Capstone Seminar

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Me, Myself, and I: Variations of Honorifics and Pronouns Between East Asian Languages and

Cultures

Due to the cross-cultural syncretism passing from China to Korea and Japan over time and assimilation, the formation of both honorific language and honorific societal culture became integrated into these three countries and remain prevalently in use within the 21st century. While these three countries developed their own variance of honorific linguistics, three prominent categories are still in use in different levels of prevalence that act as a reminiscent key point of traditional Mandarin Chinese filial piety passed onto both Japan and Korea: personal pronouns, second-person pronouns/respectful suffixes and titles, and familial honorifics.

The basis of any language revolves around how to refer to oneself, for upon learning that knowledge one can form opinions and express those opinions and emotions with further learned vocabulary. In East-Asian languages, not only can the use of specific pronouns identify an individual's personal gender identity or sexuality, but also their social or economic status. The use of status-based personal pronouns began in *Mandarin Chinese¹ with self-deprecating servile

¹From here on, any use of the phrase 'Chinese' will refer to the standard Mandarin Chinese, which is the most commonly spoken in the country today, (use regular fonts for the notes).

and high-ranking official or royalty terms², but in today's time the use of status or gendered personal pronouns in modern-day Mandarin Chinese is mostly obsolete, with the most common personal pronoun (if used at all) used by any gender being wo (我). In modern-day **(South) Korean³ and Japanese, the use of both of these practices are still in use, albeit in variations regarding the specific language and culture. Within Japan's respective pronouns, the most commonly utilized are boku (僕/ぼく/ボク), watashi (私/わたし), ore (俺), and atashi (私 /あたし) to specifically reflect the speaker's gender preference/identity in the choice of pronoun. 'Boku' and 'ore' are used by those who identify as male, with the former being a softer and less abrasive variant with the latter being far more informal and often borderline rude, while 'atashi' and 'watashi' are often used by those who identify as female, with the later being a lessused and often more 'cutesy' or 'dainty' variant and the former being the most casual and also typically-used pronoun. 'Watashi' can be used by anyone, however, as it is the pronoun expected in formal situations such as writing or speaking and can be seen as gender neutral, but in everyday speech hearing someone who identifies as male using 'watashi' is oftentimes seen as strange or unusual. In modern Korean, only two first-pronouns are used, that being $jeo(\center{A})$ and $na(\cup)$. (Fix the font here) Unlike Japanese, however, these two pronouns carry no gender significance, but instead formality. While Japanese pronouns do bear a certain formality indicative of the speaker's situational awareness (e.g. as a male, using ore in a formal setting such as a classroom setting as opposed to boku or even watashi would be seen as inappropriate), jeo is

² ENAcademic, *Chinese Honorifics*. (regular font here)

³From here on, the use of the word 'Korean' in regards to the language will refer to the standard Korean and culture prevalent in South Korea. (regular font here)

used only in formal situations (either to humble oneself in front of someone of higher status or to show respect to a particular situation) while na is used in casual situations (such as in speaking to close family members/friends/associates or in casual conversation/locations)⁴. As opposed to Japanese, Korean 'formal speech', or jondaemal (존댓말) revolves not only around sentence and grammar construction but heavily around the use of pronouns (not only personal but secondary and tertiary as well), with the lack of the such formal speech being categorized as an entirely different system of Korean speech called banmal (반말), which Japanese lacks. In Japanese, either the use of keigo (敬語) or 'honorific language' is employed or it isn't, and personal pronouns are only a minor part of this system. As such, (Fix the font here) keigo carries the modern-day equivalent of antiquated slave/commoner/noble Chinese speech patterns and culture⁵, but does not carry the same precise exhibition of dichotomy as Korean's banmal and jondaemal. With the establishment of these forms of personal pronoun use, the inherent culture surrounding identity not only in the gendered sense but also in that of status is not only much more highly potent than that of English-speaking cultures but also far more direct and oftentimes controversial. The use of personal pronouns frequently can add to the issue of one's own identity or orientation being compromised but also that of status or recognition, though this aspect usually lies within secondperson pronouns used by an audient or speaker or through certain titles/occupational titles (most often identified in East Asian languages by a suffix) being traditionally masculine or feminine, thus challenging the owner's own identity and social standing. These will further be discussed in

⁴ Bernd Heine and Kyung-An Song, "On the Grammaticalization of Personal Pronouns", 607 (need a full citation here)

⁵ Cher Leng Lee, "Chinese Pronouns: Pragmatic implications and politeness," 276 (need a full citation here).

a later section, focusing on the societal and cultural significance of second-person pronouns in East-Asian cultures as opposed to English-speaking countries.

Within the use of secondary (and even some tertiary) pronouns resides the use and often manipulation of relationships and societal normalities, commonly referred to in Japanese as the overly literal *uchi* and *soto* (内外), or literally 'inside' and 'outside' relationships that refer directly to the relational and oftentimes subconsciously understood interactions between public and private, family and outsider, employee and employer, and so on and so forth. These relationships break down into two variations: direct and indirect usage. The first category relies directly on various translations of the English word 'you' and directly referring to another person in conversation. While in English countries saying the phrase "What are (fix the font here) you doing?" with the usage of the word 'you' to indicate reference to another member bears no directly lack of formality or implication of rudeness (in English, the use of the vocal tones and speaking of the phrase itself belie the speaker's intention of politeness), but in East Asian languages, the usage of words such as 'kimi' (君) and 'omae' (お前) in Japanese to address someone is considered extremely rude and a directly disrespectful to that person. 'Anata' (5) なた) used in rare circumstances where the speaker either doesn't know the person's name or it is a rhetorical question direction at an unknown person is accepted though not preferred, and the direct usage of (font) anata to someone you are speaking one-on-one to and/or know the name of

the person being spoken to shows the implication of disrespect toward said person, deigning that they are beneath the speaker's knowledge or reference⁶. Once again, this concept is echoed in Korean, with words for second-person reference existing: *neo* (너) **serves as the basis**, with various conjugations for context (referring to someone's possessions or another's actions), but is considered to be the use of banmal when directly used spare for the rare context similar to the usage of anata. In a situation where someone's name is unknown and is more formal or strict to the point that *neo* would be uncomfortable to use, the word dangshin (당신) can also be used, but as is the case with anata, it is not preferred and also can be used as a pet name between two partners, which is why both terms exist in a space of ironic unknowingness between two strangers and is preferably dropped. As such, within the cultures there is heavy value on the use of names, as well as suffixes (and sometimes prefixes in the circumstance of terms of endearment, but will not be addressed at this time) affixed to said names to grant respect and importance to the person being spoken to at that time. This linguistic practice is known as 'pro-dropping' (i.e. pronoun-dropping') as names hold a deeper tie and meaning in East Asian cultures, so the act of stripping away someone's name identifies a sheer arrogance and a show of major disrespect⁷. Stemming once again from traditional Chinese, the use of occupational honorifics and also status/gender honorifics (e.g. the English equivalent of Miss/Ms/Mrs/Madam/Ma'am etc.) in Korean and Japanese dominates many workplaces and family interactions, the latter of which will be discussed further with the inclusion of family-specific honorifies. For a professor or a teacher the family name is used with the title attached to it, thus getting Tanaka-sensei (田中先生) in Japanese and Kim-

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⁶Asif Agha, "Stereotypes and Registers of Honorific Language", 152.

⁷Asif Agha, "Stereotypes and Registers of Honorific Language", 154. (need a full citation here)

seonsaegnim (김선생님) in Korean creating a title of someone who is a master of their trade and someone who is to be referred to by someone who is not of equal status in terms of respect and thus self-deprecation to respect that the master's work⁸. With the inclusion of this title and its use, an inside/outside relationship is formed as that of the student and the master, in which the student can be referred to by any variation of their name, while the master is to be referred to by either the full use of name-title or just the use of the title as a marker, with the use of their given name and the use of title for more casual student/teacher relationships. Many of these occupational suffixes exist in these languages, such as for higher-level operatives, and thus the respective secondary pronouns are expected to be used to maintain the workplace hierarchy. However, in Korean, the use of the occupational title only is considered not only extremely informal (and thus borderline rude) but also extremely unusual, as opposed to Japanese where the use of a surname + title, given name + title, or just title alone are acceptable. Examples of these can be a president or CEO of a company (shachou (社長), sajangnim (사장님), or of sensei/seonsaeg[nim] (with nim (님) being the formal word for identifying a person's title/status, or even gun (고) for male names in exceptionally rare and formal settings) being an identifier for occupations beside professors and teachers such as doctors, politicians, artists, religious offices, and even authors.

For secondary pronouns outside of titles, a suffix is attached to a name, though it is important to note that in Japanese it is considered rude or extremely casual to refer to someone using their first name and a suffix (e.g. if someone's first name was Akira and their family name was Kurusu and referring to them as *Akira-san*), while in Korean referring to someone by only

⁸Agha, ("Stereotypes and Registers of Honorific Language"), 158-9. (a short version, last name and page numbers)

their last name and a suffix would be considered rude (e.g. if someone's first name was Eunwoo and their family name was Song and referring to them as only Song-ssi)9. Of the standard honorific suffixes used, both Korean and Japanese expanded general honorifics outside of gendered titles into more common-place terms depending on gender and age of the person. In the gender-neutral and basic/expected of suffixes used in everyday conversation with either those the speaker doesn't know or is showing respect to, the use of san (さん) and ssi (刈) affixed to the respective names identify a polite and neutral stance toward the audient outside of class or gender expectations. With the inclusion of gender, the standard honorifics change, far more prevalently in Japanese than Korean: for males, the suffix kun (< h) is used, and for females, chan is used ($5 \approx \lambda$). These terms however indicate either a closeness to the speaker or being older/more experienced than the listener. While gendered honorifics in Korean exist, they are linked directly to familial terms, and as such will be addressed later. For the general terms outside of a familial sense, the phrases of (font) ajumma (아줌마) and ajusshi (아저씨) are female and male variations respectively of the ssi suffix, with the distinction being aimed toward those of middle-aged individuals as referring to them without a suffix or by ssi alone is considered rude in Korean culture¹⁰. Intertwined with these suffixes and titles is that of age and thus status, which dictates which such honorific is used in what circumstances and further enforces the ideals of gender and status in relation to power even today. Within these relationships lie two major inside/outside relationships, and that is those of senior/junior and family member/family member. Within the latter there are further

⁹ Jong-Bok Kim and Peter Sells, "Korean honorification: a kind of expressive meaning", 310-1.

¹⁰(Asif) Agha, ("Stereotypes and Registers of Honorific Language"), 161-2.

categories, which will be discussed later in relation to the Korean gendered terms. In the circumstance of senior/and junior relationships, this cultural value is one of the most prominent in not only Korean and Japanese cultures but also in the predecessor of Chinese culture, in which this ideal took root and spread. In both Japanese and Korean, there are terms used to identify the senior (senpai (先輩/せんぱい) in Japanese, and sunbaenim (선배님) in Korean) in comparison to the junior (kouhai (後輩/こうはい) in Japanese, and hubae (亨明) in Korean), but it is important to note that a person is never referred to by the junior term as a title much like someone of a senior status would with the aforementioned senior term; essentially, you will always hear Tanaka-senpai and Eunwoo-sunbaenim (following the respective last name/family name differences mentioned earlier in regards to correct respectful usage) but never a specific person referred to as Akira-kouhai or Chanhee-hubae. This discrepancy lies in the distinction that those of higher status or in this case, experience, deserve and are expected to be referred to by the title that identifies them as being of such stature, while the junior designation is only simply that of a category, and never a title. This form of honorific originated from the gianbei (前辈, lit. 'one from the generation before me) in sect-based China where techniques and other teachings were taught quite literally in a generational manner; the variants in Japanese and Korean share the similar character of 辈 or 輩 when written out in the traditional format. This concept doesn't exist in English-speaking countries, with the closest equivalent being that of a ma'am or sir when referring to someone of unknown status, but the senior/junior status culture- while oftentimes toxic and abused in workplaces or schools- just

carries no weight in comparison to these East-Asian cultures¹¹. While a variety of gendered honorifics and titles exist, these terms of senior and junior bear no gender identity and can be used indiscriminately regardless of the speaker or audient's personal gender identity. Outside of this inside/outside relationship exists another aforementioned relationship dynamic still seen today as practiced in Korean and Japanese cultures; these lie entirely within gender and the perpetuity of male over female and old over young and what is expected to be given to these 'higher deemed' statuses.

Unique to Asian cultures and still present even in today's modern Chinese society is the existence of gendered familial terms that rely not only on the gender of the family member but that of their age as well. While Chinese, Korean, and Japanese all share these, there are discrepancies between the three, majorly between Korean and Japanese as the former uses these same honorifics to refer to non-family members as well. Firstmost, the most commonly used terms between siblings are as follows:

- For Japanese, the honorific refers only to the addressee's gender identity and not the speaker, so there are only four used commonly (with slight pronunciation variations): They are *ane/onee* (姉/お姉) for an older sister; *imouto* (妹) for a younger sister; *onii/aniki* (お兄/兄貴) for an older brother; and *otouto* (弟) for a younger brother.
- For Korean, the honorific used relies not only on the addressee's gender identity but also that of the speaker for respect toward an older party, so there are six that are commonly used: unni(언니) and noona (누나) both refer to an older female; hyung (형) and oppa (오빠) refer to an older male; namdongsaeng (남동생),

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¹¹ David C Kang, "International Relations Theory and East Asian History: An Overview," 184-5.

younger brother, and *yeodongsaeng* (여동생), literally 'young woman person' is the only term used for a younger sister. If you are a female speaker, then the terms you will use will traditionally be *oppa* and *unni*, while if you are a male speaker you will use *hyung* and *noona* exclusively in a traditional sense; referring to a younger sibling is in reference only and not in title, therefore gender of the speaker does matter in this case. (Side note: using the opposite honorifics than the societal expectation of your gender (e.g. someone who identifies as female referring to an older male by *hyung* instead of *oppa*) is not explicitly wrong, but seen as unusual or even possibly carrying homosexual implications, which in some cases is desired due to the comfort of the speaker¹².

Similarly to the usage of senior/junior titles in which for seniors the titles alone can be used as name while the junior honorifics are for pure identification and are never used as names, younger siblings in both Japanese and Korean are only referred to as the honorifics provided in situations where the speaker either wishes not to use their name (e.g. "my younger sister is a nurse") or where the use of their name doesn't make sense such as in counting (e.g. "I have an older brother and two younger sisters"). As siblings who are older than the speaker are treated with a higher regard of respect in these cultures than the younger, older siblings will most often be referred to by the title alone, either with some endearment affixed to it for closeness (e.g. Japanese: onii-chan (お兄ちゃん); Korean: hyung-ah or hyungie (형어/학의) or sometimes the sibling's name in front of the honorific. If siblings are exceptionally close, then there are instances in which the younger sibling may decide not to use an honorific at all, or in the case of

¹²Asif Agha, "Stereotypes and Registers of Honorific Language", 160.

same-sex twins who are quite close may decide to skip the formality due to the age difference being minimal. A unique facet of Korean familial honorifics lies in the fact that these terms are used outside of blood-related family members. For example, in Japanese, referring to an older female as onee comes across as unusual, and while the use of alternate variations can occasionally be used to refer to an older male or female figure to whom the speaker is quite close to (these terms used would be be ane or aniki) it isn't common, and may lead to confusion. In Korean, however, as a female, every older male you would speak to must be referred to as oppa and every older female as unni with any variation of use depending on closeness (the speaker may choose to add the subject's name before the title if desired) or whichever terms are appropriate for the gender identity of the speaker even if the listener is not a blood family member. In this fashion, the use of these specifically-gendered honorifics function similarly to the use of -san (gender neutral), -kun (male), and -chan (female) of Japanese suffixes, though the Korean titles appear far more prevalent and strong in comparison. In Japanese, the use of -kun bears no flirtatious or endearment and as such is typically only used to refer to males who are younger than the speaker and thus carry a more 'childish' connotation spare when affixed to a female's name to hint at a more masculine or tomboy-ish behaviour. -chan, however, is a very 'cutesy' suffix when applied to a non-female subject (it is often used to refer to younger females) such as pets or even partners, and adds a subtle infantile or diminutive color to the subject that implies a closeness and rarely for the use of flirting. Korean, however, relishes and relies on the unique aspect of its honorifics being used to non-blood members, these titles are quite often used in flirtatious ways, as detailed in Lucien Brown's study, and are also commonly used as terms of endearment for a partner, particularly in the dating phase, and are often overused or abused by

second-language Korean speakers. The use of these flirtatious titles lead into the next category of familial terms, however, which refers to the next layer of familial terms.

Similar to previous category are titles and honorifics used to refer to either your own spouse or to another's, but it is of note to know that while modern-day Chinese and Japanese (with the latter being for prominent) still hold differing terms for a spouse depending on formality/relationship, some of which still carry strong patriarchal connotations to this day, Korean bears no official titles of differentiation outside of terms of casual endearment. These are the terms used in modern-day Japanese:

- There are three predominant terms used for a wife are as follows: *okusan* (奥さん), used to refer to the listener's wife; *yome* (嫁) used to refer to a daughter-in-law [not daughter by blood but by marriage]; and *tsuma* (妻) which is used to refer to the speaker's own wife¹³.
- While not as clear, these are the most predominant terms used to refer to a husband: shujin (主人) is the strongest of the titles and can refer to one's own husband, thought it carries the strong definition of 'master'; danna-san/danna-sama (旦那さん/旦那さま) is the most common title used to refer to another's husband, though similarly to shujin it carries the definition of a high-ranking official in conjunction with the occasional usage of the -sama suffix as opposed to the -san suffix, which is used to either refer to someone of utmost power (such as an emperor) or even a god-like entity; finally, otto (夫) is another term

¹³ Adam Pasion, Jason Gatewood, Achim Runnebaum, "How to Refer to Your Spouse in Japanese," from Japan Daily.

to use to refer to one's own husband, though it is the least common and not as acceptable simply due to lack of use¹⁴.

The usage of these specific terms fosters a term of ownership between husband and wife stemming from misogynistic filial piety of Ancient China that many newer-generation citizens cite as 'uncomfortable' due to the literal definitions. Despite this, particularly in Japanese, the usage of endearments or 'sweetheart terms' (e.g. 'babe' or 'honey' in English) is entirely nonexistent, with the occasional use of anata (the second-person pronoun used to refer to a person the speaker doesn't know) to mean the English translation of 'darling' or 'honey'. In Korean, however, there are no official terms such as the ones listed in Japanese to refer to a spouse, but instead *only* endearments such as *oppa* or *noona* from the familial honorifics and jagiya (자기야, similar to babe) being used in a more flirtatious manner, while the term yeobo (역보, similar to honey) is used typically between married couples or couples who have been together for many years. Otherwise, just the partner's name is used or a comfortable second-person pronoun coupled with the use of the casual first-person pronoun na. In observing the differences between the two cultures' uses of honorifics versus endearments, the branches from the origin of both traditional and modern-day Chinese- which uses a combination of both gendered spousal terms in addition to endearments- can be seen and clearly traced in their implication within the societies' respective cultures as Korean and Japan adapted the aspects of the linguistic culture for their own usage.

Within this outline of this essay is the requirement to delve into the history of these cultures, which also unearths many archaic terms no longer seen today or the use of such terms

¹⁴Adam Pasion, Jason Gatewood, Achim Runnebaum, "How to Refer to Your Spouse in Japanese," from Japan Daily.

in a new and altered modern way. Many titles seen today actually originate from royal, noble, or generational servitude titles and are no longer used by their original purpose. Of these archaic categories, three varieties of these pronouns (first and second) existed that helped shape the particular cultures seen today: self-deprecating singular secondary pronouns, lofty personal pronouns, and hierarchical titles/suffixes. Ancient Chinese culture possessed all three of these categories, while Korean and Japanese adopted only variations of these categories from Chinese. First is the use of self-deprecating pronouns, which still has lasting effects seen today, but not to the same degree as the following examples. In modern-day Korean, as previously mentioned, the difference between which pronoun to use is determined by whom the subject is speaking to based on formality, with the *na* pronoun indicating that the speaker believes they are equal or above the listener's status while the *jeo* pronoun relinquishes that status and thus self-deprecates in a mild way to show respect. The origin of this comes from a system of subservience dictated by your status of peasant, noble, or royal, or- on a smaller scale- master to teacher. While one way of self-deprecating is to use one's own name in the third person, specific terms for a lowerclassman referring to someone of higher status were predominant, which Chinese bearing a much wider and more specific variety of them. However, the ones of focus will be zai xia (在下) and nari/naeuri (나리/나으리), terms used by any gender when the speaker is subservient to the listener and roughly translate to as 'I, the peasant who is beneath you', with Chinese diverging into a wider range of gendered terms such as min nu (民女), nu bi (奴婢), bi (婢) for women used to say "I, a lowly woman' and pu (僕/仆), nu cai (奴才), and cao min (草民) meaning the same but for a male speaker. Nowadays, gendered terms and pronouns in Chinese are uncommon, with the only one majorly in use being wo (我) by any gender and age. As many of these terms

indicate a literal location word for 'below' (Xia, 下) lofty titles and pronouns often play on this by using the 'below' term in an opposite sense. Here, the Chinese terms typically are a religious or spiritual term coupled with 'above' (*Shang*,上) or a term using the character *gua* (寡) meaning 'widowed' or 'alone', indicating that they rule their power alone and above others. Such examples of these term formats that were commonly used were dianxia (殿下 lit. 'below your palace') when referring to someone who was royal with the xia indicating a deprecating term, or guaren (寡人, lit. 'person who rules alone') with the gua character indicating a lofty term. While Chinese possesses self-deprecating pronouns, lofty pronouns, and also hierarchical titles, only Korean (both modern and ancient) possessed both self-deprecating pronouns and hierarchical titles. Japanese, however, still carries traces of the aforementioned lofty-pronoun culture, but not the self-deprecating pronouns (personal or secondary) to the extent of Chinese or Korean, with the only notable pronoun of this nature, sessha (拙者/せっしゃ) dying out with samurai culture. In modern-times, this effect is seen in the variation of formal/informal pronouns depending on gender, but in Ancient Japan the pronouns of waga (我 が/わが) and ware (我れ/われ) were used predominantly by whomever deemed themselves high enough classwise, and carried a haughty and overly-lofty sense of self by whomever used it. Today these terms are occasionally used in an extremely formal setting and when referring to a business place, but if spoken by a single person it instantly sounds overly-classist and identifiably archaic. The only place in which all three languages overlap in the sense of all three

archaic terms is within the use of second-person polite versus impolite pronouns. All three terms for referring to a group of people including the speaker (i.e. a very formal version of 'we') remain in use today, but are identifiably archaic and extremely formal due to being the original archaic terms and typically seen only in very formal business settings or in literature. In Chinese, two of these terms are wobei (我辈) or wubei (吾辈) and are typically used only in a literary sense as opposed to the more common women (我们), the Japanese term is either wareware (我々) or warera (我ら) using the wa (我) character and pronoun addressed earlier, and the Korean term that replaces the common place uri/urin (우리/우린) is jeohui (저희), which indicates a very formal setting and therefore equivalency in status amongst all present members¹⁵. It is also of importance to note that many of these lofty titles and terms/suffixes in all three cultures today remain only in use within the Church and other religious situations as a testament to the holy and godly nature of securing such offices. While many of these linguistic pieces are no longer used for the reason they were originally used, the culture they emulated remains and continues to shape these modern-day cultures, all irrevocably tied together.

Within a language lies the requirement to address and identify oneself but also to address and engage another, establishing status and respect toward the listener with a simple use of honorifics or pronouns. In modern-day Japanese and Korean culture these pronouns and terms of

¹⁵ David C Kang, "International Relations Theory and East Asian History: An Overview," 184-5.

endearment, respect, and status- while used and implemented differently within the cultures to establish different colors and systems respective to their historical values- stem from the timely preeminence of historical Chinese and its linguistic values of honorific times beginning from the most simple of masters and teachers, *laoshi* (老师) and *shifu* (师傅), and the humble student or servant, *pu* (僕/仆) and *bi* (姆)¹⁶ and adapting to the modern-day uses seen in the classrooms, workplaces, and even families of 21st Japan, Korean, and China. While the linguistic and societal basis of these terms remain the same, the intent, usage, and shaping of these terms in looking at not only the specific culture but also the literal translation of the chosen terms reflect the importance of these honorifics within East-Asian cultures that is unknown or unfamiliar to English-speaking cultures, highlighting history with every use of a specific term to harken back to a time period before these cultures could stand on their own in recognition. As such, from an American approach, the East-Asian honorific system bears no counterpart history-wise, and thus provides those unaffiliated with Asian culture a unique insight into these countries' history and values from the time of establishment to modern day variations and implementations.

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