IRRIGATION SYSTEM OF *SUBAK* AND *TANADA* : LAST FORT OF LOCAL WISDOM IN BALI AND JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

The culture of Subak and Tanada continues to change, following the tremendous development of the irrigation system. The development of tourism area in Bali has a big contribution to land conversion, which threatens the existence of Subak. In Japan, land conversion also happened, but to increase the agricultural production through modern technology, and impacted the food sources and the mobility of agricultural labor. Research, based on literature methods and field observations, aimed to answer the question of how local wisdom of Subak is maintained by limiting the conversion of agricultural land? An important finding in this research is that, the local wisdom of agricultural culture in Bali is in form of the Subak community. In Japan, the issue is not only the agricultural community, but also wider community that have not been highlighted in various existing studies. The result of the research is that, the local wisdom of Subak in Bali is being eroded, while in Japan it continues to exist, as long as Japanese people eat rice as their staple food.

Keywords: *Subak*, *Tanada*, land conversion, irrigation system, agricultural rituals

INTRODUCTION

This research is focused on agriculture issue in Bali and Japan. The research was not intended as a comparative study on agriculture issue in Japan and Bali, but observing the development of agriculture in Japan and Bali, especially in rice farming, to learn the process, about rice culture, and ceremonies or rituals related to rice farming.

Rice farming ritual in Japanese culture, which is a "homogeneous" farming culture, was a manifestation of their belief in Shintoism.

Subak is water organization system in rice paddy field in Bali. The organization structure of *Subak* consist of group area of rice field, which water supply from water resources of mountain to river and distributed to rice field thorough ditch, or trench. Water distribution managed by farmer in irrigation system which called *Sekehe Subak* (member of *Subak* organization). Every *Subak* has *Pura Suba*k (Subak temple), called *Pura Bedugul*. Member of *Subak* managed the temple in accordance of ritual activities for prosperity of paddy from planting to good harvest.

UNESCO designated Subak as a World Cultural Heritage in year 2012[1]. *Subak* in Bali had a strong organizational structure since the *Subak* organization existed. Subak members in a *Subak Paruman* or Subak meeting make the Articles of Association or Subak rules. In these independent meetings, *Subak* members were free to express opinions, convey the problems faced by the *Subak* system, such as damage to water channels and the water distribution system, especially in the dry season. The farmers have calculated empirically the various damages or leaks that occurred along the ditches or *telabah* leading to the rice fields.

Awig-awig Subak (*Subak* Articles of Association) generally stipulated technical and non-technical matters, including that every *Subak* member shall obey the *Awig-awig Subak,* such as: follow the decisions of the *Subak* meeting, follow the orders of the *Pekaseh* or head of *Subak*, and the rules *Subak*, attending *Subak* meetings, maintaining a fair water distribution system, paying *Subak* dues and also fines on violations or disobedience of rules, such as disobeying or being absent from *ngayah* (working for *Subak*). In certain *Subaks,* fines are usually paid in money, or if someone doesn’t pay enough he will be fined one kilogram of rice.

The *Tanada* irrigation system in Japan was very advanced and modern, which affected to the maintaining of *Tanada* system and agricultural culture, known as *kome bunka* (rice culture), that has been part of the daily life of Japanese society. In Bali, this condition was very different due to the drastic extinction of several *Subak* groups. However, the culture related to rice farming still strong in existing *Subak* groups.

It was estimated that the *Subak* organization was developed later around 1071, stated in the Klungkung inscription year 1072, which stated the existence of the *Kasuwakan* or *Kasubakan* irrigation system, interpreted as *Subak*, which used the "*arungan*" or "*aungan*" irrigation system, a system of channeling water through a tunnel (*aungan*) in order to deliver water through the tunnel. In other words, for water to flow through the highlands, tunnels are made so that the water can pass to the lower plains, namely to the rice fields.

Sato Yo-ichiro (2020) stated that in Japan rice cultivation, both non-paddy rice and wetland rice, was believed to have started around 10,000 years ago, started in the Yangtze River delta in China. It was then spread to Japan via Korea. Around 3,000 years ago, it was estimated that in the 10th century BC rice cultivation began in West Japan, on the northern part of Kyushu Island. Then it spread to the Kinki Region in the 7th century BC, then to Northeastern Japan in the Tohoku region around the 4th century AD.

Based on Windia's research (1978), it was found that 1,000 hectares of rice fields had changed their function (720 hectares in 2015, 750 hectares in 2018, and 800 hectares in 2019). According to Windia, this condition could get worse if there were no concrete steps to maintain *Subak* as a priority in development.

Conditions of agricultural land conversion in Japan – except in Meiji Era – along with rapid modernization – no longer occurred, but there was innovation or remodeling of *Tanada* from small-scale to medium and large-scale farming by processing the land from planting seeds to harvest using advanced technology. In Bali, the management of rice fields was still traditional, although in some *Subak* groups used small plow tractor as a substitute of cow or buffalo.

Local wisdom in the rice farming tradition was related of ritual/religious ceremonies and still being implemented in Japan and Bali, because this culture was born since the introduction of agricultural culture in Japan and Bali. The difference was that Bali experienced the threat of extinction of *Subak* culture as *Subak* is under extinction problem due to drastic land conversion. This means that *Subak* based rituals tradition was also vanishing.

In Japan, since 1999, there was new Basic Law on Food, Agriculture and Rural Areas as a replacement for the old 1961 Law on Agriculture. The key substance of this new Law, among other things, was to meet the multi-functional role of agriculture. These included conservation of national lands, water sources, and the natural environment, as well as preserving nature and cultural traditions. Apart from that, to develop the potential of rural areas through increasing agricultural production and village welfare, including residential area[2].

The rice fields and agricultural land conversion in Japan did not happen like what happened in Bali. Regional governments were very strict in monitoring the conversion of agricultural land to avoid land price speculation related to the conversion of land into non-agricultural functions. The conversion of agricultural land mostly happened to rice farms. Apart from rice, horticulture and other food plantations were also being developed with the purpose of improving agricultural products. The objective of increasing agricultural products was not only to meet the needs of local residents, but also in the context of business for agricultural products. Vegetables, fruit, flowers and other crops can be cultivated by farmers collectively and diversified. Thus, land conversion in the context of horticultural diversification, or increasing agricultural land production has a positive effect on agriculture and nature conservation. It's unfortunate that author did not have the opportunity to conduct observations at *Tanada* in Japan nowadays. Author only had observation data back in 1976, when author visited rice fields in Kyushu, but not in the context of research on *Tanada* and its irrigation system.

The current crucial problem in Japan was the decline of labors in the agricultural sector. Based on the 2020 Census of Agriculture and Forestry in Japan, it was reported that there were 1,500,000 agricultural workers in Japan; while in 2015 there were 1,970,000 agricultural workers. Yosaku Yoshikawa (2018) noted that since 1980s this number has continued to decline by around 50,000 people per year. There has also been a 20 percent decline in farmer households in the last 10 years, from 2,200,000 in 2010 down to 1,700,000 by 2020. Japan also need young farm workers as the current worker age is on the average of 65 years old, while there are around 53,700 farmers switched jobs to the non-agricultural and industrial sector by 2020 where a third of them (18,400 people) were under 45 years old. In Bali according to Inter-Census Agricultural Survey (SUTAS), the number of farmers by 2018 is 477,439 by 23 December 2020[3].

DEFINITIONS OF PROBLEM

Modernization, globalization and rapid technology development had significant impact on socio-cultural economic transformation, especially in the rice field sector in Bali and Japan. The agricultural land conversion in Bali and Japan had impacted agricultural production, and labors in the agriculture, especially in the traditional of agriculture cultivation, which is being substituted by mechanical labor. Urbanization, especially in Bali, contributed greatly to land conversion, such as the growth of house clusters in areas that were previously rice fields, especially in *Subak*, neighboring the city.

There is a logical consequence of land conversion related to local cultural wisdom, especially agricultural rituals, where they started to extinct in a location, because rice field owners often sold their fields to developers or capital owners for economic reasons, to get more money. Farmers who no longer had rice field would not work in agricultural land, or in other words, their *Subak* duties ended, because automatically they were no longer members of the *Subak* organization. This means that they would not carry out agricultural rituals anymore, because they did not own rice fields that required various agriculture rituals.

In Japan, the conditions were very different. After the Second World War, since the enactment of Land Reform during the American occupation, farmers were able to manage their land independently and this had an impact on improving the economy of their families. However, an intense urbanization in the 1960s reduced potential workers in agricultural villages. As a result, in farming villages there was shortage of agricultural sector labors, because potential workers chose to move to cities or worked in industrial centers. So the question in this research was focused on the mentioned various problems, why land conversion, with economic, social, cultural dimensions, as well as the *Subak* and *Tenada* or *Tanbo* irrigation systems in Japan need to be explained in the context of widespread globalization and technology that did not have regional boundaries, including its correlation with religious rituals. The answer to this question was important as an effort to understand and analyze the context between rice culture-religious rituals-irrigation systems-agricultural modernization and land conversion and its impacts.

LITERATUR REVIEW

The developing of modern tourism spots in various regions in Bali has resulted in decreased agricultural land; especially rice fields, as result of changing land use functions. Based on Nyoman Sutawan, the agricultural land conversion to non-agricultural areas reached an estimation of 1,000 hectares every year. If this development could not be overcome, it was feared that the *Subak* organization could face extinction. *Subak* together with other traditional social institutions such as *banjar* (traditional village union) was the backbone of Balinese culture. In this regard, *Subak* farmers need to be involved in the decision-making process regarding the change of rice field's function within their *Subak* area[4].

The *Subak* organization was born following the introduction of rice cultivation or rice farming culture around 880 AD. It was estimated that the rice field irrigation system was in form of a series of water needs in rice fields that are continuously opened. Based on Purwita's data source research (1993) where one of them was in form of inscriptions, found that in the Sukawana inscription, known as the oldest inscription in Bali, the word *huma* (now pronounced *uma*—it means rice field) was found[5]. Before the development of irrigation systems for watering rice fields, *huma* also meant rain-fed rice fields that cultivated rice without an irrigation system, known as *gaga (gogo)* rice fields.

M.Rondhi, (2019), in his book of Irrigation Institutions Contract Model Approach, has conducted very intensive research regarding Irrigation Systems. Although the focus of his research was in Central Java, M.Rondhi also discussed the *Subak* Irrigation System in Bali and conducted field research in Japan, Hokkaido. Rondhi saw that in general there were two approaches to irrigation, the physical approach and the management (institutional) approach. Irrigation management would be efficient if the distribution of water to farmers' plots was appropriate in terms of quantity and time. The inappropriate water distribution could cause less than optimal plant growth. As a result, crop production could be disrupted.

Akira Tabayashi (1987), in an article entitled "Irrigation Systems in Japan" discussed great detail of irrigation distribution patterns in Japan. This irrigation system consisted of river irrigation systems, ponds, lakes, and ground water - in Bali known as *aungan* (torrents).

River irrigation was most widely used in Eastern Japan, while the pond system was widely used in Western Japan, especially in the *Seto Naikai* Islands (Inland Sea). The torrent system was used in mountainous areas. Japan's basic irrigation system began in the *Kofun* Period and *Nara* Period (300-800). Meanwhile, in Eastern Japan, the irrigation system was built in the *Sengoku* Period and *Edo* Period (1450-1867).

Masayoshi Satoh and Atsushi Ishii (2021), in "Japanese Irrigation Management at the Crossroads" concluded that the Japanese Government has built national-scale Participatory Irrigation Management, since the 17th century, maintained and utilized by farmers in their respective regions based on the Land Improvement Regulations of 1949. In their research, Satoh and Ishii found that farmers actually participated from the initial planning stages required by the Japanese government, because the functioning of the irrigation system projects was very risky. The transfer of all irrigation management facilities to the Farmers' Irrigation Association, known as the Land Improvement District (LID), had to pass long negotiations. However, according to Satoh, Japan's experience was relevant for countries with small-scale agricultural systems. In Japan nowadays, there were very rapid change among agricultural actors in agricultural villages, from small-scale farmers to medium or large-scale farmers.

METHODS

This research was carried out using literature and field observation methods. Data and information sources were from books, research articles published in scientific journals, news about *Subak* and *Tanada* published on official government websites, and Internet media. Observations were carried out, especially visiting several *Subak* groups that had changed function in Tabanan Regency, between June 2022 and June 2023. Concerns increased because several visited *Subak* groups in June 2023 experienced a similar vanishing fate compare to other *Subak* groups visited in June 2022.

Many *Subak* observed in Tabanan region based on many reason. In the past, *Subak* in Tabanan region historically has known as backbone of paddy production, rice barn *("lumbung padi"*) and today rice barn as a nostalgic history, because many subak was declined.

There were also some not-so-large *Subak* groups in *Subak* Bajra, Brembeng, Selemadeg, that have been converted into shops, such as building equipment shops, Indo Maret and Alfa Maret mini markets, and fuel station. In North Selemadeg, *Subak* group land was converted into houses. At the time of observation, half of the 60 houses were still empty waiting for buyers. In the area at the edge of Mount Batukaru, the paddy terraced Batumanggeng *Subak* in Sarinbuana village has been converted into snake fruit plantation. According to plantation owners, the snake fruit is more economically profitable compare to rice.

It's unfortunate that author did not have the opportunity to conduct observations at *Tanada* in Japan nowadays. Author only had observation data back in 1976, when author visited rice fields in Kyushu, but not in the context of research on *Tanada* and its irrigation system. The situation, land structure and imaged of *Tanada* today based on photos and image of *Tanada* browsed from Internet.

In each observed Subak group, in-depth observations and interviews were held with several *Pekaseh* (*Subak* group leader) and local residents in June 2022. Furthermore, the data from the in-depth interviews were analyzed comprehensively using a social-historical approach and narrative, empirical, qualitative methods.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

In Tabanan Regency, the biggest *Subak* that has changed function in the last four years (2020–2023) to housing area was *Subak* Banjar Anyar in Kediri District, which covered an area of 11 hectares. Meanwhile in Denpasar City, East *Subak* Peraupan at North Denpasar was no longer active. There were also Subak that have turned into moors because of water scarcity. In 2017, the *Subak* controlled area in Badung, Denpasar region, was 2,409 hectares and by 2022 it was only 900 hectares left remain and could be designated as *Subak* status quo[6].

The *Kendal Galiukir (Kaliukir) Subak* in Pupuan District Tabanan Regency covered an area of 55 hectares and now has also changed its function, where rice fields cannot be planted, due to water scarcity. In *Subak* Babakan, Aseman, Selemadeg in Tabanan Regency, rice fields was planted by corn because of water scarcity.

Lowland rice cannot survive without enough water, although rice fields can still be planted with paddy during rainy season.

In Japan, there were remaining of 1,450,000 hectares of rice fields in 2020, compare to 1,510,000 hectares in 2015. It means that in five years there were changes in the function of 60,000 hectares of rice fields[7]. If we compare this with data only in Denpasar region for the same five years (2017-2022), the reduced rice fields was from 2,409 hectares to 900 hectares. The change was around 1,500 hectares within five years. The change of land use in Bali compared to Japan was much more massive. The question was, does this condition indicate that development in Bali was faster than in Japan? This certainly required further research.

The number of *Subak* community organization (rice field organizations in Bali in 2020 was around 2,726 organizations from all eight regencies[8], and by June 2022 there were around 600 hectares of land conversion from agricultural land to non-agricultural land.[9]

The landscape of rice fields in Japan is similar to the terrace rice fields in Bali. The difference is that in Japan many terrace field embankments used stones for arrangement like brick castle walls in the Middle Ages. In Bali terraces are generally still natural in form of rice fields themselves. Rice fields in Bali was also found in the lowlands, just like Japan, but many of the rice fields in the lowlands have been converted into housing for buildings, industry and so on. It seemed that the number of land conversion in Bali would overtake Japan, because land conversion in Bali became more drastic since the 1980s.

In 2019 the number of *Subak* groups in Bali was 1,599 groups managing 76,000 hectares of rice fields. This number decreased by 800 hectares per year, so that according to Geria (2019), *Subak* groups was predicted to extinct by 2030 if they continued to be marginalized. An example in 2011, in Badung Regency and Denpasar City, there were 41 *Subak* groups spread across four districts: 8 *Subak* groups in West Denpasar, 13 *Subak* groups in East Denpasar, 10 *Subak* groups in South Denpasar, and 10 *Subak* groups in North Denpasar[10]. Based on Windia's research (1978), it was found that 1,000 hectares of rice fields had changed their function (720 hectares in 2015, 750 hectares in 2018, and 800 hectares in 2019). According to Windia, this condition could get worse if there were no concrete steps to maintain *Subak* as a priority in development.

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Regarding agricultural rituals in Bali, there were significant changes due to the conversion of rice farming land. Along with changes in land use, many *Subak* temples were renovated or discontinued as worship centers. Each *Subak* group usually had a temple called *Ulun Carik* or *Pura Bedugul,* which was specially built by land owners and farmers to serve as a place of worship to *Dewi Sri* (Goddes Sri), symbolized as Goddess of prosperity and fertility.

Various religious rituals were carried out starting from cultivating the land, planting rice, maintenance, and harvest. The owners or cultivators carried out various ritual ceremonies in their respective rice fields and *Ulun Carik* Temple or *Bedugul Temple*.

Some ritual example, as presented in a research by Ni Nyoman Suatini, (2021) included the *Ngiseh* or *Biu Kukung* Ritual, to ensure that rice plants bear heavy, fertile fruit without being disturbed by pests, rats and so on. There was also the *Nyangket* ritual as discussed in I Komang Gede Doktrinaya (2021), where this ritual was carried out before farmers harvest their rice, by asking permission and pay tribute to *Dewi Sri* who was believed to be the Goddess of fertility and prosperity; because it would carry out rice harvest activities. These examples indeed show that local wisdom in form of agricultural rituals was carried out in rice fields or *Subak*. However, there were more *Subak* fields being converted into allotment land outside *Subak.* It means that many of *Subak's* local wisdom have been degraded. However, in the author's view, as long as Balinese people eat rice *Subak* will still exist, and then the culture related to paddy or rice will continue to exist and even become a stronghold of Balinese culture.

In Japan - the same as in Bali - paddy or rice has economic, social and cultural aspects. For example, when planting rice in the spring, there are dances and songs sung by Japanese farmers with the aim of ensuring that their plants and harvests are abundant. Likewise, harvest ceremonies are held throughout the region in winter. Once the rice is harvested, it is processed into rice and then into rice. Rice can also be processed into *mochi* cakes, candy, vinegar, *miso sake* and others. *Mochi* as well as cakes made from rice are offered at Shinto shrines to Shinto Gods. New Year celebrations in Japan are always accompanied by New Year's food related to rice culture, symbolized by the type of New Year's food. Families gather while eating *zon*i soup *mochi* cakes with rice *mochi* cakes, a traditional New Year's food called *Osechi*. Even *washoku,* which is a traditional Japanese food, is included in the list of traditional foods designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage and Humanity in 2013 by UNESCO.

Sri Widodo (1978) in his paper wrote that *Subak* members are obliged to follow and implement government regulations conveyed through *Pekaseh*, and the government cannot interfere with the *Subak* organization and its rituals. In a large area *Subak*, sub-organs were usually divided into some divisions so that the organization can run smoothly; and *Subak* sub-organs such as *Penyarikan, Klian tempek*, *Juru Arah*, *Kasinoman* and *Juru tibak* to carry out *Subak* organization mechanism. *Pekaseh* or *Klian Subak* is the highest leader in a *Subak* and Sub-*Subak* group. *Klian Tempek* is the, chairman of *Sub-Subak* (*munduk*) when the main *Subak* group had a very large area, so *Subak* is divided into *Sub-Subak* known as *munduk*. *A Juru Arah, who conveys messages related to Subak to each member verbally and visits each member's house, usually assisted Klian Tempek*. *Subak* members are obliged to work together to build or repair the *Subak* Temple or *Ulun Carik*, and are obliged to do *ngayah* (voluntary community service in connection with religious activities or *Subak* organizations).

Japan was historically an agricultural country - although now it was an industrial country – with vast experience in managing water for agriculture, especially irrigating rice fields. Experience and technological developments were combined in managing water sources for various purposes. The system of channeling water from rivers for agricultural purposes, storing water for reservation, and maintaining forest in mountainous areas to store water, have been running throughout the history of agriculture in Japan. The utilization of dam water to maintain agricultural land, especially rice fields to prevent shortage of water, and also maintaining the water tunnel, were carried out consistently. As a result, despite the expansion of agricultural land, the total length of water channels including the use of large-scale tunnels (drainage channels) is more than 40,000 kilometers. When medium-scale water channels and medium-and small-scale water tunnels are combined, the length of the channel reaches 400,000 kilometers, or the equivalent of ten times the land area. This water is collected in rice fields and reused downstream along with supporting agricultural lands and plantations. Thus, utilizing rainwater captured in reservoirs formed a comprehensive circulation system.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this research was that *Tanada* and *Subak* had a long parallel history since the awakening of farming and rice culture in the changing social life from hunting society to farming society. Based on historical sources, rice culture in Japan was much older than the rice culture in Bali. The farming culture in Japan was influenced by the farming culture in China and they were spread to Japan. The culture of rice cultivation in Bali was probably born in Bali itself, as shown in the inscription.

Early irrigation systems in both Japan and Bali utilized river water, which was channeled to rice fields through channels or tunnels (*aungan*). The irrigation system in Bali was managed by *Subak* members and in Japan by agricultural communities. Currently, the damage to the rice irrigation system in Bali was due to the transfer of agricultural land and the fairly rapid development of tourism. In Japan, the rice field irrigation system was turned into modern system, because all the water potential was utilized and recycled using the help of modern technology.

Land conversion in Bali had an impact on the culture such as *Subak* rituals and people's lifestyles, in addition to a decreasing rice production. In Japan, the conversion of rice fields, in the context of increasing rice production and other horticulture plantations actually boosted the production and socio-economic patterns of rural agricultural communities.

The local wisdom of the agricultural ritual system in Bali, especially *Subak,* was increasingly being eroded in line with the large number of agricultural land conversions. In Japan, the rice culture (*kome bunka*) still existed because the *kome bunka* ritual was carried out not only in the rice fields, but also in all levels of society, including non-farming urban communities, especially in commemorating the transition of the year, or the New Year, which was celebrated with food, cakes, or sake that derived from rice products. Thus, *Subak* culture and rice culture in Bali and Japan were the final strongholds of local wisdom.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In fact this research was only able to find a handful of problems that had a big impact on farming lifestyles in Japan and Bali. Even though big problems have been revealed, they need to be researched from various topics and dimensions of social life and increasingly rapid technological developments. There are still many research problems that need to be followed up in future research.

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BIODATA PENULIS

Ligia Emila Tutuko, menyelesaikan studi strata satu nya dari Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia. gelar master diselesaikan di universitas yang sama pada Program Kajian Wilayah Jepang dan melanjutkan ke Program doktoral di Sekolah Kajian Stratejik dan Global, Universitas Indonesia. Hampir lebih dari 30 tahun pada masa tugasnya yang dilalui di KementErian Tenaga Kerja hingga masa pensiun dari jabatan terakhir sebagai Kepala Kerjasama Luar Negeri pada Kerjasama Bilateral.

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https://scholar.google.com/citations?hl=id&user=n6mAQAwAAAAJ
yaitu antara lain: *Analisis Semiotik Pragmatik pada media Internet Detik.com terhadap pernyataan artis Ahmad Dhani: Siapapun Cagub Gerindra, Kalau Cawagubnya Saya Pasti Top !*

Yang dipresentasikan pada Conference: Semiotik, Pragmatik, dan Kebudayaan~ Semiotik dan Dinamika Sosial Budaya: Mengenang Prof. Dr. Benny H. Hoed, Bapak Semiotik Indonesia (2016) ; *Penelitian Tindak Tutur dan Pelanggaran Prinsip Kerjasama dalam Narasi Pernyataan Wawancara Artis H "klepek-klepek" dalam kasus prostitusi artis pada Nagaswara News NSTV 24 … (*Seminar Tahunan Linguistik 2016 (Setali), Tingkat Internasional, "Analisis Bahasa Dari Sudut Pandang Linguistik Forensik" *; Hedging In Japanese Political Speeches By The Japan Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. (*Conference: The 2nd Aprish 2017 Universitas Indonesia Conference) *; The Use Of Introductory Phrases as a Hedging Device in Japanese Political Speeches by The Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (*The 10th

Conference on Applied Linguistics The 2nd Language Teaching and Technology Conference – 2017) *; Pemagaran hedging dalam pidato politik Perdana Menteri Jepang Shinzo Abe= Hedging in japanese political speeches by the Japan prime minister Shinzo Abe (2018) ; Hedging in Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's political speech (*Book: On language, education, politics, and identity: A cross-linguistics perspective – 2021) ; Strategy of Politeness through Japanese Respect in the Anime My Next Life as a Villainess: All Routes Lead to Doom Season 1 (Journal: Japanese Research on Linguistics, Literature, and Culture - 2023), Email: lelydemiyati@gmail.com

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