Shifting Semantics of Grandmother in Digital Japanese-Korean Comfort Women Discourses*

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1 Introduction

When appearing together in discourse, the terms 'Japan' and 'Korea' often invoke complex and intricate relations frequently approached from the perspective of sentiment analysis. Sentiment analysis is the use of computer science technologies "to systematically detect, extract, and classify the subjective information and affective states expressed in a text, such as opinions, attitudes, and emotions regarding a service, product, person, or topic" (Lei and Liu 2021:1). Public sentiment analysis focusing on Japanese-Korean relations using corpus linguistics (e.g., Doi et al. 2021) and quantitative survey methods (e.g., Cho et al. 2021) have been on the rise. Furthermore, the co-

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occurrence of the two terms 'Japan' and 'Korea' is often tied to historical evocations of 'Comfort Women'.

As outlined by Kim et al. (2019:58), 'Comfort Women' are those who fell victim to "the system of sexual slavery created and controlled by the Imperial Japanese government between 1932 and 1945," the period during WWII. Despite the fact that this system is said to be "the largest case of government-sponsored human trafficking and sexual slavery in modern history," "comfort women discourse is growing increasingly polarized as human rights claims are juxtaposed against populist claims according to a competitive logic" (Eriksson 2023:90). That is, traditionally, much "Comfort Women" research has focused on the historical debate regarding whether the claimed events happened or not, placing the victims and their personal stories under lenses of scrutiny and denying them of their self-proclaimed identities and collective memories (e.g., Ramseyer 2021).

As a result, there is often great tension between Japan and Korea, with continuous shifts in public sentiment among the nationals of both countries towards the nationals of the respective opposing country. A great deal of public sentiment studies mention Comfort Women in some capacity (e.g., Oh and Wha Han 2022; Ahn and Yoon 2020). In addition, Comfort Women Discourses have been receiving more attention from scholars in the fields of international relations and sentiment (e.g., Asaba 2021), as well as collective memory and activism (e.g., Yoon and Chang 2021) and media (e.g., Ogawa and Kobayashi 2021). However, such studies, especially those in the digital space, do not examine the language used by people discussing the topic of Comfort Women as part of their everyday digital engagement. Instead, these studies take narratives of experience as objects of study via ethnography and the products of organized media, such as news articles, as objects of study via large scale corpus linguistics. While these studies are certainly valuable, they do not shed light on the linguistic aspects of Comfort Women Discourses and the language practices of those who make these discourses possible.

Furthermore, it could be argued that the term "Comfort Women" itself devalues the identities of victims. The term is said to be a euphemism coined by the perpetrators (i.e., the Japanese military), with scholars having argued that the term "Comfort Women" downplays the severity of the crime (Kim et al. 2019:58; Ward and Lay 2018:1). However, scholars such as Soh (2008:232) note that the term 'Comfort Woman', in native Korean 위안부 wianbu, can be traced back to as early as the King Sejong dynasty in the 15th century. This then questions the legitimacy of claims that 慰安婦 ianfu is indeed a coined euphemism by the Japanese military. While the etymology of the term "Comfort Women" itself is worthy of further pursuit, it is beyond the scope of this paper.

Nonetheless, in the Computer Mediated Communication landscape of the 21st Century, 'Comfort Women' are often referred to in the digital discourses

of netizens as 'Comfort Women Grandmother(s)' or just 'Grandmother(s)'. This study, as an extension of Sluchinski (2022), works to further address the research gap surrounding how the identities of Comfort Women are constructed by everyday Korean and Japanese language users through focusing on the discourse of netizens in both language contexts.

More specifically, the quantitative investigation into the language use of Korean and Japanese netizens in the context of digital Comfort Women Discourses by Sluchinski (2022) has shown that the term 'grandmother' appears in a plethora of orthographic and morphological variations. Sluchinski's (2022) survey yielded 14 distinct 'grandmother' variants in Korean and 32 distinct variants in Japanese within The Comfort Women Discourses corpus. In addition to identifying the multiple 'grandmother' variants used by netizens, Sluchinski (2022) generated a politeness ranking of these variants based on morpho-syntactic criteria pertaining to each lexical item. Amongst the Korean variants, 할머니(들) halmeoni(deul) 'grandmother(s)' was deemed the most standard, i.e., neutral, while お婆さん(たち)/ おばあさん (たち) obaasan(tachi) 'grandmother(s)' can be considered the most neutral Japanese variant due to lexicalization. Yet, from a pragmatic discourse perspective, the ranking design begs the following question: how neutral can these two grandmother variants be when taken in the specific contexts where these variants appear?

Thus, the analysis is concerned with addressing this question through multiple layers of semantics-focused Corpus Linguistics-based approaches such as (1) Collocates and (2) 5 NGRAMS, for the Korean term 할머니and the Japanese Kanji term お婆さんand Japanese Hiragana term おばあさん. It must be noted that the results reported here can still be considered as 'working results, 'the reasons for which are outlined in the Methodology.

2 Data Composition and Theoretical Background

This section explains the data origin, corpus composition, and theoretical background for the study. As the study uses a revised version of the *Digital Comfort Women Discourses Corpus* presented in Sluchinski (2022:245-248), only necessary information as well as information needed to understand the revisions will be presented here. The primary sourcing platform *Kaikaihanno* is briefly introduced in Section 2.1 along with the two primary Korean netizen community sources ILBE and Naver News, including the data allocation in each, as well as the Japanese netizen community and its data allocation; and Section 2.2 introduces the theoretical background and the research focus.

2.1 Corpus Construction and Data Origin

The data for the analyses in this study is drawn from *The Revised Comfort Women Discourses* corpus, constructed in January 2020 from *Kaikaihanno* (a translation blog dedicated to reacting to Korea), using the blog's 'Comfort Women' tag, and consists of a collective of 19,553 comments in Korean, 39,283 comments in Japanese, and 2,729 Korean comments translated into Japanese which comprises some of the content of the 77 Japanese blog entries. The comments are spread across 146 texts (77 Japanese; 69 Korean), and the Korean texts mainly come from ILBE (n=32), a notorious alt-right platform, and Naver News (n=36), an online news portal. In terms of neutral grandmother variants, the data processed thus far consists of 294 おばあさん obaasan tokens of 1,149,061 corpus tokens, 154 お婆さん obaasan tokens of 1,149,061 corpus tokens, and 1,130 堂中中halmeoni tokens of 347,351 corpus tokens. An overview of the corpus is shown in Table 1 below which also reflects the Korean, Japanese, and Translation subcorpora.

Korean Data Japanese Data Other Kaikaihanno Naver Articles Comments Articles Articles Comments Comments 12,914 6,597 42 39,283 Total Articles Translated Comment Data

Revised Comfort Women Discourses Corpus

Table 1. Revised Digital Comfort Women Discourses Corpus Composition

Total Translated Comments

The translation aspect of this project has been previously documented and explained in Sluchinski (2022) and is still a work in progress. Therefore, it will not be extrapolated further in the current paper.

2.2 Theoretical Background and Research Focus

1,236

1,461

Adopting a semantics based quantitative Corpus Linguistics approach, this study focusses exclusively on the neutral 'Grandmother' variants in context. The study addresses the basic question of whether these seemingly neutral variants may have developed positive or negative associations through particular frequent collocations, i.e., whether they have experienced a semantic shift, thus causing them to be no longer truly neutral as a pragmatic unit. Such

a phenomenon, also known as semantic prosody, has been investigated by scholars such as Sinclair (1991).

3 Software and Methodology

This section outlines the software used and steps taken to process the data through various stages. Specifically, the data was processed into raw txt files (Section 3.1), segmented with part of speech taggers and simple spacing (Section 3.2), was adjusted and fined tuned in bulk (Section 3.3), was subject to a series of Corpus measures under various conditions (Section 3.4), and were cleaned for presentation (Section 3.5). However, as will be discussed in Section 3.6 this muti-step process was cumbersome in several ways and has room for improvement given the appropriate access to better technology.

3.1 Text Files

The data for the study was originally collected by saving the postings, news articles, and their comments in PDF format and storing them in aggregate. These files, for both Japanese data and Korean data, were then converted to word documents to work with the text more easily. In order to be used with the other programs and software universally, these word documents were then converted to .txt files.

After converting to .txt files several modifications were required to ensure minimal interference with collocation results and other frequency based statistical analyses. These modifications included removing hyperlinks and URL tags, non UTF-8 emojis, and instances of phrases such as "this comment has been deleted (e.g., 삭제 된 댓글입니다)" from both Japanese and Korean data; removing usernames from the Korean data (not applicable for Japanese data as > 99% of usernames were "anonymous"); and removing translated content/comments from the Japanese data (not applicable for the Korean data as all the content is originally written in Korean).

¹ ILBE community users tend to use trolling usernames as screen IDs such as "박보검펜티" (Park Bogum's Panties, where Park Bogum is a famous actor). Programs are unable to distinguish between text in a comment and text in a username, and as thus will count this portion of the username as one of the key words in proximity of other words, creating inaccurate results.

² One key component of the blog posts on *Kaikaihanno* is the translation of native Korean comments into Japanese; many Japanese commentors will quote the translation in their "reply" to the blog post. The continuous quotation of the translated material skews the frequency analyses as the programs do not detect or differentiate repeated text sequences.

3.2 POS Segmenting

After obtaining the .txt files both the Korean and Japanese data were processed with POS tagging software. It is well known that Japanese, like Chinese, does not have spaces and uses a character scripted. In order to be processed by AI and NLP languages like Japanese and Chinese need to have spaces inserted at word boundaries.

For the Japanese data, TagAnt v2.0.4 was used for simple word boundary insertion, taking the text on the left in Figure 1 below and producing the segmented text on the right. However, for the purpose of the current study TagAnt produced what is known as over-segmentation, inserting word boundaries at incorrect and/or excessive junctures as marked by the red arrows. These over-segmented portions required correction which will be addressed in Section 3.3.



Figure 1. Segmented Text in TagAnt

For the Korean data, POSTAG, released in 2002 by the POSTECH NLP Lab, was used. POSTAG is a python-based text POS tagger that operates based on the Sejong corpus. Unfortunately, POSTAG was the only program which I was able to execute on my data that provided a continuous line output (see Figure 2 below).

Pre-POSTAG	문재인 위안부다 북한에 신경만 쓴다해		
Post-POSTAG	문재/NNG 이/VCP ㄴ/ETM 위안부/NNG		
	문재/NNG 이/VCP ㄴ/ETM 위안부/NNG 이/VCP 다/EF 북한/NNP 에/JKB 신경/NNG		
	만/JX 쓰/VV ㄴ다/EC 하/VX 아/EC		

Figure 2. POSTAG Output Sample

That is, while there are more advanced, UI friendly Korean POS tagging programs such as Java-based RHINO 3.8.0, these programs produce isolated, tokenized lists as output which are not compatible with corpus programs such as AntConc that require continuous line output.

POSTAG is not without problems and there is no support offered for users as the creators are unresponsive to inquiries. Some of the cons and bugs discovered when executing POSTAG were: (1) it only takes .txt files; (2) will not execute and generates errors when files contain the following: blank lines, double consonants and single vowels (e.g., \nearrow , \top , \sqcap , \bowtie , \sqcap , \bowtie , etc.), emojis (UTF-8 and non-UTF-8), consecutive clusters (e.g., $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$, $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$, $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$, $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$, etc.), consecutive dashes/lines (e.g., -----); (3) the word boundaries are not accurate; and (4) the tags are not correct. As with the Japanese data, the Korean data also required correction.

3.3 Bulk Text Editing

In order to correct both the Japanese and Korean data Notepad ++ v8.4.8. was used. Specifically, it is a bulk text editor which was used to manually manipulate/clean generated word boundaries, tags, and illegible UTF-8 encodings (emojis, etc.). In the Japanese data, this included words immediately relevant to the neutral "grandmother" variant: 慰安婦 (Comfort Woman), お婆さん (Grandmother), おばあさん (Grandmother), 日本人(Japanese person), 朝鮮人(Joseon Person), 韓国人(Korean Person), 加害者(victim). In the Korean data, there are too many cases to list individually however in general corrections were made for frequently occurring proper names, nouns, and Comfort Women terminology like in the Japanese data (see Table 2 below).

English	Pre-Correction		Post-Correction
Grandmother	할머니/NNG 이/VCP ㅁ/ETN		할머님/NNG
Lee Yongsoo	이용_NNG 수_NNB	\Longrightarrow	이용수_NNG
Lee Yongsoo	이용_NNG 수씨_NNG	\Longrightarrow	이용수씨_NNP
Moon Jaein	문재_NNG 이_VCP ㄴ_ETM	\Longrightarrow	문재인_NNP
Uniqlo	유니크_NNG ㄹ로_JKB		유니클로_NNP
Sewol Ferry	세월_NNG 호_NNB	\Longrightarrow	세월호_NNG
Comfort Woman	위_NNG 안부_NNG		위안부_NNG

Table 2. Sample Corrections to Korean Data

3.4 Corpus Processing Software

For both the Japanese and Korean data, AntConc v4.1.4., a corpus analysis toolkit for researchers, teachers, and learners, was used. As there is already existing literature with regards to the builds and programming of AntConc,

such matters will not be discussed here. AntConc was used to conduct analyses from two angles: (1) collocates, and (2) NGRAMs. When using AntConc, the POS tags need to be converted from a / format to an _ format (e.g., 할머님/NNG to 할머님 NNG) to be imported and read.

3.4.1 Collocate Parameters

The collocate analysis was conducted at two thresholds, p < 0.05 (3.84) and p < 0.0001 (15.13), to give a comparative lens. Both thresholds had parameters set with Log-Likelihood as the Likelihood Measure, TSCORE as the Effect Size Measure, with the Threshold at All Values, and a Window Span of 8L + 5R on the Korean data 할머니, the Japanese Kanji お婆さん, and the Japanese Hiraganaおばあさん.

3.4.2 NGRAM Parameters

The NGRAM analysis was conducted at both RAW and Normalized values, with a minimum frequency of 2 for both the Korean and Japanese data. However, as Japanese is a rigidly left-branching language and NGRAM is based on right branching languages it was necessary to use Wildcards (*) to force the detection of characters to the left of the search query lemma (i.e., おばあさん). Thus, when preforming NGRAM in Kanji * * * お婆さん was searched and when preforming NGRAM in Hiragana * * * おばあさん was searched. The three wildcards in a row tells the engine to search 5NGRAM that includes 3 unknown characters to the left of the search query lemma, include the lemma, and then search 1 character to the right.

3.5 Cleaning and Processing Results

To clean and process the results for presentation, the query results generated by AntConc were exported as .txt files and then imported into excel. Results included a total of two collocate searches for each grandmother variant and one 5NGRAM result for each variant. Cleaning the results consisted of omitting some ranked entries in the collocates which were meaningless and superfluous for examining semantic prosody and statistic results (e.g., 의 (JKG= postpositions (case markers) as a collocate for 할머니).

3.6 Analytical Results Preface

As mentioned previously, the results generated for the Korean data are working results due to limited access to appropriate POS tagging tools. There are too many cons to working with POSTAG, and the workarounds are time consuming and cumbersome. Unfortunately, other Python and/or Java based programs were (for my case) not very accessible/user friendly and did not generate linear output for corpus linguistics (e.g., RHINO, Kakao/Kahiii,

wordseg_kaist_ud, MeCab_kor, hangul-Korean pypi, KoNLPy). I hope that the findings in this paper can generate some sense of the semantic shift in the terms for Grandmother used in Korean and Japanese Comfort Women Discourses, and generate discussion about NLP for better Korean data analysis.

4 Collocates Results and Discussion

This section discusses the collocate results for the Japanese and Korean data, starting with comparing the p<0.0001 Kanji and Hiragana results (Section 4.1.1.), the comparing the p<0.05 Kanji and Hiragana results with highlights notable similarities (Section 4.1.2), and then presenting a comparison of the p<0.0001 vs p<0.05 threshold results in Korean.

4.1 Japanese Results

The p<0.0001 results generated 14 collocates for Hiragana 'grandmother' and 31 collocates for Kanji 'grandmother', while the p<0.05 results generated much more. Consequently, only the top 14 results for p<0.0001 are shown and discussed while only notable unique and shared collocates between Hiragana and Kanji within the top 50 TSCORE effect results are shown and discussed for p<0.05 due to spatial limitations.

4.1.1 Results for p < 0.0001

To examine how different ranking parameters may impact the portrayal of semantic shift, I present the results ranked in four different ways: 1) High to Low (H-L) Effect ranking, 2) Left + Right (LR) combined frequency ranking, 3) Frequency Scaled ranking, and 4) TSCORE Likelihood ranking. Due to spatial limitation, Figures are provided periodically for visualization.

Focus is placed on the following collocates and how their rankings shift depending on the ranking parameter: 慰安婦 (Comfort Woman), ハルモニ (The Korean pronunciation of 'Grandmother 'Halmeoni stylized in katakana), 奴隷 (Slave), バッカス (Bacchus), and かわいそう (Pitiful). 'Bacchus 'is an important, culturally charged collocate. Bacchus is well known as the Roman God of fertility, wine, and pleasure. However, in the Korean cultural context 박카스 (Bacchus) is an energy drink launched in 1963. What is more, "Bacchus" is a code for prostitution amongst seniors in Korea with the women offering services known as "Bacchus Ladies" (박카스 할머니) (Yi & Yun, 2022). The film "The Bacchus Lady (죽여주는 여자)" by E J-yong released in 2016 portrays aspects of the Bacchus culture through the story of elderly sex worker So-Young. The collocation of 'Bacchus 'with 'Grandmother' in both the Japanese and Korean data indicates an association of 'Grandmother', and by extension 'Comfort Women, 'with a chosen life of prostitution.

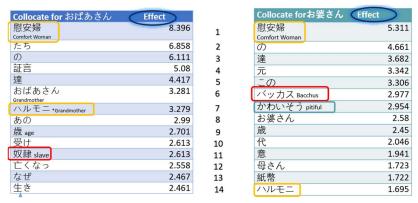


Figure 3. Japanese Data Effect Ranking

When sorted by Effect ranking (Figure 3), Comfort Woman is the first collocate for both variants and 'Halmeoni 'is ranked seventh for Hiragana and 14th for Kanji. Slave appears as a unique collocate at the 11th rank for Hiragana while Bacchus and Pitiful appear at the sixth and seventh rank respectively for Kanji. Contrarily, when sorted by LR Frequency (Figure 4), Comfort Woman drops to second for both variants and 'Halmeoni 'drops to ninth for Hiragana and stays 14th for Kanji. Slave still appears as a unique collocate but at the eighth rank (three increase) for Hiragana while Bacchus and Pitiful remain at the sixth and seventh rank respectively for Kanji.



Figure 4. Japanese Data FreqLR Ranking

When sorted by Frequency Scaled, Comfort Woman drops to third for Hiragana and 'Halmeoni 'drops to 21st, while for Kanji Comfort Woman remains at second and 'Halmeoni 'rises to 12th. Slave still appears as a unique collocate at the sixth rank (two increase) for Hiragana while Bacchus and Pitiful see decreases for Kanji. On the other hand, when sorted by Likelihood (Figure 5), Comfort Woman increases to second for Hiragana and 'Halmeoni 'rockets

to fourth while Slave drops to 28th. For Kanji, Comfort Woman remains at second and 'Halmeoni 'drops to 13th. Yet both Bacchus and Pitiful see sharp rises for Kanji, coming at first and third respectively.



Figure 5. Japanese Data Likelihood Ranking

4.1.2 Results for p< 0.05

Figure 6 below shows a comparison of NOTABLE shared tokens among the top 50 TSCORE Effect for Hiragana and Kanji collocates. The figure reveals that 慰安婦is most common, direct association between Grandmother and Comfort Women in both contexts. We also see that shared derogatory/negative words rank more frequent in Hiragana while sympathetic words rank more frequent in Kanji.

Token	Semantic Attribute	Hiragana Stats	Kanji Stats
	(+OR - OR =)	(Rank/Effect)	(Rank/Effect)
慰安婦	=	1	1
comfort woman		8.396	5.311
ハルモニ	-	7	19
phonetic pronunciation of korean		3.279	1.695
word for grandmother			
バッカス		43	6
bacchus, roman god of fertility,		1.656	2.977
wine, pleasure.			
かわいそう	+	33	7
poor; pitiable; pathetic; pitiful		1.868	2.954
嘘つき	_	20	25
liar		2.12	1.636
受け	-	10	20
to receive; to get; to accept		2.613	1.689
金	-	27	13
money		1.971	2.305

Figure 6. Notable Shared Collocate Tokens

Notable distinct tokens for Hiragana showed that Hiragana has a more negative semantic prosody than Kanji with a liar and derogative identity. The Comfort Women are demanded to show proof of what happened and accused of always changing their words. In addition, the sentiment that they were not victims but sex servant emerges considering "victim" is used with strong sarcasm and occurs in the context of "victim business." The notable tokens are, with Rank/Effect noted, as follows: 証言 'testimony; verbal evidence' (4/5.08); おばあさん 'grandmother' (6/3.281); 奴隷 'slave; servant' (11/2.613); 亡くなっ 'pass away'(12/2.558); コロコロ 'changing ones words frequently' (15/2.322); 性 'sex' (17/2.218); 被害 '(suffering) damage; injury; harm; victim' (19/2.123); 可哀想 'poor; pitiable; pathetic; pitiful' (21/2.078); 可愛 'cute' (25/1.981); 自称 'self-proclaimed' (34/1.831); 証拠 'evidence; proof' (37/1.708); 死ん 'die' (41/1.673).

Notable distinct tokens for Kanji showed that Kanji seems to have more positive semantic prosody than Hiragana with a victim identity. The notable tokens are, with Rank/Effect noted, as follows: 元 'former' (4/3.342); お婆さん 'grandmother' (8/2.58); 可哀そう 'poor; pitiable; pathetic; pitiful' (33/1.394); 貧し 'poor; needy; lacking' (35/1.391); 妊娠 'pregnancy' (36/1.389); 偽証' false evidence' (37/1.381); 苦痛 'pain; agony; bitterness' (39/1.376); 同情' sympathy; compassion; feeling pity for' (46/1.312).

4.2 Korean Results

The results discussed for the Korean data are based on the top 50 TSCORE Effect ranking, only taking into consideration of the collocates that were tagged as NNP, NNG, NNB, SN, VV, VA, VVS, XSV (purple exclusive to p<0.05), with a focus on the Top 14. Like the Japanese data, one goal of comparing p <0.05 and p< 0.0001 under different ranking conditions is to show how different ranking mechanisms produce different results, begging the question as to which mechanism is most reliable. The analysis was conducted from two ranking angles: LR frequency H-L (Figure 7), H-L Effect (Figure 8).

Viewing the rankings in order we can see that the LR Frequency H-L shares a number of collocates between the p<0.05 and p<0.0001 thresholds, notably 'Comfort Woman,' 'receive,' 'use,' 'politics,' 'victim', and 'testimony.' This ranking mechanism starkly contrast with the H-L Effect ranking, which exhibits identical ranking and collocates between the p<0.05 and p<0.0001 thresholds. Within this parameter, we see that 'Comfort Woman,' 'use,' 'testimony,' and 'victim' are prominent collocates in the upper half.



Figure 7. Frequency LR HL Rank

This phenomenon in ranking shift may indicate that among all the ranking mechanisms, Effect by TSCORE is the most accurate/relevant. In addition, we see that the Korean data collocates Follows similar themes as in the Japanese data, but with a more pronounced victim identity of pity, mirroring the Kanji data.



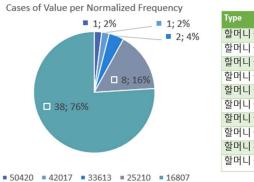
Figure 8. TSCORE Effect H-L Rank

5 NGRAM Results and Discussion

The 5NGRAM analysis produced 50 results in the Korean data, 60 in for the Hiragana variant in Japanese, and 10 for the Kanji variant in Japanese. For each variant, I surveyed the range of NormFrequency for cases of each value rounded to the nearest whole number, plotting them in pie charts.

5.1 Korean Results

In the Korean results (Figure 9), we see that more than ¾ of the 50 NGRAMS have a Normalized Frequency of 16807, the lowest, while only 2% fall at the highest of 50420. This may indicate that the 5NGRAM results in the Korean data are not significant, potentially because of inadequate POS tagging and segmenting. However, what may be interesting to note qualitatively is the Top 10 NGRAM results in the Korean data (Figure 10) which thematically mirror the collocate results.



할머니 들 을 정치 적 6 할머니들의 명예를 5 할머니 들 에 대하 ㄴ 4 할머니 들 이 용서 하 4 할머니 들 다 돌아가시 면 3 할머니들이돈을 3 할머니 들을 위하 아 3 할머니들을 이용하 3 할머니 까지 <mark>정치 적</mark> 으로 3 할머니 들 <mark>보상</mark>도필요없다고 하 시

Figure 9. Korean Cases of Value per NormFreq 5NGRAM

Figure 10. Top 10 Korean 5NGRAM

5.2 Japanese Results

In the Japanese results we can see a comparison between the Kanji (Figure 11) and the Hiragana (Figure 12). For Kanji, which only produced 10 NGRAMS, we see that the lowest NormFreq is about 90909; This is higher than the majority of NGRAM results for Hiragana which are 15151 (55 cases). The NGRAM results seem to indicate too much diversity.

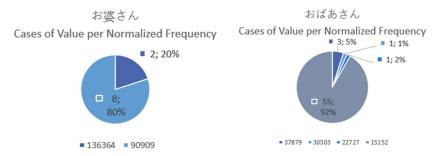


Figure 11. Kanji Cases of Value per NormFreq 5NGRAM

Figure 12. Hiragana Cases of Value per NormFreq 5NGRAM

6 Conclusion

This paper shared working results via: (1) collocates from two threshold levels, and (2) 5NGRAM. Japanese Hiragana Collocates show that both p<0.0001 and p<0.05 construct negativity/hostility, and that Hiragana "Grandmother" has seemed to develop a negative semantic prosody. Japanese Kanji Collocates show that both p<0.0001 and p<0.05 seem to have more positive semantic prosody than Hiragana with a victim identity, and that Kanji "Grandmother" has seemed to develop positive semantic prosody. In Korean Collocates, we saw (1) a similar pattern of language use themes; (2) that semantic prosody seems to remain unchanged but that an association with Comfort Woman is very strong; (3) that "Grandmother" may be considered as a synonym to "Comfort Woman" rather than having experienced semantic prosody; and (4) 'Grandmother 'is synonymous with a 'Victim Comfort Woman who was used'. The working results of this study can be greatly improved with more reliable Korean POS tagging software.

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