書　評

The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity

Patrick Heinrich, Bristol, U.K.: Multilingual Matters, 2012, viii, 204 pp.

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The underlying process in the transformation of national ideology into national mythology and the subsequent issues that arise from the acceptance of national myths are highlighted in one recently published text. In *The Making of Monolingual Japan: Language Ideology and Japanese Modernity,* Patrick Heinrich (2012) examines the history behind the Japanese myth of being a monocultural and monolingual society, highlighting the gaps in the myth and pointing out current realities in Japan's language ideology. Heinrich traces the historic evolution of Japanese through the examination of documents related to *kokugo mondai* (the problem of a national language). This text provides insight into the historical process in the development of modern Japanese and the use of the monolingualism myth in the essentialization of the Japanese language. The text also serve to reinforce Benedict Anderson's (1983/1991) work on the ideology of nationalism, its connection to the creation of a national language, and the use of this language to create bonds between disparate groups in order forge the identity of a nation, an action that Anderson termed print nationalism.

The Making of Monolingual Japan provides the historical foundation regarding the development of Japan's monolingual ideology. Each of the nine chapters provides information regarding the transformation of Japan into a monolingual nation. Chapter 1 is essential for orienting the reader to the various approaches to the study of language ideology and the approach that he is adopting. Here, Heinrich draws heavily from the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1991), adapting from him two terms, "language ideology brokers" and "linguistic margin." Heinrich defines language ideology brokers as those involved in the "dissemination and reproduction . . . of language ideologies" and the linguistic margin as covering "those whose language is given little prestige" (p. 18). In the following chapters, Heinrich analyzes and interprets texts from English and Japanese archives. Some of these archival documents may be familiar, particularly the controversial Meiji era proposal by Mori Arinori, Japan's first education minister, to replace the Japanese language with English (Chapter 2). Less well known are the archival documents related to a post-WWII proposal by Shiga Naoya, a prominent novelist at the time, to replace Japanese with French (Chapter 6). Heinrich points out that this proposal, coming from a novelist popularly known as the "God of Japanese fiction," was as radical at the time as it would have been "if Thomas Mann had suggested the replacement of German or Émile Zola the replacement of French" (p. 109).

Though these two proposals on the surface seem similar, Heinrich points out that they arose from different ideological perspectives. Chapter 3 traces the development of modern Japanese and the issues that were faced in creating a written form of the language and then spreading this codified version, a task that did not really get started until 16 years after Mori's initial proposal. Chapter 4 goes further into the unification of Japanese under the auspices of linguist Ueda Kazutoshi and the National Language Research Council. Much of Chapter 4 focuses on Ueda's work as a language ideology broker and his efforts to promote "language nationalism" following events such as the annexation of Taiwan and the victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.

Chapters 5, 7, and 8 are devoted to the minority languages of Japan. These include the languages spoken by the Ryukuans and the Ainu, the creole languages spoken on Ogasawara and Hachijo islands, and the languages spoken by minorities in Japan (i.e. Korean, Chinese, Portuguese), with most of the discussion devoted to the Ryukuans. The key point he is making in these chapters is that these minority language speakers were victims, with "assimilation . . . the default solution addressing the 'disorder' represented by ethnolinguistic communities" (p. 123). Points of interest in these chapters include the side-by-side examination of the differences in the treatment of Ryukuans and Ainu and the discussion of the settling of Ogasawara and Hachijo islands, first by English-language speakers from 1830 and then Japanese in 1876. One point Heinrich makes during his study of the creation of monolingual Japan is that "language ideology reveals that the rise and fall of languages have little to do with the merit of these languages per se. The endangerment and subsequent extinction of minority languages are consequences of the successful enforcement of the idea that state, nation and language for a unified whole" (p. 123).

In Chapter 9 Heinrich discusses the consequences of modernist language ideology and highlights "the difference between claiming and practicing equality" in language policies (p. 179). The chapter also discusses the key points in the creation of a unified national language and the impact of this on Japan's minority language speakers.

Throughout *The Making of Monolingual Japan* Heinrich makes it clear that language homogeneity is an ideology that has been woven into the very psyche of Japan's national image. Japanese monolingualism has its roots in a multilingual past.

References

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Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power* (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.