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'Japanese music' can be popular

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Abstract

Traditional genres, modern popular music, 'classical' concert music and other styles of music-making in Japan can be viewed as diverse elements framed within a musical culture. Bourdieu's concept of habitus, and Williams' of dominant, residual and emergent traditions, are helpful in formulating an inclusive approach, in contrast to the prevailing demarcation between traditional and popular music research. Koizumi Fumio first challenged the disciplinary separation of research on historical 'Japanese music' and modern hybrid music around 1980, and the influence of his work is reflected in a small number of subsequent writings. In Japanese popular music, evidence for musical habitus and residual traits of past practice can be sought not only in characteristics typical of musicological analysis; modal, harmonic and rhythmic structures; but also in aspects of the music's organisation, presentation, conceptualisation and reception. Among these are vocal tone and production techniques, technical and evaluative discourse, and contextual features such as staging, performer-audience interaction, the agency of individual musicians, the structure of corporate music-production, and the use of songs as vehicles for subjectivity. Such an inclusive approach to new and old musical practices in Japan enables demonstration of ways in which popular music is both part of Japanese musical culture and an authentic vehicle for contemporary Japanese identity.

Most music created and consumed in Japan today is popular music of one sort or another. As such it is a manifestation of the processes of global technological and cultural transfer that have shaped music in all industrialised societies since the early twentieth century, and its study involves themes and methods for research on the popular arts in modern society which have been mapped out in sociology and cultural studies. Yet both modern popular music and the traditional genres that are usually denoted by the term 'Japanese music' (*nihon ongaku*) can be thought of as elements within a body of musical practices that comprise 'Japanese musical culture'.[1] Music research has articulated these as two distinct fields, and for the most part deals with them in isolation from one another, due to their difference in origins and fundamental traits of style. Yet there are theoretical tools available that enable us to overcome this disciplinary separation and contemplate Japanese music from a broader perspective – one that incorporates knowledge of both textual and contextual aspects of historical music as a resource for investigating points of continuity between recent practices and those of the more distant past.

A musical culture is made up of not only music-technical (or textual) phenomena like melodic and rhythmic style, types of instruments, performance techniques and formal processes, but also a web of contexts – of social, personal and political conditions that are enabling phenomena for musical experience. The term 'Japanese musical culture' sounds like an ahistorical, perhaps even a Japanological concept that isolates Japanese cultural phenomena from concerns of wider intellectual interest, but it need not have those implications. Rather than laying claim to data on

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Japanese popular music as a part of an independent disciplinary project of Japanese music studies, in application to modern popular music, the proposal that pop music be viewed in the context of Japanese musical culture is grounded in the idea that a musical *habitus* is in play in the production of music within any given cultural and linguistic framework. Bourdieu proposed this term as a way of theorising social practice in terms of internalised habits of perception and aesthetic preference that mediate between group and individual practice; in the sphere of musical practice, *habitus* is a way of accounting for the fact that traits of some historical depth, which are often identified as emblematic indigenous aspects of music-making, are never wholly dormant. In music-textual terms, such traits can include particular melodic-rhythmic techniques and sonic preferences, and in contextual terms, modes of performative behaviour and social practices for musical creation, transmission and performance. To paraphrase Bourdieu, in encompassing both traditional and more recently acquired elements of practice, this is history turned into musical second nature.[2]

Another way to theorise an inclusive approach to Japanese music is in terms of Raymond Williams' concept of dominant, residual and emergent cultural elements (Williams 1977, pp. 121–7). Williams stressed the complex interrelations between these elements as inseparable from 'the whole cultural process', so that no single element – not even dominant ones – can be reified as static and thereby outside that process. Clearly, the relation between traits of historical and more recent musical practice is one of residual to dominant elements, as 'dominant' in this context refers to the hegemony of Euro-American popular music styles as a referential frame for Japanese music since the mid-twentieth century. For understanding ways in which aspects of historical practice can be significant for modern music-making and the process of localising or indigenising Euro-American musical vernaculars,[3] what seems crucial is Williams' distinction between the archaic (past elements that are consciously acknowledged as such), active residual elements that 'may have an alternative or even oppositional relation to the dominant culture', and elements that have been 'wholly or largely incorporated into the dominant culture' (ibid., p. 122). While I would argue that recognition and explication of elements from former practice in each of these three relations to subsequent practice is indispensable for a systematic study of popular musics characterised by hybridity, as an initial exploration of this issue in the Japanese context, in this paper I will present examples of only incorporated residual traits.

I will first outline the disciplinary setting for Japanese-language scholarship on Japanese popular music, so as to sketch the conditions under which studies of traditional and modern music have remained isolated from one another. I will then suggest modes of continuity between music-making in the two spheres which help account for the identification within Japan of much pop as both unequivocally 'Japanese', and rooted in familiar idioms of Euro-American music. One of my purposes here is to proffer criteria whereby popular music might be considered as not only within the purview of, but also as an important topic for research on Japanese music. There is a potential loss of perspective when that field of research is divided firmly along lines of the perceived traditionality or modernity of its subject matter.

Concerning 'Japanese music'

To begin with an account of the term 'Japanese music' in its most common usage within academia today, and of the common characteristics of research on that

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music: 'Japanese music' (*nihon ongaku*) is in effect only traditional Japanese music (*dentô ongaku* or *hôgaku*); it comprises genres of music practised in Japan which had origin prior to the end of the Meiji period (1868–1912), and subsequent music that is deeply and *audibly* rooted in such earlier practice. Arguments can be made for the inclusion of the work of Japanese players and composers of jazz, the concert stage and film compositions of the late Takemitsu Tôru, mainstream pop song (*kayôkyoku*) performers of the 1970s and 1980s, and the multi-referential J-pop of Hamasaki Ayumi, Shiina Ringo and other recent stars, within the denotation of the term 'Japanese music'. While the music industry's habitual division of all musical products into those produced by Japanese and by foreigners has long since accorded with such an inclusive definition (albeit on grounds of ethnicity rather than identification of any salient features of musical style),[4] musicological research practice has yet to reflect any broader articulation, and remains overwhelmingly concerned with musical traditions that had origin prior to the modern period, which have little or no audible traces of influence from Western musical genres.[5] 'Japanese music' then, has thus far remained decidedly pre-modern in its disciplinary articulation.

The discursive sphere of Japanese music, thus defined, is created by the musicians and audiences for that music, as well as a substantial body of writing about traditional music produced in a variety of media. But with respect to academic discourse and the disciplinary status quo that it constructs, what kind of evidence is there for the past and present limits of viable research on Japanese music, and for the location of popular music in relation to those boundaries? Firstly, it should be acknowledged that the history of scholarly writing on *nihon ongaku* or 'Japanese music' in Japanese is hardly longer than it is in European languages – just over one century. This is because the concept of *nihon ongaku* as a set of musical genres and repertories that encompasses the musical life of the nation is itself a modern one, formulated in light of Meiji period intellectuals' study of nineteenth-century European writings on music. It was only in the late 1880s that a writer attempted a comprehensive history of Japanese music, in the *Kabu Ongaku Ryaku-shi*,[6] as distinct from the many histories of individual genres that had been written since the Heian period. Consequently, the terms of definition of Japanese music that characterised scholarly discourse for much of the twentieth century were shaped during mid-to-late Meiji. In the work of the government-sponsored Music Investigation Committee (*ongaku torishirabe-gakari*) in the 1880s and the subsequent Hôgaku Enquiry Committee (*hôgaku chôsa-gakari*) from 1907 on, only music of pre-Meiji origin was considered worthy of study,[7] and the regional songs (*minyô*) that were probably the most common form of music-making for most Japanese at the time were little considered. What is more, an attitude of moral revulsion at the vulgarity of much of the Edo period *shamisen* song repertory was clearly expressed in the writings of some of the most distinguished members of these music-research groups, often through the term, *ingaku* – indecent music – a usage which followed that of late Edo period neo-Confucianist commentary. From the first, then, both contemporary and even much historical popular music was cast in a negative light by scholars whose authority derived from their governmental appointments. The initial exclusion from the purview of music scholarship of *minyô* songs, in particular, has meant that the kind of scholastic lineage for popular music research created by folk music studies in the United States does not exist in Japan.[8] The case for integrated study of the nature and history of music of the populace has yet to be

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strongly put by a Japanese researcher, although such a project is implied in some of the work of Koizumi Fumio discussed below, and some writing by populist critics such as Nakamura Tôyô.[9]

Since the late-1930s, Japanese music as a research field has been largely moderated by an academic organisation called the Tôyô Ongaku Gakkai.[10] Although articles about music in Asian and even some non-Asian cultures are published in the pages of the Society's journal, writing about traditional Japanese music has comprised the bulk of its contents, and it is the central organ for new research articles in Japanese.[11] In all of the sixty-five issues of the journal, there are only a handful of articles that pertain to Japanese music of the modern historical era of a kind that can be called 'popular'. All of those papers concern music firmly grounded in the late Meiji and Taishô eras (ca. 1885–1925), such as *naniwa-bushi* musical narrative, songs of the *enka-shi* street performers, and the music played for silent film screenings. The genres are discussed almost solely in terms of their stylistic commonality and derivation from earlier musical genres, with scant attention to aspects that highlight the music's modernity rather than its traditionality.[12]

Articles on Japanese music occasionally appear in other journals, in particular the Tokyo-based *Musicology* (journal of the Nippon Ongaku Gakkai, or Musicology Society of Japan), published since the 1950s. Until the 1998 issue, no studies of twentieth-century popular music (Japanese or otherwise) were carried in the journal, but thereafter a number of articles and documentation of panels at the Society's annual meeting constitute evidence of the recent strong growth of interest in popular music study among young scholars.[13] Notwithstanding, writings and presentations focused on Japanese popular music *per se* remain rare.

Because of the Japanese Education Ministry's recent introduction of a plan to have all students learn a Japanese traditional instrument during three years of their schooling, Japanese music has suddenly become a topic of relative importance in journals of the music education profession.[14] It remains to be seen whether this much-increased concern for Japanese historical music will stimulate some educators to also consider Japanese popular musicians' work of the last one hundred years as viable materials for music education in a Japanese linguistic and cultural context. The issue of popular music's altogether marginal place in Japanese music education has been firmly raised in writings by Tsubono Yukiko (1991) and Koizumi Kyôko (2000), but the issue of relative representation of Japanese and non-Japanese repertory therein has yet to be addressed.

Research on Japanese popular music and its hybrid characteristics

The syncretic or hybrid musics of the 120 years or so since the first experiments in combining Western and indigenous elements in popular song have been referred to by many terms, including *taishû ongaku*, *popyurâ ongaku*, *popyurâ myûjikku*, *ryûkôka*, *enka*, *kayôkyoku*, *J-poppu* (J-pop) and others.[15] To date, relatively little academic writing has been done on this music.[16] Most writing has been historical, and the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period of intensive and continual change in Japanese musical culture, has been treated at greatest length.[17] A journal for popular music research, *Popyurâ Ongaku Kenkyû* (Popular Music Studies) and a Working Paper series have been established since the late 1990s by the Japanese Association for the Study of Popular Music (JASPM),[18] and a few articles on Japanese music appear therein. But perhaps in an effort to raise awareness of

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Japanese popular music's relevance for research issues in international scholarship, some of the most substantial articles thus far have been written in English and published outside Japan.[19] In Japanese, among the small number of scholarly books about popular music of the second half of the twentieth century are two books by sociologist Ogawa Hiroshi that deal with the functions of mediated music in Japanese society of the 1970s to 1990s (Ogawa 1988; 1993); and two collections of essays, one by the ethnomusicologist Koizumi Fumio (1984; see below) and the other an anthology on gender issues in Japanese pop (Kitagawa 1999). There is as yet no book-length scholarly survey or introduction to Japanese popular music, nor a Japanese-language textbook for use in university classes. Little of extant scholarship gives sustained attention to the theme of Japanese popular music as *Japanese* music, although there are occasional explorations of facets of behaviour and social practices that link past and present music-making.[20] References to traits of style and practice that bespeak the music's cultural specificity are rarely made, despite the fact that musicians have often articulated the urgency of their struggle to reconcile Japanese cultural identity with the Euro-American roots of jazz, rock and other genres.[21]

The significance of hyôron – writings by music critics and academics for a general readership

Texts that appear in academic journals and other forums for scholarship represent only a part of the 'serious' writing being done on Japanese popular music. In Japan as elsewhere, a demand for many kinds of texts is an outgrowth of the broad popularity of the music itself, and the music industry is actively involved in the production and promotion of books, magazines and Web resources that generate potential profits. Yet there is also an important body of work to be found in a liminal region between the most sales-oriented products of the industry, and scholarly texts such as the four books I have referred to: namely, the numerous publications on popular music by professional critics, music journalists and academics writing for a general readership, outside the standard conventions of scholarship. Among them are histories of particular periods or music genres, characterisations of certain groups of songs or individuals' compositions, and extensive analyses of lyrics in relation to social and political history.

The common term for writings of this kind is *hyôron* (and their authors are termed *hyôronka*, regardless of whether they also produce other, strictly scholarly texts as academics, *gakusha*). It is well-documented that in modern Japan the role of the public intellectual has been accorded social value, and that a tradition of essay-writing for non-specialist readership (*zuihitsu*) has been an established feature of academic life since the late nineteenth century – in other words, since the establishment of the modern Japanese university system. This reflects not only the culture of reading in Japan, where apparently 'difficult' books on intellectual subjects can sell well at the book kiosks on railway platforms, and are advertised on the front page of some daily newspapers, but also a relative fluidity in the boundaries between scholarship and public life. Prolific commentary by *hyôronka* are a feature of public discourse in many media. Much of the extant writing on Japanese popular music is writing done in the *hyôron* mode – including some pieces by Koizumi Fumio, and Satô Yoshiaki's important recent book. Scholars who produce texts in academic mode have also tended to produce much on commission in the role of

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hyôronka, as authors of extensive recording notes, recording and performance reviews, and participants in interviews and dialogues (*taidan*).

Koizumi's legacy

For writings on pop music by scholars who are known for their work on traditional Japanese music, one must look to the last published works of Koizumi Fumio, and those of his former student Kojima Tomiko, in the early 1980s: Koizumi is best known for his seminal work on mode and tonal principles in Japanese music, which appeared from the late 1950s, and for numerous writings on the music of Japan and other Asian cultures. In his final book, a collection of lectures and essays entitled *The Structure of Pop Songs* (*Kayôkyoku no Kôzô*), he sought to demonstrate in empirical terms hybrid elements of melodic style in mainstream songs and *enka* of the 1960s to early 1980s. He did so by showing how a range of such tunes exhibit (in modified form) modal characteristics that had been identified in his early writings as fundamental to Japanese folksong and other traditional genres. Koizumi saw this analysis of pop songs as a logical extension of his initial work:

> The modern popular songs that we think of as new are, in spite of all their novelty on the surface, in fact deeply rooted in traditional elements that link them to music of the Edo and even Muromachi periods.[22]

Soon after this book's publication in 1984, Koizumi died, in his mid-50s. Although he had opened up an important musicological approach to identifying facets and processes of hybridity in Japanese popular music, this potentially influential aspect of his work was taken up as an element in the research agenda of only one of his many students, Kojima Tomiko. Kojima's conviction that modern popular music should not be divorced from the broader context of Japanese music is in keeping with Koizumi, and is reflected in her work on *shin minyô* 'new folk songs' in the popular market of the 1910s–20s.[23] A persistent assertion in her writings[24] is that the Western musical training that has been central to Japan's school music curriculum for a century has led to a nationwide condition of devotion to Western-style music on the surface (the musical *tatemae*, with its implication of public, superficial behaviour), but continuation of indigenous musical sensibility and age-old techniques underneath (the musical *honne* – a more personal and deeply felt realm of experience).

A few other writers on Japanese pop have deployed aspects of Koizumi's work during the last ten years. In most cases, Koizumi is invoked in the context of arguments for the centrality of certain pentatonic scales and 4th-based formations (the latter of which Koizumi had termed 'tetrachordal') in Japanese melodic expression.[25] One of the more sophisticated approaches is that of Satô Yoshiaki, who teaches in the Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies Unit at Tokyo University, and describes his research field as Representational Culture Theory (*hyôshô bunkaron*). Satô has an academic background in American literary studies but has also written books on post-war cultural history, as well as *hyôron* texts of popular music criticism. In *J-Pop Shinkaron* ('A Theory of J-Pop's Development'), a book in a Heibonsha pocket series aimed at general readership, Satô attempts to account for what he terms the most conspicuous period of change in Japanese listeners' attitudes to Western pop – and their incorporation of American styles into their own pop composition-during the decade of the Shôwa 40s (1965–74). He also addresses the causes

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and consequences of that change. Among causes, he posits an increased receptivity to contemporary American music, in particular, because of marked similarities in pentatonic scale-types and tetrachordal functions in American R&B and Motown hits of the mid-to-late 1960s, and those of the hybrid *shôka* (school songs), *gunka* (military songs) and *ryûkôka* (commercially circulated songs) that had been enjoyed by Japanese since the early twentieth century (Satô 1999, pp. 54–60). A second recent example of the use of Koizumi's work on pop melodies is a book by the rock music critic, Yamashita Kunihiko (2000). The core of the text is melodic and harmonic analysis (rendered as accessible as possible, but nonetheless reliant on transcription examples), in which models of melodic principles proposed by both Koizumi and the composer Shibata Minao serve as jumping-off points for a whole chapter on 'Asian' scales and their roles in the compositions of Sakamoto Ryûichi and Komuro Tetsuya.

Much of this writing veers at times into the realm of *Nihonjinron* (theories of Japaneseness) in making claims of a unique and ineffable musical sensibility buttressed by the 'evidence' of rudimentary melodic analysis – although such claims are rarely voiced as openly as they were in some of Kojima's work of the 1980s, penned during a heyday period for *Nihonjinron*.[26] It will be a pity if such ideological colouring discourages others from utlilising some of the concepts and tools Koizumi developed; even with regard to the parameter of melodic and harmonic structure, much analytical work could yet be done to define typical features of *kayôkyoku* since the late 1970s, including comparison of modal elements in the most recent song styles with those that Koizumi looked at in detail twenty-five years ago.[27] At the same time, melodic and harmonic features are only two closely related facets among many elements of hybrid practice in this music; but that is a larger picture that I will sketch in the last section of this essay.

Evidence for musical *habitus* in Japanese pop

Koizumi's investigation of modal practice in *kayôkyoku* melodies is one example of the application of knowledge of Japanese historical music traditions to pop music, so as to build an understanding of areas of relation to earlier musical practice. Koizumi and the few who have adopted elements of his work consider pop songs primarily in terms of a single parameter, melody, which can be textualised using the conventional musicological tool of transcription into Western musical notation. But what might be gained by a broader application of knowledge of traditional music, whereby manifestations of musical *habitus* can be sought both in a broader range of textual facets of pop music, and in contextual facets that shape listener-viewers' experience of both the music and its performers? For present purposes, I will approach this question firstly through some brief examples concerning the 'textual' facets of vocal tone-colour and musical terminology, then suggest some contextual features that might be taken up in future studies.

Vocal tone-colour as a textual facet of performance

The issue of vocal production (*hassei-hô*) has been paid little attention as an important area of continuity from traditional music practice, but seems a logical element of practice in which to seek evidence, for the reason that it is strongly tied to the use of Japanese language, and is therefore relatively slow to change through musi-

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cal culture contact. In each and every genre of traditional song and narrative recitation, there is an elaborate discourse about the manner of producing appropriate vocal tone quality, without which one's performance is deemed aesthetically inadequate. The manner of talking about vocal qualities is learned from one's teacher. In pop music, such discourse is less regulated because it is generated through fans' appreciation of a singer's style, rather than through a teacher–student relationship. Evaluative terminology for the quality of singers' voices, then, changes rapidly and is hard to identify, but the sound itself remains a tangible link to past practice.

One of the most persistent qualities of singing in both traditional and popular music since the time of the first recordings of Japanese performances is that of a thin, somewhat rasping yet strong tone produced by forcing a narrow, dense air stream through constricted vocal cords. This effect, and the technique of producing it, is described in general musical discourse as *jigoe* (literally, 'ground' or 'basic voice'). It is particularly clear in high-pitched passages, where there is often a conspicuous avoidance of *uragoe*, a kind of falsetto – in effect a weaker, purer sound produced with loosened vocal cords. *Jigoe* technique is evident, for example, in the Edo period *shamisen* song genre of *kouta*, as well as some styles of *minyô* singing. The same singing technique is to be heard in many popular songs of the 1920s and 1930s, most conspicuously in the string of hits – among them 'Gion Kouta' and 'Tenryû kudareba'[28] and other *eiga kouta* film-songs – sung by geisha who had trained in Edo period *shamisen* song forms (*geisha kashû*). It is also one of several aural markers of traditionality in the core styles of *enka*, which constituted mainstream *kayôkyoku* of the 1950s and early 1960s. After the displacement of *enka* from its domination of the market, from the late 1960s on, the characteristic tone-colour created by use of *jigoe* in higher vocal registers became more rarely heard, but remained important for the success of certain singers and songs. A major singer-songwriter of the style marketed as 'new music', Nakajima Miyuki, has often used the technique; one well-known example from the early 1980s is 'Hitori Jôzu'.[29] More recently, the extremely popular singer–composer of dance-style pop, Hamasaki Ayumi, almost invariably sings in *jigoe* when she moves into higher registers, as can be clearly heard in the choruses of 'Monochrome', the opening song of her 1999 album, *A*.[30] The distinctiveness of this vocal tone-quality in the contemporary musical context can be appreciated by comparing Hamasaki's style to that of Utada Hikaru, whose vocal technique in representative songs since her 1999 debut is devoid of *jigoe*, and is distinguished by skilful use of falsetto in much the same manner as American R&B singers whom she cites as influences.[31]

It warrants comment that all of the singers I have referred to are female. It would seem that although the use of *jigoe* technique is important for *enka* singers of both sexes, it is a less acceptable vocal tone-colour for male performers in other popular music styles, with the possible exception of some boy idol singers of the 1970s and 1980s, such as the young Gô Hiromi. A historical explanation for this can be offered: Whereas the *geisha kashû* were prevalent among female singing stars of the 1920s and early 1930s, male singers had no recourse to a traditional or quasi-traditional performative stance after the demise of the *enka-shi* as viable recording artists, in the mid-1920s. The great majority of early male stars were singers trained in Western art song, with its special techniques for directing resonance within the body, such as 'chest voice' and 'head voice'. Such performers could not establish use of *jigoe* as one of the models for successful vocal production style in modern singing in the way that women performers did at that time. During the post-war

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decades, sonic models for male Japanese singers (other than *enka* specialists) were provided in the techniques of leading white American and British singers such as Paul Anka, Neil Sedaka, Elvis Presley, Mick Jagger, Bob Dylan and others – but did not include any pre-War domestic singers who had retained the use of *jigoe*.

Just what am I suggesting here? Certainly not that there is evidence of traditional music practice in mainstream contemporary pop.[32] For one thing, the likelihood of Hamasaki Ayumi or any recent mainstream star having particular interest in traditional musical genres is minimal. It would be wrong, moreover, to claim that the vocal timbre I have isolated has been that most highly favoured in the market place anytime since the 1940s. Very different styles of vocal production have also been favoured in Japanese pop; and indeed, some of the singers I have discussed can perform with a variety of timbres and techniques. To say that these vocal qualities and their affective meanings for performers and listeners in 1930s, 1980s and early twenty-first century Japan are 'the same' is to de-contextualise the music, taking it out of both time and place. Hence I am trying emphatically *not* to reify the traditional as a set of age-old techniques and a blood-given eternal sensibility of the sort that Kojima Tomiko has sometimes asserted. Rather, by interpreting the persistence of and predilection for this distinctive vocal tone in the voices of leading performers over a span of seventy years as evidence of a musical manifestation of *habitus* – or in Williams' terms, as residual elements that have been 'wholly or largely incorporated' into dominant musical practices – I am contesting the polar opposition between traditionality and modernity that is conventional in writings on Japanese popular music.

Terminology for technical and aesthetic characteristics

Thus far I have proposed that practices of some historical depth are significant for modern popular music-making in Japan, however slight their aurally identifiable 'music-textual' effects might be. Another aspect of musicking for which there is likely to be some carry-over from past practice is the sphere of discourse among musicians which articulates technical and aesthetic concepts. Terms for description and evaluation of vocal timbre, as mentioned above, comprise one area in which present musical *habitus* shows there to be continutity with pre-modern practice; the persistence of expressions such as *jigoe* and *uragoe* (as well as others, including *damigoe*, which describes a gravelly, low-pitched voice of the kind once used by many *naniwa-bushi* performers) is discursive evidence that parallels that of performance practice itself. Closer investigation of the use of terminology for technical detail in vocal performance might also yield evidence of the way the sphere of reference of historical terms is expanded to include both old and new techniques; for example, in the way the term *yuri* can refer to a range of vocal oscillation techniques, including both prolonged microtonal movement of the kind heard in *minyô* singing and some *biwa* recitation, and briefer, broader-ranged pitch embellishments in pop styles. Another important aesthetic term in multiple genres is *nori* (literally 'riding'). In historical genres it denotes the relationship between vocalised text lines and temporal frameworks established by percussion in music of *nô* drama, the recitation of text with a marked rhythm in *gidayû-bushi* music of the classical puppet theatre, and degrees of tempo in some other Edo period *shamisen* genres; but it has also been used in modern popular music to refer to the way melody or overall ensemble

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sound 'rides' a beat, as well as a general condition of musical efficacy, in the sense of a live or recorded performance's ability to transport audience or listeners.[33]

Contexts for performance: social practices

Evidence of continuity with the past might also be sought in the social practices and contexts wherein music's textual features are meaningful. Understanding of such phenomena is complicated by the fact that Japanese social practices have been framed and re-framed within the essentialising language of arguments for cultural identity, whereby certain interractive and communicative conventions are claimed as unchanging elements of Japanese tradition.[34] It is in regard to this problem that the concepts of both *habitus* and 'residual' cultural elements discussed earlier can be especially helpful as heuristics. If understood as habits of perception and preference that mediate between society and individual, *habitus* can account for the ways in which past practice informs that of the present, without implying that any single element of historical culture is either unchanging or always manifest. The historical depth of *habitus* is therefore no more a fixed entity than is its content; to put this another way, *habitus* must be subject to historicity. (And this is just the continually dynamic process that Williams accounted for in his model of dominant, residual and emergent elements.) Viewed from this perspective, Japanese musical culture is not composed of ever-present techniques and practices such as *jigoe, ma* (silence or space that is a dynamic element in composition), *kobushi* (melismatic motion between and around principal melodic tones), and *hiden* (transmission of 'secret' techniques or repertory to a select few). Rather, it is a palimpsest that is forever being inscribed (and sometimes even 'scraped back' through deliberate reference to archaic styles), so that older layers and characteristics continually fade and disappear, but also reappear and recirculate among composer–performers and listener–fans at uneven rates. To claim that Japanese music 'always' retains certain aesthetic, performative and behavioural traits, or that the present is a time when popular musicians have made a complete break with their predecessors, is in both cases to deny the complexity of the process of negotiation between innovation and received practice that is indispensable for popular music's appeal.

Some social and behavioural contexts for Japanese pop which can be considered in light of this metaphor include the following: aspects of staging and musician–audience modes of interraction in performance (for example, the use of staging and costume conventions of varying historical depth by *bijuaru-kei* 'glam bands'); societal and individual manifestations of fandom (in particular the marketing and reception of idol singers); the roles of individual producer–composers (such as Hosono Haruomi, Komuro Tetsuya, Cornelius, and Oda Tetsuro) within both mainstream and 'independent' pop music scenes; the structure of music-production firms (*jimusho*) that function according to an elaborate and codified heirarchy;[35] the fluidity of labour exchange among musicians within each of those groups, in contrast to a relative lack of collaboration between members of separate organisations; and, the extent to and manner in which songs are vehicles for subjectivity (as distinct from primarily communally oriented expressions) or are deployed for purposes of social and political commentary. For each of these elements of the organisation, presentation, conceptualisation and reception of pop music, past practice is something that cannot be fully replicated, but is rarely actively discarded,

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and continues in fragmentary form to be significant for present practice, as 'history turned into second nature'.

In conclusion

Koizumi's last book, *Kayôkyoku no Kôzô* (The Structure of Pop Songs) was an initial attempt to locate modern popular music firmly within a broader picture of Japanese musical culture. In a 1980 essay included in the book, Koizumi writes of the way old and new elements are 'patched and darned' together in songs.

> [J popular song] is a kind of patchwork, something new that emerges from the joining of elements brought together from all over the place. That is something which can be seen not only in popular song, but as one of the patterns of Japan's traditional culture: We don't make something entirely new by *combining* things that are new with things we already had; rather, we take familiar and borrowed things just as they are, then make something by patching and darning them together – this is one characteristic of the way Japanese culture is constructed. (Koizumi 1984, p. 120)

This comment was made with reference only to melodic and modal elements of *enka* and mainstream pop songs, but as a characterisation of the process of musical syncretism, it could well be applied to other styles and other parameters of musical text and context, such as those I've suggested above. I would advocate providing the two-dimensional 'patchwork' image with the added temporal depth of the palimpsest, so as to work toward an understanding of Japanese musical culture as being fully inclusive of popular music, the past of which is always liable to manifest itself in ways that are not necessarily audible or conspicuous.

Research on both textual and contextual aspects of Japanese popular music may yield, moreover, a certain disciplinary contribution. While links to traditional music have been explored in popular 'world-beat' genres from many cultures (for example, in juju, bhangra and soukous), they have hardly been demonstrated for styles that are particular to national entities yet are not considered to be distinctively influenced by indigenous music traditions. Japanese *kayôkyoku* since the 1970s, and now J-pop, are prime examples of such music, for they do not conform to the essentialising expectation that popular music of a given culture must sound ethnically grounded in some clearly recognisable way. Nonetheless, investigation of subtle but demonstrable links between new and older musical practices in Japan can illustrate ways in which pop music is undoubtedly a part of 'Japanese musical culture', and an authentic vehicle for contemporary Japanese identity, the expressive force of which is in no way diminished by its also being a local manifestation of a transnational musical culture and global popular culture idioms.

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Endnotes

1. Other important musical practices therein include European concert music, television and play station media music (some of which overlaps with commerical pop music), recorded music broadcast in numerous contexts and spaces of daily life, and school curriculum music.
2. Bourdieu (1977, p. 78). In ethnomusicological literature, expositions and applications of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* are given in Thomas Turino's writings (see, for example, Turino 1990).
3. The growing body of literature on indigenisation and localisation in the practice of hybrid popular musics includes Stokes (1994), McLaughlin and McLoone (2000), and the special issues of *Popular Music* on Japan, Australia, Germany and the Middle East.
4. This division is expressed through the overarching categories of *hôgaku* (a word written and pronounced identically to one of the words for traditional music, but in this case meaning music by Japanese) and *yôgaku* (literally 'Western music'), used as the largest unit of division within the popular music sections of music stores.
5. I use this expression because in several respects – among them the adoption of new notation formats and the public presentation of music in concert programmes – most genres of traditional Japanese music have been affected by Western musical practice.
6. Konakamura (1888).
7. Popular genres that had origin in the Meiji Period, such as *naniwa-bushi* and *chikuzenbiwa* were therefore not considered.
8. I thank Hosokawa Shûhei for bringing this point of comparison to my attention.
9. See, for example, Nakamura (1999).
10. The organisation's official English title is 'The Society for Research in Asiatic Music'. That title is itself now subject to some debate; see Tsuge (2000).
11. Issues of the journal prior to 1950 and since the mid-1990s contain rather more varied contents.
12. With the sole exception of the last section of Gondô Atsuko's article on '*enka*' of Meiji, Taishô and early Shôwa (Gondô 1988).
13. Within the Tôyô Ongaku Gakkai, there was far less evidence for such receptivity to popular music scholarship until 2001, with the scheduled presentation at the annual conference, in November, of a paper on pop music in African post-colonial settings by Tsukada Ken'ichi. It remains to be seen whether such papers will be published by the Society.
14. A discussion of this issue is given in Kakiuchi (2000).
15. See the Mitsui and Kitagawa articles in *Popular Music* vol. 10/3 for explanation of the denotations of these various terms.
16. As I am describing the disciplinary boundaries of research in Japan, I will not refer to studies of Japanese music written in English and European languages, except those by scholars whose locus of professional activity is Japan. At the time of writing, however, two monographs on Japanese popular music are being prepared for publication in the USA.
17. Some of the most substantive works produced include Soeda (1963), Hosokawa (1989–1993) and Nishizawa (1990).
18. Formed in 1991, JASPM is administratively independent of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM), but has a sub-group of IASPM members. One of the latter's initial achievements was to produce a pamphlet on popular music in Japan (IASPM-Japan 1991) which presented a concise overview of genres for the first time in English.
19. Examples are some of the papers in *Popular Music* 1991, Mitsui (1997, 1998), Hosokawa (1999a, b) and Hosokawa and Otake (1998).
20. See in particular Hosokawa's article in English (Hosokawa 1999b). In Japanese, see Hosokawa (2000) and Ogawa's acknowledgement of similarities in certain formal characteristics of traditional and modern song lyrics (Ogawa 1988, pp. 42ff).
21. See Atkins' 'Can Japanese Sing the Blues?' (Atkins 2000). The early 1970s debate over the use of Japanese or English lyrics in rock songs is also an important instance of public contestation over authenticity in the performance of a 'Western' pop music genre by Japanese professionals (see Hosokawa 2000; in English, see pp.117–120 of Hosokawa 1999b). Watanabe Jun's *Aidentiti no Ongaku* ('Identity Music') includes a brief section on 'Rock music in Japan' in which he laments that some aspects of rock's development and reception in Japan are strikingly contrasted to the British and American cases (Watanabe 2000, pp. 197–204).
22. Koizumi (1984, p. 119)
23. See Kojima (1970).
24. For example, in Kojima (1981, pp. 31–6).
25. For an account of Koizumi's theory of tetrachordal structures in Japanese melody, see Tokita (1996, pp. 1–33).
26. See Dale (1986).
27. For *enka* and some of the more conservative styles of 1960s and 1970s *kayôkyoku*, Okada

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(1991) employs an analytical approach to address some of these features.

28. 'Gion Kouta' (Sassa 1930) was the theme song for the 1930 Makino film of the same name, which concerned the life of a Gion district Kyoto *geisha*. 'Tenryû kudareba' (Nakayama 1933) was the theme song for the 1933 Shôchiku film of the same name, and incorporates elements of a style of *minyô* (folk song) from the Shinshû region, home to both the composer and performer. The original SP recording included the representative folk song 'Ina-bushi' on its B-side, also sung by the geisha Ichimaru.
29. Nakajima (1981).
30. Hamasaki (1999).
31. There is some evidence on Utada's second album (released in mid-2001) that she is diversifying the vocal tones she produces. It remains to be seen whether she will eventually try to incorporate any elements of vocal technique from the *enka* singing of her mother, Fuji Keiko.
32. There are cases of pop artists making reference to traditional music: Yano Akiko's use of *nô* drums and drum-calls, *shakuhachi* and allusion to northern regional folk song in tracks on her 1976 album, *Japanese Girl*; Yellow Magic Orchestra and Hosono Haruomi's parodic references in 1970s and early 1980s albums; Shang-Shang Typhoon's incorporation of both domestic and Okinawan folk music elements in the 1990s; and of course, Okinawan folk-rock itself. But in all of these cases except the distinctive and on-the-whole marginalised genre of Okinawan folk-rock, the references are conscious quotational gestures made for particular effect. As such, they are instances of an 'archaic' residualism, in the terms of Williams' model.
33. Ogawa discusses the term's importance in pop music reception and among *nô* performers so as to build a model for its use in other social contexts, but does not treat the specifics of its use by popular musicians in various genres (Ogawa 1988, pp. 78–97).
34. Such assertions have been characteristic of *Nihonjinron* accounts of Japanese cultural uniqueness. See Dale (1986), Chapters 6, 7 and 9, and Befu (2001).
35. The most famous – and in some respects infamous – of these is the boy-idol 'factory', Johnnies (*janiizu jimusho*), which has flourished since its establishment in the mid-1960s (see Schilling 1997, pp. 232–3).

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