An-Pan Man: Language and culture in a Japanese children's cartoon

Debra Jane Occhi

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

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An-Pan Man: Language and culture in a Japanese children's cartoon

Occhi, Debra Jane, M.A.
University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1994

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AN-PAN MAN: LANGUAGE AND CULTURE
IN A JAPANESE CHILDREN'S
CARTOON

by

Debra Jane Occhi

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Anthropology

Department of Anthropology and Ethnic Studies
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
August 1994
The Thesis of Debra J. Occhi for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology is approved.

Chairperson, Gary B. Palmer; Ph.D.

Examinig Committee Member, John J. Swetnam, Ph.D.

Examinig Committee Member, George Urioste, Ph.D.

Graduate Faculty Representative, Mayumi Itoh, Ph.D.

Dean of the Graduate College, Ronald W. Smith, Ph.D.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
August 1994
This thesis examines a Japanese children's fantasy story, *An-Pan Man*, an animated television cartoon. The cartoon employs stereotypical characterizations that are a) defined by language use, especially politeness markers encoded in referents for self and other, and b) exhibited through enacted nonverbal behavior. Since the episodic *An-Pan Man* story is directed toward a young audience, it can be considered as a presentation that models appropriate and inappropriate language and behavior to children through the media of popular culture. I present an interpretation of culturally specific identities established by language use through translation and interpretation of the cartoon assisted by native-speaker consultants.
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis examines the use of linguistic and cultural stereotypes as models for behavior in a Japanese children's cartoon, *An-Pan Man*, that has been popular in Japan for the last twenty years. Available in printed form since 1972, presented since 1984 as an animated television cartoon and in 1993 as the subject of a motion picture, *An-Pan Man* has evolved from a printed *manga* 'cartoon' to a television show (*anime*) and a movie. Its characters are widely used as a marketing device for various products including food and toys. Its longevity and popularity would suggest that it has appealed to at least one generation of children. But children are not the only consumers of cartoon culture; *manga* and *anime* are art forms with wide appeal and historical significance. In Japan, cartooning is an artistic tradition dating at least as early as the 12th century; as a genre it is widespread and popular with all age groups (Schodt 1983:28).

*An-pan*, a common Japanese confection, is a bun (pan, 'bread') filled with sweetened adzuki bean paste, an. *An-Pan Man* has a head of an-pan. In the cartoon, *An-Pan Man* flies over the countryside, looking for those in trouble. He usually offers portions of his head as food to those in distress. His antagonist is greedy *Baikin-Man* 'bacteria' who attacks *An-Pan Man* and the other characters with his germey blue tongue and other weapons of
putrification. Other characters, who will be described in a later section, reinforce the food theme of the cartoon.

As with other dramatic narratives aimed at children, An-Pan Man is intended as a contribution toward the socialization process of its viewers (Swetnam 1992). According to my consultants, the idea that television presentations affect the behavior of their young viewers, although much debated in America, is generally accepted in Japan. In her study of the An-Pan Man manga, Anne Allison (1992) described the two main male characters, An-Pan Man and Baikin Man, as positive and negative role models for Japanese children. Allison describes An-Pan Man as a representation of the sarariiman "salaryman" worker. She also regards the cartoon as a valuable tool that enables its young readers to cope with stressful issues in their own socialization through vicarious identification with the self-serving Baikin Man.

The animated version of the An-Pan Man cartoon enhances the manga's textual descriptions of each scene with visible action and verbal discourse. Intonation and nonverbal behavior embellish the plot. Through the juxtaposition of An-Pan Man and Baikin Man, positive and negative values of idealized Japanese culture are displayed. They and the other characters exhibit personalities that correlate to stereotypes of Japanese behavior.

I analyze the characterizations presented in An-Pan Man using theories of sociolinguistics and cultural linguistics (Palmer 1993). The analysis includes data obtained through consultation with native Japanese speakers. I discuss the language and non-verbal behavior of the characters separately and in relationship to one another. Identities defined in the analysis are compared to those found in American hero cartoons as well as to relevant
aspects of Japanese culture reported by consultants and in published ethnographies.

Identity and its construction has interested both linguists and psychological anthropologists. How do others know us? Evaluations of self are based on observations of what is said and done, mediated by inner thoughts and judgements, which include notions of social convention. Identity also has a dynamic quality emergent through human interaction. In social interaction and verbal discourse, conventional meanings emerge and form an important part of what we call culture. These norms are displayed through both language and behavior; individuals define themselves and communicate their identities through their choices among a wide range of possibilities for speech and action. Palmer (1993:3) has theorized that it is through discourse that "speakers and listeners continually construct representations of themselves and of one another, thereby becoming embedded in socio-linguistic relations that are mutually dependent and co-constitutive." Over time these relations, while not fixed, may display consistent patterns. This is especially true of those those constructed (often formulaic) interactions that make up the An-Pan Man cartoon. From examining the recurrent behavior of these characters, schematizations emerge that correlate to culturally salient schemas known from other contexts and sources (Palmer 1993: 11-13). These schemas correspond to key Japanese values that are lexically labelled, values such as wa "harmony", amae "sweet/loving dependency", and kojinshugi "individuality."

The Japanese language is highly marked for status and politeness between interlocutors. Indeed, the identities of the 'good' and 'bad' characters are created through manipulation of linguistic and gestural resources in the cartoon. The cartoon's display of personalities and the values with which
they are identified is accomplished through the animation of the various characters' language and behavior.

This thesis elaborates Allison's character descriptions through the inclusion of sociolinguistic data from literature and consultant interviewing and the analysis of additional main characters in the story. The following chapters describe relevant linguistic theories, both general and specific to Japanese, the characters of *An-Pan Man*, their communicative and behavioral styles, and the values expressed through these repertoires and their interaction. Analysis will include comparisons of language and behavior displayed in the cartoon to Japanese cultural ideals, including gender roles, and to American cultural ideals displayed in hero cartoons.
Introduction

This study compares cartoon characters whose conventional language and behavior define their personalities. Stereotypical identities emerge from interactions among language, behavior, and social roles. In the cartoon these identities are expressed visually through behavior and symbolism, especially that of food, as well as discursively in referents for self and others.

Since the identities of the cartoon characters in An-Pan Man are constructed partly through linguistic devices, this chapter will discuss linguistic theories that relate to my data. In Japanese, such devices include verb suffixes and lexemes, especially pronominal referents (i.e. terms of address). These allow speakers to implicitly assert various types of information about themselves and others, partly through manipulation of politeness levels. The way one refers to self and other relative to social status displays one's level of verbal politeness.

Terms of address, verb suffixes, and other linguistic forms are part of the discursive component of social scenarios. Social scenarios consist of images or cognitions (schemas) of individuals acting within a culturally based communicative framework. The linguistic and nonlinguistic behaviors compose scenarios that correlate with abstract descriptive terms (in Japanese, for example, amae, kojinshugi). In the An-Pan Man cartoon, for example, An-Pan Man uses the pronoun boku, which evokes a schema of humble
masculinity. Each of the main characters shows consistency in assigning particular referents to themselves and to each other. By evoking social schemas, pronouns create expectations and grounds for evaluation of individuals. Referential choices in relation to variables of age, gender, and status present and classify each character according to, or in contrast to, cultural norms. Examination of referential choices, therefore, is an important aspect of this study. Analysis of address terms is classified under the rubric of linguistic politeness literature, and is derived from the model of Brown and Levinson (1978).

Brown, Levinson, and the Rational Model Person

Brown and Levinson developed a framework for categorizing the ways in which potential social conflicts are mitigated through language use. They assume a rational model speaker who is endowed with positive and negative face (as in Goffman 1967). They describe politeness by means of a paradigm that they call a "categorical usage framework" (Brown & Levinson 1978:60-64). This section will demonstrate that although the model may apply to the language used in the cartoon, it is not adequate to describe related data that I collected from live informants regarding pronoun use in Japanese.

Three of the main themes underlying the Brown and Levinson model are universality, rationality, and face. The first of these themes, universality, describes the scope of their model and is referred to explicitly in several of the aims they set forth in its introduction:

(i) identify some principles of a universal yet 'social' sort, therefore identifying functional pressures on the shape of grammar
(ii) value complexity of human planning, demonstrate role of rationality and its mutual assumption by participants
(iii) strategic message construction as key locus of the interface between language and society
(iv) rebut cultural relativism of interaction, i.e. to show that superficial diversities can emerge from underlying universal principles (Brown & Levinson 1978:61)

These aims describe putative universals of human behavior that are psychological, linguistic, and anthropological. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson believe that this model is not only universal but fundamental. Their model is inferential as well as descriptive. They seek to develop a tool for describing...the quality of social relationships...that its cross-cultural applicability may have more than purely descriptive status...Anthropologists make inferences about the nature of social relations by observations of their interactional quality. They do this unreflectingly, on the basis of universal assumptions about universal principles of face-to-face interaction. When made explicit these amount to principles like those here described (Brown & Levinson 1978:60).

Other claims center around the Model Person (MP) on whom their model is based. Their definition of rationality implies understanding of linguistic expectations (by both parties to the conversation) that allows construction of strategy by the MP speaker.

All our Model Person (MP) consists in is a wilful fluent speaker of a natural language, further endowed with two special properties - rationality and face. By 'rationality' we mean something very specific - the availability to our MP of a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends...A further aspect of rational behavior seems to be the ability to weigh up different means to an end, and choose the one that most satisfies the desired goals...there is intended no claim that 'rational face-bearing agents' are all or always what actual humans are, but simply that these are assumptions that all interacting humans know that they will be expected to orient to (Brown & Levinson 1978: 63,70)

The second property of the MP, that of face, relies on a putative universal of human behavior:
By 'face' we mean something quite specific again: our MP is endowed with two particular wants - roughly the want to be unimpeded and the want to be approved of in certain respects... Our notion of 'face' is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or 'losing face'. Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction (Brown & Levinson 1978: 63,66)

Rationality, the first claim, must be interpreted through their definition in order to understand the model; it differs from the common English definition wherein it opposes emotionality or irrationality. Rational behavior, in their model, means knowledge of strategy by speakers in achieving goals through specific means. These strategies are culturally based. They may not correspond to the specific strategies outlined in the Brown and Levinson model.

Behavior of people can and does depart strongly from the idealized rational model speaker definitions of politeness strategy. For example, Brown's and Levinson's framework located deference and demeanor, including the use of honorifics, under the negative politeness category "Don't coerce H (hearer)" in a scenario when the "FTA (face-threatening act) involves predicing an act of H — for example, when requesting his aid or offering him something which requires his accepting" (1978:177). While it may be useful to construct idealized models of lexical choice according to socially based variables, ascribing singular motivation to these referents is unnecessarily deterministic. For example, in addition to deference and humble demeanor, use of honorifics may also constitute ingratiation, intimidation, or irony as indirect coercion of H, against the Brown and Levinson model. Mathews Hamabata's fieldwork experience in Japan, described in more detail later in this section, demonstrates yet another
possibility. By adopting boku as a self-referent, he gave up his sexual identity as a mature male; his consultants responded accordingly. More generally, the category in which honorifics is placed is too narrow to encompass diverse motivations for their use. The character Baikin Man in the An-Pan Man cartoon uses an honorific to refer to himself (i.e. ore-sama), a linguistic maneuver that would be unheard of in live discourse but that establishes him as a "typical bad guy" according to the discourse conventions of anime cartoons.

In more recent anthropological writings, the question whether anthropologists can rely 'unreflectingly on universal assumptions' is under debate. One area of study in which this question arises is sentiment and its cultural construction (e.g. Lutz 1988, Abu-Lughod 1986, Rosaldo 1989, Kovecses 1990, et. al.), an area that is inherently linguistic and of great relevance in considering the utility of models based on 'universal principles of face-to-face interaction'. In asserting that the combination of rationality and face create 'assumptions that all interacting humans know that they will be expected to orient to', Brown and Levinson are describing universal schemas for politeness in interaction.

Werkhofer considers that Brown & Levinson follow what he calls the modern view of politeness, which is "biased towards a one-sided individualism, a bias that is not only due to the role ascribed to the speaker's initial-face-threatening intention, but to other individualistic premises" (Werkhofer 1992: 157). He contrasts them to earlier models that rely on external social pressures on the speaker to conform to expectations for politeness: "As seen from a traditional point of view, by contrast, politeness is governed by social forces, not by individual ones" (Werkhofer 1992: 156). He interprets Brown and Levinson's model as cognitive, "even with regard to
aspects that might be thought of as not just being subjectively held by, stored or processes 'within' the speaker, but as being social or 'external' realities (Werkhofer 1992: 167). Whether Brown and Levinson are focusing on either internal or external realities, or accommodation between the two, is not clear, but the question is less important than their claim that mutually understood strategies for politeness exist and that these strategies, as outlined in their model, are universal.

Although Brown and Levinson construct a hypothetical speaker whose behavior consistently reflects universally based cultural values, they do admit that actual behavior may differ from MP behavior, and thus fall outside the bounds of their model (Brown & Levinson 1978:70). Their admission that actual humans are not always rational, furthermore, implies that speakers do not always know the strategy. Whether Brown and Levinson mean to imply that speakers do not always know the cultural model that underlies linguistic strategy is an open question.

In positing face as part of a universal model, Brown and Levinson are again open to criticism whose scope lies beyond my research. Not only is each language endowed with its own resources for referential choice and descriptions of behavior, but also, a culture may define language behaviors in ways not necessarily compatible to 'politeness' or to Goffman’s face concept. In real-life behavior, people are not always rational, either in the common definition (i.e. as opposed to emotional) or in Brown’s and Levinson’s definition (i.e. knowing strategy). Face and politeness are not always the primary concern of speakers. Brown’s and Levinson’s model may best describe the ideal behavior of a Western adult. But the issue here is not whether the use of a hypothetical “rational model speaker” is the best method for eliciting linguistic choices for politeness in various languages. The real
issue is how individuals use linguistic resources to meet social ends. Elements of a non-Western social scenario may not correspond to the predictions of a Western rational speaker model. Face may be central to some, but not all scenarios. The concept of "face" in these scenarios, rather than being the sole factor motivating lexical choice, is a cognitive state that forms only part of a cultural scenario, and that must be evaluated in context with the individuals and the situation involved. This type of analysis, while including sociolinguistic theory, is also cognitive, at once more general in scope and more specific (i.e. to particular instances of use) in application than that of Brown and Levinson.

However, in basing their face concept on the definition provided by Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson allow for comparison between that definition and the values ascribed to the culture under study. Susan Pharr states that "Goffman's use of "face" corresponds to the Japanese use: 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself...an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes" (Pharr 1990: 151; Goffman 1967:15, 5).

Brown, Levinson, and Japanese Politeness Research

Politeness marking in Japanese has been studied extensively, particularly regarding 'male' and 'female' speech (see figures 1-5). Sociolinguistic models of politeness, especially for Japanese, must deal with the issue of referential choice. These models rely implicitly on abstract schemas for social roles and cultural values. In the literature on Japanese, each model uses restrictive criteria, focusing on core meanings for specific terms and excluding peripheral ones (c.f. Kovecses 1990). Linguists have commonly presented analyses of Japanese referents by means of flowcharts.
Loveday 1986 cf. Figure 2, Ide 1991a cf. Figure 5) or paradigm structures (Ide 1991b cf. Figure 4, Shibatani 1990, McGloin 1991) that describe who should use which linguistic form with whom. These models echo the theories of Brown & Levinson mentioned above by presenting choices and strategies. Ide, for example, asserts that linguistic politeness in Japanese is “mainly a matter of conforming to social conventions for a choice of linguistic forms”. She discusses qualitative factors such as group membership and social status affecting linguistic choice (1991b:64). Although she believes that her model is less dynamic than that of Brown and Levinson, both models are based on choices governed by social factors. Theirs is universal; hers is specific to the Japanese language. Discussing gender differences, Ide describes women’s “politer” speech as largely “negative politeness” of deference and demeanor in Brown’s and Levinson’s framework (1971b:75-8). In their study of the informal discourse of Japanese women, however, Okamoto and Sato suggest that “the common gender-based categorization ‘female register’ as opposed to ‘male register’, may be too simplistic to describe contemporary usage” (1992:1). Aoi Tsuda, in a comparative analysis of sales discourse in Japan and America, uses the notion of power rather than gender as a factor in the selection of linguistic resources, stating that “the fundamental relationship underlying the honorific system is the relative power of the speaker and hearer in any transaction” (Tsuda 1984:101). Goldstein and Tamura (Figure 1) distinguish between respect and formality, two qualities traditionally linked in politeness models (Goldstein and Tamura 1975:120).

The prevalent models, although based on similar ideals, use different criteria for selection of a referent. Sachiko Ide (1991b) employs the dichotomies of first/second person, formal/plain/deprecatory, and male/female to frame a paradigm describing the personal pronouns that are
not associated with either kinship or occupation (Figure 4). Loveday 1986 (Figure 2), and Ide 1991b (Figure 5) use flowcharts to describe possible decision trees for the speaker's selection of a proper referent. However useful these discrete categories may be to formal linguists and beginning language learners, these categorizations fail to do justice to the dynamics of language in context. Therefore such analyses can only represent a partial, denotative analysis of referential use.

Asef Agha (1993) provides a more socially contextualized theory for analyzing honorifics than the preceding models employ. He equates honorific register with "deference entitlements", noting that their sensitivity to the relative social status of interlocutors allows judgements of speaker politeness within discursive interaction (Agha 1993: 133). This theory works better than that of Brown and Levinson for analyzing live discourse and its multiple functions. Agha's analysis allows for dynamics of usage within a resource framework that allows lexical choice based on a combination of individual motivations, which would include the use of references to manipulate cultural scenarios including social status of interlocutors. This framework is akin to the cognitively based theory of Japanese politeness suggested by Palmer, which states that in any society people hold personality stereotypes that consist of prototypical scenarios of behavior, imagined cognitive and emotional states, and characteristic ways of speaking. In Japanese, these characteristic ways of speaking often require the use of honorific language. Thus the use of honorific language may itself evoke expectations of reciprocal language and prototypical behavioral scenarios (Palmer 1994: personal communication).

My data on referential use by live speakers necessitates dynamic analysis. For example, watashi is commonly represented in the literature as a
polite, all-purpose self-referent, but according to my consultants it can also imply different connotations (politeness, inappropriate formality, homosexuality, etc.) depending on the context of the utterance, the speaker's gender, and the speaker's level of acquaintance with the hearer. These data can be understood in terms of a cognitively and culturally based analysis that examines how behavioral schemas are evoked by speech style. This approach is more dynamic than the Brown and Levinson model will allow. For example, the fact that some schemas are considered to represent stereotypically male or female role behaviors may explain how the same phenomenon can be described by different scholars as being variously influenced by either gender or power.

**Japanese Terms of Address**

Referential choice in Japanese has two aspects that are described consistently throughout the literature and by consultants. In overall rates of usage, Japanese typically employs a much lower rate of overt referential pronoun usage than does English; context is typically used to indicate the persons referred to in an utterance. Japanese people who know each other well use each other's given names and refer to themselves, especially as children, by their own given names. Furthermore, role titles are often used as referents for self and others. As Suzuki claims, if we are to insist on categorizing Japanese referents into first- and second-person, "we will then have to say that, in Japanese, most kinship terms and innumerable occupational titles are all personal pronouns" (1978:115).

As in Friedrick's description of Russian, Japanese address terms "are Janus-faced because they are linked into both the linguistic matrix of grammatical paradigms and the cultural matrix of social statuses and group
categories" (1986:298). In Japanese, referential choice requires consideration of several elements including kinship, occupation, gender, and age, as well as the speaker's decision whether to be polite. The use of personal pronouns to indicate a speaker or hearer in this system, therefore, is overt marking of identity. Not surprisingly, this overt marking may constitute the primary intention behind a statement. According to Kondo, "indexical meanings, the way something is said, and what that in turn says about the relationship between speakers, are often far more important than the actual content of an utterance" (1990:30). With this understanding, Suzuki describes the basis for self- and other-reference outside the titles based on occupation (Figure 3). He states that the honorific language system in Japanese is based on a model of household/family, or ie, with extension of terms to include fictive kin (1978:135), thus the use of the name Jyamu Oji-san (Uncle Jam) to describe the oldest male character in An-Pan Man. This is echoed in reference to general behavior by Hamabata's analysis that "The ie, therefore, is not merely an organization but also a normative frame of reference, to which the Japanese turn when they try to determine appropriate behavior" (1990:46) and in reference to language by Lebra's statement that "The ie-centricity of address terms for spouses permeates reference terms as well, even though reference terms are more sensitive to the egocentric point of view" (1984:128). That is, the cultural image of the household/family provides the template for social behavior in linguistic and other domains of interaction. In Hamabata's research site, as in the An-Pan Man cartoon, the household overlaps with the business realm as well. This idealization of business in terms of the ie is important in understanding both the An-Pan Man cartoon and consultants' statements about language use in everyday life.
But politeness, as expressed through the honorific system of Japanese and other languages, goes beyond the strict assignment of role-based labels. Emotions and pragmatic aims also affect lexical choices. Hamabata's (1990) use of boku as a tool in his field experience provides a specific example. During his first six months studying Japanese business-owning families, Hamabata fended off several attempts by his consultants to facilitate omiai (arranged marriage introductions) before he realized that by presenting himself as a man of marriageable age, his consultants felt obliged to marry him off in order to preserve his, and their, reputations. In order to save his research project, he employed a linguistic strategy, that he described as follows:

In Japan, patterns of behavior that separate the men from the boys are quite clear-cut, and I found myself adopting boyish language and tastes. I referred to myself only as boku...A male could refer to himself in the more formal watakushi or the informal, extremely masculine ore, but I used the boyish boku...By becoming a boy, I removed myself from the sexual market: no longer was I considered a threat (1990:16).

Through this overt self-referential choice he was able to change the image he presented to consultants, and therefore, change the way they felt and acted toward him. His change in identity ended their feelings of discomfort and their unwanted matchmaking behavior. This example points to the latent emotional content of referential language, an issue that also emerged through fieldwork and is little-mentioned in the linguistic literature on Japanese politeness. As Lutz reminds us, "emotion and discourse should not be treated as separate variables, the one pertaining to the private world of individual consciousness and the other to the public social world" (1990:11). Because feelings and motives are involved in lexical choices, ethnosemantic

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approaches to language that merely arrange lexemes on matrices of social status and distance features seem inadequate. Each address term evokes cultural scenarios having more specificity and variance than a flowchart or paradigm can capture. Furthermore, the dynamics of usage allow for assignments of identity to self and other based partially on speakers' manipulations of referential use.

The language of the An-Pan Man cartoon is stereotypical and predictable; each character displays consistency in lexical choice. In this way they do behave as rational MPs. Brown and Levinson address situations in which "certain acts intrinsically threaten face" and how speakers mitigate this (p. 70). Baikin Man performs threats of "positive-face want, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker does not care about the addressee's feelings, wants, etc." (p. 71). In this regard Brown and Levinson apply to the cartoon data well. However, live speakers, as consultants describe them, exhibit more variety in reference, variety that is governed by context. A cultural-linguistic theory, I think, easily subsumes both sets of data and, especially in relation to the live speaker behavior, both individual and social factors.

As fictional entities, the characters of An-Pan Man are stereotypic, actors in culturally salient schemas. Through an examination of the cartoon and the schemas evoked by its characters, a partial model of the interrelations between Japanese language and culture will be developed. This model is enhanced by data from native speakers of Japanese, whose descriptions of referential use differ from the expectations created by models based on the theory of Brown and Levinson.
Figure 1: Respect and Formality

Goldstein & Tamura 1975:120

Figure 2: Flowchart of Japanese Suffixes of Address and Reference

Loveday 1986:7

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Figure 3: Referential Choices of a Forty-Year-Old Male Elementary School Teacher

Suzuki 1978:126

Figure 4: Repertoires of Personal Pronouns for Men and Women

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*marks variants of a social dialect.

Ide 1991b:73

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Figure 5: Japanese Boys' Second Person Referents

Ide 1991a:51

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Chapter Three

METHODS

This section describes the approach used in my research, which combines methods standard to the repertoires of cultural anthropologists and linguists. Specifically, the interpretation of discursive and behavioral interactions in the An-Pan Man cartoon emerges from a combination of data from sociolinguistic and anthropological literature and ethnographic interviewing of consultants. The verbal phenomena under study are presented as they are observed in the context of the cartoon, as idealized in the literature, and as described by consultants. The analysis is subjective; the approach is humanistic and interpretive. My intention is to discover stereotypical identities of characters. These identities are defined by consistent use of characteristic verbal expressions and behaviors that can be judged as appropriate or inappropriate to their situations in relation to norms.

Origin of the Research Project

Although the study focuses on the characters of the An-Pan Man cartoon series, a wide variety of sources provided data for analysis. The primary source of data was the animated cartoon itself, supplemented by printed material. Regarding the choice of material, the An-Pan Man story was chosen for practical and theoretical reasons. Initially I was given several tapes, ostensibly for my children, to aid Japanese language learning. After all, to paraphrase a consultant's remarks, in learning a second language one goes through a sort of second childhood in terms of comprehension and expression. Upon viewing the cartoon, it became apparent that An-Pan Man contained educational material regarding proper language and behavior...
wrapped in an appealing conceptual package of symbols, speech, and action. *An-Pan Man* presented sufficient material for an analysis of Japanese language-and-culture. Since the cartoon has had such longevity and popularity in Japan and its expression as printed *manga* had already received attention and analysis by the anthropologist Anne Allison (1992), it appeared to be a good choice for further study. While many Americans have noticed the violent and sexy *manga* comics and *anime* television shows available in Japan, something as basic as this children’s cartoon probably contains similar themes at a level geared towards younger viewers. Comparative study of these schematic characterizations in other cartoon material would be required to support this assertion, however.

**Research Methodology**

Approximately sixty episodes of the *An-Pan Man* cartoon, including four that appeared to be particularly significant, were analyzed for linguistic, symbolic and behavioral content during several viewings. Six episodes were translated into English and discussed during viewing by approximately 20 people including the author, the students and the professor of a third-year Japanese language course, and several young Japanese college students at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Additional data pertaining to the comparison of *An-Pan Man* with American hero cartoons emerged through presentation of the cartoon to several naive audiences of Anthropology 101 students and an undergraduate Honors class focusing on cartoons and culture. Most of the linguistic and cultural data specific to Japanese was obtained through both general and structured discussions of Japanese language and behavior with Japanese students at UNLV.
Using a wide variety of consultants provided data on many aspects of the cartoon and of other elements of Japanese language and behavior. The insights of Japanese college students were essential to its analysis. Having personally experienced culture shock through their matriculation at an American university, they were becoming skillful in articulating differences between these cultures. Living abroad had caused changes in perspective that surfaced during their return visits home, and that formed the basis for many stimulating, evocative discussions. Many of the ideas presented herein concerning gender and other ideals came directly from conversations about personal experiences of these consultants as they negotiated between cultures.

Although it may not seem advantageous to use naive 101 students for consultants, their interpretive comments, however brief, were useful. Lacking prior exposure to the material, their reactions pointed to symbolic visual elements of the cartoon that were essentially Japanese in nature as well as those that were reminiscent of American hero cartoons. In fact, one of the best ways to elicit data directly was through explicit comparisons to American analogues. This technique also proved to be an excellent 'icebreaker' with the Japanese college students. These three groupings of consultants are heterogenous within and not clearly bounded. For example, some Japanese and Japanese-American students enrolled in 101 classes became more involved as consultants; some consultants were interviewed only a few times; some are close friends, classmates, or professors.

Two types of formal interviews provided data. The first method I used involves Geertzian thick description (Geertz 1973); consultants viewed the cartoon and responded to my questions about the various characters and their behavioral interactions. In this holistic approach, language was not singled.

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out as the focus of data collection. Specifically linguistic data emerged through interviews based on a more cognitively oriented approach. In this format consultants were presented with referential terms and asked to provide associations between the terms and the types of people who would or would not be expected to use them in discourse. This interview method evoked comments from the consultants' personal experiences describing specific scenarios involving referential use. After the consultant had described the terms, I related their use to the various characters of the cartoon in order to evoke further descriptions of the characters' identities from a linguistic perspective.

As some consultants became friends, I was also able to incorporate information from analysis and observation of day-to-day interactions and discussions (in Japanese and in English) as well as that obtained from formal interviews. Such involvement enhanced my understanding of the research material and of Japanese and American cultures at a subtler level. Analyses derived from personal discussions with consultants are reviewed with the consultant to avoid misinterpretation or embarrassment. The analysis presented here represents a synthesis from a variety of sources, with variations noted. Permission was granted on September 1, 1993 from the UNLV Committee on Human Subjects Research to conduct fieldwork.

1Naïve in this context means that the audience members presumably lacked foreknowledge of the An-Pan Man cartoon. Actually, a few of them were familiar with it; those students provided more specific information as consultants.

2Having left their country of birth to study at American universities, these students underwent processes similar to those undergone by anthropologists in fieldwork: language study, interest in foreign culture, idealization of that culture followed by culture shock on arrival, and acculturation to various degrees. The students also share with many anthropologists the sense of being different from others in their culture of origin, at least to the extent of wanting to live abroad for an extended period.
Chapter 4

Linguistic Data

Throughout the An-Pan Man cartoon, consistency in referential choices and other aspects of the honorific language system help define identities of the characters. This section focuses on the specific linguistic resources of Japanese used in the An-Pan Man cartoon. Definitions of terms are obtained from the sociolinguistic literature and from discussions with consultants. Consultant data is based on verbal reports, introspections and judgements rather than observed behavior. Discussion of real-life events in consultants' lives also revealed the importance of aesthetic and emotional reactions evoked by the use of linguistic resources (terms of reference, polite forms, and honorific language) in interpersonal situations.

The descriptions of usage here are partial and limited in application, because they focus on particular interpretations of language and behavior in general use and because the linguistic data is time-sensitive. Pronouns in Japanese are particularly susceptible to semantic change over time (Suzuki 1978:120) and to regional and individual differences in interpretation. Compared to European languages, whose first-and second-person pronouns have histories of thousands of years, Japanese referents are relatively new; for example, boku's history as a referent in spoken Japanese is roughly one hundred years long. Pronouns in Japanese have originated from noun words or deictic referents (Suzuki 1978:120).
Consultants' descriptions of proper usage reveal cultural scenarios representing more consensus than variation, but both are presented here. The following descriptions, therefore, are neither exhaustive nor eternal.

Words referring to the speaker

BOKU

Hamabata's experience with the evocative power of this term is echoed by consultants, who associated boku with boyishness in contrast to maturity. The term is normally used by a male, especially if under the age of ten, when talking to his teacher or parents, or to a person of the same age if not known well. A woman remarked that she wouldn't date a boy who referred to himself as boku, thinking he was unattractive and 'a dork', although a Japanese man said that he would use boku if he was addressing a girl who he didn't know well but wanted to date, or if he had dated her but was unsuccessful at seducing her. Parenthetically, an American man who had spent his teen years in Japan said that boku worked really well for him when picking up Japanese women. Some young girls use boku, although not on formal occasions, or with their teachers, friend's parents or strangers. A consultant whose female friend used boku in junior high remarked, "I think that there is acceptance and tolerance when it comes to casual speech if it is not too odd. For example, my friend no longer says boku because she is an adult now. When she was younger, her use of boku seemed charming and cute, but she would not get away with such behavior now." An-Pan Man always uses boku; his image is boyish in the sense of immaturity since he is always receiving nurturance from Ojisan and Batako and never exhibits sexual behavior.
ORE

In contrast to *boku*, *ore* is used by a young or adult male to same-age friends or to younger siblings or associates, or if the fellow doesn't care what people think of him. Younger boys use *ore* amongst themselves to act tough; it is informal and can be rude when used inappropriately. It is associated with speakers from the Osaka region. The guy who 'scores' sexually with a woman or feels that she likes him more than he likes her might use *ore*, although it was not polite to use with one's girlfriend. It is also considered inappropriate in the presence of one's children, parents, boss, or around older people. *Baikin Man* uses *ore*, usually with the suffix -*sama*, to everyone he addresses; this combination will be discussed shortly.

In her flowchart analysis of personal referents used by Japanese schoolchildren, Sachiko Ide associates use of *ore* with psychological and behavioral attributes of active play, swaggering, bashfulness, and boyish conversation, whereas *boku* is used in the absence of these attributes (1991a:47). What she means by 'boyish conversation' is not described further in the analysis, however. The attribute of boyish conversation was supplied through observations made by the researcher or by the subjects' parents; without examples of such conversation or further description of its goals and implications the classification remains unclear. Without definition of this construct it remains ambiguous whether boyish is contrasted to girlish or to manly, whether that contrast should be understood in Japanese or American terms, and what the contrast implies. 'Boyishness' is a cultural construct that requires definition.
**WATASHI/WASHI/ATASHI**

*Watashi* is presented to non-native speakers of Japanese as an all-purpose, vanilla kind of self-referent, polite and somewhat formal. It evoked a variety of responses when its use in context was discussed. Among consultants, it is considered to be somewhat feminine; this underscores its classification as polite language, which is ascribed to women. Little boys would not use *watashi*, thinking it was 'girly'. However, adult consultants regardless of gender would use this pronoun in job interview situations; its designation as women's language is not absolute, as the following example will show. While working, a male clerk used *watashi* in conversation with a consultant who had shopped at the store many times. His politeness impressed her; she said she thought he was "really cool" and she wanted to go out with him. She said that his use of *watashi* was only appropriate because he didn't know her well and was consistently polite; otherwise it would appear laughable or might indicate homosexuality in a man. In the *An-Pan Man* cartoon, *Shoku-Pan Man* politely addresses *Dokin-chan* as *ojiyoosan* "young lady" and refers to himself as *watashi* upon their first meeting; she promptly falls in love with him, rescues him, and yearns for him throughout later episodes.

Variants of *watashi* indicate different identities; *Iyamu Ojisan*’s self-referent *washi* is appropriate to his status as an older man. *Atashi*, used in the *An-Pan Man* cartoon by *Dokin-chan*, evoked a variety of opinions about the possible female speaker, ranging from affectedly feminine and less formal to indicating a lack of education or propriety, "slutty, like a stoner, or easy."
Words for the hearer

OMAE

Omae is a referent directed to the hearer, constructed from the prefix o- and the morpheme mae. O- is typically described as an honorific. I believe it also functions as a nominalizer; further details of this assertion are pending further research. If this nominalizing function can be supported by data, it will help to explain how a term such as omae can include a possible honorific form yet be construed as rude. Mae refers to the direction in front of the speaker. Addressing someone with this term meaning "person in front of me" sounds rude under most circumstances. It could legitimately be used by a husband addressing his wife, although consultants did not generally like it, stating that they did not plan to use it or to be referred to by it in their own marital lives. It reflects intimacy and male dominance, although not so much as the assertive exclamation oji, which is used like "hey, you" by men, for example, when expecting their wives to serve tea. Close male friends could use omae with each other jokingly; strangers use it when picking fights; it echoes ore in the rough masculinity and informality which it indicates. One fellow got really angry when his Japanese boss called him omae; he said that since they didn't really know each other the boss should have used kimi. Baikin Man always uses omae; he is domineering and he doesn't care what others think of him.

KIMI

This referent had an earlier meaning of 'lord'; it is polite and used with unfamiliar people as are watashi and boku, although without the gendered
connotations of either. Older people may use kimi with their juniors. Kimi is also used with strangers of either gender, by little kids as well as by adults. It is used interchangeably with the hearer's name by adults in the workplace, however, adults communicating to strangers would probably try to find out each other's names or titles, preferring to use those. Both An-Pan Man and Shoku-Pan Man use kimi when meeting new people, for example, An-Pan Man's standard introduction is, Boku wa, An-Pan Man desu. Kimi wa? 'I'm An-Pan Man. And you?' As they become acquainted with the hearer they switch to the use of hearer's name. Kare-Pan Man does not bother with introductions; after all, he is famous, and pompous enough not to be polite.

**ANATA/ANTA**

The referent anata emerges from deictic reference "you<that direction" according to Suzuki, although his translation is unclear (1978:120). Anata is presented in Japanese language learning similarly to watashi, as an all-purpose referent. It also evoked responses from consultants that indicated more specificity than the textbooks provide. It was described as either plain or extremely feminine by consultants, used by mothers to their husbands or politely to their children. If the speaker is angry at the hearer, she may call out anata or especially its less polite version anta to begin a confrontation. Anta is strongly associated with anger; a consultant described how mad she got when a disgruntled customer at the department store where she worked addressed her that way. Angry Diet members use anta to each other in debate. It is also associated with use by uneducated women, for example, someone who worked at a bar or had a yakuza "gangster" boyfriend. Dokin-chan addresses Baikin Man with anata or anta when she addresses him in anger, usually when he has failed to fulfill her requests.
**-CHAN/-KUN**

The diminutive -chan is suffixed to the name or title of a woman or child, e.g. Dokin-chan, boku-chan (also shortened to bochan, "little boy") or jiyo-chan "little girl." It is considered cute and shows affection, and is used by elders to younger people that they know well; some boyfriends add -chan to their girlfriend's names. Little kids use it to refer to themselves or in combinations such as wan-chan, from the onomatopoeic wan-wan "dog barking", like a English-speaking child might say "doggy" using the -y diminutive suffix. A term used similarly with boy's names is -kun. Kare-Pan Man was quite insulted when Shoku-Pan Man addressed him as Kare-Pan Man-kun; the use of -kun was appropriate to their relative statuses, but Kare-Pan Man would rather not acknowledge that fact.

**-ME**

This suffix is added to the name of a third party to whom the speaker refers to in anger; in English an equivalent phenomenon is the exclamation, "That +name!" It was not mentioned in any of the literature surveyed for this project; therefore, its origin and age are unknown. Its usage is highly specific. Both An-Pan Man and Baikin Man use -me with each other's names when they are angry and planning to fight.
-SAN/-SAMA

These suffixes are polite and mark respect; -sama is the more polite of the pair. They can be used with both familiar and unfamiliar persons, but they are never used to refer to self. Both Baikin Man and Kare-Pan Man refer to themselves as ore-sama, a combination that is so haughty as to be ridiculously funny. A consultant described ore-sama as "standard bad guy talk" in cartoons.

From these descriptions of referents in use, we see that an understanding of their connotations, provided here by consultants, is equally as important as understanding their denotative values provided by formal paradigms. The combination of these systems of value in describing referents allows speakers to define identities within a cultural context. The variety of characters in the An-Pan Man cartoon demonstrate use of these referents in combination with other behaviors.

Here is a list of the characters and the referents they typically use:

An-Pan Man: Boku, Kimi, -San, -Me (only to Baikin Man), -Chan
Baikin Man: Ore-sama, Omae, -Me, -Chan
Ojisan: Washi, Anata, -San, -Chan
Batakosan: -San, -Chan; (seldom speaks, and avoids use of referents in favor of names)
Kare-Pan Man: Ore-sama, Anata, -San
Shoku-Pan Man: Watashi, Anata, Kimi, -San, -Kun
Dokin-Chan: Watashi, Atashi, Anata, Anta, -Me
Chapter 5

THE CHARACTERS OF AN-PAN MAN

This section describes the characters of the An-Pan Man cartoon and compares them to ethnographic descriptions of Japanese culture. Its goal is not to reify any monolithic account of Japanese culture but rather to point out parallels between the cartoon material and the observations of various ethnographers.

Before looking at the relationships between characters in An-Pan Man, it is necessary to understand their identities. An illustrated dictionary (Yanase 1990) of An-Pan Man characters provides important clues. In the following dictionary excerpts (that I have translated into English), each of the characters is described by their creator, Yanase Takashi. These excerpts combine proposition-schemas\(^1\) -- statements of what the characters are -- with scenarios describing what the characters do.

Characters as Individuals

**An-Pan Man**

Made by Jyamu Ojisan, master bread maker, he is the cute, kind friend of justice. He goes whenever and wherever there is trouble. He gives his head to eat if people are hungry. Because his head is delicious an-pan he can do this.
Jyamu Ojisan
Parent of An-Pan Man and others, a nice warm guy, master breadmaker, skilled at making many things. He made the Anpan-go (car); he is a scientist.

An-Pan-Go
Ojisan made this to ride. It goes everywhere in order to get An-Pan Man a new head.

Batako-san
Cheerful, lively girl helper of Ojisan in the bakery. She made the capes so that An-Pan Man, et. al. could fly in the sky.

Cheezu
Dog who lives in the bread factory. An-Pan Man saved him not long ago. He has a good nose and hearing.

Kare-Pan Man
Oji-san made this strong hearted friend of An-Pan Man. He's hot tempered but strong and very courageous. Spouting hot curry, he beats bad things.

Shoku-Pan Man
This smart, cute boy is a lively friend. He always delivers snack bread in his bread truck to school. Dokin-chan yearns for him.
**Baikin Man**

He came from the bacteria planet to throw down *An-Pan Man*. He thinks he’s a genius scientist, but he always makes only strange things. He loves to feast but hates pretty things.

**Dokin-chan**

The bacteria girl who came from *Baikin Man*’s planet. Thinks she’s the cutest in the world, selfish, moody, but she’s got her nice side. She yearns for *Shoku-Pan Man*.

In considering the above characterizations, note that *Baikin Man* and *Dokin-chan*’s descriptions include what they think whereas the other characters are described by what they do and how they act. Mention of their thoughts defines them as individuals (*kojinshugi*) as opposed to social beings. The concept of *kojinshugi* is negatively 'loaded' in Japanese culture (Moeran 1986:75). A consultant described *kojinshugi* as "a person alone, surrounded by his philosophy", pointing to the salience of thought in the definition of this concept. This comparison is important to understanding the contrast between the heroes and villains of the *An-Pan Man* cartoon.

**Characters in Context**

In life, and in drama, first impressions are important. Schemes for recurrent behavior are formed as characters in a drama are introduced. In this section, summaries describing each character's initial appearance will show how each is portrayed in relation to the others. Descriptions of the role that each character enacts, and of the overall framework within which these
roles are situated, will provide the necessary context for interpretation of the cartoon's sociolinguistic components. The first episode of the series introduces An-Pan Man, his creators Jyamu Ojisan (Uncle Jam) and Batakosan, (Little Butter-girl), their dog Cheezu (Cheese), a minor character Ten-Don Man (bowl of tempura shrimp and rice-man) and An-Pan Man’s enemy Baikin Man (Bacteria Man). Kare-Pan Man, Shoku-Pan Man, and Dokin-chan will be introduced as they appear in their respective episodes.

An-Pan Man was created in the bread factory where Jyamu Ojisan and Batakosan live. After many unsuccessful attempts to make an-pan alone, Ojisan is assisted by Batakosan in constructing an an-pan. An-Pan Man is a product of their willing cooperation, aided by a shower of shooting stars that come from deep space into the chimney of the bread factory.

When learning to fly, An-Pan Man is instructed to be nonbiri ‘relaxed’ in his efforts so that he will succeed. With his newfound skill he chases a bird until he becomes dizzy and falls into a ravine. Jyamu-Ojisan falls in too, trying to save his young charge. But An-Pan Man regains his bearings and rescues Jyamu-Ojisan. The rescue gives An-Pan Man a warm feeling in his chest (mune ga attakai), he says. Hearing a call of distress, An-Pan Man flies away and rescues a lost dog in the woods by giving part of his head for the dog to eat. This weakens him as he returns with the dog riding his back. Back home, Jyamu-Ojisan bakes a new head for An-Pan Man, telling him to freely share it with others. Having undergone suffering (kuro) during the difficult flight back home, he is told that he has become more adultlike (ichininmae, literally ‘a complete serving for one person’, possibly an intentional pun).

The dog, named Cheezu, joins the household. Thus An-Pan Man’s role as a helpful rescuer supported by his family has emerged. He is, in Kondo’s evaluation, an ideal Japanese employee, for whom “work is not a matter of
speed, quantity, or skill, but of perseverance...obedient yet enthusiastic and persevering, ready to take the initiative and to attend to any task, no matter what it might be, cooperative, never idle; loyal; and pleasant" (1990:96-7).

**An-Pan Man** is also sweet, both in taste and in behavior. The noun *amai*, 'sweet' and its verb form *amaeru*, 'expression of dependency needs' are symbolic of his character and of his relationship to *Batako-san* and *Oji-san*. The prototypical *amaeru* relationship is that of a mother and child. Within this dyad the giver, like a mother, is superordinate and does *amayakasu*, and the child as subordinate does *amaeru* (Kondo 1990:295-6). As L. Takeo Doi defines it, "*amai*, which originally means 'sweet', can be used to describe a person who is overly soft and benevolent toward others, or, conversely, one who always expects to *amaeru* in his relationships with others" (1986:123). Both parts of Doi's description apply to **An-Pan Man**. He is nurtured by his family but is not helpless; like them, he is also willing to share with those in need.

**Baikin Man**'s origin is also from deep space; his egg erupts from the bacteria planet and chases the shooting stars to earth. The egg lands on a dark, gloomy mountaintop and comes to life after being struck with a bolt of lightning. **Baikin Man** erupts from the egg, calling out "B-B-B-Baikin!", but no one hears him. Later he is shown inside a rock fortress shaped like his head; it is not apparent how the fortress came to be. Within the fortress **Baikin Man** works hard developing his strength. It is as if **Baikin Man** was sent alone on a mission through some unknown means. His computer tells him that his job is to beat **An-Pan Man** long before the two actually meet. **Baikin Man**, spatially and philosophically separated from the other characters in the cartoon, exhibits great fondness for building and relying on various mechanical devices. His behavior reflects the Japanese belief in
connectedness, rather than alienation, of humans to machines that is based on Shinto philosophy (Kondo 1990:246). Baikin Man lacks the sensitivity and concern regarding social interaction that is attributed to Japanese throughout the ethnographic literature and thoroughly examined by Lebra (1976). Baikin Man is consistently depicted with the machines he invents, whereas Oji-san, also an inventor, is more frequently presented with others, as a maker of food.

The first meeting of An-Pan Man and Baikin Man involves Baikin Man’s attack on a minor character, Ten-Don Man (tempura-donburi, a bowl of rice topped by fried shrimp). Ten-Don Man’s behavior is typical of many minor characters in that he initially behaves badly, (e.g. bragging or some other excessive behavior) and is humbled after an attack from Baikin Man, rescue by An-Pan Man, and careful restoration by Ojisan and Batakosan. The encounters between these characters and the main characters help to reinforce our understanding of An-Pan Man, supported by his family, as a model of proper behavior in the face of social inappropriateness. They also display how an inappropriately behaving character can be transformed through the caring of this family. This recurring situation echoes the ethos ascribed to traditional Japan by Harumi Befu, who describes that

> giving food to a sick person...was generally thought to be a way of giving the power of health inherent in the giver, so that the sick might recover from illness through the power of the healthy (1986:161).

Baikin Man, however, is beyond redemption.

In contrast to the introduction of An-Pan Man as an infant and child, Kare-Pan Man first appears fully grown and ready to rescue An-Pan Man and a hoshi no ko (star child) who have been defeated and are being licked by Baikin Man. Also a creation of Iyamu Ojisan, Kare-Pan Man is An-Pan Man’s
younger brother. As such he represents the typical younger child who is expected to be "bold, daring, open, and abrasive" (Lebra 1984:182). Kare-Pan Man criticizes An-Pan Man for his sweetness; of the two, Kare-Pan Man is stronger but not as obediently well-behaved. His headful of curry provides either ammunition to spit on Baikin Man or the makings of a delicious meal if served over rice. He is harder to defeat than An-Pan Man but not invincible. Because he realizes his greater strength, he feels disdain for An-Pan Man and Shoku-Pan Man; only when commanded by an elder does he save them. His struggles between his inner desires and the pressure to conform as a superhero represent the philosophy that "life is not a competition with others, but a battle with yourself" (Kondo 1990:102).

The household, or ie, composed of Iyamu Oji-san, Batako-san, An-Pan Man, Kare-Pan Man and Cheezu correspond to Moeran's description of the group model of Japanese society, which assumes that people prefer to act within the framework of a group and that such a group will be hierarchically organised and run by a paternalistic leader. The psychological process underlying this structure is called amae, or 'passive love' (1986:64).

The next main character to appear is Shoku-pan Man (meal-bread man). He is dressed in white, wearing a baker's apron, having a head like a slice of Wonder Bread. He can transform into a superhero by throwing his apron over his shoulder to make a cape, revealing a red letter S upon his chest. We first see Shoku-pan Man driving his bread truck to the school to deliver fresh bread and cheerful greetings to a classful of eager children. Later he defeats Baikin Man using kiai, the force of his spirit concentrated in a loud yell. The fact that this mild-looking character possesses such inner strength makes him a formidable opponent. We see that his kiai tactic is quite different than that of Kare-Pan Man, who spits. He is unfailingly polite,
charming Dokin-chan by addressing her as ojiyoosan "honorable lady" even as she attempts to deceive him.

Thus the characters of the three main heroes are revealed through this examination of behavior. An-Pan Man is sweet and happy although weak. His younger brother Kare-Pan Man is more powerful and less compliant, although he does respond to the commands of older authority figures. Shoku-Pan Man is both a regular guy and a hero, providing sustenance while harboring hidden strength. When the three characters work together, they can defeat Baikin Man. Singly, they may be defeated.

Although the male characters usually see most of the action, the female characters are interesting to examine as contrasting representations of Japanese womanhood. Batako-san appears from the start as a helper in the factory; her role, involving cooking, cleaning, and sewing is clearly a traditional one. In the cartoon's song she is described as 'always running', referring to her constant busyness. Although she is not a biological mother, she embodies those behaviors, making her a model of ideal femininity. As Allison suggests, "what is desireable is not a mother-like woman but a woman who acts maternal yet is not a mother herself" (1994:29). Often she is portrayed with the dog Cheezu or working with Oji-san. She has a romantic interest in a minor heroic character, Omusubi-Man. Musubi are pressed cakes of rice, a traditional component of obento lunch boxes. His head is triangular, partly wrapped in nori seaweed as musubi usually are; he wears a shiitake mushroom for a hat. Accordingly, Omusubi-Man is always traveling, dressed in traditional clothing including a yukata jacket and geta shoes. His samurailike appearance is underscored by his use of a stick for fighting and of polite archaic language including de gozaru. Infrequently he will appear in an episode; once he brought a flower frozen in a block of ice to
present to Batakosan. Unfortunately, Baikin Man attacked him and melted the flower, which Batako found on the ground after Omusubi Man had departed. Their love remains un consum mated; their work takes precedence over their desires.

Dokin-chan, the other main female character, contrasts strongly with Batakosan's traditional humility. Her name is derived from the onomatopoeia doki-doki, which represents a pounding heart, combined with the diminutive -chan that is suffixed to children's and women's names. As the song says, Doki-doki saseru yo, Dokin-chan, that is, "She makes hearts pound, Dokin-chan". She receives more overall attention as a character in the cartoon episodes than does Batako, who usually works in the background. Baikin Man and Dokin-chan live together but cooperate only minimally and often work at cross purposes. Dokin-chan often leaves Baikin Man in order to save herself when the two of them are caught in a tight situation and vice versa. She alternates between direct commands and appreciative remarks of thanks in her discourse behavior with Baikin Man. She is selfish and lazy. One of her worst experiences takes place when Ten-Don Man's mother, Ten-Don Okaasan, is held captive in Baikin Man's house. Ten-Don Okaasan forces Dokin-chan to help clean the grimy dwelling; Baikin Man is horrified to see everything sparkling clean upon his return.

Dokin-chan's self-serving nature contrasts not only with the behavior of Batako-san but also with traditional anthropological descriptions of Japanese women's behavior. Because of her tyranny, acts of violence, on-stage dominance, and dependency towards Baikin Man, she fills the criteria traditionally associated with dominating husbands who are called teishu kanpaku (Lebra 1984:129-31). Dokin-chan is manipulative and uncooperative. According to consultants, however, she represents the new breed of pretty
young woman who collect boyfriends and manipulate them, a scenario that is commonly discussed in contemporary popular media. The boyfriends are referred to by consultants as 

ashikun, the ones who will drive a girl to the places she wants to go, and mitsugukun, the ones who give gifts. Ashikun combines the word ashi, meaning leg, with the -kun suffix described earlier. Mitsugukun combines -kun with mitsugu, a verb describing giving to a social superior, especially to the emperor. Other folk categories, overlapping with the above, are discussed in a book ostensibly describing a dialect of Japanese, in a section titled, "Kansai Love":

It is not unusual for a cool city girl anywhere in Japan to play the field before marriage and thus have several boyfriends. The one she uses for his slick car is her asshikun. This derives from the slang use of ashi to mean "car." The one she uses for sex is her nesshikun which derives from neru, "to sleep." The one she uses to buy her food and things is her messhikun, because meshi is slang for "food." And the boyfriend she keeps around in case all the other guys catch on to the fact that they are being used she calls her kiipukun, which derives from the English word "keep." Japanese girls are not always as naive as they pretend to be (Tse 1993:48)

Baikin Man fulfills some of these roles by providing Dokin-chan with her own red flying machine and with food, which she constantly demands. She is cute and exciting compared to Batako-san, who is kind but plain. Not all the categories mentioned above can be explored in the cartoon, for example, sex is not an issue with which the cartoon deals directly. However, both Dokin-chan and Baikin Man have outside romantic interests. Dokin-chan yearns for Shoku-Pan Man, and Baikin Man falls for Ringo-chan "Little Apple Girl" and other occasional female characters. By examining Dokin-chan's and Batako-san's behaviors as women, a further comparison between Baikin Man's and An-Pan Man's households involving gender vis-a-vis romantic behavior emerges.
Linguistic behavior of individuals is more understandable when taken in context of others' utterances. Moreover, adding information about the individuals' identities and nonlinguistic behavior enhances our understanding. Presentation of characters in this study, both separately and in interaction with one another, makes discussion of their linguistic behavior more meaningful, adding a dimension that is impossible to consider with diagrammatic linguistic analyses.

1 Although Palmer (after Quinn and Holland 1987) describes proposition-schemas as "abstracted by the observer from native-language statements" in this case the propositions are provided directly by the Japanese-speaking author of the dictionary entries, which are translated into English and presented here in their entirety (Palmer 1994:131, emphasis mine).

2 Synopses of the episodes from which these summaries are abstracted appear in the Appendix.
What Makes a Hero? Comparisons of An-Pan Man to American Children's Cartoons

Comparisons of An-Pan Man to American children's hero cartoons reveal some shared symbolic themes. The differences between them lead us to question stereotypes of Japanese values. Contrasts include culturally specific notions of heroism and behavioral ideals. The longevity of the An-Pan Man cartoon and the different ideas associated with cartooning in Japan provide background for this comparison.

Japanese Children's Cartoons

In Japan, cartooning is an artistic tradition dating back at least as far as the 12th century; the genre is widespread and popular with all age groups throughout the country (Schodt 1983:28). Though valued as entertainment, manga and anime may also be used to present propaganda, as in the recent video promotion of Mr. Pluto, a character who has been described as "the Japanese nuclear agency's round-faced, rosy-cheeked, animated answer to the public's concern about its plan to import 30 tons of plutonium as fuel for power plants." Also, manga such as Manga Bijinesu Mana, which explains proper business attire and conduct are currently in print, presenting fictionalized scenarios to demonstrate standards for behavior in the workplace (Mangajin 1993:54, Deguchi & Minagawa 1992)
An-Pan Man

Over the last twenty years An-Pan Man has evolved from a printed manga 'cartoon' to a television show (anime) and forthcoming movie. Its characters appear in commercials and are emblematically used as a marketing device for a wide variety of consumer products including food and toys. The cartoon clearly appeals to a wide audience. One reason for this appeal, according to consultants, is that the cartoon presents characters who, although composed of or constantly in search of food, behave in ways that represent stereotypical personalities in Japanese society.

As with other dramatic narratives aimed at children, An-Pan Man contributes to the socialization process of its viewers (Swetnam 1992). By analogy to other instructive uses of Japanese manga and anime just described, An-Pan Man's fictionalized scenarios demonstrate a variety of interactions performed by characters who are stereotyped as good or bad. In her study of the An-Pan Man manga, Anne Allison (1992) described the two main male characters, An-Pan Man and Baikin Man, as positive and negative role models for Japanese children. She also described the cartoon's value as a tool that enables its young readers to cope with stressful issues in their own socialization.

The interrelated metaphors of food and family exhibited by the characters of An-pan Man are used to portray tension between youthful dependence (exhibited by An-Pan Man) and the dangers of independence and egoism displayed by Baikin Man. These themes contrast strongly with those exhibited in American hero cartoons. Describing the characters of An-Pan Man and their roles in the drama will allow a basis for comparison with American cartoon heroes.
An-pan, a common Japanese confection, is a bun (pan, 'bread') filled with sweetened adzuki bean paste, an. An-Pan Man, who was created by the master baker Ojisan and his helper Batakosan, has a head of an-pan. In the cartoon, An-Pan Man flies over the countryside, looking for those in trouble. He usually offers portions of his head as food to those in distress. His antagonist is greedy Baikin Man 'bacteria' who attacks An-Pan Man and the other characters with his germy blue tongue and other weapons of putrification. Other characters, including Kare-Pan Man who has a head filled with curry, and Shoku-Pan Man, or mealbread man, whose head looks like a slice of Wonder Bread, assist An-Pan Man and reinforce the food metaphor of the cartoon. Baikin Man, in contrast, associates with a gang of little mold creatures, the mindless Kabirunrun (from kabiru, 'to decay') who follow his orders, and his girlfriend Dokin-chan, whose name means 'little heartthrob'.

As a familiar children's food, An-Pan Man is amai, sweet. He resulted from the mating of a meteor shower and an an-pan created by Ojisan and Batakosan that was baking in the bread factory oven. Behaviorally, as the first creation and therefore a kind of eldest son of Ojisan and Batakosan, he is amaeru, dependent upon them in the way that a baby is to its mother. If he were human, as the 'oldest son' he would traditionally be expected to stay close to his parents and carry on the family business. He refers to himself as boku, a humble term of address used by boys. Whenever he saves anyone by offering his head as food, he is weakened and must return to the bread factory, where his family will replenish his strength by baking him a new head. The combination of food and family metaphors depict a cooperative, selfless hero supported by parent figures and other heroic helpers. Allison associates this hero with the sacrificing sarariiman who is replenished by the
nurturance of his company and family (Allison 1992: 9). **An-Pan Man**, who freely gives up his own substance in the service of others, expresses the Foucauldian theme wherein the body is inscribed by the political economy (Foucault 1979:25-6).

In comparison to the sweetness of **An-Pan Man**, **Kare-Pan Man**, who is also a creation of **Ojisan** and **Batakosan**, is **karai**, spicy. He asserts his strength by referring to himself as **ore-sama**, **ore** being an assertive, macho male referent, and **sama** as an honorific that one would never use to refer to oneself in ordinary discourse in the real world. He is hot tempered but strong hearted and courageous. His strength derives from the hot curry contained in his head, which he spits upon **Baikin Man** and the **Kabirunrun** moldies to weaken them. But he, too, gives of himself as food for the hungry **hoshi no ko**, the star children. **Kare-Pan Man**, like his older brother **An-Pan Man**, is diminished by the loss of food and must return to the factory for replenishment. Similarly, whenever any of the minor food characters are diminished by the greedy appetite of **Baikin Man**, they will also be cared for by **Ojisan** and **Batakosan**, who can restore them to health. In our fictional family, **Kare-Pan Man** represents the younger brother who would be expected to leave the family fold and make his own way in the world. He struggles with conflicting urges between independence and family loyalty. **Kare-Pan Man**, although created to work together with his brother, disdains the sweet dependency of **An-Pan Man**, thinking of him as a weakling. His greater use of assertive discourse particles **oï** and **yo** underscore his tough-guy image.

**Shoku-Pan Man**, who resembles a slice of white bread, is not a creation of **Ojisan** and **Batakosan**, although he is helped by them after a bad head mold. He delivers bread to the school children and occasionally helps **An-Pan Man** and **Kare-Pan Man** in punching **Baikin Man**. His unfailing good
manners are demonstrated by his use of *watashi* and *kimi*, the standard polite referents for self and other. Through his kind assistance when he thought she was injured, he won the heart of *Dokinchan*. *Baikin Man*’s manipulative girlfriend. He does not reciprocate or even acknowledge her affections; his loyalty is to his work.

*Baikin Man* not only refers to himself as *ore-sama* but also as *tensai*, literally calling himself a genius with heaven-bestowed talents. Having originated from an egg struck by lightning, he inhabits an industrial, metallic structure shaped like his antennae head. He is black and dark purple, and resembles a fly with antennae and wings. His environment is dark and stormy; there is a great contrast between his grimy dwelling and *Ojisan*’s homey bread factory in the sunny, green valley. *Baikin Man* builds technological weapons of putrefication and destruction in his grimy workshop, but he is plagued by clumsiness and accidents. Even so, he is a self-made man living in a domain of his own creation.

*Dokinchan*, another immigrant from the bacteria planet, prides herself on her cuteness. She is moody and demanding towards *Baikin Man*. Her constant demands on him to bring her food contrast with the traditional role framework of Japanese women and men under which the women were expected to prepare and present food. Her unrequited love for *Shoku-Pan Man* reflects her desire for a man who not only treats her with courtesy but who is a consistent provider, in this case, of food. In this way her bold assertiveness contrasts with the humble helpfulness of *Batakosan*. My consultants remark that in comparison to the dating behavior of many young Japanese women, *Dokin-chan* is not that atypical. She’s the kind of woman who men would find exciting and want to date. However, *Batako*, always busy in the kitchen, represents the marrying kind.
Both **Baikin Man** and **Dokin-chan** are headstrong and self-motivated. They seek to impose their will on others. They do not exist in a family context nor did they originate in one; both of them emerged from cosmic eggs. While not overtly sexual, their behavior displays romantic overtones. The behaviors of **Baikin Man** and of **Dokin-chan** are characterized by **kojinshugi**, individualism. This trait is traditionally considered to be negatively valued by Japanese, who stress social context and cooperation. Yet it would be wrong to think of **Baikin Man** and **Dokin-chan** as evil; any such dichotomy would constitute the imposition of Western values on a non-Western scenario. It would also be wrong to assert a dichotomy between Japanese and American notions of individualism; because American individualism is itself a complex ideology, which comprises both the contrasting images of the lone pioneer and the mysterious stranger.

Nonetheless, it is interesting that while **An-Pan Man** and his family bear resemblance to the characters of the traditional Japanese folk tale **Momotaro**, meaning "Peach Boy", **Baikin Man** and his bolts of lightning evoke imagery associated with Frankenstein, and little red **Dokin-chan** resembles a western-style devil with her pointy tail and spear.

**Comparison to American Hero Cartoons**

The **An-Pan Man** cartoon combines elements found in different kinds of American cartoons: the chase type such as Road Runner or Tweety & Sylvester, and the hero type usually represented in modern cartoons as a team such as the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles. As in the chase cartoons, **An-Pan Man** and **Baikin Man** are engaged in a struggle of predator-versus-prey in which the fallible good guy outwits the overly clever bad guy despite the latter's deployment of technological devices in the pursuit. Additionally,
An-Pan Man incorporates educational motifs that one might expect to see on Sesame Street, especially regarding cleanliness, such as the importance of brushing your teeth.²

In comparison to the hero teams, An-Pan Man shows some differences. His back-stage helpers Ojisan and Batakosan nourish and aid him directly. The American hero teams usually consult their mentors for advice (Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, Mighty Morphin Power Rangers, Captain Planet) but do not receive direct physical aid, except in the case of Captain Planet, who takes over and finishes the job when his proteges cannot. Both the overall food motif and the provision of food by the back-stage helpers are unique to An-Pan Man. Most American heros don't even eat on camera, and the Turtles must rely on the delivery service if they want their pizza.

American heroes represent a professional class of specialists who exist in the workplace (or the sewer) with egalitarian peers and a single authority figure. Swetnam argues that such cartoons prepare our children for "success in bureaucratic structures rather than as isolated entrepreneurs" (Swetnam 1992:2). An-Pan Man, however, is preparing children for success in a paternalistic, hierarchical work environment modeled after the Japanese family. Both the American heroes and our Japanese hero battle enemies who seek to despoil and plunder. Yet An-Pan Man, assisted by his brother and his friend, is a child-hero living at home with his family. While his familial framework may represent the paternal hierarchy traditionally associated with the Japanese workplace, in his world it is the hard worker who is the bad guy. This finding contradicts the American stereotype of Japanese as primarily valuing hard work for its own sake, and places cooperative, nonegalitarian teamwork at the forefront of the Japanese work ethic.

Although if one closely watches Sesame Street, one will observe that many of the regular characters exhibit behaviors that may be described by American psychologists as 'dysfunctional' whereas in An-Pan Man the characters who exhibit positively idealized Japanese behaviors, or adopt them in the course of an episode, are in the majority.
Chapter 7

Conclusions

This analysis of the An-Pan Man cartoon as an artifact of Japanese culture presents an interpretation of culturally specific identities portrayed in the cartoon. More generally, my thesis critiques popular academic theories of politeness in Japanese and the underlying model of Brown and Levinson (1978) upon which they are based. The critique arises from native-speaker data which supports a cultural linguistic account of identity construction and the expression of values in language, including connotative aspects, in preference to feature-based denotative analyses.

Using pervasive metaphors for food and family, the cartoon displays stereotypical language and behavior in association with positive and negative cultural values. These themes of food and family contrast sharply with those found in comparable American children's cartoons. Food and family are aspects of human existence that are universal; whether they form the basis for metaphoric understandings in other cultures is an open question. Each of the Japanese metaphors for food and family— for example, the use of amaeru as describing sweetness of taste and behavior— warrants further study in its own right; each plays a role in associative chains of meaning that partially constitute cultural schemas. For example, my current research in progress on human categorization based on facial features is revealing that contrasts between sweet and spicy or sweet and salty are pervasively applied in Japanese to characterize physiognomy.
There are three main ideas for theoretical applicability of the results of this analysis of the An-Pan Man cartoon. First, an idea that relates to the field of cultural studies, is a reinforcement of the hypothesis that culture can be studied through popular media. Second, a more general idea, is the notion that how identity is expressed varies with languages and cultural settings. The third idea is relevant to anthropologists who study linguistic or psychological issues involving identity. Identity construction, explored here through examining referential language (or forms), is an interpersonal dynamic involving linguistic choices that evoke scenarios. This dynamic necessitates a cultural linguistic analysis in order to be understood. There are many instances of language-and-culture identity relationships within or between cultures that may be studied using this framework for analysis, such as marking of gendered, occupational, or subcultural identity. The power of cultural linguistics as a theoretical model extends beyond the issue of identity; it can be applied in other studies of language-and-culture. As this research has shown, consultants’ individual reactions provide valuable insights into the nature of culturally specific scenarios and their variants. Research such as this contributes to larger issues of cultural homogeneity of cognition.
Appendix1

Origin Myths
An-Pan Man and Family, Baikin Man

As the episode begins, Jyamu-Ojisan is kneading dough in his bread factory. He is trying to make an-pan, a popular snack bun (pan, meaning 'bread') filled with sweetened paste of adzuki beans (an). The cart behind him is filled with unsatisfactory examples of his day's toil. He doesn't know what else he can do to succeed in creating an-pan; something is missing from the process. Batako-san enters with a cup of coffee and offers it to him. He thanks her, saying that she makes the best coffee in the world. She offers her help, and together they construct an an-pan. It is night by the time they finish. While the an-pan is in the oven they relax; Batako-san watches shooting stars flashing in the dark sky. Unbenownst to them, a special shower of stars is headed their way. As the stars pass the cratered bacteria planet (baikin hoshi), an egg blasts off from it and follows. The stars shoot down the chimney of the bread factory, and the egg settles on top of an ominous dark mountain. Jyamu-Ojisan and Batako-san are amazed and terrified by the stellar phenomena. But their amazement is doubled when the oven door blasts open and their an-pan, now animate and dressed as a baby, flies out of the oven. They think they are dreaming. The baby says, "Boku, An-Pan Man desu" (I-humble am An-Pan Man) and flies to the arms of his earthly parents. Meanwhile, the egg rests alone on the mountain amidst dark clouds and thunder. It is blasted by a bolt of lightning. The egg

1These stories are descriptive interpretations of the An-Pan Man video cartoons.
cracks open and a tiny Baikin-Man bursts from it, saying “B-B-B-Baikin!” (bacteria). He is all alone.

The next scenes show the development and socialization of An-Pan Man and of Baikin Man. An-Pan Man, now dressed in a red caped costume with a yellow smiley face on his chest, practices his flying while Jyamu-Ojisan and Batako-san enjoy a picnic lunch that she has prepared. After struggling and crashing into a tree, he is reminded to fly in a relaxed (nonbiri) manner. With his newfound skill he chases a bird until he becomes dizzy and falls into a ravine. Jyamu-Ojisan falls in too, trying to save his young charge. But An-Pan Man regains his bearings and rescues Jyamu-Ojisan. The rescue gives An-Pan Man a warm feeling in his chest (mune ga attakaku), he says. Hearing a call of distress, An-Pan Man flies away and rescues a lost dog in the woods by giving part of his head for the dog to eat. This weakens him as he returns with the dog riding his back. Back home, Jyamu-Ojisan bakes a new head for An-Pan Man, telling him to freely share it with others. The dog, named Cheezu, becomes part of the family. Thus An-Pan Man’s role as a helpful rescuer supported by his family has emerged.

In contrast to the cooperativeness associated with An-Pan Man, Baikin Man is shown alone, working out on exercise equipment inside a gloomy gray structure built in the shape of his head. He wears no clothes. He works so hard that he breaks the machine, then, laughing and striking fighting poses, says, “Ore-sama, Baikin-Man” (I-tough-honorific am Bacteria Man). Sitting at his computer, Baikin Man calls forth an image of An-Pan Man, saying, “Who is this weakling? I was born to beat him up!”

The first meeting of An-Pan Man and Baikin Man involves Baikin Man’s attack on a minor character, Ten Don Man (tempura-donburi, a bowl of rice topped by fried shrimp). Ten Don Man’s behavior is typical of many
minor characters in that he initially behaves badly, (e.g. bragging or some other excessive behavior) and is humbled after an attack from Baikin Man, rescue by An-Pan Man, and careful restoration by Ojisan and Batakosan. The encounters between these characters and the main characters help to reinforce our understanding of An-Pan Man, supported by his family, as a model of proper behavior in the face of social inappropriateness. They also display how an inappropriately behaving character can be transformed through the caring of this family. Baikin Man, however, is beyond redemption.

While flying along, An-Pan Man hears Ten Don Man singing and clanking chopsticks on his head, a covered bowl (donburi). Ten Don Man sings about the delicious contents of his bowl head, bragging, “fukura akogare Ten Don Man” (everyone wants Ten Don Man). Upon their meeting Ten Don Man further demonstrates his lack of humility by telling An-Pan Man, “you’re the kind of food children take on field trips...it was really unnecessary for us to meet” and dancing away down the path. An-Pan Man, appearing unangered by this slight, faces the camera and shrugs his shoulders, saying, “Hen na hito” (what a strange guy). What happens next is a literal example of pride going before the fall. Further down the path, Baikin Man hears the song and smells the scent of Ten Don Man, trips him, and gobbles up the contents of his head when they spill out. Ten Don Man grabs Baikin Man and bites his tail. As they struggle, An-Pan Man comes along and admonishes them for fighting, telling them that they "shouldn't do such bad things". Baikin Man sees his nemesis in the flesh (in the bread?) for the first time and is nearly speechless, stuttering “O-O-O-Omae wa?”, an extremely rude way of asking “who are you?”. An-Pan says humbly, “Boku wa, An-Pan Man desu, Kimi wa?”, appropriately addressing this character with whom he is unfamiliar. Baikin Man haughtily replies, "Ore-sama wa Baikin Man".
Kare-Pan Man

In contrast to the introduction of An-Pan Man as an infant and child, Kare-Pan Man first appears fully grown and ready to rescue An-Pan Man and a hoshi no ko (star child) who have been defeated and are being licked by Baikin Man. From off screen, curry is spit onto Baikin Man, causing him to scream and jump around. Kare-Pan Man is then shown standing atop a nearby plateau with his hands on his hips. His head is brown and formed like a curry bread, which is lemonlike in its shape. On the chest area of his yellow costume is a face in the same shape as his own, having two dot eyes and a straight unsmiling mouth. He calls out, "Kono yuume ore-sama oisirironai to wa na, Kare-Pan Man-sama" (Here's the famous tough-honorific not-delicious one, honorific Kare-Pan Man), presenting himself immediately as a formidable opponent. He doesn't address Baikin Man by name; his remarks are presented to all three of the other characters. He goes on to say that he can go anywhere at any time, and he can make curry rice as well. He then threatens Baikin Man with another helping of curry; Baikin Man jumps into his spaceship and flies away, calling out as he usually does after defeat, "obeoeeteiru yo!" (I'll remember this!). Kare-Pan Man then confronts An-Pan Man, telling him that he is too sweet. Later in this episode, when Kare-Pan Man is defeated by Baikin Man, who drains his curry with a vacuum, An-Pan Man takes him home for restoration. At this time we learn that Oji-san made Kare-Pan Man to work with An-Pan Man as a team. In the family scenario, therefore, they are brothers.
Shoku-pan Man

The next main character to appear is Shoku-pan Man (meal-bread man). He is dressed in white, wearing a baker's apron, having a head like a slice of Wonder Bread. He can transform into a superhero by throwing his apron over his shoulder to make a cape, revealing a red letter S upon his chest. We first see Shoku-pan Man driving his bread truck to the school to deliver fresh bread and cheerful greetings to a classful of eager children. Hearing the cries of An-Pan Man and Kare-Pan Man, who have just been captured by Baikin Man, he flies to their rescue. Rising over the treetops, he addresses Baikin Man politely as "Kimi", saying "Yametonai, yowai mono ii kimi o site iru no wa, kimi ka na" (You don't quit, you who thinks that doing these weak things is good). Baikin Man addresses Shokupan Man with his usual "Omae wa?" (who are you-rude). Ever polite, Shoku-Pan Man replies, "Watasi wa, Shoku-Pan Man da". Baikin Man, hoping to make another capture, brings out a lasso and twirls it over his head. Shoku-Pan Man tells him "Muri da yo, muri, muri, WAAAHH!", saying that such an act is impossible and then suddenly yelling at him, causing Baikin Man to lasso and tie up himself. The act of yelling at an opponent, using one's vital force (ki) as the sole weapon, is known as kiai, part of the martial art kiaido. Through the use of this method Shoku-Pan Man is able to defeat Baikin Man without even touching him (although in other situations Shoku-Pan Man also punches Baikin Man). The fact that this mild-looking character possesses such inner strength makes him a formidable opponent. We see that his kiai tactic is quite different than that of Kare-Pan Man, who spits. After this display, Shoku-Pan Man releases An-Pan Man, who thanks him, and Kare-Pan Man, who reacts with disgruntlement. Kare-Pan Man is apparently offended by Shoku-Pan Man's addressing him as Kare-Pan Man-kun, using a
suffix -kun with which one addresses a younger male friend or sibling. Later, Shoku-Pan Man is ambushed by Baikin Man and his Kabirunrun moldies while delivering bread to an old goat who lives on a mountain. The cry of the tosiyori (old one), "Dare ka tasukete kure!" (Somebody save us!) is answered by An-Pan Man and Kare-Pan Man. Kare-Pan Man is glad to see Shoku-Pan Man being beaten up, but An-Pan Man scolds him. The brothers are not working together; Baikin Man sees his chance. Baikin Man sends more Kabirunrun to attack them. An-Pan Man falls to the ground as the moldies swarm over him. Kare-Pan Man escapes and wonders aloud whether or not to save the two fallen heroes. Again the old goat cries, "Dare ka tasukete kure!". Kare-Pan Man, unable to ignore his elder, gives in and saves the fallen ones. Later, back at the bread factory, Shoku-Pan Man and An-Pan Man are restored by Oji-san and Batako-san. Shoku-Pan Man properly thanks Kare-Pan Man for his rescue, and the three heroes, now a team, fly off with a fresh batch of bread for the tosiyori.

Dokin-chan

We first see an egg erupting from the baikin planet, reprising Baikin Man's origin. But the egg is joined by shooting stars, the symbol of An-Pan Man's birth, in a sort of fertilization, indicating a character somewhere between good and evil. The egg heads for earth. While sitting at his computer at home, Baikin Man feels his heart pounding. Checking his scanner, he sees something bearing down from above. Believing that his house is being attacked, he says goodbye to his home and prepares to leave it forever. What he is seeing is Dokin-chan's egg, which buzzes over and past Baikin Man's house, landing in the green grass of the area where An-Pan Man lives. Batako-san sees Baikin Man following the egg and goes to see what is happening. She, too, feels pounding in her chest. The egg bursts
open to reveal Dokin-chan asleep, her alarm clock ringing. She is red, having a single antenna and a pointed tail, wearing no clothes. Her green eyes are set at an angle, symbolizing evil intent. She wakes and stretches. Baikin Man is immediately in love with this onna no ko "young woman", who tells him sweetly that she is now his guest and asks him to bring her a hamburger with cheese since she is hungry. Already she is defined in opposition to the giving, food-preparing Batako-san. Dokin-chan remarks that she has made a good choice in Baikin Man since he is kind. Baikin Man returns with a burger, exhibiting the wounds he received in obtaining it. She thanks him politely. He tells her his purpose in life is to beat An-Pan Man. She then displays her red spear, with which she will help Baikin Man by striking An-Pan Man to make him shrink to the size of a toy. Upon their discovery of Batako-San and Cheezu, they plot to seize An-Pan Man by shrinking these captives and making them call for help. When An-Pan Man arrives, Dokin-chan remarks how sweet and weak he appears; she mistakenly hits him with the wrong side of the spear, making him giant rather than small and ruining the evil plan. In another episode she deliberately thwarts Baikin Man by untying a captured Shoku-Pan Man, whose politeness has charmed her.
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