The Modernization and Westernization of Martial Arts

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Even the most casual student of Western popular culture will appreciate the dramatic surge in popularity of the martial arts over the past few decades. Indeed, in the mind of the Western public, the term “martial arts” has been indelibly associated with images like The Karate Kid, representing twentieth- and twenty-first-century incarnations of traditional Asian arts. Many have hailed this development as a step forward for the arts in question. However, there are also many who question its value, speculating that in the process of becoming modernized and Westernized, traditional Asian martial arts have become corrupted, so that while the recent ascent in the public eye has been beneficial to the current state of “martial arts” as regarded in the West, the beneficiary itself has become unworthy of the attention.

Yet, while many objections to the modernization and Westernization of martial arts are well-founded, they are often predicated upon conflations of multiple ideas: the distinct notions of modernization and Westernization, for one, as well as the numerous cultural traits and identities associated with the West. As a result, such objections can seem viscerally inexorable, when in fact they depend on multiple complex factors, some of which indeed represent detriments to the martial arts, and some of which may in fact represent benefits. A prime example of this conflation of factors is the often-voiced dismay at the

ascent of the UFC and other fusions of martial arts and mass media. One expression, excerpted from a poem by Janet Aalfs, reads simply:

> "I am...
> an artist
> who stirs up
> forms ideas mine...
> not the rabble
> rousing punch and kick
> stuff splattered on tv".[1]

In this and similar pejorative characterizations of televised mixed martial arts, the reader generally finds at least three distinct objections. First, some object to the modernization of martial arts—in other words, their radically different styles in modern times, as they have adjusted to modern weapons and social situations, as well as their increasing syncretism and rejection of dogmatic tradition. Second, some object to a phenomenon often taken to result from the Westernization of martial arts: the increasing tendency of individuals to study and appropriate the physical techniques of martial arts without absorbing the philosophy—in other words, the commoditization of martial arts. Finally, and closely related, is the objection to a deeper kind of Westernization, manifesting itself as individuals—rather than rejecting the deeper philosophical implications of martial arts—instead imbue the martial arts with distinctly Western philosophical implications. Examining these objections yields a deeper understanding of both the modernization and the Westernization of martial arts, from which one can conclude that while some such objections are well-founded, for many the change they reflect is chiefly illusory, and indeed for some the change is beneficial to the martial arts.

Much of the modernization of the martial arts—as well as the relevant objections to it—hinges on their applications and their context in society, and especially on their relation to the 'martial'. Indeed, many martial arts do find their origins in techniques developed for wartime, whether by the samurai or by the guerrilla warriors of the twentieth century. Some, like historian Donn F. Draeger, argue that since modern technology and social structures under stable governments have largely obviated the need for fighting skills, martial arts have similarly been obviated.[2] Indeed, it is true that evolution of martial arts has frequently been driven by military application. As one author astutely concludes:

> It's common to see methods of attacking an opponent from the rear; slipping up, grabbing him and slitting his throat with a horizontal knife slash. In our era this may be effective, but claims that it and techniques like it are part of a feudal ryu are incorrect... [Samurai] wore a gorget (nodowa) attached to their helmet or had armor covering the chin to the throat area to protect from that very kind of attack... In authentic bujutsu ryu, knife attacks against the throat are invariably stabbing ones and include a corresponding wrench with the other hand, meant to lift the gorget and twist it away.[3]

Similar considerations apply to other techniques—as, for instance, explaining the lack of the contemporary roundhouse kick from the traditional ninjutsu arsenal, on the grounds that it would have been ineffective since the standard targets would have been covered in armor.[4]

Yet, it is tempting, but ultimately too simplistic, to conclude that modernization of the martial arts is solely concomitant with modernization of weaponry on

the battlefield. The development of military martial arts has been paralleled to a great extent by that of "civil" martial arts,[5] and even in the case of relatively peaceful communities in modern developed nations, in which an individual may conceivably live his or her entire life without facing a serious physical confrontation, the presence of "civil" martial arts is still powerfully implanted on the collective consciousness and amplified by the images of the mass media. While it is true that many of these images are unrealistic—most fights depicted in films, for instance, feature pulled punches, laughably ill-executed attacks that nevertheless grant the hero an immediate knockout, and so on—the public is still left with a vastly inflated perception of the prevalence of civil violence, consciously or subconsciously, and a heightened curiosity about effective techniques for dealing with such an eventuality. Combined with the increasing prevalence of martial sports, this cultural atmosphere provides a rich breeding ground for rapidly-mutating martial arts techniques and styles, regardless of the military applications.

Indeed, numerous martial arts systems have undergone reformulations to become better suited to modern styles of fighting, with the measure of fitness in many cases determined not by effectiveness in combat, but rather by effectiveness in common "civil" martial arts applications such as barroom brawls or muggings on city streets.[6] Of particular note in these settings is that the goals of civil and military martial arts are often at odds. The military martial artist is often content to gravely injure or kill his opponent—indeed, this is very often the goal—while the civilian

martial artist has no such luxury; in recent times, it is the outlook and constraints of the civilian, rather than the soldier, that have prevailed in the study of martial arts as known to contemporary culture. Many contemporary martial arts instructors, for instance, strongly emphasize the distinction between pain-compliance techniques, such as wrist locks, and destructive techniques such as elbow breaks;[7] indeed, the inclusion of the latter without the former in modern systems would be viewed as a grave shortcoming, and the system would likely evolve to accommodate it.

Additionally, civilian martial arts—street fighting as well as martial sports—have been responsible for the evolution of many other stylistic components of the martial arts. For instance, classical karate-style blocking and punching have been augmented—and in some cases supplanted—in modern styles by shorter punches drawing their technique from Western boxing, contracting the range of motion between the chamber and the target from an estimated 36 inches to 25 inches,[8] as well as softer, often multihand blocks.[9] For instance, the traditional Filipino hubud drill, with its cyclical blocks, covers, and punches, is especially effective at training these motions,[10] and has been adopted by some modern martial arts instructors as well. Similarly, modern adaptations of martial arts have focused increasingly on throws and other techniques without uniforms, even in some judo classes,[11] once again eagerly adapting traditional techniques—even those of judo, a relatively young art—to the reality of modern civilian martial arts.

This is not to say, however, that the civilian setting has been the sole driving force in the continuing evolution and modernization of martial arts. Curiously,

in recent times, rather than changes in martial arts proceeding from the military to the civilian population, the effect of globalization and vibrant social communities has in many cases been the reverse, with techniques bred in the civilian world filtering back to the civilian police and ultimately the military. In techniques for the police, in particular, the transition was a complex one, as officers face a difficult set of constraints drawing aspects from both the civilian and the military worlds. They encounter determined criminals and criminal organizations, often with as strong a willingness to kill as enemy soldiers, and yet they must maintain a default pattern of behavior that is conducive to the rule of law and to the vast majority of citizens, who abide by it. Adaptation of martial arts techniques to this domain has required serious effort; as one instructor of police officers writes:

> It is my responsibility to spend as much time researching the latest causes of officer fatalities, injuries, and litigation as I do teaching officer survival skills... I've met too many great martial artists who would make lousy cops. I certainly wouldn't want to see my partner trained by any of them.[12]

Indeed, the considerations faced by instructors of officers are many and varied. One of the key points—and a key area in which technological development has necessitated further evolution of civilian techniques—is that the officer must place utmost importance on retaining his or her firearm, which often rules out many powerful striking techniques.[13] Furthermore, since officers are often forbidden to use deadly force on a suspect who is attacking unarmed, they must be prepared to counter a barrage of desperate attacks with

their blocking mobility severely restricted; this has necessitated the incorporation of rapid, Wing Chun-style, open-handed blocks into the officer's repertoire.[14] Additionally, the need to protect the assailant has required the incorporation of civilian-oriented restraints on traditional martial arts techniques—including traditional Filipino baton techniques that would cause excessive injury.[15] Finally, and perhaps most unexpectedly, palm strikes have been a key component of the evolution of police martial arts—both because the officer's hands may be occupied carrying various items, and because a palm strike, in one instructor's words, may "appear a push to the untrained eye..." and "go over better than punches on the evening news."[16]

In addition to the police force, modern martial arts techniques also came to feature in the arsenal of the modern Western military. The transition from civilian to police and military techniques, in some sense, represented a curious circular effect: civilian martial arts techniques, many of which themselves found their basis in classical warfare and evolved into their present form, were now again making the transition—often reluctantly—back into the military. One illustrative microcosm of this phenomenon is the circuitous route of judo, through Yamashita Yoshiaki of Tokyo, into the United States and ultimately into the U.S. military.[17] Initially, Yamashita was invited to the United States by Sam Hill, a wealthy businessman who wanted judo instruction to build character for his son, but Yamashita stayed in Washington, D.C., teaching other American students, and eventually attracted the attention of President Theodore Roosevelt, who himself desired judo instruction.[18] Eventually, at Roosevelt's request,

Yamashita began teaching at the U.S. Naval Academy in 1905; reception of judo among the soldiers was skeptical, however, and Yamashita left less than two years later.[19] Nevertheless, the precedent for martial arts crossing over to the military had been set, and laid the groundwork for further development. Notably, with the end of the Cold War, the need for hand-to-hand combat became far more pressing, and with it once again came the need for military martial arts; moreover, this geopolitical shift happened to coincide roughly with the ascendancy of Gracie Jiu-Jitsu in the UFC during the 1990s, and so ultimately this system—including its competitive aspect—was embraced by the military in 2002.[20]

Yet, it was not only the steady adaptation of individual martial arts that prompted them to evolve so rapidly in the modern world; globalization also served to greatly increased contact between different arts and different cultures, leading to a sort of evolution of the arts by cross-pollination. Notably, towards the outset of the twentieth century, it became increasingly common to see mixed matches that pitted competitors of distinct arts against one another. Yamashita Yoshiaki, for instance, once confronted American professional wrestler Joseph Grant, displaying appreciable technical skill in his submissions but ultimately succumbing to the American's superior physical strength.[21] Similarly, a series of curiously asymmetric matches were held in the 1920s between Japanese jujitsu practitioners and Western boxers, with mixed results

> [The Japanese] was not allowed to hit but all jiu-jitsu holds were permitted. The American was not allowed to wrestle or hold but all clean blows were permitted.[22]

Indeed, such mixed matches have been taken to extremes in the past decade; events like the UFC are playing a significant role in furthering the evolution and synthesis of the various martial arts, while one need only conduct a brief Internet search to find a plethora of videos pitting one martial art against another in an often lopsided confrontation. In the twenty-first century as in the twentieth, public fascination with the taxonomy, hierarchy, and development of the martial arts continues unabated.

Thus, in summary, the modernization of traditional Asian martial arts has drawn its motivation from numerous independent technological, social, and political developments, and has been fueled in large measure through development of systems as "civil" martial arts. And, indeed, the result has been that many modern martial arts bear only tenuous resemblance to the traditional Asian ancestors with whom they share their names. However, before leveling this fact as a normative objection against their present state, one must take care to consider other aspects of their history and character. In one instructor's analogy, "a martial art is like a garden, and periodically, it must be weeded".[23] Indeed, it is difficult to countenance—and, one could argue, for Eastern philosophies based on harmony to accommodate—a martial arts system that is estranged from the world in which it is applied. Gichin Funakoshi, founder of Shotokan karate, remarked:

> [My goal is to make forms] as simple as possible. Times change, the world changes, and obviously the martial arts must change too. The karate that high school students practice today is not the same

> karate that was practiced even 10 years ago, and it is a long way indeed from the karate I learned...[24]

Numerous martial arts masters—Funakoshi, Chojun Miyagi, and others—have revised their arts substantially in this fashion;[25] one of the most well-known of those others, in fact, was Bruce Lee, who, in the founding text of his own iconoclastic school of martial arts—The Tao of Jeet Kune Do—poetically declared:

> I hope martial artists are more interested in the root of martial arts and not the different decorative branches... when you understand the root, you understand all its blossoming.[26]

Indeed, it is difficult to criticize modern martial arts for their constant evolution; one could even argue that such evolution is one of the hallmarks of a healthy martial arts system.

Aside from the modernization of martial arts, however, one must also consider the effects of its Westernization. One of the most salient—and, to many, likely the most objectionable of all—aspects of the Westernization of martial arts is its commoditization; practitioners increasingly came to view it as a tool, rather than a comprehensive philosophical system. In the Japanese parlance, this is similar to the distinction between the suffixes jutsu, meaning art, and do, meaning way of life,[27] although the distinction has been eroded somewhat in the terminology that has survived to name modern martial arts—aikido vs. aikijutsu, judo vs. jujutsu, and so on—which, critics might argue, would further reinforce the lack of the -do aspect as martial arts are studied in modern culture.

Indeed, the modern world is replete with examples of individuals and parties seizing on the -jutsu of martial arts and bringing it from the dojang into the world, seemingly applying it without any fundamental personal philosophical shift. One need only look as far as popular culture: Keanu Reeves, in his role as "Neo" in the Matrix trilogy, utters the iconic line, "I know kung fu" —having indeed digitally "downloaded" the entirety of the martial art into his brain in a virtual world. In a fundamental sense, this typefies the nature of martial arts commoditization: in the common Western view, study of martial arts is a mysterious system by which—if one can only manage to "download" its secrets—one can perform superhuman feats and defeat any conceivable enemy. Countless beginning students of the martial arts doubtless embark—if not consciously, at least subconsciously—with such a predisposition.

In fact, perhaps surprisingly, the most salient historical examples of the Westernization of martial arts in the fashion come from the East, especially China during the twentieth century. In some sense, one can understand this phenomenon by noting the frenetic Westernization of the East itself during this period: whether Nationalist or Communist, China was eagerly seizing on multiple Western philosophies and political processes, and a correspondingly Western commoditization of the martial arts—while perhaps ironic—was in retrospect perfectly natural. Under the Nationalists, propaganda of the following sort was issued:

> Standing on this twentieth century stage where one cannot survive without competing, how can we prevent insults

> and gain respect?... The only path we can take to self-defense is to practice the martial arts... The knife and sword of the martial arts will cut up all the unequal treaties!... Long live the martial arts of the Republic of China![28]

If one reads one's favorite twentieth-century film protagonist in the role of Nationalist China here, the meaning is abundantly apparent. The Communist regime, in many cases, was even more blatant, advancing performance of martial arts forms as a form of nationalistic fervor, thoroughly condemning the philosophical systems of earlier classical arts such as taijiquan (tai chi chuan), and imposing the strict class equality constraints of the Party on the traditional hierarchy of martial arts schools.[29] Nor should these cases be taken to imply that China, albeit possessing the brunt of the irony, was the sole offender in this context; many of the forays of the United States government into military adaptations of the martial arts possessed a similar flavor.

Thus, evidently the commoditization of martial arts is a real phenomenon, and emphasis of the -jutsu without the -do has a fundamental effect on the character of the art and its practitioners. However, even assuming that this loss is a detriment to the martial arts as a whole, one must again hesitate here to make a normative criticism, if only for the simple reason that it is not at all apparent that such attitudes are significantly more prevalent in the modern West than throughout history. Such a claim seems natural, given present-day evidence, but it overlooks a fundamental historiographical truth: the past nearly always looks better than the present, because history

nearly always captures the high points. To take a commonplace example, each generation habitually complains that the next does not live up to its standards—but this has been occurring since Socrates! More pertinent to the case of martial arts, however, are a variety of statements by relevant figures. Takuan writes:

> If you follow the present-day world, you will turn your back on the Way; if you would not turn your back on the Way, do not follow the world.[30]

Directly, Takuan is speaking of the Way of Zen Buddhism, but implicitly we can infer something about the state of his world: it was not conducive to living in accordance with such a philosophical system. More generally, the histories of martial arts tend to be exaggerated to impress: karate master Yamaguchi Gogen is rumored in legend to have beaten a tiger with his bare hands when his captors imprisoned him in a cage with the animal, but when he was interviewed directly, he revealed that the tiger had simply grown bored and gone to sleep.[31] For a more direct example, we may consider the story of the Tea Master, who provoked the ire of a ronin—a rogue samurai—and was challenged to a duel, and beseeched another ronin to teach him the secrets of swordsmanship.[32] The legend obscures many of the details, of course, but it is likely safe to conclude that the motivation of the Tea Master was self-preservation and not an understanding of the -do of the ronin—as is the motivation of countless present-day students. Conversely, it is clear that present-day students nevertheless are often motivated by self-

cultivation, pursuing the study of martial arts as a -do rather than a -jutsu.[33] Thus, in the final analysis, the philosophical Westernization—by way of commoditization—of the martial arts is in many ways a chimera.

Moreover, to the extent that martial arts were commoditized, regardless of its effect in emphasizing -jutsu over -do, the beneficial impacts of such commoditization were often appreciable. The introduction of randori in judo, for instance, was largely an attempt by Kano Jigoro to market the art to new students, as was Shotokan founder Funakoshi's introduction of kumite.[34] Without these efforts—and, by proxy, without the increasing pursuit of wider appeal among martial arts in the twentieth century—many students might not have derived the considerable benefit of training via sparring. In addition, the commoditization of martial arts brought a correspondingly democratic style of teaching, very different from many traditional styles in which, according to one instructor: "[The] student watches and repeats with no talking or information offered, and only very astute questions are answered".[35] To the extent that the same atmosphere can be fostered in a training setting that is open, it is typically a valuable change for students, particularly those who learn in unusual ways.

Finally, the third objection to modern, Westernized martial arts—the fact that many practitioners are indeed incorporating philosophical systems closely with their training, but that the philosophical content is distinctly Western—is perhaps the most well-founded. Its implications, however, depend crucially

on normative claims about such philosophical systems. For just as with any discipline of nontrivial philosophical potency, different individuals of different cultures will fit the martial arts to their own views in different ways. For instance, in the case of Nationalist China, as described above, one narrator depicts martial arts demonstrators "...[letting] out a fierce shout—sha [kill]! —which reverberated afar in a great martial spirit", while even in the Yuan dynasty, martial arts demonstrations were used as propagandistic rallies.[36] The use of the word "martial" in the phrase "martial spirit" is especially jarring here, as although the concrete sense does fit the phrase—the directive "kill!" is one of war, as is the origin of "martial" —nevertheless the implicit juxtaposition with the traditional Asian belief systems supporting martial arts belies the comparison. The leaders of Nationalist China took the -jutsu of martial arts and overlaid their own philosophical teachings on top of it; this could arguably be deemed a Westernization, in the sense described above of a Westernization of the East, but regardless, whether one regards it as beneficial or detrimental is largely predicated upon one's own subjective assessment of the belief systems involved. Similarly, again as above, such redirection of martial arts to one's own philosophy is by no means limited to China or the Westernized East. As one historian notes, in light of the powerful psychological forces underlying Shaolin kung fu:

> This unitary worldview [of Shaolin kung fu, in resistance to foreign rule] is conducive to extraordinary bonding and is one reason that the Marine Corps began stressing "warrior values".[37]

In essence, the messages being framed here, whether on the part of the United States or on the part of Nationalist China, endeavor to capture the fervor and spirit of martial arts—arguably deriving from the arts' own philosophical component—and co-opt it for their own philosophical message.

Indeed, one sees similar actions on the part of individuals, as different people project radically different philosophical views onto the inherently charged atmosphere of the martial arts. Some, for example, derive from the solemnity of martial arts an affirmation of their deeply-held beliefs about logic and truth. One instructor writes of her experience in the martial arts, under the heading: "A Low Block is a Low Block is a Low Block",[38] projecting an empirical notion of constancy rooted in the constancy of the techniques into a philosophical foothold of constancy in an otherwise-changing world. In a powerful sense, the instructor's phrase evokes not only the classical logic of Aristotle, but also the ringing affirmations of it down through the canon of Western thought.

Yet, while one could certainly deem such a statement a Westernization of martial arts philosophy, it is also very much an individualization, a specialization of martial arts. Indeed, the same instructor later proceeds to describe a decidedly less classical perception, as she evokes the spirit of the Noro, a band of women with a mythical function in Okinawan mythology:

> I have felt the spirit of the Noro in my practice of Shuri-ryu Karate... Though the power of the Noro may currently be unacknowledged, uncelebrated, and unaffirmed, as is true with women's and especially lesbian culture all over the world, their existence is alive and strong in the movements they spawned...[39]

It would be difficult to say that this instructor is responsible for a Westernization of martial arts philosophy—she would by similar reasoning equally be responsible for its Easternization. Rather, she has her own internal philosophy—a syncretic blend of Western and Eastern ideas, doubtless strongly influenced by her background and life experiences—and the way of life she realizes through martial arts is largely an expression of that philosophy. The clarity and isolation of martial arts study chiefly serves to lay bare these internal convictions; it can help focus and intensify them, and to some extent it can introduce new thoughts, systems, and ideas, but regardless it must build upon each practitioner's unique prior nature.

Still, other practitioners of traditionally Asian arts are more explicitly Western in their approaches. One instructor, for example, writes at length on the philosophical indignity of ritual obeisance in traditional Asian culture:

> Bowing to fellow practitioners as a sign of mutual respect is an acceptable martial art tradition...
> As students it is also reasonable for us to bow to our teachers...
> But here again, the teacher also bows to the student...
> [It] is inappropriate for us to rise and stand with our hands over our hearts in respect for the Korean flag or any other ensign... [symbolizing allegiance].[40]

Such a statement raises multiple interesting issues regarding the instructor's philosophy. It is clear that he rejects the notion of unidirectional respect or obeisance between individuals—a notion which at first

seems Eastern, but could easily be associated with traditional Western philosophy if hierarchy were replaced or supplemented by meritocracy. In addition, his stance reflects a strong aversion to showing allegiance to another nation or body—particularly understandable in light of his time with the Marines,[41] but nevertheless suggesting a fundamental asymmetry: most likely a Korean martial arts practitioner of a similar mentality would also object to showing obeisance to an American flag if he or she were training, for instance, in a hypothetical Western boxing dojang. This asymmetry seems to indicate an important beneficial aspect of at least some limited Westernization of martial arts philosophy: its inclusiveness. Given that the martial arts are to spread, putatively Western notions such as egalitarianism and openness play an important role in enhancing and facilitating this spread.

Finally, it is useful to examine the Western aspects of the way of life—the -do of Jeet Kune Do—that Bruce Lee has developed, as he is a canonical example of a practitioner who seems to span both hemispheres. Indeed, his extreme focus on self-cultivation strongly suggests an Eastern outlook. However, after his trip to Hong Kong in 1961 and his alarmingly poor showing at the hands of the Wing Chun masters there, Lee took a remarkable, defining, individualistic, Western action—in the words of a friend:

> [Lee] decided he would create a system that worked better for Bruce Lee than for anyone else in the world—a system designed for a man of his size, his speed, his brains, and his aggressiveness.[42]

Thus, it is evident that the philosophies—the ways of life—annexed to martial arts by each of the above instructors have components that are strongly Western in nature, each in different ways. To the extent that the individual philosophies of these practitioners—and millions like them—reflect views one can deem collectively as Western, the underlying philosophies of martial arts have indeed been Westernized, though it is difficult, except in some limited cases, to assess the impact of this development in a normative fashion without passing judgment on the aggregate of these millions of individual philosophies.

Conclusion

In summary, the modernization and Westernization of the classical Asian martial arts—as well as contemporary criticism of them—can be decomposed into at least three primary components: the evolving style of martial arts techniques, as they modernize to accommodate changing circumstances; the Westernizing influence of commoditization on the martial arts, preserving the -jutsu aspects and leaving the -do; and the substitution of Western philosophies for Eastern ones in accompanying the technical teachings. The first of these phenomena, while true—and accelerated in the presence of a vast, connected population of “civil” martial artists—is in most cases beneficial to the arts in question. The second is of uncertain factual status, and to the extent that it holds, is due in no small part to increased globalization and social connectivity reaching more casual practitioners than in the past, and may have beneficial effects as well.

Finally, the third aspect is perhaps the most interesting, as its normative value depends on deep philosophical questions, and it clearly has a widespread and profound impact. Martial arts, when practiced with intent, are sufficiently transformative of the individual that they cannot remain isolated from the individual's way of life; either as a means or as an end, they must figure in -do as well as -jutsu, and the myriad ways in which this occurs often give us a fascinating window onto our own culture and values as well as those of our predecessors.

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Endnotes

[1] Aalfs, In Wiley, p. 17

[2] Draeger, in Morgan, p. 7

[3] Lowry, in Orlando, p. 35

[4] Breen, in Orlando, p. 36

[5] Morgan, p. 7

[6] Morgan, p. 52

[7] Orlando, p. 14

[8] Orlando, p. 65

[9] Orlando, p. 69

[10] Orlando, p. 70

[11] Morgan, p. 83

[12] Messina, in Wiley, p. 132

[13] Kennedy, in Wiley, p. 133

[14] Kennedy, in Wiley, p. 134

[15] Kennedy, in Wiley, p. 135

[16] Kennedy, in Wiley, p. 135

[17] Svinth, in Green and Svinth, p. 47

[18] Svinth, in Green and Svinth, p. 52
[19] Svinth, in Green and Svinth, p. 56–59
[20] Svinth, in Green and Svinth, p. 267–268
[21] Svinth, in Green and Svinth, p. 56
[22] Svinth, in Green and Svinth, p. 38
[23] Orlando, p. xix
[24] Orlando, p. 96
[25] Orlando, p. 97
[26] Lee, in Morgan, p. 33
[27] Morgan, p. 9
[28] Henning, in Green and Svinth, p. 22
[29] Henning, in Green and Svinth, p. 32
[30] Nakano, in Wiley, p. 56
[31] Green, in Green and Svinth, p. 8
[32] Morgan, p. 224
[33] Garrison, in Wiley, p. 3
[34] Morgan, p. 28
[35] Dwyer, in Wiley, p. 47
[36] Henning, in Green and Svinth, p. 28
[37] Green, in Green and Svinth, p. 9
[38] Aalfs, In Wiley, p. 13
[39] Aalfs, In Wiley, p. 14
[40] Orlando, p. 54
[41] Orlando, back cover
[42] Halpin, in Green and Svinth, p. 124