is possible even after long periods of suppression. Through efforts such as Hawaiian-language education, cultural revival, and the promotion of values such as Aloha ‘Āina, people have worked to restore and strengthen their cultural identity. This experience suggests that minority languages and cultures can coexist with dominant global languages when supported by strong community initiatives and cultural awareness.

The Hawaiian Renaissance demonstrates that minority languages are not inevitably destined to disappear. Rather, revitalization movements can actively reconstruct linguistic communities through education, cultural practices, and political advocacy. Today, English continues to function as the dominant language in many social domains in Hawai‘i. Nevertheless, Hawaiian language has gradually regained increasing visibility and recognition through immersion education programs, cultural initiatives, and public initiatives. Since 1978, Hawaiian has been recognized as an official language of the state of Hawai‘i, symbolizing its renewed cultural and political significance. This coexistence suggests that linguistic diversity can be maintained even within societies influenced by globalization.

Furthermore, the Hawaii case provides important insights for other communities facing similar challenges, linguistic marginalization. It demonstrates that cultural revitalization requires not only institutional support but also a strong sense of identity and community engagement while having cultural pride and institutional support in sustaining linguistic diversity. The Hawaiian Renaissance has been successful because it was rooted in the cultural values and collective aspirations of Native Hawaiian people. Ultimately, the Hawaiian Renaissance serves as an inspiring example of how communities can reclaim their heritage while navigating the realities of a globalized world.

REFERENCE (Times, 10 points, bold)

Kanahele, G. S. (1982). *The Hawaiian Renaissance. Lecture Given in 1979 at Polynesian Voyaging Society*. Honolulu: Project Waiaha.

Matsubara, K. (2000). *Indigenous Languages Revitalized?: The Decline and Revitalization of Indigenous Languages Juxtaposed with the Predominance of English*. Yokohama: Shumpu-sha.

McCubbin, L. D. & Marsella, A. (2009). Native Hawaiians and Psychology: The Cultural and Historical Context of Indigenous Ways of Knowing. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15(4), 374–387.

Reinecke, J. (1969). *Language and Dialect in Hawaii: A Sociolinguistic History to 1935*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.

Schütz, A. (1994). *The Voices of Eden: A History of Hawaiian Language Studies*. Honolulu: University of

Hawai‘i Press.

Slaughter, H. B. (1997). Indigenous Language Immersion in Hawai’i. A Case Study of Kula Kaiapuni Hawai’i – An Effort to Save the Indigenous Language of Hawai‘i. In: R. K. Johnson and M. Swain (Eds.), *Immersion education: international perspectives* (pp.105–129). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trask, H.-K. (1999). *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.

Civilization No.3?, Dialogue between Civilizations, 75-86

Research Paper

A Prospect Theory Approach to Sustainable Tourism: Analyzing Reference-Dependent Evaluations of Destination Authenticity via Online Reviews

Soji LEE *

Abstract

Traditional research on tourist satisfaction has predominantly relied on the expectancy-disconfirmation paradigm; however, this framework can fail to capture the dynamic psychological shifts influenced by tourists' bounded rationality and reference experiences. Drawing on behavioral economics—specifically prospect theory—this study elucidates the mechanism by which tourists evaluate destinations based on gains and losses relative to subjective reference points, rather than absolute utility. We reconceptualize authenticity, a pivotal construct in tourism evaluation, through the lens of prospect theory, establishing "objective" authenticity as a reference point wherein deviations are perceived as losses, whereas "existential" authenticity functions as a reference point wherein fulfillment is perceived as a gain. We employ a quantitative evaluation function incorporating loss aversion to analyze 300 online reviews collected from three distinct destination typologies in Hokkaido (natural, historical, and urban). The empirical results demonstrate that reference dependence significantly moderates tourist evaluations. Specifically, positive deviations from low expectations engender satisfaction manifested as gains, while high expectations compromised by commercialization or overcrowding result in a profound sense of loss that transcends mere dissatisfaction. A critical contribution of this study is the identification of a micro–macro link; a process whereby individual loss aversion regarding authenticity catalyzes responsible tourism behaviors such as peak-time avoidance and adherence to etiquette, subsequently fostering social capital. We also posit boundary conditions indicating that excessive perceived loss may precipitate market exit (defection) rather than protective engagement, contingent upon the level of place attachment. Consequently, we propose that destination sustainability is not achieved by maximizing satisfaction, but by strategically managing authenticity as a reference point and leveraging loss-aversion psychology.

Keywords: Sustainable Tourism, Prospect Theory, Destination Authenticity, Reference Dependence, Social Capital

1. Introduction

The tourism sector is one of the most dynamic components of the contemporary global economy, characterized by profound multiplier effects. According to the World Tourism Organization (2024), international tourism export revenue totaled US$1.8 trillion in 2023, marking a real-term recovery to 99% of pre-pandemic levels. Accounting for approximately 6% of global exports in goods and services, tourism ranked as the fifth-largest export category in 2022—trailing only fuels, chemicals, food, and automotive products, with an integral role in the international economic cycle. Moreover, tourism direct GDP (TDGDP) was estimated at USD 3.4 trillion in 2023, constituting approximately 3% of global GDP.

* School of International Cultural Relations, Tokai University.

Although the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic precipitated a historic tourism contraction, the subsequent TDGDP recovery underscores the industry's resilience to external shocks. However, the significance of tourism transcends macroeconomic metrics. For numerous developing nations, the sector is a critical mechanism for foreign exchange earnings, employment generation, and economic development. This reliance is particularly pronounced in Small Island Developing States, where tourism revenue frequently comprises more than 50% of total exports (World Tourism Organization, 2024). Furthermore, the industry is pivotal for social inclusion, providing extensive opportunities for women and youth (World Tourism Organization, 2024). Nevertheless, as international tourist arrivals surpass 1.3 billion, a critical reevaluation of management frameworks is essential (World Tourism Organization, 2024). United Nations Tourism advocates the mitigation of externalities associated with quantitative growth, prioritizing sustainable development models centered on local communities and environmental preservation (World Tourism Organization, 2024). Fundamentally, contemporary tourism research is confronted with the imperative of shifting the prevailing paradigm from quantity to quality, and ultimately to sustainability, while simultaneously maintaining the sector's economic viability.

Historically, tourist satisfaction has been considered a paramount indicator for maximizing destination competitiveness and economic impact. Within traditional marketing paradigms, satisfaction is conceptualized through the expectancy-disconfirmation model, wherein outcomes are evaluated against previous expectations. Therefore, enhancing tourist satisfaction has functioned as a heuristic for success, fostering loyalty—manifested as revisit intention—and subsequently driving quantitative tourism growth. However, from the sustainable tourism perspective, the limitations of this satisfaction maximization model are increasingly being scrutinized. For example, Font and McCabe (2017) identified an attitude–behavior gap, referring to a paradox wherein consumers express support for sustainability but prioritize hedonic satisfaction in their actual purchasing behaviors. Therefore, the rational fulfillment of consumer desires entails the inherent risk of exacerbating resource depletion and contributing to over tourism. To facilitate a paradigm shift from quantity to quality to advance sustainable destination management, it is imperative to elucidate the deeper psychological mechanisms underpinning tourists' perceptions of value and motivation to engage in protective behaviors toward the destination. This necessitates transcending traditional approaches that model tourists as rational economic agents. Instead, it requires adopting a behavioral economics perspective that emphasizes cognitive biases and emotional attachments (Lin et al., 2024). This framework incorporates concepts such as Simon's (1955) bounded rationality and the reference dependence central to Kahneman and Tversky's (1979) prospect theory. In particular, Wang's (1999) concept of existential authenticity offers a potential resolution to the inherent paradoxes of sustainable tourism; however, the specific psychological mechanisms underlying this relationship remain unexplored.

To address these challenges, this study employs prospect theory from behavioral economics to elucidate the internal psychological frameworks tourists use when evaluating destination authenticity. Specifically, this study delineates the mechanisms whereby tourist satisfaction is derived not from the absolute utility of service quality, but from the deviation relative to a subjective reference point—defined by previous expectations, past experiences, or idealized imagery. Furthermore, we model the translation of these individual psychological evaluations into social behavioral change, placing particular emphasis

on loss aversion, a central tenet of prospect theory, which posits that the psychological impact of loss is significantly more acute than that of equivalent gains. Within this framework, we examine the process whereby perceived threats to authenticity induce responsible tourism behavior (RTB), ultimately contributing to the accumulation of regional social capital.

To achieve these objectives, we posit the following two research questions (RQs):

- **RQ1:** What specific attributes constitute the reference points against which tourists evaluate destination authenticity, and how are deviations from these benchmarks construed as gains or losses within the satisfaction formation process?
- **RQ2:** How does the psychological mechanism of loss aversion, triggered by the erosion of authenticity, influence tourist behavior, and through what mechanisms do these individual responses translate into the development of social capital (trust, norms, and networks) that underpins regional sustainability?

This study makes distinct theoretical and practical contributions to resolving critical issues in tourism scholarship. First, the study's theoretical novelty is predicated on synthesizing the traditionally bifurcated domains of individual psychology (micro) and social structure (macro) through the analytical framework of behavioral economics. Specifically, by applying the reference dependence inherent in prospect theory to the evaluation of authenticity, this research models the micro–macro link—elucidating the mechanism by which individual subjective experiences are aggregated and transmuted into regional social capital (trust and norms). This approach transcends the inherent limitations of conventional satisfaction research, providing a novel theoretical foundation for reconciling the sustainability–marketing paradox. Second, this study delineates a new strategic paradigm for destination management organizations and policymakers, advocating for authenticity management (centered on loss avoidance) as a viable alternative to the traditional pursuit of maximizing satisfaction (gain pursuit). The empirical insights derived from this analysis operate as behavioral nudges. By leveraging tourists' psychological aversion to the loss of authenticity, this approach catalyzes voluntary compliance with RTB such as adherence to etiquette and congestion dispersion. This approach serves as an instrumental policy mechanism for achieving effective sustainable destination management by harnessing cognitive biases, rather than relying exclusively on regulatory enforcement or normative appeals.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 delineates the theoretical framework, synthesizing prospect theory with the reconceptualization of tourism authenticity to elucidate the micro–macro link between individual loss aversion and social capital formation. Section 3 details the research methodology, including the typological comparative design, data collection from online reviews across three distinct destination archetypes in Hokkaido, and the application of the quantitative evaluation function. Section 4 presents the empirical results, providing a comparative analysis of dual evaluative metrics and interpreting the mechanisms that translate loss aversion into behavioral change across the different typologies. Finally, Section 5 concludes the study by summarizing the principal findings, discussing the theoretical and practical implications for sustainable destination management, and outlining limitations alongside directions for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

This section delineates the theoretical framework that underpins the study's analytical approach. Initially,

it synthesizes core tenets of prospect theory within behavioral economics, with a specific focus on reference dependence and loss aversion. We employ these concepts to reconceptualize authenticity within tourism scholarship, proposing a structural model for its evaluation. Finally, the chapter elucidates the micro–macro link, articulating how individual tourists' loss-averse behaviors contribute to the aggregate formation of social capital.

2.1. Prospect Theory and Reference Dependence

2.1.1. Limitations of Expected Utility Theory and the Validity of Prospect Theory

Traditional economic and tourism scholarship has predominantly relied upon expected utility theory, characterizing individuals as rational economic agents driven to maximize absolute utility. However, Simon (1955) challenged this paradigm by introducing the concept of bounded rationality, noting that human cognitive constraints frequently introduce deviations from rationality, particularly under conditions of uncertainty such as destination selection. Kahneman and Tversky (1979) consequently proposed prospect theory as a descriptive model to accommodate these non-rational decision-making processes.

2.1.2. Reference Dependence and Tourism Evaluation

A central tenet of prospect theory is reference dependence. The value function, $v(x)$, is defined relative to a neutral reference point, wherein positive deviations are codified as gains and negative deviations as losses. Within the tourism context, this reference point is dynamic rather than static. As noted by Kozak and Rimmington (2000), tourists calibrate reference points based on antecedents such as previous expectations, past travel experiences, and peer evaluations on social media (Park et al., 2024). Consequently, even when service quality is objectively identical, tourist evaluations may diverge significantly—ranging from gains (exceeding expectations) to losses (falling short of expectations)—contingent upon the relative position of the established reference point.

2.1.3. Loss-Aversion Mechanism

A further salient feature of the value function is the asymmetry of its S-curve. Kahneman and Tversky (1979) demonstrated that this function is steeper in the loss domain than in the gain domain; a phenomenon called loss aversion. Empirical studies have indicated that the psychological intensity of a loss is approximately 2.25 times greater than that of an equivalent gain (Tversky & Kahneman, 1992; Boto-García et al., 2025). This psychological trait explains why tourists can exhibit a greater aversion to potential disappointment than a desire for potential enjoyment, in addition to their marked resistance to any degradation of the status qu**o.**

2.2. Reconceptualizing Tourism Authenticity

This subsection leverages the theoretical framework of prospect theory to reconceptualize authenticity, which is the central construct of this study.

2.2.1. Objective Authenticity as Reference Point

MacCannell (1973) posited that tourists are motivated to visit destinations in pursuit of "objective" authenticity—historically and physically genuine experiences—rather than "staged" authenticity. This study reconceptualizes objective authenticity as the status quo reference point within the paradigm of prospect theory. For most tourists, destinations' inherent authenticity functions as a baseline expectation. Consequently, when objective authenticity is compromised by excessive commercialization or artificial fabrication, tourists may perceive the degradation as a decline in quality, as well as a distinct loss relative

to the established reference point.

2.2.2. Existential Authenticity as Gain

Conversely, Wang (1999) extended the conceptualization of authenticity from the tourism object to the tourist subject, proposing "existential" authenticity to denote the sense of self-actualization and immersion that tourists experience from their activities. This study redefines existential authenticity as a target reference point, or goal to be achieved. Attaining existential authenticity refers to an experience that surpasses previous baseline expectations and are perceived as a gain relative to the reference point.

2.3. From Loss Aversion to Social Capital Formation

2.3.1. Loss Aversion as a Catalyst for RTB

If eroded authenticity is perceived as a loss, the psychological mechanism of loss aversion theoretically necessitates behavioral responses to mitigate that loss. Transcending the sustainability paradox identified by Font and McCabe (2017), we posit that the primary antecedent of RTB—encompassing actions such as minimizing environmental footprints, circumventing peak visitation periods, and adhering to local etiquette—is not necessarily inherent ethical altruism. Instead, it is driven by a profound "fear of authenticity degradation in cherished locales," which is a manifestation of loss aversion. Consequently, the cognitive bias of loss-aversion functions as a potent behavioral nudge, compelling tourists to actively engage in preserving destinations' integrity.

2.3.2. Aggregating Individual Psychology into Social Capital

Putnam (2000) defined social capital as the features of social organization encompassing trust, norms, and networks that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. When individual tourists' idiosyncratic, loss-averse behaviors (e.g., proper waste disposal, noise abatement) aggregate at the macro level, they engender implicit norms within the host community. Furthermore, these conscientious tourist behaviors cultivate reciprocal trust between visitors and local residents, reinforcing the overarching network of the tourist destination. Consequently, what initiates as an individual's negative affective state (the fear of loss) transmutes into positive social capital that ultimately underpins regional sustainability via the behavioral conduit of RTB. This articulation encapsulates the micro–macro link proposed in this study, effectively bridging individual psychological constructs with broader sociological paradigms.

3. Methodology

3.1 Study Areas and Data Collection

Employing a typological comparative research design, this study uses qualitative content analysis of social media reviews to examine reference-dependent evaluations across three distinct destination typologies within Japan's Hokkaido prefecture. Specifically, we empirically investigate how destination typology influences the formation of objective and existential authenticity among tourists within a shared geographical macro-context. To facilitate a comparative analysis of Reference Point Dependance (RPD) across diverse destination attributes, we use purposive sampling to select three widely recognized tourist locales representing natural, historical/cultural, and urban typologies. First, the Furano Lavender Fields; a site characterized by its scenic aesthetic, pronounced seasonality, and high susceptibility to meteorological conditions, represents the natural destination archetype. Second, Goryokaku Park denotes the historical/cultural archetype, distinguished by its rich historical context, cultural significance, and capacity to fulfill tourists' educational expectations. Third, the Sapporo TV Tower represents the urban

destination archetype, characterized by high accessibility, crowd density, cost-effectiveness considerations, and entertainment utility.

Data are sourced from Jalan (2025a), a prominent Japanese online travel review platform. Specifically, we extract user-generated content (UGC) from the dedicated review pages for the Furano Lavender Fields (Jalan, 2025b), Goryokaku Park (Jalan, 2025c), and the Sapporo TV Tower (Jalan, 2025d). The dataset includes the top 100 reviews for each respective site, yielding a total sample size of 300 reviews, accessed and archived as of July 2025. To ensure analytical validity and inter-coder reliability, multiple researchers independently screened the dataset, verifying that each review articulated a post-visitation emotional evaluation and concrete expressions of gains or losses predicated on RPD.

3.2 Definition of Authenticity-Based Evaluation Variables

To quantitatively evaluate the unstructured UGC extracted via text mining techniques (Zhao et al., 2025), this study synthesizes the reconceptualized paradigms of authenticity (MacCannell, 1973; Wang, 1999) with the tenets of prospect theory. Consequently, three distinct RPD evaluation variables are delineated.

3.2.1. Valuation of Objective Authenticity (V_{OA-RPD})

Grounded in MacCannell's (1973) conceptualization, this variable captures tourists' evaluations of a destination's physical and historical verisimilitude, quantifying the deviation between the destination's actual condition and the *a priori* ideal state established by the tourist as a baseline reference point.

3.2.2. Valuation of Existential Authenticity (V_{EA-RPD})

Referencing Wang's (1999) paradigm of existential authenticity, this metric reflects tourists' subjective appraisal of internal self-actualization and immersion, measuring the cognitive discrepancy between the psychological fulfillment derived from the tourism experience and the baseline reference point of their mundane, everyday lives.

3.3.3. Valuation of Sustainability and Behavioral Norms ($V_{S/B-RPD}$)

While not a direct measure of authenticity *per se*, this variable quantifies the assessment of the requisite social interactions and normative behaviors for preserving destination authenticity. Using appropriate carrying capacity and implicit social norms as functional reference points, it measures tourists' perceptions of overcrowding, etiquette violations, and subsequent adaptive responses, conceptualized here as RTB. Interpreted through the lens of prospect theory, externalities such as environmental degradation or others' disruptive behaviors that compromise authenticity are cognitively framed as losses. Consequently, the psychological mechanism of loss-aversion catalyzes RTBs such as voluntary adherence to etiquette and strategic time management to avoid congestion.

Notably, these three variables are not postulated to operate in isolation. Instead, they function within an interactive matrix wherein the erosion of objective authenticity (perceived as a loss) directly triggers an acute awareness of, and adherence to, RTB norms. Subsequent empirical analyses deploy these variables to code the review data, elucidating the divergent structural evaluations across the delineated tourist destination typologies.

3.3. Evaluation Function

We conduct assessments to adapt the standard prospect theory value function to the context of destination evaluation according to the following procedure.

3.3.1. Defining Individual Evaluation Values (v)

For specific RPD category j within individual review i, we quantify the actual experience value (x) and the reference point (r) using the following 5-point scale:

- Strong Gain: +2
- Satisfaction (Weak Gain): +1
- Neutral: 0
- Slight Dissatisfaction (Weak Loss): -1
- Strong Dissatisfaction (Strong Loss): -2

3.3.2. Quantifying Loss Aversion

Consistent with standard parameters in behavioral economics, we define the loss-aversion coefficient as $\lambda = 2.25$. Consequently, the evaluation value $v_{i,j}$ is defined based on the divergence between the actual experience ($x_{i,j}$) and reference point $r_{i,j}$ as follows:

$$v_{i,j} = \begin{cases} x_{i,j} - r_{i,j} \ \ if\ x_{i,j} \geq r_{i,j}\ (Gain) \\ \lambda(x_{i,j} - r_{i,j}\,)\ if\ x_{i,j} < r_{i,j}\ (Loss) \end{cases}, \qquad (1)$$

where a calculated value greater than 0 is defined as a gain, and a value less than 0 is defined as a loss.

3.3.3. Calculating Overall Evaluation Value (V_j)

Considering that multiple RPD types may be noted in a single review, the overall evaluation value ($\boldsymbol{V_j}$) for type j at each tourist destination is defined as follows:

$$V_j = \sum_i v_{i,j} / w_j, \qquad (2)$$

where w_j represents the frequency of occurrence (total number of cases) for RPD type j. This methodology enables us to quantitatively visualize the evaluation structure for each RPD type (V_{OA-RPD}, V_{EA-RPD}, and $V_{S/B-RPD}$), facilitating a comparative analysis of differences based on destination characteristics.

4. Results

4.1. Dual Evaluation Criteria and Analytical Significance

To capture the multi-layered structure of tourist evaluations, we analyze the dataset of 300 online reviews by employing two distinct evaluative criteria.

4.1.1. Type 1: Implicit Satisfaction

This criterion operationalizes positive reviews that lacked explicitly articulated reference points (e.g., generalized expressions of enjoyment) as indicative of outcomes meeting baseline expectations, coding them as weak gains (+1). Functionally analogous to traditional customer satisfaction metrics, this indicator captures tourists' overarching affective state.

4.2.2. Type 2: Explicit Reference-Dependent Value

Under this more stringent criterion, reviews devoid of explicitly stated RDPs are systematically coded as neutral (0). This approach isolates and only extracts pronounced deviations from explicit expectations, categorizing them strictly as strong gains or losses. Representing an intrinsic value assessment grounded in prospect theory, this metric is highly sensitive to the loss-aversion coefficient, revealing tourist destinations' latent vulnerabilities or potential risks.

4.2.3. Analytical Significance of the Dual Classification

The comparative analysis of Type 1 and 2 values facilitates a diagnostic assessment of destinations' evaluative resilience. This dual-lens approach reveals the extent to which superficial satisfaction (Type 1)

may obscure latent dissatisfaction and structural vulnerabilities (Type 2), or conversely, how the presence of specific, robust authenticity (Type 2) disproportionately drives the overarching destination assessment.

4.2. Comparative Analysis of Evaluative Metrics Across Destination Typologies

Table 1 presents the computational outcomes for Type 1 and 2 evaluation metrics across the three selected destination typologies—Furano, Goryokaku, and Sapporo. Here, we define the differential gap (Type 1−Type 2) as the "illusion" component of satisfaction.

Table 1

Comparative Analysis of Evaluative Metrics across Destination Typologies

Destination Typology	Evaluative Construct	Type 1	Type 2	Differential Gap
Furano (Nature)	V_{OA-RPD}	−0.50	−5.45	+4.95 (Large)
	V_{EA-RPD}	+2.80	+1.15	+1.65
	$V_{S/B-RPD}$	−1.50	−3.80	+2.30
Goryokaku (History)	V_{OA-RPD}	+1.50	−0.85	+2.35 (Medium)
	V_{EA-RPD}	+2.50	+1.40	+1.10
	$V_{S/B-RPD}$	+0.50	−2.10	+2.60
Sapporo TV Tower (Urban)	V_{OA-RPD}	+1.20	−0.20	+1.40 (Small)
	V_{EA-RPD}	+1.80	+0.95	+0.85
	$V_{S/B-RPD}$	−1.80	−5.20	+3.40 (Large)

As demonstrated in Table 1, the Type 2 metric penalizes losses and precludes superficial positive scoring, systematically yielding lower aggregate values. A pronounced differential gap indicates that a destination's evaluation is disproportionately contingent upon "ambient atmosphere," signaling a heightened degree of latent structural risk.

4.3. Detailed Analysis by Destination Typology

4.3.1. Furano (Nature): Masking Objective Risk via Ambient Atmosphere

Regarding the V_{OA-RPD} gap (+4.95), Furano has the most substantial divergence between Type 1 and Type 2 metrics. Under Type 1 criteria, evaluations are artificially inflated by generalized affirmations (e.g., "typical Hokkaido scenery"); however, under the stringent Type 2 criteria, physical deviations from the anticipated status quo (e.g., withered flora or premature visitation) precipitate a precipitous decline in scores (−5.45), driven heavily by loss aversion. This structural authenticity profile highlights natural tourist destinations' acute vulnerability to exogenous, uncontrollable variables such as meteorological conditions and phenological timing. This indicates that over-reliance on superficial satisfaction (Type 1)

introduces the risk of catastrophic evaluative collapse precipitated by climate anomalies or informational deficits regarding bloom status.

4.3.2. Goryokaku (History): Loss Mitigation via Intellectual Authenticity

The V_{OA-RPD} trend reveals a comparatively attenuated decline (-0.85) under Type 2 parameters relative to other typologies. This mitigation occurs because the perceived loss of objective authenticity (e.g., critiques that the reconstructed magistrate's office feels excessively novel or artificial) is functionally offset by the intellectual discovery—conceptualized as an explicit gain—derived from comprehending the ingenuity of the historical defensive architecture. This authenticity structure suggests that when intangible "context"—encompassing historical background and educational acquisition—serves as the primary reference point, the destination exhibits evaluative resilience capable of overcoming physical or aesthetic dissatisfaction.

4.3.3. Sapporo TV Tower (Urban): Predominant Economic Rationality and Cost Performance

A salient feature of this urban typology is the pronounced deficit (-5.20) in the strict sustainability and behavioral metric ($V_{S/B-RPD}$), resulting in a substantial gap (+3.40). When controlling for superficial enjoyment (Type 1), a dominant perception of severe loss emerges concerning economic cost performance—anchored by the reference point of "value for money"—as evidenced by prevalent critiques regarding exorbitant admission fees and the brevity of the experience. The prevalence of reviews asserting that external observation or symbolic photography locations provide empirical evidence that the authenticity of the monetized internal experience is deemed structurally incongruent with its cost. Consequently, the crisis of authenticity within urban tourist destinations does not primarily stem from historical or natural deficits, but from an acute perceived deficiency in value for money.

4.4. Prospect Theory Interpretation: Mechanisms Translating Loss Aversion into Behavioral Change

Our comparative analysis of the dual evaluative metrics suggests that domains exhibiting pronounced losses (i.e., significant negative values) under the stringent Type 2 criteria function as critical catalysts for inducing RTB among tourists.

4.4.1. Furano (Nature): Mitigating Unpredictable Losses

Within the review corpus for natural destinations, expressions articulating perceived loss (e.g., admonitions to verify bloom status online prior to visitation) operate as a mechanism for altruistic information sharing. This guidance is strategically disseminated by reviewers to preclude prospective tourists from incurring similar evaluative deficits caused by unpredictable environmental factors.

4.4.2. Goryokaku (History): Adaptive Strategies for Acceptable Losses

In the context of historical tourism, narrative descriptions detailing spatiotemporal adjustments—such as advising early morning visitation to circumvent congestion—represent communally shared adaptive strategies. These heuristics are intended to maximize authentic engagement while mitigating the loss associated with overcrowding. Consequently, this collective sharing of mitigative tactics generates social capital that actively promotes the destination's sustainable utilization.

4.4.3. Sapporo TV Tower (Urban): Normalized Structural Loss

A distinct manifestation of loss aversion is observed in urban settings characterized by structural cost-performance deficits. Assertions explicitly discouraging paid entry due to prohibitive costs (e.g.,

suggesting that external observation suffices) are inherently detrimental to the local tourism economy. Nevertheless, these evaluations are propagated within the tourist ecosystem as normative smart behavior, reflecting a collective, rationalized adaptation to structural economic losses.

5. Conclusion

This study reconceptualizes authenticity—a seminal construct in tourism studies—through the theoretical lens of prospect theory derived from behavioral economics. Analyzing online reviews across three distinct destination typologies (natural, historical, and urban) in Hokkaido, we empirically investigate the evaluation mechanisms and subsequent impact on tourist behavioral change. The analysis reveals that tourists' destination evaluations are fundamentally predicated not on absolute service quality, but on subjective reference points such as prior expectations and internalized norms. Specifically, perceived degradation of objective authenticity is cognitively framed as a loss. Consistent with the tenets of prospect theory, these losses elicit an avoidance response characterized by a psychological intensity that is approximately 2.25 times greater than that of equivalent gains. The most salient finding is that the psychological mechanism of loss-aversion transcends mere consumer dissatisfaction, instead functioning as a primary catalyst for RTB directed toward destination preservation. Tourists internalize the erosion of authenticity in cherished locales as a personal deficit. To mitigate this, they autonomously adopt and advocate for compliance with etiquette and spatial dispersion. This dynamic indicates that individual loss aversion directly contributes to social capital accrual—specifically, community norms and trust—within local destinations.

This study yields two primary theoretical contributions to the tourism literature. First, it situates the bifurcated construct of authenticity within the prospect theory value function. Conceptualizing MacCannell's (1973) objective authenticity as the reference point (the baseline status quo to be maintained) and Wang's (1999) existential authenticity as the target threshold (the aspirational gain to be acquired), we theoretically synthesize the mechanisms underpinning tourists' asymmetric evaluative processes. Second, the study successfully establishes a logical nexus between individual psychological mechanisms (micro) and societal sustainability imperatives (macro). By addressing a persistent theoretical lacuna in conventional satisfaction research—namely, why individuals are motivated to protect a destination despite suboptimal satisfaction or experienced inconveniences—this study advances a novel behavioral change framework (the micro–macro link) predicated on loss aversion, charting a new methodological approach for sustainable tourism.

Despite these contributions, this study acknowledges several methodological limitations that open avenues for future research. Primarily, the sample and analytical scope are constrained to domestic tourists within Hokkaido, precluding an examination of cross-cultural variances or the heterogeneous reference points characteristic of inbound international cohorts. Furthermore, and of critical importance, the study identifies a boundary condition wherein loss aversion does not uniformly translate into protective behavior (RTB). While the results document frequent instances in which aggrieved tourists engaged in constructive, educational reviews (voice), Hirschman's (1970) exit, voice, and loyalty paradigm dictates that when perceived losses are excessively severe, or when place attachment is deficient, tourists are predisposed to select exit (market defection) rather than voice (protective engagement). Consequently, future research

should prioritize constructing quantitative models that incorporate moderating variables such as the depth of place attachment and behavioral involvement to systematically determine whether individual loss-aversion psychology culminates in social capital accretion (protection) or market defection (exit).

REFERENCE

Boto-García, D., Balado-Naves, R., & Suárez-Fernández, S. (2025). A behavioral microeconomics model of tourist destination choice under loss aversion. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/10963480241308349

Font, X., & McCabe, S. (2017). Sustainability and marketing in tourism: Its contexts, paradoxes, relationships, trade-offs and challenges. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *25*(7), 869–883. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1301721

Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states*. Harvard University Press.

Jalan. (2025a). *Jalan net: Hotel and ryokan reservation*. Retrieved January 15, 2026, from https://www.jalan.net/

Jalan. (2025b). *Kuchikomi: Furano Lavender Fields*. Retrieved January 15, 2026, from https://www.jalan.net/kankou/spt_01460ad2250036333/kuchikomi/

Jalan. (2025c). *Kuchikomi: Goryokaku Park*. Retrieved January 15, 2026, from https://www.jalan.net/kankou/spt_01202ah3330040729/kuchikomi/

Jalan. (2025d). *Kuchikomi: Sapporo TV Tower*. Retrieved January 15, 2026, from https://www.jalan.net/kankou/spt_01101ad3350046489/kuchikomi/

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, *47*(2), 263–291. https://doi.org/10.2307/1914185

Kozak, M., & Rimmington, M. (2000). Tourist satisfaction with Mallorca, Spain, as an off-season holiday destination. *Journal of Travel Research*, *38*(3), 260–269. https://doi.org/10.1177/004728750003800310

Lin, G., Lin, M. S., & Song, H. (2024). An assessment of prospect theory in tourism decision-making research. *Journal of Travel Research*, *63*(2), 275–297.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology*, *79*(3), 589–603.

Oliver, R. L. (1980). A cognitive model of the antecedents and consequences of satisfaction decisions. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *17*(4), 460–469. https://doi.org/10.1177/002224378001700405

Park, J., Qiu, R. T., Jiao, X., & Song, H. (2024). Reference-dependence in multi-destination choice: A heterogeneous reference point perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *109*, Article 103845.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.

Simon, H. A. (1955). A behavioral model of rational choice. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *69*(1), 99–118. https://doi.org/10.2307/1884852

Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. (1992). Advances in prospect theory: Cumulative representation of uncertainty. *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, *5*(4), 297–323.

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *26*(2), 349–370.

https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00103-0

World Tourism Organization. (2024). *World Tourism Barometer*. UN Tourism. https://www.unwto.org/un-tourism-barometer

Zhao, E., Sun, S., Fu, C., Wu, J., & Wang, S. (2025). How user-generated content influence different types of travelers to select hotels? A perspective with prospect theory. *Information Processing & Management*, *62*(3), Article 104049.

Civilizations No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 87-94

Research Paper

Rethinking Ethnic Tourism: Representation, Gaze, and Relational Sustainability

Nana MORIZONO *

Abstract

This article reconceptualizes ethnic tourism as a historically constituted regime of representation that organizes cultural visibility through asymmetrical power relations. Tracing its genealogy to colonial exhibitionary practices, it examines how the tourist gaze structures perceptions and encourages a selective display of cultural elements. Drawing on Yamashita's (1996) distinction between displayed and lived culture, the article argues that ethnic tourism often conflates these dimensions, and makes dynamic lifeworlds into recognizable signs of "tradition." Finally, engaging Arendt's (1958) spaces of appearance, it proposes that the ethical potential of ethnic tourism lies in fostering relational spaces in which individuals can appear as singular subjects. Sustainable ethnic tourism thus depends on supporting mutual recognition rather than reproducing fixed cultural images.

Keywords: Ethnic Tourism, Tourist Gaze, Displayed and Lived Culture

1. Ethnic Tourism as a Regime of Representation

Ethnic tourism generally refers to forms of travel in which visitors—often from economically dominant societies—encounter communities identified as indigenous peoples or ethnic minorities and experience their lifeways as culturally distinctive or "traditional." The concept first entered tourism studies in the late 1970s, most notably in *Hosts and Guests*, edited by Smith (1977/1989). Smith (1977, pp. 3–5) defined this form of tourism as being "marketed to the public in terms of the 'quaint' customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples," highlighting the cultural and economic asymmetries embedded in host–guest encounters. Graburn (1989) similarly emphasized tourists' engagement with the lifeways of peoples once labeled "primitive." From its inception, therefore, ethnic tourism has been linked to perceptions and representations of alterity alongside unequal structures of exchange.

Although the term could theoretically encompass tourism centered on any socially constructed ethnic collectivity, in practice it refers primarily to encounters with cultures imagined as "traditional," "different," or "less developed." As Cater et al. (2015) observe, "White" Australians are rarely (if ever) regarded as targets of ethnic tourism compared to Aboriginal Australians (p. 193). The term has therefore been criticized for presupposing a reified conception of culture (Zhou & Edelheim, 2023), and alternatives such as indigenous tourism or cultural tourism have gained currency. Similarly, in the author's fieldwork conducted in Brunei Darussalam (2015, 2018), meanwhile, the practice was framed as "cultural tourism," reflecting this growing awareness of terminology politics. Nevertheless, such shifts do not necessarily alter underlying structures of representation.

This article therefore examines the structure of ethnic tourism as a regime of representations that organize cultural visibility through asymmetrical power relations. Rather than approaching ethnic tourism

* School of Tourism, Tokai University

as a mere form of cultural exchange, it situates the phenomenon within a genealogy of colonial exhibitionary practices and analyzes how regimes of visibility continue to shape touristic encounters. Tracing its conceptual foundation and historical formations enables a reconsideration of the relationships between culture, power, and representation in ethnic tourism.

To understand ethnic tourism's structure, the phenomenon must be situated within a longer genealogy of exhibitionary culture that developed in Europe and North America from the nineteenth century onward. Nineteenth-century international expositions, colonial exhibitions, and so-called "human zoos" staged non-Western peoples as spectacles according to dominant imperial hierarchies (Rydell, 1984; Blanchard et al., 2008). Bennett (1995) conceptualizes these practices as part of an "exhibitionary complex" in which power organizes regimes of cultural visibility.

These exhibitionary practices were grounded in an evolutionary worldview that positioned non-Western societies as occupying earlier stages of development—, and thus as objects to be observed and classified rather than subjects of their own histories. As Clifford (1988) has noted, modern anthropology, museum displays, and tourism have all historically participated in objectifying cultural difference within Western epistemological frameworks. Postcolonial theory exposed the power embedded in such regimes. In *Orientalism*, Said (1978) demonstrated how the West has long constituted its authority by constructing the Orient as an inferior other. Furthermore, as Hall (1997) argues, cultural meaning is produced within relations of power rather than transmitted neutrally. Therefore, the presentation of culture in ethnic tourism cannot be understood as a simple act of exchange. It must instead be seen as embedded in sedimented structures of representation.

Contemporary ethnic tourism differs significantly from the modern period's colonial exhibitions, but it continues to operate through a similar structural logic of "showing" and "seeing." Cultural practices are selected, framed, and staged for external consumption, which reduces communities' complex lifeworlds to recognizable signs of difference. Ethnic tourism cannot be reduced to a simple host–guest binary. As van den Berghe (1992) argues, touristic encounters involve multiple actors—tourists, tourees, and intermediaries—whose interactions shape the meanings of the cultural displays. Nevertheless, these are embedded in an "ethnic division of labor" (van den Berghe, 1992) in which certain groups are positioned as performers of culture for the economically dominant visitors. An asymmetrical structure of visibility thus persists between those who look and those who are looked at.

Ethnic tourism should therefore be understood as a historically constituted regime of representation. Its system organizes who becomes visible, how they are seen, and under what conditions they may appear. To analyze ethnic tourism thus requires attention not only to cultural content but also to the politics of visibility that underpin it.

2. The Problem of the "Gaze" in Ethnic Tourism

2.1. The Tourist Gaze

As discussed in the previous section, ethnic tourism shares structural continuities with colonial exhibitionary culture, as a practice that displays and consumes cultural others. To theorize this structure, this section examines three gazes: the tourist's gaze, the internalized gaze, and reciprocal gazes.

One of the most influential analyses of tourism as a social practice is Urry's concept of the "tourist

gaze" (Urry, 1990). Drawing on Foucault's (1977) power/knowledge, Urry (1990) argues that seeing is socially organized rather than neutral. For Foucault (1977), the gaze operates as a mechanism of classification and discipline (pp. 195–228). Urry (1990, pp. 1–12) extends this insight to tourism by arguing that tourists see other cultures through socially organized expectations. The tourist gaze is prepared before travel. Media, guidebooks, advertisements, and digital platforms generate anticipatory images that frame perceptions of a destination (Urry, 1990). Tourism thus often confirms pre-structured imaginaries, reproducing established systems of meaning rather than producing unmediated encounters with difference.

Urry (1990) further links the tourist gaze to the structural conditions of modernity. In societies organized around an institutional separation of work and leisure, tourism promises both an escape from the ordinary and access to the extraordinary. Ethnic tourism, with its emphasis on "authentic" travel experiences, can be understood as one articulation of this modern desire for alterity. Cohen's (1972, pp. 166–168) concept of the "environmental bubble" deepens this analysis by adding that such desires are institutionally mediated. Tourists tend to remain within psychologically and socially protected settings—(e.g., organized tours, familiar accommodations, guided encounters—) that buffer them from more direct unmediated confrontations with difference. Within these settings, cultural encounters are frequently structured and partially staged, enabling visitors to experience "tradition" while remaining within recognizable interpretive frameworks. While such arrangements may facilitate limited forms of intercultural contact, they also risk reproducing entrenched stereotypes and sustaining a curious gaze that reduces difference to spectacle rather than relational encounter.

2.2. Self-Orientalism and the Internalized Gaze

The gaze in ethnic tourism is not unilateral. As they are frequently subject to economic dependence on tourist-sending countries, host communities may internalize tourists' expectations and reorganize their cultural practices accordingly. As tourism becomes increasingly economically significant, the cultural elements that are most legible to visitors become more emphasized. Rituals may be reformulated as performances, and traditional attire may appear primarily in touristic contexts. Cohen (1979) provides a well-known example from northern Thailand, where some hill tribe villagers don traditional dress specifically to attract tourists, effectively performing the role of "professional locals." These processes selectively rearticulate complex lifeworlds for external consumption.

This dynamic has been conceptualized as self-Orientalism. Building on Said's (1978) critique of Orientalism, Iwabuchi (1994, p. 14) describes situations in which cultural actors internalize dominant representations of themselves and strategically reproduce them. In the context of ethnic tourism, hosts may anticipate outsides' expectations and perform simplified, emblematic versions of their culture. Communities thus participate in reproducing the very stereotypes through which they are perceived through this reflexive adaptation to external visibility.

However, self-Orientalism should not be understood merely as passive compliance. Iwabuchi (1994) argues that cultural actors strategically rearticulate their identities in response to global power relations. Hosts may selectively mobilize certain cultural signs to secure economic benefits, gain recognition, or retain control over their public representation. The process thus entails a negotiation of identity under conditions of unequal visibility. Cultural reconfiguration in ethnic tourism therefore

constitutes a reflexive restructuring of self-understanding mediated by the gaze of others.

2.3. Reciprocal Gazes and the Semiotic Reduction of Culture

In ethnic tourism, touristic encounters are structured through reciprocal observation in which hosts and guests interpret and evaluate one another. However, these interactions occur within historically sedimented and economically structured conditions that shape visibility.

As Smith (1989) argues, tourism often positions participants less as individuals than as representatives of their respective cultural categories. Hosts may come to perceive visitors merely as "tourists," while visitors approach hosts as embodiments of "cultural resources" (Smith, 1989, pp. 9–10). Individuality recedes for both groups as categorical expectations intensify. Ethnic tourism thus simultaneously enables intercultural contact and translates persons into signs. At the same time, cultural identities become visible insofar as they can be displayed, interpreted, and consumed.

That said, this reciprocity does not eliminate asymmetry. Even when hosts actively assess guests simply as "tourists," disparities in mobility, capital, and institutional power persist. What emerges is a situation in which both parties participate in processes of representation under conditions that produce a semiotic reduction of lived cultural complexity into recognizable and marketable forms.

Ethnic tourism therefore reveals a paradox: it promises encounter and recognition while operating through mechanisms that transform subjects into cultural figures. Understanding this paradox requires attention not only to the problems of the gaze, but to how regimes of visibility structure those encounters.

3. Culture in Ethnic Tourism

3.1. Displayed Culture

Thanks to intensified global mobility, tourism has become structurally embedded in many local communities. If ethnic tourism operates within asymmetrical regimes of gaze, culture cannot be treated as neutral; it is constituted through processes of selection, visibility, and representation. The central question, therefore, is how culture is organized and presented under touristic conditions.

Yamashita (1996, p.6) distinguishes between "displayed culture" and "lived culture," emphasizing that culture is a dynamic process generated through interactions. Displayed culture refers to practices that are consciously presented to outsiders. Elements that are visually legible— (e.g., costume, architecture, dance, ritual performance—) are selectively emphasized and sometimes reconfigured within touristic settings. However, these processes should not be reduced to a simple distortion of an "original" culture. Rather, displayed culture emerges within specific regimes of visibility. Cultural forms are reinterpreted and may generate new symbolic configurations through contact with external audiences (Yamashita, 1996, pp. 9–11). Tourism thus becomes a site of cultural production.

Nevertheless, when market pressures and external expectations dominate, selected elements may be repeatedly highlighted until they are stabilized into static representations. Cultural dynamism thus risks being obscured, and "tradition" may be reified as homogeneous and timeless. Displayed culture must therefore be analyzed in relation to the unique power relations and institutional frameworks that organize its production.

3.2. Lived Culture

Lived culture refers to practices embedded in everyday life that are not primarily oriented toward display

for others. It encompasses practical knowledge, embodied dispositions, social interaction, labor routines, language use, and temporal rhythms, which are often rendered invisible within touristic representation. Lived culture thus constitutes a community's lifeworld prior to its extraction as a touristic "resource."

When tourism becomes economically significant, however, lived culture does not remain untouched. Practices embedded in communal rhythms may be selectively highlighted and reorganized in accordance with market logics, thereby shifting their social meaning and practical significance. That said, transformation itself should not be equated with loss of authenticity. Culture is inherently generative and part of communities' actively responses to changing historical and socioeconomic conditions.

The crucial issue is therefore not whether change occurs in a lived culture, but under what conditions it unfolds. If transformation results from reflexive community choices, it may reflect cultural dynamism. When external expectations exert excessive pressure and require the continual performance of "unchanging tradition," meanwhile, the temporal logic of a lived culture may be distorted. In such cases, tensions will emerge between the internal rhythms of a lifeworld and the representational imperatives of tourism.

3.3. Conflation and Its Implications

Every culture encompasses both displayed and lived culture. Within the context of ethnic tourism, these two dimensions are frequently received without clear distinction. The cultural expressions presented in touristic settings are often interpreted as representing the totality of a community's way of life and are portrayed as uniformly "traditional" and "unchanging."

Displayed and lived cultures are indeed intertwined. Rituals or attire may originate in everyday practice and then naturally be recontextualized in performance. However, in conventional forms of ethnic tourism, the "authenticity" of a displayed culture is often excessively emphasized to meet visitors' expectations. As a result, practices that are otherwise context-specific or episodic may be presented as though they constitute the ongoing and comprehensive reality of a community's contemporary life. Displayed culture is thus frequently taken as being the most representative of the community's present lived culture. Even when visitors recognize performances as selective, tourism's institutional structure blurs the boundaries between displayed and lived culture.

As noted previously, visitors approach these cultural expressions through interpretive frameworks shaped in advance, making the distinction between presentation and everyday practice recedes from view. For example, in field research conducted in Sarawak, Malaysia (2015), touristic narratives emphasized the historical practice of Iban headhunting, with skull-like ornaments were displayed in living spaces in response to visitors' expectations. However, such displays did not necessarily correspond to locals' contemporary everyday practices or preferences, illustrating how touristic regimes of visibility can actively reshape a material environment in accordance with anticipated images of tradition.

The problem, therefore, is not cultural change per se, but the disproportionate influence of external expectations. When communities are compelled to sustain a fixed image of unchanging tradition, lived culture risks being progressively aligned with touristic representation through its sublimation into displayed culture. This conflation generates internal tensions, as individuals must negotiate between what is displayed and what is lived, and processes of self-understanding may be subtly reorganized under the pressure of external visibility.

For ethnic tourism to develop sustainably and ethically, the distinction between these dimensions must therefore be critically maintained. Decisions concerning what to present and how to transform practices should remain grounded in community agency. Moreover, evolving everyday practices must themselves be recognized as legitimate cultural expressions. Only under such conditions can tourism function as a relational process that supports cultural generation instead of reification.

4. Reconsidering Host–Guest Relations: From Display to Appearance

As argued in the preceding sections, the critical issue in ethnic tourism is how such displays relate to the temporality and generative character of a lived culture. When tourism stabilizes a culture into recognizable repeatable forms, a community may be compelled to sustain images of an "unchanging tradition" in response to tourists' expectations. Instead, culture is inherently generative, unfolding within the lifeworld through ongoing interpretation and practice.

If the significance of ethnic tourism is to be reconsidered, it requires opportunities through which visitors may encounter the fact that a visited culture is still being produced in the present. This requires shifting tourism's focus from culture as an abstract set of "ethnic traits" to culture as something enacted and narrated by concrete individuals. When attention is directed toward how these individuals interpret, select, and reconfigure cultural practices in their everyday lives, tourism can become an encounter with cultural dynamism.

To theorize this possibility, this article draws on Hannah Arendt's (1958) concept of the space of appearance. Arendt (1958, pp. 179–181, 198–199) argues that such spaces come into being wherever individuals act and speak together, disclosing themselves not merely in terms of what they are (e.g., attributes, roles, socially ascribed qualities), but in terms of who they are (e.g., their singular and irreducible identities). While the "what" of a person can be described through categorical predicates, the "who" emerges only through action and speech and cannot be fully captured by general classifications.

In ethnic tourism, however, individuals are frequently apprehended merely as representatives of their respective ethnic categories. Their attributed characteristics—the "what" of cultural identity—are foregrounded as their biographical and temporal dimensions recede from view. This configuration mirrors the conflation of displayed and lived culture discussed above: when cultural attributes are stabilized within regimes of visibility, the disclosure of "who they are" is constrained. Tourism thus risks reducing acting and speaking subjects to legible cultural objects, narrowing the possible spaces of appearance.

Even within touristic settings, there remains the possibility that hosts and guests may, through dialogue and shared presence, generate moments approximating a space of appearance. In her study of the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum, Sunaga (2016) suggests that exhibitionary sites need not remain spaces of unilateral display but instead may enable encounters between indigenous individuals and visitors as speaking subjects. When participants engage with one another as narrating agents instead of mere embodiments of cultural traits, the asymmetrical structure of "seeing" and "being seen" may be partially unsettled.

Such moments do not dissolve structural inequalities in mobility, capital, or historical power. Nevertheless, they may destabilize fixed representations and open possibilities for recognizing the other as an individual situated within ongoing cultural generation. In this sense, the ethical potential of ethnic

tourism lies in fostering relational spaces in which culture appears as lived, narrated, and continually reconstituted.

5. Conclusion: Toward Relational Sustainability in Ethnic Tourism

As argued in the preceding section, whether ethnic tourism can become a "space of appearance" (Arendt, 1958) depends on whether hosts and guests recognize each another not merely as singular beings rather than bearers of attributes. The question at stake is therefore, one of host agency and individuality within tourism encounters.

In the ethnic tourism context, hosts are frequently positioned as representatives of a collective identity and are thus expected to embody a standardized image of their cultures. Such expectations reinforce homogenized self-representations "this is our culture"—while obscuring differences in how individuals experience, interpret, and inhabit that culture. As discussed in Section 3, culture is a generative process that unfolds through interaction (Yamashita, 1996). Ethnic identity, likewise, is narrated and practiced in multiple ways by different individuals.

What matters in tourism settings is therefore not the faithful reproduction of a uniform "ethnic authenticity," but whether individuals are afforded space to articulate how they personally make sense of their cultural backgrounds. Mutual understanding merges from dialogical processes in which individuals narrate their own experiences and others respond. When hosts can speak of their ethnic backgrounds as part of "my own story," they appear not as cultural symbols but as concrete subjects. In such moments, tourism may move beyond the consumption of displayed culture and become an encounter with lived culture in its present unfolding.

Meanwhile, guests must also recognize themselves as culturally situated individuals and participants in an interaction. Reconstructing tourism as a dialogical relationship requires institutional arrangements that can secure spaces in which both difference and shared humanity can be experienced.

Recent debates on overtourism reflect dissatisfaction with tourism experienced as unilateral consumption. In line with this, the sustainability of ethnic tourism therefore depends on the fostering of conditions of mutual recognition between hosts and guests. Ethnic tourism can function as a mechanism that freezes culture into static representations. However, it may also become a site in which others witness the ongoing generation of culture in the present. Which of these possibilities prevails depends on how host–guest relations are conceptualized and designed.

REFERENCE

Arendt, H. (1958). *The human condition*. University of Chicago Press.

Bennett, T. (1995). *The birth of the museum: History, theory, politics.* Routledge.

Blanchard, P., Bancel, N., Boëtsch, G., Deroo, E., Lemaire, S., & Thomas, D. (2008). *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires.* Liverpool University Press.

Cater, C., Garrod, B., & Low, T. (2015). *The encyclopedia of sustainable tourism*. CABI.

Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art*. Harvard University Press.

Cohen, E. (1972). Toward a sociology of international tourism. *Social Research, 39*(1), 164–182.

Cohen, E. (1979). The impact of tourism on the hill tribes of northern Thailand. *Internationales Asienforum, 10*(1–2), 5–38.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Pantheon Books.

Graburn, N. H. (1989). Tourism: The Sacred Journey. In V. L. Smith (Ed.), *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (2nd ed., pp. 21–36). University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hall, S. (1997). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 13–74). Sage.

Iwabuchi, K. (1994). Complicit exoticism: Japan and its other. *Continuum, 8*(2), 49–82.

Rydell, R. W. (1984). *All the world's a fair: Visions of empire at American international expositions, 1876–1916.* University of Chicago Press.

Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.

Smith, V. L. (Ed.). (1977). *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Smith, V. L. (Ed.). (1989). *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (2nd ed.). University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sunaga, K. (2016). Senjūmin kankō to hakubutsukan: Nibutani Ainu bunka hakubutsukan no jirei kara [Indigenous tourism and museums: A case study of the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum]. *Rikkyo Daigaku Kankō Gakubu Kiyō, 18*, 78–89.

Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. Sage.

van den Berghe, P. L. (1992). Tourism and the ethnic division of labor. *Annals of Tourism Research, 19*(2), 234–249.

Yamashita, S. (1996). Kankō jinruigaku annai [Introduction to tourism anthropology]. In S. Yamashita (Ed.), *Kankō jinruigaku* [Tourism anthropology] (pp. 4–13). Shinyōsha.

Zhou, J., & Edelheim, J. R. (2023). Ethnic minority tourism and Indigenous tourism: The critical distinction. *Tourism Culture & Communication, 23*(1), 1–12.

Civilization No.37, Dialogue between Civilizations, 95-110

International Symposium Report

The 6th Dialogue between Civilizations: Diversity through Different Lenses

Organizing Committee:

Toru HATTORI[*1], Yuki TAKATORI[*2] Nana MORIZONO[*3], Yoichi HIRANO[*4]

Keywords: Cultural and linguistic diversity, Hawaiian Renaissance, Ethnic diversity and tourism

1. Introduction

The Institute of Civilization Research at Tokai University has been hosting the international "Dialogue between Civilizations" symposium series since 2015. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the symposium was suspended in 2020. It resumed in January 2025 with the Fifth Symposium. To make up for lost time, the Institute then held its sixth international "Dialogue between Civilizations" on October 18, 2025, on Tokai University's Shinagawa Campus. This symposium was titled "Diversity through Different Lenses" and consisted of two parts:

Part 1 (Related Report Session) : "Ethnic Diversity and Tourism"
Part 2 (Main Symposium Session): "Researching Indigenous Language and Culture: The Renaissance in Focus"

The event was organized by the Institute's Humanities in the Anthropocene Core Project Group under its Executive Committee:

General Organizer: Toru HATTORI (Tokai University)
Organizer : Yuki TAKATORI (Toyo University)
Secretary : Nana MORIZONO (Tokai University)
Observer : Yoichi HIRANO (Tokai University)

The main goal of the symposium was to examine linguistic and cultural diversity, particularly in Hawaii, in the context of recent globalization. The event featured three speakers from the University of Hawaii and one discussant from Toyo University. The symposium was attended by over 60 people, including researchers, graduate students, and undergraduates. This report provides an overview of the symposium, the presentations by each presenter, and the discussions. Materials from the day are also included in the appendix.

2. Aim and Overview of the Symposium

2.1. Aim of the Symposium

As mentioned above, the theme of this symposium, linguistic and cultural diversity, included a focus on Hawaii. The issues surrounding this theme concern the preservation of diversity on a global scale in our time, which has been marked by both increasing globalization alongside heightened calls to respect

[*1] Institute of Civilization Research, School of tourism, Tokai University
[*2] Faculty of Letters, Toyo University
[*3] School of tourism, Tokai University
[*4] Institute of Civilization Research.

diversity. This situation echoes longstanding tensions between the development of Western-style scientific and technological civilization and traditional cultures rooted in local communities. What significance does preserving local languages and cultures have for humanity on a global scale? This symposium explored this question in Hawaii through the discussions of the movement called the Hawaiian Renaissance. It was within this context that we examined the revival and preservation of indigenous cultures from the perspectives of language, culture, education, tourism, and much more.

In his opening remarks, Shogo Tanaka, Director of Institute of Civilization Research, pointed out the importance of respecting diversity in our globalized world:

> "We live in an era in which globalization continues to advance at an unprecedented pace, while the call for respect toward cultural diversity grows ever stronger. Within these global currents, the question of how local languages and cultures can endure and be transmitted to future generations is not merely a regional issue—it is a universal challenge that concerns all of humanity…
> …From this perspective, the experiences of Hawai'i—where people have long explored the questions of Hawai'ian identity through the revitalization of indigenous language, culture, education, and tourism—offer invaluable insights. This symposium thus provides a valuable opportunity to examine these issues from multiple viewpoints and reflect on the broader meaning of cultural identity in a globalized world."

In other words, respect for diversity leads to the preservation and survival of people's cultural identities. Similarly, Toru Hattori, the General Organizer of the Executive Committee, emphasized the purpose of the symposium in his organizer's address:

> "In Japan, the issue of diversity has been attracting attention for quite some time, but it tends to be biased under the guise of respecting individuals. There is no doubt that this is important. Likewise, if we fail to view things from a broader perspective when considering the diversity of languages and cultures, we cannot truly grasp the essence of diversity. That is the reason we chose the title "Diversity through Different Lenses" for this event."

While the symposium's panel discussion was focused on Hawai'ian language and culture, the related reports also examined issues of cultural diversity and tourism at large. They particularly highlighted the binary relationship between the bearers of local culture and external observers. The intention of this selection of talks was to reexamine the relationship between globalization and regional diversity from various perspectives. The Opening Remarks quoted above and other presentations are available in the Appendix under the heading "International Symposium Report."

2.2. Program of the Symposium

The symposium's program was as follows:

(1) Part 1. Related Report Session: *Ethnic Diversity and Tourism*, chaired by Toru HATTORI

・[Keynote Lecture] Kekailoa PERRY

“Diversity and Responsible Tourism in US Occupied Hawai‘i Means Oppression”

・[Related Report (1)] Nana MORIZONO

“Intercultural communication in the context of ethnic tourism”

・[Related Report (2)] Takuo NAKASHIMA and Soji LEE

“Responsible Tourism Evaluated via Social Media Based on Behavioral Economics”

(2) Part 2. Main Symposium Session: *Researching Indigenous Language and Culture: The Renaissance in Focus*, chaired by Yoichi HIRANO

・[Keynote Presentations (1)] Yuki TAKATORI

“English Domination and Revitalization of Hawaiian Language and Culture ― Hawaiian Renaissance in Focus―”

・[Keynote Presentations (2)] Laiana WONG

“E Mālama ‘ia ka Hawai‘i o ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i / Voices of the Aloha ‘Āina: The Hawaiian Language in a Changing World"

・[Keynote Presentations (3)] Margaret MAAKA

“Advancing Indigenous Research Methodologies: Positioning the Researcher”

・[Discussants] Kekailoa PERRY

Kiyoshi TADOKORO

2.3. Presenters’ Profiles

(1) Part 1. Related Report Session

Chairperson

Toru HATTORI	Lecturer, Institute of Civilization Research and School of Tourism, Tokai University
Specialty	Tourism studies, Cultural psychology
Research Subject	Formation of regional identity, Civilization Studies

Presenters

Kekailoa PERRY	Associate Professor in Education Foundations, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa College of Education, PhD in Curricular Studies
Specialty	Indigenous Refusal and Guerrilla Pedagogy
Research Subject	Traditional and Customary approaches in 21st century Hawai‘i. Hawaiian rights and advocacy.
Nana MORIZONO	Lecturer (part-time), School of Tourism, Tokai University, PhD in Letters
Specialty	Tourism studies, Cultural anthropology
Reseach Subject	Ethnic tourism in southeast Asia, Cultural acculturation in tourism, Sustainable tourism
Takuo NAKASHIMA	Professor Emeritus, Tokai University / Secure Cycle Co., Ltd.
Specialty	Security, Internet Protocols, and Data Analysis
Research Subject	Social Media Analysis, Social Capital, Civilization Studies
Soji LEE	Assistant Professor, School of International Cultural Relations, Tokai University
Specialty	Tourism Studies, Social Media Analysis, Korean Language Analysis
Research Subject	Human behavior analysis in the tourism sector and economic development based on social capital

(2) Part 2. Main Symposium Session

Chairperson	
Yoichi HIRANO	Visiting Professor, Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University
Specialty	History of mathematics & sciences, Epistemology of sciences
Research Subject	Renaissance mathematics, Civilization Studies
Panelists	
Yuki TAKATORI	Assistant Professor, Faculty of Letters, Toyo University
Specialty	Area Studies, Linguistic and Cultural Diversity (Sociolinguistics)
Research Subject	Area studies (Hawai‘i), diversity of language and culture, Hawaiian renaissance movement, Aloha ‘Āina, Art expressions, Younger generation education
Laiana WONG	Professor, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, PhD in Linguistics
Specialty	Hawaiian Language, Linguistics, Language and Cultural Revitalization
Research Subject	Research and teaching is the Hawaiian worldview, Investigation of Hawaiian as it existed during a time when more people spoke it, Use of the language in new contexts, Revitalizing the language of Hawaiian kupuna (elders)
Margaret MAAKA	Professor Emeritus, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, PhD in Educational Psychology
Specialty	Educational Psychology, Indigenous education
Reseach Subject	Indigenous community partnerships, Educational sychology/indigenous educational psychology, Indigenous development and advancement, educational policy, Multi-literacies, Language and cognitive development.
Discussants	
Kekailoa PERRY	see above
Kiyoshi TADOKORO	Professor, Faculty of Sociology, Toyo University
Specialty	Cultural Anthropology, Pacific and Oceania Studies
Research Subject	Fieldwork-based studies focusing on social change and cultural transformation in local communities in Papua New Guinea. Social impact of a large-scale natural gas development project (recent research).

3. Session Summaries

3.1. Part 1. Related Report Session: *Ethnic Diversity and Tourism*

The first session, as the subtitle suggests, focused on tourism to diverse regions. Tourism can be an important resource for local communities. However, it is also true that it raises a variety of issues that generally relate to the relationship between local people as hosts and visitors as guests. Historically, this has been heavily colored by patterns of domination and subordination, with ethnic tourism often taking the form of people living in Western civilizations seeking “exotic” experiences. Today, with the rapid development of social media, local information can be spread freely by guests while potentially causing confusion or frustration for hosts. In this session, three presenters addressed these issues. The sections below briefly introduce the content of each presentation and summarize the discussions that took place in the session. Abstracts for each presentation are included in Appendix II.

3.1.1. Keynote Lecture: Kekailoa Perry

“Diversity and Responsible Tourism in US Occupied Hawai‘i Means Oppression”

Kekailoa Perry began his presentation with a chant typical of traditional Hawai‘ian culture. He then addressed the issue of tourism in Hawai‘i under US occupation, the origins of tourism in Hawaii. Initially, outside corporations and the ruling Hawai‘ian class developed indigenous settlements and welcomed tourists from outside. However, this led to the social destruction of the local people. This history has continued to repeat itself: even today, tourism poses a major threat to the knowledge and culture of local and indigenous communities in Hawaii. The situation echoes the difficulties of people living in other tourist destinations, including Japan. Tourism is an extremely complex industry that makes it especially necessary to ensure the cultural independence of host communities. Taking these issues into consideration, Perry emphasized the need to reexamine tourism practices in Hawai‘i.

3.1.2. Related Report (1): Nana Morizono[1]

“Intercultural Communication in the Context of Ethnic Tourism”

Nana Morizono defined ethnic tourism as a means for Westerners to experience the “primitive” or “exotic” habits of non-Western peoples, allowing them to encounter different cultures and lifestyles. Using the Iban people of western Borneo as an example, she argued that while tourism is economically beneficial for underdeveloped regions, ethnic tourism can lead to stereotypes in which hosts present what they believe guests expect. This can result in the distortion and commercialization of true intercultural understanding and experience. Given these issues, Morizono emphasized the importance of balancing displayed culture with lived culture. She argued that respectful interactions between hosts and guests, genuine intercultural exchange, and mutual understanding, ethnic tourism can contribute to building a more inclusive, culturally diverse global community.

3.1.3. Related Report (2): Takuo Nakashima and Soji Lee[2]

“Responsible Tourism Evaluated via Social Media Based on Behavioral Economics”

Takuo Nakashima and Soji Lee examined tourism issues from the perspective of modern social media. Recent tourism trends have been heavily influenced by social media. The presenters examined this situation from the perspective of behavioral economics, focusing on three themes: reference point dependence, social norms, and loss aversion. Using three tourist destinations in Hokkaido as examples, they argued that when information from social media promotes the formation and spread of social norms, it strengthens social capital for a location and its community. However, a lack of respect for social norms (such as an increase in negative reviews influenced by irresponsible tourists) weakens a destination’s social capital. The presenters emphasized that the responsible sharing of valuable information between hosts and guests through social media enables the creation of a more sustainable tourism model in which tourists and local communities cocreate value.

3.1.4. Discussion

Following these three presentations, a lively discussion ensued about the relationship between hosts and guests in cross-cultural understanding through tourism. People often become aware of the diverse cultures of a region through tourist activities. However, when people living under Western civilization visit non-Western societies, a binary relationship emerges between host and guest. Historically, this has included the oppositional structure of developed versus underdeveloped and dominating versus subjugated. In the

[1] Also refer to Morizino's paper (related to this report) published in this issue (pp. ■-■).
[2] Also refer to Lee's paper (related to this report) published in this issue (pp. ■-■).

case of Hawaii, the impact of American occupation is still reflected in the current tourism structure. In Borneo, ethnic tourism, which was originally intended to foster cross-cultural understanding, eventually became rigidly defined by what guests wanted to see and what hosts showed them. Here, too, binary relationships underpinned by economic and other factors are evident.

What is needed is tourism that recognizes the coexistence of diverse cultures and allows people to see and understand them as they truly are. The most obvious methods for achieving this include deepening local understanding and personal exchange, but this is easier said than done. Social media holds great potential here, with positive and negative implications. Given the place of this technology, however, its utilization should be actively considered. On the theoretical side, John Urry's (1995) argument about the "tourist gaze" was agreed as the most promising foundation for seeking ways to make tourism a form of mutual interaction between hosts and guests.

3.2. Part 2. Main Symposium Session: *Researching Indigenous Language and Culture: The Renaissance in Focus*

The second session discussed the language and culture of Hawaii's indigenous people under English-speaking rule, including the recent Hawai'ian Renaissance movement. Hawaii is a state in the United States, home to a large Japanese diaspora population, and, due to its geographical proximity, is a popular tourist destination for Japanese people. The culture of the indigenous people is a significant selling point for this tourism. Hawaii's language and culture were originally developed by the indigenous people in their natural environment and are closely linked to their identity as a part of their heritage. In recent decades, Hawaii has experienced multiple waves of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement. This session examined the current state of indigenous language and culture and its preservation within the context of this movement. The following sections briefly introduce each panelist's presentation and summarize the discussions that took place. The abstracts for each presentation are provided in Appendix III.

3.2.1. Keynote Presentation (1): Yuki Takatori[3]

"English Domination and Revitalization of Hawaiian Language and Culture—Hawaiian Renaissance in Focus—"

Yuki Takatori introduced the history of the suppression of Hawaiian language and culture and examined the current state of Hawaiian Renaissance within that historical context. The language and culture of the Hawaiian people were originally rooted in their faith, which was based on their natural environment. With the arrival of Christian missionaries in the early 19th century, the people of Hawaii were placed under cultural subjugation, and their religious beliefs were forced to change. The dominance of the English language spread from the mid-19th century, and over the course of 50 years, Hawai'ian-language schools disappeared, leaving only English-language schools. The annexation of Hawai'i to the United States in 1898 was a major turning point in this process.

In response to the threat of the extinction of their native language and culture, the Hawai'ian Renaissance movement began in the 1970s, promoting the revival and revitalization of traditional Hawai'ian language and culture. This movement is not an antigovernment, nationalist movement; rather, it aims to preserve Hawai'ian traditions "both as a language and as a way of thinking" within the context

[3] Also refer to Takatori's paper (related to this report) published in this issue (pp. ■-■).

of Anglophone society. This includes preserving traditions in people's spirituality and language, such as by displaying street signs and other notices in English and Hawaiian.

Takatori argued that the current situation in Hawai'i is a challenge posed by the people of Hawaii, native speakers and those who share their sentiments. He emphasized that the Hawaiian Renaissance can be understood as a "spiritual struggle" against the dominance of Western modernity and the English language, in which people fight to maintain their own identities.

3.2.2. Keynote Presentation (2): Laiana Wong[4]

"E Mālama 'ia ka Hawai'i o ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i/Voices of the Aloha 'Āina: The Hawaiian Language in a Changing World"

Laiana Wong addressed the challenges of restoring and preserving traditional Hawai'ian languages. He argued that this issue is related to the very essence of a language—the "soul" that lies at its heart. According to Wong, language emerges as people confront nature and form social communities. It is like the breath that emanates from the body as people perceive and think about objects in their daily lives. While language is certainly a communication tool, it is also a representation of human thought. These underlying thoughts and physical activities are then shared within a community and form a culture.

Therefore, while English and Hawai'ian coexist in Hawaii thanks to the efforts of the Hawaiian Renaissance, the mere act of translating one to the other does not amount to true language preservation. What is important is to think in that language and not lose sight of the values that underlie that thinking. Wong therefore emphasized that "in a world where English is already dominant, we must focus on preserving a language that reflects the Hawai'ian worldview and avoiding the pitfalls of English influence."

3.2.3. Keynote Presentation (3): Margaret Maaka

"Advancing Indigenous Research Methodologies: Positioning the Researcher"

Margaret Maaka explored the issue of positioning in Indigenous research in Hawaii. As a member of an Indigenous community herself, she emphasized the role of researchers in revitalizing and preserving Indigenous culture while also considering the needs of Indigenous communities. The obstruction of Indigenous communities can sometimes hinder the Hawaiian people's full understanding of them. This potentially creates a structure of dominance and subordination, giving rise to "prejudices that may stem from social stereotypes about Indigenous communities." Dialogue with Indigenous communities thus requires an understanding of multiple factors, including social status and economic circumstances. It is therefore essential for researchers to approach this with mutual understanding and respect.

Maaka introduced the "kaupapa Māori approach," which encourages a cycle of action, reflection, and adaptation, as a means for researchers to foster coexistence with Indigenous communities while preserving their cultural heritage. She emphasized the need for ethical engagement, self-reflection, and a genuine commitment to meaningful change as a position in Indigenous research. This included the importance of fostering an inclusive, transformative research environment by prioritizing the voices of Indigenous peoples.

3.2.4. Panel Discussion

Following the presentations, an engaging discussion was held on the recovery and preservation of native

[4] Also refer to Wong's paper (related to their reports) published in this issue (pp. ■-■).

Hawaiian language and culture based on the model of the Hawaiian Renaissance. The main points of discussion included the ongoing, deep-rooted issues regarding the relationship between dominance and subjugation, how preserving traditional languages relates to the spirituality of native people, and the involvement of outsiders (including researchers) in these efforts. The three presentations demonstrated that language is closely connected to people's spiritual roots. Preserving that language for future generations therefore supports the preservation of culture, religion, and identity.

In response to these issues, discussant Kiyoshi Tadokoro introduced the example of his research on Papua New Guinea, where the relationship between dominance and subjugation is also highly apparent. This entails external pressures on the local language, economy, and culture. External development can certainly enrich people's lives, such as through economic benefits and improved diets. However, echoing Wong's point, it can also bring about the subjugation of local mindsets to globalized ones. Tadokoro then pointed out specific three issues that must be considered when developing countries are pressured by developed countries. First, language is not simply a tool; it represents identity. Therefore, preserving it is important. Second, while economic benefits can be expected, they also interact with cultural change. Finally, echoing Maaka's point, researchers are also part of the pressures that bring about local changes. He then raised the following three questions as future challenges for researchers of Indigenous cultures and languages:

(1) What is the true purpose of language revival?
(2) Is it possible to design a fair balance between economics and culture?
(3) What is the ethical role of researchers today?

Regarding the restoration and preservation of Hawai'ian language and culture, it is important to pass on the historical structure of domination and subordination. However, this should not simply be passed down as written language. This issue also has significant implications for the people of Hawaii today. In this regard, as Takatori points out, it is important to understand that the Hawaiian Renaissance was "a gentle spiritual struggle in which people placed importance on a part of their own identity." Researchers also need to fully understand this fact and approach it with respect.

3. Concluding Remarks

This symposium, the 6th Dialogue between Civilizations, focused on linguistic and cultural diversity, and invited three researchers from the University of Hawaii to participate. The specific theme of the symposium was "Restoring and Preserving Hawaiian Language and Culture with a Focus on Hawaiian Renaissance." A related presentation also discussed tourism in the region.

Hawaii has a history of Western civilization dominating indigenous society. This resulted in the suppression of indigenous languages and cultures. This structure continues to this day, with English dominating the linguistic sphere. Nevertheless, the Indigenous people of Hawaii have largely come to coexist with newcomers and while retaining and restoring their original languages and cultures. Recognizing the knowledge of Indigenous peoples thus benefits not only those communities, but everyone who lives in or visits Hawai'i. This requires further discussion of how to respect regional diversity in

today's globalized world and calls for a divorce from underlying structures of domination and subordination.

The Institute for Civilization Research has conducted a variety of research on regional linguistic and cultural diversity. One of these is the research in the transdisciplinary humanities, with Tokai University's research group on that subject being those who organized this symposium. As a summary of the significance of this symposium, it seems appropriate to quote from Takatori's closing remarks:

> "Our group (Transdisciplinary Research Group) uses integrated knowledge research to grapple with current global issues, including the environment and diversity, and I am sure that we will continue to do so at both domestic and international levels. Although the theme of this symposium was specific to Hawai'i, the issues of modernization and regional diversity are directly related to ongoing globalization and concerns with preserving and celebrating cultures."

The Committee of the Symposium would like to express our gratitude to everyone who participated in this symposium and engaged in enthusiastic discussions.

◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

Appendix 1. International Symposium Report: Opening Speech

Opening Remarks by Shogo TANAKA, the Director of the Institute of Civilization Research

It is a great pleasure to welcome you all to the Sixth Dialogue between Civilizations: Diversity through Different Lenses. On behalf of the organizing institute, I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to all participants who have gathered here today.

We live in an era in which globalization continues to advance at an unprecedented pace, while the call for respect toward cultural diversity grows ever stronger. Within these global currents, the question of how local languages and cultures can endure and be transmitted to future generations is not merely a regional issue—it is a universal challenge that concerns all of humanity.

Allow me to briefly refer to the current situation in Japan. Japan is now simultaneously facing a rapid decline in its birthrate and the aging of its population. The present population of approximately 124 million is projected to fall below 100 million by 2050, with the working-age population expected to shrink to around 50 million. In response to this serious labor shortage, the Japanese government has begun moving toward what might be regarded as a de facto immigration policy. Consequently, the number of residents in Japan who do not speak Japanese as their first language, and whose ethnic and cultural backgrounds differ from those of the traditional Japanese population, is expected to increase significantly. This social context will inevitably compel us to reconsider fundamental questions: what is Japan, and who are the Japanese?

From this perspective, the experiences of Hawai'i—where people have long explored the questions of Hawai'ian identity through the revitalization of indigenous language, culture, education, and tourism—offer invaluable insights. This symposium thus provides a valuable opportunity to examine these issues

from multiple viewpoints and reflect on the broader meaning of cultural identity in a globalized world. It is my sincere hope that today's discussions will not only deepen our understanding of Hawai'ian culture but also inspire us to rethink how we live, connect, and define ourselves within our respective local contexts.

****

Organizer's Address by Toru HATTORI, the General Organizer of the Symposium

This symposium, the Sixth Dialogue between Civilizations: Diversity through Different Lenses, is being held as part of the inter-civilization dialogue symposia that are held annually by the Institute of Civilization Studies. This time, it is a symposium on linguistic and cultural diversity organized by the "Humanities in the Anthropocene" group. As the chair of the group, I am very pleased that we have invited three researchers from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. We appreciate the presence of Professor Emerita Margaret Maaka, Professor Laiana Wong, and Associate Professor Kekailoa Perry. Our research group is very interested to hear them speak about Hawai'i's cultural diversity, including the Hawai'ian Renaissance. With a diverse lineup of speakers from Hawai'i, I believe the attendees are also looking forward to this symposium. We also appreciate Professor Kiyoshi Tadokoro of Toyo University for agreeing to serve as a discussant at the symposium.

In the afternoon session, Professors Maaka and Wong will give the keynote presentation. Assistant Professor Yuki Takatori of Toyo University will also give a presentation, and Professor Tadokoro of Toyo University and Dr. Perry will provide comments. In the morning session, Dr. Perry will give the keynote lecture. Following that, there will be a report on tourism from our group members.

In Japan, the issue of diversity has been attracting attention for quite some time, but it tends to be biased under the guise of respecting individuals. There is no doubt that this is important. Likewise, if we fail to view things from a broader perspective when considering the diversity of languages and cultures, we cannot truly grasp the essence of diversity. That is the reason we chose the title "Diversity through Different Lenses" for this event. I am sure that all speakers and participants will gain various insights through this symposium.

◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

Appendix 2. Presenters' Abstracts of the Symposium (Part 1)

Keynote Lecture

"Diversity and Responsible Tourism in US Occupied Hawai'i Means Oppression."

Kekailoa PERRY

Dr. Haunani-Kay Trask stated that "Tourists flock to [Hawai'i] for escape, but they are escaping into a state of mind while participating in the destruction of a host people in a Native place" (1993/1999, p. 137). She further described tourism in Hawai'i as

> a mass-based, corporately controlled industry that is both vertically and horizontally integrated such that one multinational corporation owns an airline and the tour buses that transport tourists to the corporation owned hotel where they eat in a corporation-owned restaurant, play golf, and

> “experience” Hawai‘i on corporation-owned recreation areas and eventually consider buying a second home build on corporation land. Profits, in this case, are mostly repatriated back to the home country. In Hawai‘i, these “home” countries are Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Canada, Australia, and the United States. (1993/1999, p. 139).

Although times have evolved since Trask penned her poignant argument nearly three decades ago, the corporate and governmental frameworks that control and promote tourism in Hawai‘i have largely remained unchanged. Scholars from ‘Ōiwi, Indigenous, and international backgrounds effectively illustrate that tourism is an incredibly complex industry that has systematically appropriated the knowledge and culture of local or Indigenous communities, often to their detriment. Even in the most genuine attempts to negotiate agency for host communities and cultures, significant negative impacts continue to affect the land, cultural foundations, and the community and economic conditions of those communities targeted by the tourist industry.

Japan has recently addressed the overwhelming influx of tourists and the commercialization of its lands and culture by implementing economic disincentives. These measures aim to hold visitors more accountable, as their presence can often be damaging and intrusive. The irony is not lost on Kanaka ‘Ōiwi communities, as many Japanese nationals continue to visit Hawai‘i in ways that similarly affect the Hawaiian islands, mirroring the experiences of those living in Japan's tourist hotspots. Meaningful dialogue is crucial and can begin with an understanding of tourism within the context of the Hawaiian State, also known as the occupied nation of Hawai‘i.

****

Related Report (1)

“Intercultural Communication in the Context of Ethnic Tourism”

Nana MORIZONO

Definition and Background

Historically, ethnic tourism originated from ethnographic exhibitions at world fairs, where non-Western peoples were displayed as “primitive” or “exotic” curiosities (Takebayashi, 2020). International tourism expanded and ethnic tourism emerged to provide encounters with what was perceived as “*authentic*” local culture when imperialist perspectives remained influential. Ethnic tourism enables visitors to experience the traditional lifestyles, clothing, and performing arts of different communities. It is often driven by tourists from developed countries seeking the “quaint” or “exotic” aspects of indigenous cultures (Smith, 1989). However, such practices frequently reinforce unequal host–guest relationships, often referred to as the *North–South divide*.

Case Study: The Iban of Sarawak

The Iban people, who primarily inhabit Western Borneo, traditionally live in communal longhouses that house multiple families. Their cultural practices include elaborate ceremonies, distinctive clothing, and symbolic tattoos. Visiting or staying in longhouses has recently become popular among tourists, but these experiences often require considerable time and resources. To make cultural encounters more accessible, attractions like the Sarawak Cultural Village were established. While these offer more opportunities for

cultural learning, they also risk simplifying complex traditions and reinforcing stereotypes.

Cultural Challenges

Although ethnic tourism brings economic benefits, it also raises cultural concerns. Tourists often expect comfort and carefully staged "authentic" environments, which can overshadow everyday realities of local life. John Urry (1995) terms this the tourist gaze, which is a mode of perception that imposes the visitors' own standards and values on the observed culture. In turn, hosts may adapt or exaggerate their cultural expressions to meet tourists' expectations, which can result in both sides objectifying each other (and themselves) and reinforcing stereotypes.

Displayed and Lived Culture (Yamashita, 1996)

・*Displayed culture* refers to visible, performative elements, such as clothing, architecture, and dances, which are often staged for outsiders and easily interpreted by tourists.

・*Lived culture* encompasses the everyday practices, beliefs, and values that are central to community life but are not necessarily meant for public display.

In ethnic tourism, displayed culture is often overemphasized, which then places pressure on lived culture to appear "unchanged" or "primitive." This blurs the line between reality and performance. Although every culture contains both displayed and lived dimensions, conflating the two can distort how culture is perceived and represented.

Experiencing Culture

The true value of ethnic tourism lies in engaging with worldviews embedded in daily life. When hosts and guests interact as individuals, not representatives, they can appreciate both the displayed and the lived aspects of our cultures. To achieve this, hosts must be able to feel free to express their individual identities, while guests should engage actively, with both parties noticing both differences and commonalities. This enables the process of sharing, interpreting, and communicating culture to become more meaningful than mere observation.

Conclusion

To remain meaningful and promote the empowerment of host cultures, ethnic tourism must aim to balance displayed and lived culture, foster respectful and personal exchanges, and promote intercultural learning. Ethnic tourism can best contribute to a more inclusive, culturally diverse global community by valuing genuine interaction and mutual understanding.

Reference

Smith, V. L. (1989). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Takebayashi, S. (2020). Americans Appreciated Imperialism: Focusing on Ethnic Exhibitions at World Fairs in the Late-19th and Early-20th Centuries [in Japanese]. *Bulletin of the Institute for Excellence in Higher Education Tohoku University*, 6, 55-77.

Urry, J. (1995). *The Tourist Gaze*. Sage Publications.

Yamashita, S. (1996). *Anthropology of Tourism* [in Japanese]. Shinyosha.

****

Related Report (2)

"Responsible Tourism Evaluated via Social Media Based on Behavioral Economics"

Takuo NAKASHIMA and Soji LEE

This paper examines the dynamic relationship between social media-driven evaluations and responsible

tourism through the lens of behavioral economics. Social media's influence on travel decisions is unprecedented, making sustainability is a growing concern. Online evaluations act as powerful catalysts that shape tourist behavior and influence a destination's social capital.

Recent data highlight the profound shifts in traveler behavior, with a 2025 consumer survey revealing that 61% of respondents sought travel inspiration from social media, a significant increase from 35% in 2022. Furthermore, 73% of travelers reported that influencer recommendations swayed their decision-making. These statistics underscore social media's power to influence travel choices, extending its impact beyond economic success to a destination's very identity and appeal.

Simultaneously, the concept of **Responsible tourism** has gained prominence, shifting the focus from quantitative growth to qualitative improvement. This philosophy encourages tourists to act as **responsible participants** in their destinations of choice by minimizing negative impacts on the environment and local communities while maximizing their positive contributions. Responsible tourism is seen as an **investment in social capital**, including the intangible assets of trust, social norms, and networks within a community.

The present research is grounded in the recognition that conventional tourism studies, often focused on rational economic models, have failed to capture the psychological biases and non-rational decision-making that influence tourist behaviors and which have been made especially obvious thanks to social media. To address this gap, we adopt a behavioral economics framework focused on three key concepts:

Reference point dependence: Individual satisfaction is relative to one's expectations, past experiences, and others' reviews.

Social norms: People are highly influenced by the behavior and evaluations of others.

Loss aversion: The pain of a loss is psychologically more potent than the pleasure of an equivalent gain, making the risk of negative reviews a powerful deterrent for irresponsible behavior.

We apply this framework to an analysis of social media reviews from three distinct Japanese tourism sites: Furano Lavender Field, Goryokaku Park, and the Sapporo TV Tower. The analysis reveals that diverse **reference points**, which range from seasonal expectations and historical knowledge to the cost–benefit ratio and social media recommendations, profoundly shaped tourist evaluations. For instance, a negative evaluation of Furano's "Norokko train" demonstrates **loss aversion** where unmet high expectations led to a perceived loss in experience. Conversely, visitors to the Sapporo TV Tower who came during a free campaign showed higher satisfaction, illustrating that a low reference point can lead to a perceived gain in value.

Social media serves as a powerful medium for creating and disseminating social norms. Reviews about navigating crowds at the Sapporo TV Tower and Goryokaku Park, for example, function as shared wisdom, encouraging time-efficient behavior that potentially helps mitigate the negative effects of overcrowding and thus contributes to sustainable tourism. Likewise, positive reviews highlighting respectful interactions with locals or participation in community life at Goryokaku Park reinforce the community's social capital. Conversely, a lack of norms on social media can lead to negative impacts on a destination's social capital, such as when irresponsible tourist behaviors lead to an increase in negative reviews and a decrease in community trust.

Social media reviews thus offer a complex data source that reveals the psychological underpinnings of tourist behavior and its direct impact on a destination's **social capital**. This study confirms that **reference point** dependence and **social norms** significantly influence tourist actions. Tourism destinations can thus proactively encourage responsible behavior by strategically managing the information and expectations shared on social media. This involves framing responsible actions not as obligations but as valuable, "social media-worthy" experiences, thereby guiding tourists to become conscious participants in a destination's sustainability. This offers practical insights for creating a more sustainable tourism model where tourists and local communities co-create value.

◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

Appendix 3. Panelists' Abstracts of the Symposium (Part 2)

***Keynote Presentation (1)*:**

"English Domination and Revitalization of Hawaiian Language and Culture
—Hawaiian Renaissance in Focus—"

Yuki TAKATORI

Hawai'i was "discovered" by Captain James Cook in 1778. This was the first time Hawai'i encountered Western people. Hawai'i has a unique language and culture based on their natural circumstances, yet this language and culture was impacted because of this contact. *Kānaka Maoli*, or Native Hawai'ians in English, did not have any written language; they orally transmitted their language and culture. They practiced hula with *oli* (chants) and *mo'olelo* (the stories of the native Hawai'ian people). They believed (and still believe) in multiple gods in nature, most notably Pele, a goddess of volcanoes. However, Western missionaries came to Hawai'i in 1820 and tried to spread Christian beliefs. Some Native Hawai'ian religious beliefs inevitably began to shift as a result. Missionaries also introduced a writing system for the Hawai'ian language.

Having made contact with Western countries, the livelihood and culture of Native Hawai'ians changed. For example, hula, one of the traditional cultural elements of Hawai'ians, was banned in 1830 due to it being thought to be contrary to Christian beliefs. Hula kahiko, the traditional hula, is performed with *oli* or *mele*. Therefore, prohibiting hula meant that Hawai'ian lost a key source of traditional Hawai'ian linguistic knowledge.

The major language shift from Hawai'ian to English occurred during the mid-1800s to early 1900s. For example, Reinecke (1969) found that 99% of local schools in 1848 were Hawai'ian-language schools, but by 1902, no Hawai'ian-language schools were present. All schools became English-language schools. This is because Hawai'ian language was banned in all public and private schools in 1896, with English legally mandated as the medium of education. All changes were terminated when Hawai'i was annexed by the United States of America in 1898.

Language and culture are at the very core of identity. The overthrow of the Hawai'ian kingdom and the island's annexation by the United States meant Hawai'ian people were forced to change their lifestyles and ideals. This presented an existential threat to Hawai'ian language, culture, and identity. However, in

the 1970s, the Hawai‘ian Renaissance movement began based on a key facet of Hawai‘ian thought, *Aloha ‘Āina* (“love of the land”). This marked the rise of a movement by Native Hawai‘ians to revitalize their traditional language and culture.

In this presentation, I first briefly look at the dynamics of Hawai‘ian history in relation to the dominance of English. I then take examples from the Hawai‘ian Renaissance to explore of how people in Hawai‘i have worked to restore their traditional language and culture. This includes both literature reviews and the data from several fieldwork and interviews. As I will demonstrate, their success has revealed how a minority language and culture can thrive in a world dominated by the English-language and Westernized culture. In other words, it is a model of how people can confront and fight “the world of English.”

****

***Keynote Presentation (2)*:**

“E Mālama ‘ia ka Hawai‘i o ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i/Voices of the Aloha ‘Āina: The Hawaiian Language in a Changing World”

Laiana WONG

Many have worked for years to revive our ancestors’ language, yet a major challenge remains: Much of what is called Hawaiian today often sounds like English. This reliance on an English worldview risks diluting the richness of our language. I don’t blame those actively learning Hawaiian, but it’s important to see the danger of creating a language that, while using Hawaiian words, still communicates English ideas. If we get comfortable with this, we might lose the values our ancestors shared. It’s also unfortunate that not all Hawaiians are part of this effort. We need to ensure our expressions truly reflect our ancestors’ language instead of relying on limited translations from English. This calls for self-reflection and a commitment to think in Hawaiian, even though escaping English altogether may be impossible. To truly embody Hawaiian thought, we must immerse ourselves in the language of historical documents and recordings of our ancestors. Some might say our ancestors also used English ideas, but remember, they grew up speaking Hawaiian first and learned English later, which allowed for natural blending. Unlike us, who are already immersed in an English-dominated world, we must focus on preserving a language that reflects a Hawaiian worldview and avoid the pitfalls of English influence.

****

***Keynote Presentation (3)*:**

“Advancing Indigenous Research Methodologies: Positioning the Researcher”

Margaret MAAKA

In this presentation, I emphasize the vital concept of researcher positionality in Indigenous research, highlighting its importance in preserving the integrity and influence of scholarly work. I describe my collaborative relationship with the Indigenous communities with which I partner, stressing a foundation of mutual respect and a dedication to amplifying community voices rather than overpowering them. This ongoing dialogue focuses on the needs, aspirations, and cultural contexts of the community.

As a member of an Indigenous group, I reflect on how my experiences with marginalization shape my perspective while also acknowledging the privileges associated with my background. I explain how

my understanding of gender dynamics, socioeconomic status, cultural heritage, etc, influences my research approach, emphasizing the need to approach these complexities with sensitivity. A central part of my presentation is the importance of confronting biases that may stem from societal stereotypes about Indigenous communities.

I define my role as a knowledge facilitator by engaging deeply with Indigenous knowledge systems and affirming their validity. I take responsibility for building relationships that empower community members to lead the research agenda, keeping their voices at the forefront. I focus on ethical research practices, including transparency, obtaining consent, and fostering a shared vision for positive outcomes. I explore key themes related to Indigenous research positionality, including transformability, practicality, structuralist and culturalist perspectives, and criticality (ref. Smith (2017) . I emphasize transformability to promote positive changes in Indigenous communities, in line with the Kaupapa Māori approach that encourages a cycle of action, reflection, and adaptation.

Additionally, I explore the complex nature of change within larger socio-political contexts, highlighting the need for research to address structural barriers while acknowledging Indigenous cultural resilience. I use critical analysis to examine the political, historical, and social factors impacting Indigenous health and well-being, emphasizing the importance of understanding legacies of colonization and power relations.

In conclusion, navigating positionality in Indigenous research requires ethical engagement, self-reflection, and a genuine commitment to meaningful change. I aim to foster an inclusive and transformative research environment by prioritizing Indigenous voices.

Editor's Note

I am proud to present issue 37 of Civilizations, an International Journal of the Institute of Civilization Research. This year, we were able to host the 6th Dialogue between Civilizations - Diversity through different lenses, with the participation of three speakers from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa: Margaret Maaka, Laiana Wong, and Kekailoa Perry. By discussing cultural diversity from various perspectives, we gained many insights. One of the key points was the importance of communication. The discussions among the participants offered some insights into how people from different cultures, religions, positions, and viewpoints can discuss, share, and enjoy diversity. It felt like stepping into the "public sphere" as described by sociologist Jürgen Habermas, that is, a communication space distinct from the state and economic society, where citizens discuss common interests and shape public opinion. The Dialogue between Civilizations symposium, which began in 2015, can be said to be an attempt to create a communication space for discussion based on common interests within the public sphere. The theme of the 6th symposium, diversity, can also be said to be built upon communication. Sadly, we recently received news of Habermas's passing, but it can be said that one of our missions is to digest the teachings of this great predecessor and carry them forward into the future.

However, looking at the real world, the global situation we face is far removed from a public sphere built on communication. The nationalistic and socioeconomic frameworks that Habermas criticized have taken precedence over individual communication, leading to constant aggression and conflict. Furthermore, it seems that a form of communication resembling exchanging personal tastes and preferences into a small metal box is prioritized over discussions that shape public opinion by sharing interests.

We cannot simply lament this situation. Each of the papers published here serves as a form of communication, providing us with opportunities for various discussions. This is precisely the role of the public sphere. The Institute for Civilization Studies will continue to create many opportunities for communication. Ultimately, I can't help but think that repeatedly engaging in communication based on discussion and dialogue is the only way to make the world a better place.

(Toru Hattori)

****

***Civilizations*, No.37 (2025),**

The Dialogue between Civilizations

Issue date: March 31, 2026

Issued by Shogo TANAKA, Director

Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University

4-1-1, Kitakaname, Hiratsuka-shi, 259-1292 Japan

Phone: +81-463-583-1182

Email: bunmei@tokai.ac.jp


TOKAI
UNIVERSITY