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FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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CONSONANTS IN JAPANESE CASUAL SPEECH

Andrei A. AVRAM¹

Abstract: *The present paper is an overview of the most frequent phonological processes affecting consonants in Japanese casual speech, understood in a wider sense, i.e. as also covering fast speech and careless speech. The issues covered are the moraification of /n/, the so-called “underpronunciation of labials”, the contracted forms of -te shimau and -te shimatta, the contracted variants of the potential form of verbs, the contracted forms of the non-past and of the potential + koto wa nai, other frequently occurring contracted forms, the phonetic realizations of a number of selected consonants, sequences including consonants. Also discussed are some of the implications of the findings.*

Keywords: casual speech, phonology, contracted forms, phonetic realizations, sequences

1. Introduction

Defining Japanese casual speech is no easy task. According to Zwicky (1972: 607), casual speech is “in general, fast and stylistically marked as informal and the like”. Hasegawa (1979), however, makes a distinction between Japanese casual and fast speech. This distinction is questioned by Kawai (2004: 1), who states that it is not necessarily the case that “a faster speech rate is one of the attributes of casual speech”. Moreover, according to Kawai (2004: 2), “casual Japanese speech displays *vulgarisms*”. It follows, then, it is not always feasible to distinguish between casual, fast and careless speech. Therefore, no attempt is made in the present paper at operating such a distinction and the term “casual speech” will be used. Section 4 analyzes the contracted forms of -te shimau and -te shimatta. Section 5 focuses on the contracted variants of the potential form of verbs. Section 6 deals with the contracted forms of the non-past and the potential + koto wa nai. Sed as an umbrella term, covering fast speech and careless speech as well.

Casual Japanese speech, in the intended sense here, is characterized by a variety of phenomena, involving both vowels² and consonants. The present paper is an overview of the most frequently attested phonological processes affecting consonants. The theoretical model adopted is that of rule-based generative phonology.

¹ University of Bucharest, Department of English.

² Discussed by e.g. Avram (2016).

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 is concerned with the moraification of /n/. Section 3 looks at the so-called “underpronunciation of labials”. Section 4 analyzes the contracted forms of *-te shimau* and *-te shimatta*. Section 5 focuses on the contracted variants of the potential form of verbs. Section 6 deals with the contracted forms of the non-past and the potential + *koto wa nai*. Section 7 is an overview of other contracted forms. Section 8 illustrates some of the phonetic realizations of a number of selected consonants. Section 9 examines sequences including consonants. Section 10 briefly discusses the findings and some of their implications.

2. Moraification of /n/

In the case of some functional words which contain the nasal alveolar stop /n/, the preceding or following vowel is deleted. This, in turn, triggers transformation of the /n/ into a moraic consonant. Tsujimura (1996: 101) calls this phenomenon “nasal syllabification”, an inappropriate term. Therefore, in this section the term “moraification of /n/” is used³.

One word in which moraification of /n/ occurs is *mono*, especially before the copula *da*.

- (1) /boku/ + /no/ + /mono/ + /da/ ‘this is my thing’
 bokunomonda *o* → ∅ (deletion of *o*)
 [bokunomonda]

Another functional word is the nominalizer *no*.

- (2) a. /kuruu/ + /no/ + /nara/ ‘if he were to come’
 kurunnara *o* → ∅ (deletion of *o*)
 [kurunnara]
 b. /taro:/ + /ga/ + /kita/ + /no/ + /da/ ‘that Tarō has come’
 taro:gakitanda *o* → ∅ (deletion of *o*)
 [taro:gakitanda]

Moraification can also affect the /n/ in the genitive case marker *no*:

- (3) /boku/+ /no/ + /da/ ‘it is mine’
 bokunda *o* → ∅ (deletion of *o*)
 [bokunda]

Moraification of the /n/ in the genitive case marker *no* can interact with the deletion of the vowel in the following word:

- (4) /kimi/ + /no/ + /uti/ ‘your house’
 kiminoti *u* → ∅ (deletion of *u*)

³ As in Avram (2005a: 299).

kiminti	$o \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of o)
kimintʃi	$t \rightarrow tʃ$ (affricate formation)
[kimintʃi]	

In (4) deletion of /w/ precedes that of /o/ since in Japanese, if /o/ and /w/ are adjacent, it is the latter which can be deleted⁴. Note that there are exceptions with the genitive case marker *no*. One such example is mentioned by Tsujimura (1996: 102):

(5) /kimi/ + /no/ + /namae/ → *[kiminnamae] ‘your name’

As can be seen, even though the structure *no namae* is similar to *no uchi* in (4), nasal moraification does not take place.

Yet another word in which moraification of /n/ can occur is the postposition *ni*, as illustrated by the following example:

(6) /ija/ + /ni/ + /naruw/ ‘hate doing something’
 ijannaru $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of i)
 [ijannaru]

Moraification of /n/ also occurs in the non-past form and the imperative form with *nasai* of a verb whose root ends in /r/ (Shibatani 1990: 176, Inoue 1998: 62–66, Kawai 2003: 82, Ichimura 2001, Kawai 2004: 89, Ichimura 2006: 38–55) as well as in the casual interrogative particle *no* (Kawai 2003: 82). For such cases, Kawai (2003: 82) employs the term “nasalization of flaps”, considering them as instances of the tendency towards avoiding r in casual speech⁵, while Ichimura (2001, 2006) uses the term “nasal assimilation”⁶.

Consider first moraification of /n/ in the non-past form verbs whose root ending in /r/. As shown in (7), the vowel /a/, which precedes the negative suffix *-na*, is deleted and /r/ undergoes total regressive assimilation by the /n/ in the suffix:

(7) a. /ɯakar + a + na + i/ ‘don’t/doesn’t understand’
 ɯakarnai $a \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of a)
 ɯakannai $r \rightarrow n$ (total regressive assimilation of r)
 [ʃinnai]

b. /kur + e + na + i/ ‘don’t give [me]’
 kurnai $e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of e)
 kunnai $r \rightarrow n$ (total regressive assimilation of r)
 [kunnai]

⁴ See Avram (2005a: 300 and 314). This is an effect of the sonority hierarchy of vowels in Japanese (Avram 2005b).

⁵ Cf. example (2) above.

⁶ The term is somewhat inappropriate since, as shown by Ichimura (2006: 41) himself, “nasal assimilation only occurs to the combination of r and n ”.

- c. /tar + i + na + i/ ‘doesn’t suffice’
 tarnai $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *i*)
 tannai $r \rightarrow n$ (total regressive assimilation of *r*)
 [tannai]

The frequency of the phonetic realizations of /-r + a + na + i/ in three different speech styles⁷ is set out in Table 1 (from Kawai 2003: 82):

Table 1. Phonetic realizations of /-r + a + na + i/ in different speech styles

/-r + a + na + i/	Formal	Semi-formal	Casual	Total
[ranai]	2 (67 %)	10 (42 %)	4 (17 %)	16 (31 %)
[nnai]	1 (33 %)	14 (58 %)	20 (83 %)	35 (69 %)
Total	3 (100 %)	24 (100 %)	24 (100 %)	51 (100 %)

However, as shown by Ichimura (2001, 2006) not all possible target verbs undergo this sort of contraction. Ichimura (2006: 21), for instance, shows that “when nasal assimilation in /...r-anai/ and /...re-nai/ (or /ri-nai) potentially creates homophony, nasal assimilation occurs in /...r-anai/” whereas “the nasal assimilation of /re-nai/ (or /...rinai/) is blocked”. Consider the examples below (from Ichimura 2006: 17):

- (8) a. /nar + a + na + i/ → [nannai] ‘don’t/doesn’t become’
 b. /nare + na + i/ → *[nannai] ‘don’t/doesn’t get used to’

Note that this “phonological blocking” (Ichimura 2001) or “anti-homophony blocking” (Ichimura 2006) is not the whole story, though. Ichimura (2006: 44) writes that it would appear that “some /r-anai/ verbs are less susceptible to nasal assimilation”:

- (9) /ser + a + na + i/ → *[sennai] ‘don’t/doesn’t bid’

Also, according to Ichimura (2006: 45), “it is not always the case that /re-nai/ words which do not have a /r-anai/ counterpart undergo nasal assimilation”. Reproduced below are two such examples from Ichimura (2006: 45):

- (10) a. /osore + na + i/ → *osonnai ‘don’t/doesn’t fear’
 b. /sugure + na + i/ → *[sugunnai] ‘don’t/doesn’t excel’

Consider next the imperative forms constructed with *na* and *nasai*. As seen in (11), the vowel /i/ is first deleted and /r/ then undergoes total regressive assimilation by word-initial /n/ in *na* and *nasai*:

- (11) a. /jar + i/ + /na/ ‘do [it]!’
 jarna $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *i*)
 janna $r \rightarrow n$ (total regressive assimilation of *r*)
 [janna]
 b. /jar + i/ + /nasai/ ‘do [it]!’

⁷ In a corpus collected in 1993–1994 (Kawai 2003: 75).

jarnasai	$i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of i)
jannasai	$r \rightarrow n$ (total regressive assimilation of r)
[jannasai]	

Consider next the casual interrogative particle *no*. In this case, total regressive assimilation of root-final / r / by word-initial / n / in the particle is preceded by deletion of suffix-final *-u*:

(12) /kaer + u / + /no/	‘are [you] coming back?’
kaerno	$u \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of u)
kaenno	$r \rightarrow n$ (total regressive assimilation of r)
[kaenno]	

The linking particle *na* can also trigger total regressive assimilation of / r /, which thereby leads to the moraification of / n / . Here again total regressive assimilation of / r / is preceded by vowel deletion:

(13) /iro + iro/ + /na/	‘varied’
iroirna	$o \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of o)
iroinna	$r \rightarrow n$ (total assimilation of r)
ironna	$i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of i)
[ironna]	

Summing up, moraification of / n / is a relatively frequent process, which occurs in a wide range of phonological contexts. Moreover, moraification of / n / is lexically and morphologically conditioned and it can cut across both morphemic and word boundaries.

3. Underpronunciation of labials

In contracted forms there is a tendency towards not pronouncing labial consonants, referred to as “casual speech labial deletion” (Poser 1988: 497), “underpronunciation of labials” by Kawai (2003: 74, 2004: 71–105) and “labial contraction” by Ichimura (2006: 56). As seen in what follows, the process is both lexically and morphologically conditioned.

An example of underpronunciation of labials is the extremely frequent contracted form [suimasen]:

(14) /sumimasen/	‘excuse [me]’
suimasen	$m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
[suimasen]	

Underpronunciation of labials applies very frequently in contracted forms, when the topic particle *wa* is preceded by words ending in a CORONAL vowel⁸. When such words are followed by the topic particle *wa*, the sequence C_1VC_2a , where V is [CORONAL] and C_2 is [LABIAL], is contracted to $C_1ja(:)$. There is also optional compensatory lengthening of

⁸ Despite their frequency, such contracted forms are, rather surprisingly, not mentioned at all by Tsujimura (2014).

the vowel /a:/ (Shibatani 1990: 176, Kawai 2003: 94, n. 30, 2004: 75). The process was discussed by Miyara (1980), Fukui (1986: 361), Poser (1986: 184), Vance (1987: 31), Shibatani (1990: 176), Avram (1993: 197), Kawai (2003: 75–76, 2004: 75–77). The analysis below is along the lines of Fukui (1986) and Poser (1986), contra Miyara (1980). It differs, but not essentially, by the analyses by Shibatani (1990: 176) and Avram (1993: 197), who both assume epenthesis of the glide [j], rather than a glide formation rule. The relevant rules can be formulated as follows:

- (15) a. $C_1V_{[\text{coronal}]} \rightarrow [j] / C_1_a$ (glide formation)
 b. $/a/ \rightarrow [a:] / C_1j_$ (optional)

This type of contraction occurs with nouns as well as with personal and demonstrative pronouns. The derivation in (16) illustrates its operation with nouns + *wa*:

- (16) /tori/ + /ɯa/ ‘bird TOPIC’
 toria $ɯ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 torja $i \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 torja: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [torja:]

The following is an example of underpronunciation of labials with the personal pronoun *watashi* + *wa*:

- (17) /ɯatasi/ + /ɯa/ ‘I TOPIC’
 ɯatasia $ɯ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 ɯatasja $i \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 ɯatasja: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [ɯataja:]

Finally, (18) shows that underpronunciation of labials is also attested with demonstrative pronouns + *wa*:

- (18) /kore/ + /ɯa/ ‘this TOPIC’
 korea $ɯ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 korja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 korja: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [korja:]

The same process also occurs with the *-ba* conditional form of verbs. Consider the following derivation of the conditional form of a verb with a root-final consonant:

- (19) /ik + e + ba/ ‘go CONDITIONAL’
 ikea $b \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 ikja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 ikja: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [ikja:]

With the negative conditional of a verb as well as of an adjectival root there are two variants of the form /-kereba/. One such variant is [-kerja]:

- (20) /-na + kereba/ ‘NEGATIVE CONDITIONAL’
 nakerea $b \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 nakerja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 nakerja: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [-nakerja:]

The second variant is [-kja]. As seen in (21), its derivation is slightly more complex, involving two additional rules:

- (21) /-na + kereba/ ‘NEGATIVE CONDITIONAL’
 nakerea $b \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 nakerja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 nakeja $r \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of r)
 nakja $e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of e)
 nakja: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [-nakja:]

The frequencies of the two variants of the negative conditional form in three speech styles are shown in Table 2 (from Kawai 2003: 88):

Table 2. Phonetic realizations of /-nakereba/ in three speech styles

/-na + kereba/	Formal	Semi-formal	Casual	Total
[nakereba]	19 (39 %)	7 (23 %)	0 (0 %)	26 (24 %)
[nakerja]	8 (17 %)	1 (3 %)	0 (0 %)	9 (9 %)
[nakja]	21 (44 %)	22 (74 %)	29 (100 %)	71 (67 %)
Total	48 (100 %)	39 (100 %)	29 (100 %)	100 (100 %)

As can be seen, [nakja], the most contracted form, is prevalent in formal and semi-formal speech and it is the only one occurring in casual speech.

The contracted variants of the *-te* form of verbs followed by *wa* are yet another manifestation of the phenomenon of underpronunciation of labials:

- (22) /mi + te/ + /uʔa/ ‘see TOPIC’
 mitea $uʔ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 mitja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 mitʃa $t \rightarrow tʃ$ (affricate formation)
 mitʃa: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [mitʃa:]
- (23) /non + te/ + /uʔa/ ‘drink TOPIC’
 nondeuʔa $t \rightarrow d$ (post-nasal voicing)
 nondea $uʔ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 nondja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 nondʒa $d \rightarrow dʒ$ (affricate formation)
 nondʒa: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [nondʒa:]

The frequencies of the phonetic realizations of /-te/ + /ɯa/ in formal, semi-formal and casual speech are shown in Table 3 (from Kawai 2003: 75):

Table 3. Phonetic realizations of /-te/ + /ɯa/ in three speech styles

/-te/ + /ɯa/	Formal	Semi-formal	Casual	Total
[teɯa] / [deɯa]	4 (40 %)	2 (29 %)	0 (0 %)	6 (9 %)
[tʃa] / [dʒa]	6 (60 %)	5 (71 %)	47 (100 %)	58 (91 %)
Total	10 (100 %)	7 (100 %)	47 (100 %)	64 (100 %)

Consider also copula *de* followed by *wa* and the negative suffix *-na*:

(24)	/de/ + /wa/ + /na + i/	‘be TOPIC’
	deanai	<i>ɯɿ</i> → ∅ (LABIAL deletion)
	djanai	<i>e</i> → <i>j</i> (glide formation)
	dʒanai	<i>d</i> → <i>dʒ</i> (affricate formation) ⁹
	dʒa:nai	<i>a</i> → <i>a:</i> (compensatory lengthening)
	[dʒa:nai]	

As shown in Table 4 (from Kawai 2003: 75), the contracted form is virtually the only one attested in casual speech:

Table 4. Phonetic realizations of /de/ + /wa/ + /na + i/ in three speech style

/de/ + /wa/ + /na + i/	Formal	Semi-formal	Casual	Total
[deɯanai]	21 (28 %)	7 (7 %)	1 (1 %)	29 (8 %)
[dʒanai]	54 (72 %)	93 (93 %)	172 (99 %)	319 (92 %)
Total	75 (100 %)	100 (100 %)	173 (100 %)	348 (100 %)

The conjunction *de* followed by *wa* is yet another instance of underpronunciation of labials:

(25)	/de/ + /wa/	‘so TOPIC’
	dea	<i>ɯɿ</i> → ∅ (LABIAL deletion)
	dja	<i>e</i> → <i>j</i> (glide formation)
	dʒa	<i>d</i> → <i>dʒ</i> (affricate formation)
	dʒa:	<i>a</i> → <i>a:</i> (compensatory lengthening)
	[dʒa:]	

As can be seen in Table 4 (from Kawai 2003: 75), the contracted form is also extremely frequently attested in casual Japanese:

⁹ Kawai (2004: 75) uses the term *assibilation*.

Table 4. Phonetic realizations of /de/ + /ɯa/ in three speech styles

/de + ɯa/	Formal	Semi-formal	Casual	Total
[deɯa]	9 (69 %)	5 (21 %)	3 (8 %)	17 (23 %)
[dʒa]	4 (31 %)	19 (79 %)	34 (92 %)	57 (77 %)
Total	13 (100 %)	24 (100 %)	37 (100 %)	74 (100 %)

A few remarks are in order at this point regarding two of the rules assumed (see 17b and 17c respectively), namely, glide formation and compensatory lengthening. The glide-formation rule does not operate with nouns or pronouns ending in the vowels /o/ or /u/. Consider first in (26)–(27) examples of nouns ending in /o/ or /u/, followed by *wa*:

- (26) /koto/ + /ɯa/ ‘thing TOPIC’
 kotoa *ɯ* → ∅ (LABIAL deletion)
 kota *o* → ∅ (deletion of *o*)
 kota: *a* → *a*: (compensatory lengthening)
 [kota:]
- (27) /boku/ + /ɯa/ ‘I TOPIC’
 bokua *ɯ* → ∅ (LABIAL deletion)
 boka *u* → ∅ (deletion of *u*)
 boka: *a* → *a*: (compensatory lengthening)
 [boka:]

In the next example, it is a demonstrative pronoun ending in /u/ that is followed by the topic particle *wa*:

- (28) /koitu/ + /ɯa/ ‘this TOPIC’
 koitsuɯa *t* → *ɬ* (affricate formation)
 koitsuɯa *ɯ* → ∅ (LABIAL deletion)
 koitsa *u* → ∅ (deletion of *u*)
 koitsa: *a* → *a*: (compensatory lengthening)
 [koitsa:]

It is worth mentioning that (28) contains the affricate [ts] surfacing before the vowel [a], a phonological context in which it cannot occur in the native lexical stratum of Standard Japanese¹⁰.

As for compensatory lengthening, the application of the rule is optional in all the forms analyzed so far¹¹. That this indeed the case is shown by an example such as *Boka shiranai* ‘I don’t know’ (Shibatani 1990: 176). The derivation of the surface form [boka] is given below:

¹⁰ As noted by Shibatani (1990: 164), this is one of the forms which are “analyzable as being derived from combinations of other sounds”. The affricate [ts] is considered by many to be an allophone of /t/ (see also Avram 2005a: 35–38, Tsujimura 2014: 49). However, Vance (2008: 82–84) argues in favour of recognizing a phoneme /ts/. See also Avram (2005a: 56–59).

¹¹ If it applies, compensatory lengthening preserves the moraic structure, i.e. the original and the contracted forms have the same number of moras.

- (29) /boku/ + /ɯa/ ‘I TOPIC’
 bokua $ɯ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 boka $u \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion u)
 [boka]

Consider also *Yomya ii n darō* ‘if (I) read, it’d be OK, right’ (Shibatani 1990: 176), in which [jomja], the contracted form of the conditional form *yomeba*, does not exhibit compensatory lengthening:

- (30) /jome + ba/ ‘read CONDITIONAL’
 jomea $b \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 jomja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 [jomja]

However, compensatory lengthening never occurs with nouns ending in the vowel /a/. In such cases, surface [a:] is not the outcome of compensatory lengthening, but rather the phonetic realization of the sequence made up of the word-final /a/ in the noun and the /a/ in the topic particle *wa*. This is shown in the following derivation:

- (31) /hana/ + /ɯa/ ‘flower TOPIC’
 hanaa $ɯ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 [hana:]

4. Contracted variants of *-te shimau* and *-te shimatta*

The *-te* form of verbs followed by the verb *shimau* ‘to finish (doing)’ can also undergo contraction (Kawai 2003: 75–76, 2004: 77–84), as shown in the following examples:

- (32) /tabe + te/ + /simau + u/ ‘eat up’
 tabetsimauɯ $e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of e)
 tabetimauɯ $s \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of s)
 tabetʃimauɯ $t \rightarrow tʃ$ (affricate formation)
 tabeɽimauɯ $m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 tabeɽauɯ $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of i)
 tabetʃau $ɯ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 [tabetʃau]
- (33) /non + te/ + /simau + u/ ‘drink up’
 nondesimauɯ $t \rightarrow d$ (post-nasal voicing)
 nondsimauɯ $e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of e)
 nondimauɯ $s \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of s)
 nondʒimauɯ $d \rightarrow dʒ$ (affricate formation)
 nondʒimauɯ $m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 nondʒimauɯ $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of i)
 nondʒau $ɯ \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 [nondʒau]

For contraction to take place, two conditions must be met: [-te] or [-de] are allomorphs of *-te*; the following verb is *shimau*. Failure to comply with either of these conditions yields incorrect surface forms. In (34), for instance, *de* is a postposition, instead of one of the allomorphs of *-te*:

(34) /kore/ + /de/ + /simau + u/ → *[koredzau] ‘I’ll finish right away’

As for (35), the verb after *-te* is *shiru* ‘to know’, instead of *shimau*:

(35) /mi + te/ + /sir + u/ → *[mitʃu] ‘know by seeing’

As for its frequency of use, the contracted forms predominate across speech style. Consider the data in Table 5 (from Kawai 2003: 76):

Table 5. Phonetic realizations of *-te shimau* in three speech styles

/te/ + /simau + u/	Formal	Semi-formal	Casual	Total
[teʃimau] / [deʃimau]	8 (41 %)	20 (24 %)	8 (5 %)	36 (14 %)
[tʃau] / [dʒau]	10 (56 %)	62 (76 %)	151 (95 %)	223 (86 %)
Total	18 (100 %)	82 (100 %)	159 (100 %)	259 (100 %)

Contraction frequently occurs with *-te* followed by the past form *shimatta* as well (Shibatani 1990: 177, Ichimura 2006: 62). There are several variants. Examples (36) and (37) illustrate the most frequently attested type:

(36) /mi + te/ + /simau + ta/ ‘saw’
mitsimauʃta $e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *e*)
mitimauʃta $s \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *s*)
mitʃimauʃta $t \rightarrow tʃ$ (affricate formation)
mitʃimatta $u \rightarrow t$ (total assimilation of *u*)
mitʃiatta $m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
mitʃatta $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *i*)
[mitʃatta]

(37) /jon + te/ + /simau + ta/ ‘read’
jondesimauʃta $t \rightarrow d$ (post-nasal voicing)
jondsimauʃta $e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *e*)
jondimauʃta $s \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *s*)
jondʒimauʃta $d \rightarrow dʒ$ (affricate formation)
jondʒimatta $u \rightarrow t$ (total assimilation of *u*)
jondʒiatta $m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
jondʒatta $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *i*)
[jondʒatta]

Shibatani (1990: 177) notes that there still exist intermediate forms, less contracted, e.g. [mitʃimatta] and [jondʒimatta]. These appear to be earlier contracted forms, whereas the variants such as those in (36) and

(37) above are now preferred by speakers (Shibatani 1990: 177). An apparent time study carried out in 1981 (Inoue 1998: 56) showed that the latter was used by some 45% of speakers in the 65–69 age group and by over 70% of those in the 15–19 age group.

There is also a more recent contracted variant of *-te* followed by *shimatta* (Inoue 1998: 52–62). This variant¹² is illustrated in the derivation below:

(38)	/mite/ + /simau + ta/	‘saw’
	mitsimauṭa	$e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>e</i>)
	mitimauṭa	$s \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>s</i>)
	mitʃimauṭa	$t \rightarrow tʃ$ (affricate formation)
	mitʃimatta	$uɪ \rightarrow t$ (total assimilation of <i>uɪ</i>)
	mitʃiatta	$m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
	mitʃitta	$a \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>a</i>)
	[mitʃitta]	

As reported by Inoue (1998: 53), an apparent time study in 1983 showed that, while speakers born in the interval 1900–1926 do not use this form at all, it occurs with between 30 and 40% of those born after 1965 use it.

5. Contracted variants of the potential form of verbs

A phenomenon specific to casual Japanese is the occurrence of variants such as *mireru* ‘can see’ and *tabereru* ‘can eat’ instead of the standard forms of the so-called potential, *mirareru* and *taberareru*. The phenomenon is known in the Japanese literature under the name *ra-nuki kotoba* ‘words from which *ra* was taken’.

Both Matsuda (1993) and Kawai (2003: 1981) claim that the contracted forms at issue only occur with verbs with mono- or bimoraic roots. According to Matsuda (1993), 40% percent of verbs with a monomoraic root and a little more than 15% of those with a bimoraic root have contracted variants, whereas no verb with a tri- or qudrimoraic root has such variants. Also, Kawai (2003: 81) analyzes these contracted forms as instances of “haplology and avoidance of *r*” (see also Kawai 2004: 84–89). On these views, then, only phonological factors are involved. However, a number of objections can be levelled at such purely phonological accounts. First, there is at least one verb with a trimoraic root, *kangaeru* ‘to think’, which does have with some speakers a contracted variant *kangaereru* ‘can think’, instead of *kangaerareru* (Jinnouchi 1998: 22). Second, as shown by Inoue (1998: 12) and Jinnouchi (1998: 22), another factor is avoiding the homophony in

¹² Not discussed in Shibatani (1990) and Ichimura (2006).

Standard Japanese of the potential and the passive forms of verbs with a vowel-final root, illustrated in the second and third rows of Table 6. Inoue (1998: 12) and Jinnouchi (1998: 22) further point to another factor: analogy with the forms of the potential of verbs with a consonant-final root in *-r*. Deletion of the sequence *-ra-* makes verbs with a vowel-final root align with verbs with a consonant-final root, as seen in the last row of Table 6.

Table 6. Standard and contracted potential forms

Form	Vowel-final root	Consonant-final root
Non-past	<i>mi-ru</i>	<i>tor-u</i>
Passive	<i>mi-rare-ru</i>	<i>tor-are-ru</i>
Potential	<i>mi-rare-ru</i>	<i>tor-e-ru</i>
Contracted potential	<i>mir-e-ru</i>	–

Also, it is interesting to note that the passive forms of verbs with a vowel-final root, identical in Standard Japanese to those of the potential, never undergo contraction. Therefore, with speakers who use contracted forms of the potential, the underlying representations of the potential morpheme are different: /*re*/ for verbs with a mono- or bimoraic root (39a, b), but /*rare*/ for verbs with a root of more than two moras (39a', b'). The latter are identical to the underlying representation of the passive morpheme (40):

- (39) Root $\leq \mu\mu$:
- a. /mi + re + ru/ → [mireru] ‘see POTENTIAL’
 - b. /ta.be + re + ru/ → [tabereru] ‘eat POTENTIAL’
- Compare with
- a'. /mi + rare + ru/ → [mirareru] ‘see PASSIVE’
 - b'. /ta.be + rare + ru/ → [taberareru] ‘eat PASSIVE’
- (40) Root $> \mu\mu$:
- /*uqa.su.re* + rare + ru/ → [uqasurerareru] ‘forget POTENTIAL/PASSIVE’
 - /*ka.N.ga.e* + rare + ru/ → [kangaerareru] ‘think POTENTIAL/PASSIVE’

Finally, it should be mentioned that the frequency of use of the contracted forms of the potential correlates with age, on the one hand, and with particular verbs, on the other. Consider in Table 7 (adapted from Jinnouchi 1998: 22), the results of an apparent time study of frequency of the contracted potential forms of four verbs, *kuru* ‘to go’, *miru* ‘to see’, *taberu* ‘to eat’, and *kangaeru* ‘to think’ across five age groups:

Table 7. Frequency of contracted forms of the potential per age group

Contracted form	Age group					
	51–60	41–50	31–40	21–30	11–20	up to 10
<i>koreru</i>	34 %	39 %	37 %	47 %	43 %	62 %
<i>mireru</i>	22 %	29 %	38 %	42 %	58 %	77
<i>tabereru</i>	29 %	31 %	32 %	33 %	35 %	54 %
<i>kanqaereru</i>	12 %	10 %	11 %	10 %	11 %	14 %

6. Contracted variants of the non-past and of the potential forms + *koto wa nai*

Hasegawa (1979: 130), a.o., also mentions the occurrence of contracted variants of the non-past form of verbs followed by *koto wa nai* ‘there is no way’. As can be see from the examples below, contraction can apply to both verbs with a vowel-final root (41a) and to those with a consonant-final root (41b):

- (41) a. /mi-ru/ + /koto/ + /ɥa/ + /na+ i/ → [mikkonai] ‘there is no way that s.o. will see’
 b. /jar-u/ + /koto/ + /ɥa/ + /na+ i/ → [jarikkonai] ‘there is no way that s.o. will do’

Contraction may also occur with the non-past potential form of verbs. Consider, for instance, the contracted form of *kakeru* ‘write POTENTIAL’ and *koto wa nai*:

- (42) /kak + e + ru/ + /koto/ + /ɥa/ + /na+ i/ → [kakekkonai] ‘there is no way s.o. can write’

This type of contraction does not apply to the past forms of verbs, in which case it would yield ill-formed variants:

- (43) /mi + ta/ + /koto/ + /ɥa/ + /na+ i/ → *[mitakkonai]

7. Other contracted forms

A number of high-frequency words have contracted variants. Shibatani (1990: 164) mentions, for instance, that *ototo-san* ‘father’ and *gochisō* ‘tasty food’ undergo contraction to [ototsaN] and respectively [gottso:]. The corresponding derivations are given in (44) and (45):

- (44) /go/ + /tiso:/ ‘good food’
 gotso: $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *i*)
 gotso: $t + s \rightarrow \text{ʈ}$ (affricate formation)
 gottso: $\text{ʈ} \rightarrow t\text{ʈ}$ (lengthening of closure of ʈ)¹³
 [gottso:]
- (45) /ototo/ + /saN/ ‘father’
 ototsaN $o \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *o*)

¹³ According to Shibatani (1990: 164), “the elision of the /i/ between /t/ and /s/” is compensated for “by lengthening the closure of /ʈ/”.

ototsan	$t + s \rightarrow ts$ (affricate formation)
otottsan	$ts \rightarrow tts$ (lengthening of closure of ts) ¹⁴
[otottsan]	

Note that deletion of underlying /i/ leads to the occurrence of [ts] before the dorsal vowels [a] and [o], a phonological environment in which it is disallowed in Standard Japanese¹⁵.

Another frequently contracted variant is [toko], from /tokoro/ ‘place’. According to Kawai (2003: 80), this form also attests to the tendency of avoiding *r* in casual speech. The derivation of the contracted variant is as follows:

(46)	/tokoro/	‘place’
	tokoo	$r \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>r</i>)
	toko	$o \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>o</i>)
	[toko]	

A most interesting case is that of *keredomo* ‘but’, which has three contracted variants: [keredo], [kedomo], and [kedo]. The derivations of these forms are given in (47) below:

(47) a.	/keredomo/	‘but’
	keredoo	$m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
	keredo	$o \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>o</i>)
	[keredo]	
b.	/keredomo/	‘but’
	keredoo	$m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
	keredo	$o \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>o</i>)
	keedo	$r \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>r</i>)
	kedo	$e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>e</i>)
	[kedomo]	
c.	/keredomo/	‘but’
	keredoo	$m \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
	keredo	$o \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>o</i>)
	keedo	$r \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>r</i>)
	kedo	$e \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of <i>e</i>)
	[kedo]	

The relative frequencies of the four phonetic realizations of /keredomo/ are set out in Table 8 (from Kawai 2003: 85)

¹⁴ Lengthening of the closure of /ts/ compensates for the deletion of /o/. See also n. 12.

¹⁵ See Shibatani (1990: 164), Avram (2005a: 38).

Table 8. Phonetic realizations of /keredomo/ in four speech styles

/keredomo/	Formal	Semi-casual	Casual	Total
[keredomo]	100 (52 %)	90 (29 %)	10 (8 %)	200 (32%)
[keredo]	14 (7 %)	28 (9 %)	3 (2 %)	45 (7%)
[kedomo]	48 (25 %)	77 (25 %)	8 (7 %)	133 (21%)
[kedo]	30 (16 %)	116 (37 %)	100 (83 %)	246 (40%)
Total	192 (100 %)	311 (100 %)	121 (100 %)	624 (100%)

8. Phonetic realizations of consonants

A number of consonant phonemes may have, in particular phonological contexts, phonetic realizations which occur only in casual speech.

As shown by Imada (1981: 55), the voiced bilabial stop /b/ may be realized phonetically in inter-vocalic position as the voiced bilabial fricative [β]. The relevant phonological rule is formulated in (48) and an illustrative example is provided in (49)

(48) /b/ → [+continuant] / V__V

(49) /abunai/ 'dangerous'
 aβunai *b* → β (weakening of *b*)
 [aβunai]

The voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/ may be voiced to [ɦ] in intervocalic position (Imada 1981: 54):

(50) /h/ → [+voice] / V__V

Consider the derivation below:

(51) /haha/ 'mother'
 haɦa *h* → ɦ (voicing of *h*)
 [haɦa]

There are several phonetic realizations of the phoneme /N/ in casual speech (Imada 1981: 69–70, Vance 1987: 36–37, Shibatani 1990: 169, Vance 2008: 99). The most frequent ones are illustrated in what follows.

The examples given by Imada (1981: 69) show that word-final /N/ can be phonetically realized in compounds as a nasalized copy of the following vowel:

(52) /reN/ + /ai/ → [reãai] 'love' Imada (1981: 69)

However, according to Shibatani (1990: 169), word-final /N/ can also be phonetically realized as "a nasalized version of the preceding vowel". Consider the example below:

(53) /hoN/ → [hoõ] 'carte'

Shibatani (1990: 169) further writes that the same phonetic realization is attested before a vowel, as in the following example:

(54) /iNo:go/ → [iĩo:go] 'Indo-European language'

In light of examples (52)–(54), the rule accounting for the phonetic realization of /N/ as a nasalized vowel can be formulated, rather informally, as follows:

$$(55) \quad /N/ \rightarrow \tilde{v} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V_ \# \\ V_1_ V \\ V_ V_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

where \tilde{v} is the nasalized copy of either the preceding vowel V_1 or of the following one V_2 .

Imada (1981: 69), Shibatani (1990: 169) and Vance (2008: 99) also mention the fact that, when /N/ is preceded by a glide, the former can be phonetically realized as the nasal counterpart of the latter:

- (56) a. /hON + jaku/ → [hõjaku] ‘translation’
 b. /sin + uʁa/ → [ʃiũuʁa] ‘myth’

Such forms illustrate the effect of the rule below:

$$(57) \quad /N/ \rightarrow G [\text{nasal}] / _ G$$

where G stands for the glides /j/ and /ʉ/.

9. Sequences including consonants

Japanese casual speech is also characterized by the occurrence of sequences including consonants which are disallowed in Standard Japanese.

The voiceless stop /t/ is phonetically realized as [tʃ] in Standard Japanese, when it is followed by the glide /j/. According to Vance (1987: 28), however, the contracted variant of *to iu* is [tʃu:]

- (58) /to/ + /ju:/ ‘called’
 tʃu: o → ø (deletion of o)
 [tʃu:]

Moreover, Martin (2004: 1001) notes that the expected phonetic realization [tʃu:] is “little used by speakers from Tokyo”.

The same sequence [tʃ] may also surface in the contracted variants of the conditional form in *-ba* of verbs (Vance 1987: 31):

- (59) /mat+ e + ba/ ‘wait CONDITIONAL’
 matea b → ø (LABIAL deletion)
 matja i → j (glide formation)
 matja: a → a: (compensatory lengthening)
 [matja:]

The voiceless fricative /s/ is phonetically realized as [ʃ] when followed by the glide /j/. As shown by Vance (1987: 31), however, in the contracted variants of the conditional form in *-ba* the sequence /sj/ can be phonetically realized as [ʃj]. Consider the example below:

- (60) /hanas + e + ba/ ‘speak CONDITIONAL’
 hanasea $b \rightarrow \emptyset$ (LABIAL deletion)
 hanasja $e \rightarrow j$ (glide formation)
 hanasja: $a \rightarrow a:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [hanasja:]

As is well known, Japanese exhibits the phenomenon of vowel devoicing¹⁶, which affects in particular the high vowels /i/ and /u/. In extreme cases, vowels can be deleted¹⁷, thereby triggering the occurrence of consonant clusters made up of obstruents (Bloch 1950/1970, Vance 1987: 53), in examples such as [tʃkai] ‘close’ or [kimaʃta] ‘come PAST’. The derivation of [tʃkai] is given below:

- (61) /tika+ i/ ‘close’
 tʃikai $t \rightarrow tʃ$ (affricate formation)
 tʃkai $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *i*)
 [tʃkai]

Given the rule post-nasal voicing rule, which is specific to the native lexical stratum of Japanese, sequences formed of a nasal and a voiced obstruent are forbidden. Nonetheless, exceptions to this rule are attested in casual speech. As shown by Haraguchi (2001: 10) and Kawahara (2002: 48) a.o., such exceptions are the outcome of vowel deletion. These include forms such as [anta] from /anata/ ‘you’, [nanʃka] from /nani/ + /ka/ ‘let’s say’, and [nantoka] from /nani/ + /toka/ ‘somewhat’. A representative derivation is provided below:

- (62) /nani/ + /ka/ ‘let’s say’
 nanka $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ (deletion of *i*)
 nanʃka $n \rightarrow \eta$ (regressive assimilation of *n*)
 [nanʃka]

One last example is an effect of vowel fusion¹⁸. In Standard Japanese, the glide /j/ can only occur before the vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/, while /u/ can only be followed by the vowel /a/. However, the phonetic realization of /ai/ as the long monophthong [e:] triggers the occurrence of the sequences [je:] and [uɛ:]. Consider in (63) and (64) the derivations of the surface forms [haje:] ‘quick’ and [kouɛ:] ‘frightened’, respectively:

- (63) /haja + i/ ‘quick’
 haje $ai \rightarrow e$ (monophthongization of *ai*)
 haje: $e \rightarrow e:$ (compensatory lengthening)
 [haje:]

¹⁶ See Avram (2005a: 28–33), Vance (2008: 206–214), Tsujimura (2014: 40–44).

¹⁷ As shown by Kilpatrick et al. (2016), vowel deletion occurs even in the citation form of words.

¹⁸ For vowel fusion see Kawakami (1977: 55), Hasegawa (1979: 129), Vance (1987: 26), Shibatani (1990: 161), Kawai (2004: 182–212), Avram (2005a: 294–295), Vance (2008: 90).

- (64) /koua +i/ ‘frightened’
koue ai → e: (monophthongization of ai)
koue: e → e: (compensatory lengthening)
[koue:]

Note that in such forms compensatory lengthening ensures the preservation of the moraic structure of the syllable¹⁹.

10. Conclusions

The present paper has illustrated a number of phonological processes attested in Japanese casual speech (including fast speech and careless speech), which affect consonants.

While some of the phonological rules are typical of the phonology of casual speech, in some cases they also provide further support for phonological analyses suggested in the literature. The voiceless fricative [ç], the voiceless affricates [tç] and [tʃ] as well as the voiced affricate [dʒ] are a case in point. As seen in many of the examples discussed in sections 3 and 4, the consonants at issue can be derived from sequences in which they are followed by the glide /j/. Evidence from casual speech phenomena thus converges with that provided by e.g. morphemic alternations.

Underpronunciation of labials, analyzed in section 3, can also be regarded as a further extension of the weakening of labiality in Japanese (see e.g. Kindaichi 1957/1988: 98, Shibatani 1990: 167). From this perspective, it is yet another manifestation of a well-known development in the historical phonology of Japanese.

As seen in section 7, several Japanese consonant phonemes have phonetic realizations which are found exclusively in casual speech. This confirms Linnel’s (1979) observation that some segments which are disallowed in formal speech may occur in casual speech.

Finally, another observation of Zwicky (1973), Linnel (1979) and Ohala (1986) a.o. is confirmed. As seen in section 9, the side effect of phonological processes such as vowel deletion, vowel devoicing and vowel fusion, typical of casual speech, trigger the occurrence of sequences which are not attested in formal speech.

¹⁹ See Avram (2005a: 310–312, 2016: 103).

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ON THE MECHANISMS BEHIND UNBOUNDED USES OF BOUNDED ADJECTIVES IN JAPANESE

Raluca Maria CIOLCĂ¹

Abstract: *The present paper discusses the gradability features of bounded adjectives in Japanese, accounting for the existence of marked contexts in which such adjectives co-occur with the comparative or with adverbial modifiers which are usually compatible with unbounded scales. The analysis centers around the role played by subjectivity in the selection of a particular bounded adjective in speech, in both unmarked and marked contexts. Two types of marked uses are identified for bounded adjectives in Japanese. The first one expresses proximity to the boundary on the scale associated with the adjective and is closely connected to subjectivity. The second type of marked use is motivated by semantic similarity between a bounded adjective and an unbounded adjective, with the former replacing the latter in speech. The mechanisms behind these uses are analyzed in detail, based on real examples, so as to provide an accurate representation of the behavior of bounded adjectives in Japanese. The paper provides an explanation for the flexibility of the gradability features that these adjectives possess, while also exploring the general relationship between the two concepts of “gradability” and “subjectivity”.*

Keywords: Japanese adjectives, gradability, bounded, unbounded, marked

1. Introduction

Gradability, although regarded as one of the specific properties of the class of adjectives, has been discussed in a relatively small number of studies in Japanese linguistics. These studies are generally based on a comparison with English adjectives and classify pairs of adjectives which can be regarded as antonyms, such as *takai* [tall] and *hikui* [short] or *kanzen-na* [complete] and *fukanzen-na* [incomplete] based on their compatibility with different types of adverbs. Specifically, the general approach is that adjectives such as *takai* [tall] and *hikui* [short] are compatible only with adverbs like *totemo* [very], which do not involve the presence of a boundary, while adjectives such as *kanzen-na* [complete] and *fukanzen-na* [incomplete] are compatible only with adverbs like *hotondo* [almost], which refer to a boundary.

It goes without saying that such an approach is necessary for establishing a general framework in terms of the gradability features of

¹ Osaka University, Graduate School of Language and Culture, Division of Studies in Japanese Language and Culture, Doctoral Program in Japanese Studies

Japanese adjectives. However, when focusing on the actual manner in which adjectives and adverbs are used in conversation in Japanese, it becomes clear that gradability is a flexible system, which allows change. For example, an adjective such as *kanpeki-na* [perfect], which describes a state or quality which cannot be improved or refers to the highest level of that state or quality, should combine with adverbs such as *hotondo* [almost]. In other words, the contexts in which it co-occurs with the comparative construction or with the adverb *totemo* [very] depicted in the examples below appear as exceptional, considering the aforementioned classification method, commonly used in studies on gradability.

(1) そのまま飲むより、かなり衛生的だと言えよう。より完璧な殺菌を望むなら、焚火で沸騰させることである。

(BCCWJ-NT・アウトドア・ナイフの使い方)

(2) 久石さんの前で演奏するのはとても緊張しましたが、『とても完璧だ』とおっしゃったときはうれしかったです。

(<https://headlines.yahoo.co.jp/hl?a=20180611-00000011-wordleaf-cul>)

In reality, structures like the ones highlighted above are commonly used in Japanese. However, in languages such as English or Romanian, combining an adjective such as “perfect” with the comparative or with adverbial modifiers corresponding to *totemo* [more] is seen as ungrammatical, or, at least, unnatural, as shown through the translations below.

(1’) ?? Let’s say that it is considerably more hygienic than to drink it as such. If you want a **more** perfect disinfection effect, you should boil it on an open fire.

(1’’) ?? Să spunem că este în mod considerabil mai igienic decât s-o beți ca atare. Dacă doriți o dezinfectare **mai** perfectă, trebuie s-o fierbeți la foc deschis.

(2’) ?? I was very nervous playing in front of mister Hisaishi, but it made me very happy when he told me “It is **very** perfect”.

(2’’) ?? Am avut foarte multe emoții când am cântat în fața domnului Hisaishi, dar m-am bucurat foarte mult când mi-a spus “Este **foarte** perfect”.

The present paper focuses on adjectives such as *kanpeki-na* [perfect], accounting for the mechanisms behind such constructions as

those illustrated in examples (1) and (2). In order to provide an accurate representation of the gradability features of such adjectives in Japanese, the paper focuses solely on real examples, also providing as much of the original context as is necessary in order to grasp the interpretation and function of the adjective in question².

1. Theoretical framework

Drawing on previous research, one of the elements at the center of the analysis in this paper is the scale associated with each adjective. According to Kennedy and McNally (2005:349), a scale can be defined as a set of ordered degrees, or abstract representations of measurement, which are formalized as points or intervals ordered along some dimension, such as height or cost.

Researchers offer various interpretations for the structure of a scale, but one of the main questions approached in studies on gradability is the presence or absence of a boundary on the scale associated with a particular adjective. The criterion is the compatibility of that adjective with degree adverbs and the comparative. For example, Kennedy and McNally (2005) use the adverbs “completely”, “100%” and “fully” to differentiate between pairs of antonymous adjectives such as “tall-short” and “full-empty”, concluding that the former can be associated with an open scale pattern, while the latter can be associated with a closed scale pattern.

Like Kennedy and McNally (2005), most studies which classify adjectives in terms of gradability state that pairs of antonymous adjectives project one common scale. However, antonymy is not relevant in the context of the present paper. Thus, extending the model of the “biscalar system” introduced in Croft and Cruse (2004:170), this paper follows the idea that all adjectives project individual scales. For example, it can be said that the adjective *kanpeki-na* [perfect] projects an individual scale depicting the dimension of “perfection”.

Following previous research, in the present paper as well, the criterion for determining the existence of a boundary on the scale associated with a particular adjective is the compatibility with adverbial modifiers. As far as the classification of adverbial modifiers is concerned, this paper follows Kitahara (2013), who notes that *totemo* [very], *hijō-ni* [extremely], *kanari* [fairly] and *sukoshi* [a little] reflect open scales, while *hobo* [nearly], *hotondo* [almost], *kanzen-ni* [completely] and *mattaku* [entirely] reflect closed scales.

² An English translation is also provided for each example. With the exception of (16'), all translations are by the author.

However, since the concept of “open/closed scale” is also associated with antonymy, the present paper makes use of the concept of “boundedness”, introduced by Paradis (2001). Paradis (2001:3) notes that adverbial modifiers such as “very”, “terribly” and “fairly” are scalar and “unbounded”, while “completely”, “absolutely” and “almost” are “totality modifiers” and “bounded”. The conclusion in Paradis (2001:4-6) is that adjectives compatible with “scalar modifiers” are also unbounded, as opposed to those compatible with “totality modifiers”, which are bounded.

In the present paper, the term “boundedness” is employed to indicate whether there is a boundary point on the scale associated with a particular adjective. In other words, adjectives compatible with *totemo* [very], *hijō-ni* [extremely], *kanari* [fairly] and *sukoshi* [a little] are classified as “unbounded”, projecting an unbounded scale. Adjectives compatible with *hobo* [nearly], *hotondo* [almost], *kanzen-ni* [completely] and *mattaku* [entirely] are classified as “bounded”, projecting a bounded scale. Moreover, as Paradis (2001) also notes, the comparative is also regarded as compatible with unbounded adjectives.

The analysis in this paper focuses on bounded adjectives, like *kanpeki-na* [perfect], and seeks to account for the existence of contexts in which they co-occur with the comparative or with modifiers like *totemo* [very], such as those illustrated in examples (1) and (2). Since such contexts suggest the realization of an unbounded scale, they are interpreted as marked in terms of gradability.

The other two elements on which the analysis in this paper is based are the reference value and the standard value of each adjective. Kennedy (1999:110) defines the reference value as the value denoting the degree to which the subject possesses the quality expressed by the adjective. As Kennedy (1999) states, for an adjective to be selected in speech, the reference value needs to surpass the standard value, representing the standard associated with the trait expressed by that particular adjective.

In Ciolca (2021) it was demonstrated that unbounded Japanese adjectives also allow for marked uses, in which they combine with modifiers like *kanzen-ni* [completely]. Such marked uses were shown to be motivated by the role of subjectivity, which was interpreted, following Fleisher (2013), as the role the speaker plays in establishing the standard value of a particular adjective. It was shown that property adjectives like *takai* [tall], which have an objective reference value, but a standard value set through subjectivity in unmarked contexts, allow marked uses motivated by the objective context in certain situations. However, the most common marked uses for property adjectives are those motivated by the subjective intervention of the speaker. In the case of emotion

adjectives like *ureshii* [happy], which are selected based solely on subjectivity in unmarked contexts, it was shown that the only marked uses possible are those motivated by subjective intervention³.

Following this conclusion in Ciolca (2021), the present paper starts from an analysis of bounded adjectives in unmarked contexts, also focusing on the role of subjectivity, defined as the role played by the speaker in setting the standard value. After clarifying the behavior of bounded adjectives in unmarked contexts, the paper analyzes the marked, unbounded uses of bounded adjectives, exploring the hypothesis that such uses are motivated by subjectivity, as in the case of unbounded adjectives in Japanese.

2. Bounded adjectives in unmarked contexts

For the analysis of the gradability features of bounded adjectives in Japanese, *kanpeki-na* [perfect] will be set as the prototype. It will be followed by three other adjectives representative of this class, namely *hitoshii* [equal], *kanzen-na* [complete] and *jūbun-na* [sufficient]. In unmarked contexts, these adjectives co-occur with modifiers such as *hobo* [nearly], *hotondo* [almost], *kanzen-ni* [completely] or *mattaku* [entirely] and are not compatible with the comparative or modifiers such as *totemo* [very], *hijō-ni* [extremely] *kanari* [fairly] or *sukoshi* [a little]. In other words, such adjectives project a bounded scale.

As noted in previous studies (Rotstein and Winter 2004: 260; Kennedy and McNally 2005: 356), the standard value for bounded adjectives is set as the boundary on the scale. For an adjective to be selected in speech, the reference value, which denotes the degree to which the subject possesses the property expressed by the adjective, needs to be equal or almost equal to the standard value.

When it comes to subjectivity, bounded adjectives have a dual nature. It goes without saying that there is encyclopedic knowledge associated with the meaning of each bounded adjective. For example, *kanpeki-na* [perfect] is associated with the interpretations “without flaw”, “a quality or state on the highest level, corresponding to 100%”. The standard value for bounded adjectives can be set as the boundary on the scale based on such encyclopedic knowledge. In the case of *kanpeki-na* [perfect], the standard value can be regarded as the value corresponding to the “100%” level, with expressions such as *kanzen-ni kanpeki-na* [completely perfect]

³ In Ciolca (2021), subjective intervention was defined as the process through which the speaker establishes a boundary on the scale associated with a particular unbounded adjective. For property adjectives, this process is often motivated by the speaker’s desire to praise the object modified by the adjective in question, thus setting the reference value associated with that object as the boundary on the scale. For emotion adjectives, this process often applies to adjectives expressing a positive meaning, with the reference value depicting the level of the speaker’s feelings being set as the boundary on the scale.

or *hobo kanpeki-na* [nearly perfect] indicating that the reference value corresponds to or is in proximity to that level. In other words, there are cases when the standard value for bounded adjectives is set independently from subjectivity. This pattern is common when the adjective modifies nouns referring to concrete objects, which can be measured or quantified.

In example (3), *kanpeki-na* [perfect] modifies *chokkaku* [right angle], a concrete object, and the standard value for the adjective is set as the boundary on the scale through objective information. In other words, the encyclopedic knowledge associated with the meaning of *kanpeki-na* [perfect], combines with the knowledge associated with the concept of “right angle”, that is “A right angle is an angle of 90°”. Thus, the standard value is set independently from the subjective judgement of the speaker. Since the reference value, depicting the actual angle of the four corners of the pyramids is close to the standard value, the structure *hobo kanpeki-na chokkaku* [nearly perfect right angles] is used.

(3) このギザの 3 大ピラミッドの位置関係はオリオン座の星の位置関係と一致する。

そして、正確に東西南北を向いている。ピラミッドの 4 つの角は、ほぼ完璧な直角で現代建築でも真似ができない精度らしい。

(<http://roundtheoneworld.blog.fc2.com/blog-entry-111.html>)

(3') The relative positions of these three Great Pyramids of Giza match the relative positions of the stars in the Orion Constellation. Moreover, they accurately point to north, south, east and west. Apparently, the four corners of the Pyramids are **nearly perfect** right angles, with an accuracy which cannot be imitated even through modern architecture.

However, there are also cases in which the standard value for bounded adjectives is no longer dependent on encyclopedic knowledge alone. In such cases, the standard value is set according to the judgement of the speaker, and the adjective is selected based on subjectivity. This pattern is common when the adjective combines with a noun referring to an abstract, non-quantifiable object. However, through the intervention of the speaker, it can also apply to concrete objects.

In example (4), the structure *hobo kanpeki datta* [was nearly perfect] refers to the military attaché's Japanese language ability. It may be said that the encyclopedic knowledge associated with the adjective, “without flaw”, is still involved. However, the standard for someone's foreign language ability cannot be objectively set, since such an ability cannot be measured in its entirety. It is, thus, clear that the standard for “perfect” in this case depends on the speaker's judgement. Furthermore,

there are also contexts in which the fact that the standard value is set through subjectivity is clearly expressed at the level of sentence structure. In example (5), the use of *watashi ni totte no kanpeki-na mono* [a perfect thing for me] proves that the standard for the bounded adjective is set by the speaker, through subjectivity.

(4) マーカス・ペインはアメリカ大使館付の駐在武官だった。階級は少佐で陸軍情報部 (G-2) から出向してきていた。東京に赴任してまだ二年半しか経っていないのに、その日本語は**ほぼ完璧**だった。外国語の習得能力は四十二歳になるこの駐在武官の自慢のひとつでもあった。

(BCCWJ-NT・血と夢)

(4') Marcus Payne was a military attaché to the American Embassy. His rank was that of major and he had been seconded from the Military Intelligence Service (G-2). Although no more than two and a half years had passed since he had been assigned in Tokyo, his Japanese was **nearly perfect**. The ability to learn a foreign language was one of the things this military attaché who was about to turn 42 years old took pride in.

(BCCWJ-NT・Blood and Dream)

(5) **完全に完璧な**ものと**未完成で不完全極まりない**ものと。

私にとっての**完璧なもの**は、他人から見る私。

それだけは揺るぎない真実。だから私は見る人の数だけ存在する。

(https://blog.goo.ne.jp/crystal_clear/e/d78ac3ba2dc044f6afa046d1e6fa8e0b5?fm=entry_aws_sleep)

(5') Something **completely perfect** and something unfinished, far from being complete.

A **perfect thing for me** is the me seen by others.

That is the only unshakeable truth. That is why there are as many of me as there are people who see me.

The two examples below illustrate the nature of the standard value for *hitoshii* [equal] in unmarked contexts. In (6), the standard value is set based on the encyclopedic knowledge associated with the adjective itself, in the context provided through the numbers of graduate students reported in Japan for the year 1999 (Heisei 11) – 59.057 and 59.007. In (7), *hitoshii* [equal] refers to the English language ability of two different teachers. As was stated for example (4), considering that someone's foreign language ability cannot be objectively assessed in its entirety, the standard value for the adjective is set through the subjective judgement of the speaker.

(6) 大学院生について同様に千九百九十九年で比較すると、我が国の場合には、人文・社会科学等を含む 5 万九千五十七人の博士課程大学院学生が研究者とされている。これは、文部科学省「文部科学統計要覧（平成十五年版）」による平成十一年の博士課程の大学院学生数 5 万九千七人とほぼ等しい。

(BCCWJ-NT・科学技術白書)

(6') For graduate students, when drawing a comparison in the same way based on the year 1999, in the case of our country, the 59,057 graduate students enrolled in a doctoral course, including Humanities and Social Sciences, are seen as researchers. This is **nearly equal** to the number of graduate students enrolled in a doctoral course in Heisei 11, that of 59,007, presented in the Statistical abstract for education, culture, sports, science and technology (Heisei 15 edition).

(BCCWJ-NT・White Papers on Science and Technology)

(7) 共同型ティーム・ティーチングは、主担当とか副担当とかを決めず、2 人の指導者が、ほぼ対等の立場で指導にあたる形態である。2 人の英語力がほぼ等しい日本人教師同士の場合や英語力のある日本人教師と外国人講師がティームを組む場合に、この方法が用いられる。

(BCCWJ-NT・小学校英会話の授業・成功させるポイント)

(7') Collaborative team teaching is a system in which two instructors undertake teaching from nearly equal positions, without establishing roles such as leader and assistant. This method is used in cases when two Japanese teachers who have **nearly equal** English proficiency or a Japanese teacher with English ability and a foreign lecturer form a team.

(BCCWJ-NT・Elementary school English conversation classes – Points for success)

Examples (8) and (9) include the bounded adjective *kanzen-na* [complete]. In (8), the standard value –whether the form of the remaining Fudoki (ancient records compiled in the provinces of Japan) is complete or not– is established through an objective criterion, which is indicated in the text as well: the presence of omitted parts (*shōryaku sareta bubun*). However, in (9), since the noun modified by the adjective, *kontorōru* [control] is abstract, the standard value involves the judgement of the speaker, who can decide the level of control which can be regarded as “complete”.

(8) この命令に応じて各国から提出されたのが風土記であり、全国六十余国から提出されたことであろう。しかし、現在は大部分が失われ、常

陸（茨城）、播磨（兵庫）、出雲（島根）、肥前（佐賀）、豊後（大分）の五国（県）のみが残っている。残った五つの風土記でも省略された部分が多く、ほぼ完全なかたちで残っているのは、出雲国風土記だけである。

(BCCWJ-NT・古代筑波の謎)

(8') Following this order, the Fudoki were submitted from each province, which can be interpreted as them having been submitted from the sixty-odd provinces throughout the country. However, most of them were lost, only those from the five provinces (prefectures) of Hitachi (Ibaraki), Harima (Hyogo), Izumo (Shimane), Hizen (Saga) and Bungo (Oita) remaining today. Even in the five remaining Fudoki there are many omitted parts, only the Izumo Fudoki being preserved in **nearly complete** form.

(BCCWJ-NT・The mysteries of ancient Tsukuba)

(9) 最初の有効な政治学的方法は執行部と立法部との関係を検討することにある。非民主主義的システムにおいて、執行部は立法部に対してほとんど完全なコントロールをもつが、民主主義的システムにおいては、より多様な関係が存在する。

(BCCWJ-NT・問題発見の政治学)

(9') The first effective method related to political science refers to investigating the relationship between the executive and the legislature. In non-democratic systems, the executive has **almost complete** control over the legislature, while in democratic systems, there is a more diverse relationship.

(BCCWJ-NT・The political science of problem identification)

Examples (10) and (11) illustrate the behavior of *jūbun-na* [sufficient] in unmarked contexts. In (10), the adjective modifies the noun *ryō* [quantity], thus referring to a quantifiable object –the number of vaccines necessary. The standard value for *jūbun-na* [sufficient] is set based on encyclopedic knowledge, in the context provided through the number of patients mentioned in the text –*taishōsha 5000-nin* [5000 target people]. On the other hand, in (11), the fact that the standard value is set through subjectivity, based on the expectations of the speaker, is clearly indicated in the text: *hissha no reberu nara mattaku jūbun-na gashitsu desu* [for my level, it has an entirely sufficient image quality].

(10) 12月中旬からの予定だったが、重症化のリスクを考慮して前倒しで実施された。安房の対象者は約 5000 人で、ほぼ十分な量のワクチンが確保されている。

(<http://www.bonichi.com/News/item.htm?iid=3526>)

(10') It (the vaccination process) was scheduled to start in mid-December, but it was carried out ahead of schedule, considering the risk of severe cases. With the target group in Awa including approximately 5000 people, a **nearly sufficient** amount of vaccines has been secured.

(11) 実は、SONY のコンデジ、夜景がイマイチ。でもバッテリーの持ちがとにかく強力！それに昼間の写真は筆者のレベルなら全く十分な画質です。

(<https://tetsudo-ch.com/103896.html>)

(11') Truth be told, with Sony's compact digital camera, night view is not great. But the battery life, anyway, is really strong! Besides, for my level, daytime photos have an **entirely sufficient** image quality.

As shown through the examples analyzed above, in unmarked contexts, bounded adjectives exhibit a dual nature in terms of their standard value. On the one hand, the standard value can be set through encyclopedic knowledge, independently from subjectivity. On the other hand, the standard value of the bounded adjective can also be set through the judgement of the speaker, that is to say, through subjectivity.

3. Unbounded uses of bounded adjectives

Changes in the gradability features of adjectives, interpreted as marked uses in the present paper, are mentioned in previous studies as well, but mostly in order to account for what can be viewed as exceptions to the general classification of adjectives based on their gradability type. Paradis (2011:11) states that there is a tendency for bounded adjectives such as “true” or “sober” to shift towards a scalar, or unbounded interpretation. As quoted below, “coercion by contextual modulation” and “polysemy” are discussed as the reasons behind such shifts of construal.

For the sake of argument, let us consider the adjective *sober*. *Sober* is polysemous in the following expressions: *A sober man* may mean either ‘somebody who is not drunk’ or ‘somebody who is serious and thoughtful’. These two interpretations profile *sober* in two different ways and evoke two different conceptual scenarios. The interpretation ‘not drunk’ is associated with an

‘either-or’ conceptualization. It is biased towards a limit reading. Nevertheless, it can be contextually modulated into a scalar reading as in ‘The next day my guests were all *rather sober*’. The degree modifier *rather* explicitly confirms the scalar construal. The other *sober* meaning ‘somebody is serious and thoughtful’ is an inherently scalar adjective, conceptualized in terms of ‘more-or-less’. (Paradis 2011: 11)

This section focuses on the marked contexts in which bounded Japanese adjectives co-occur with the comparative or modifiers such as *totemo* [very], suggesting the realization of an unbounded scale. Two types of marked uses are identified for Japanese: unbounded uses expressing proximity to the boundary on the scale and unbounded uses motivated by semantic similarity. The former may be regarded as a type of coercion by contextual modulation, the concept introduced in Paradis (2011). This section seeks to offer detailed explanations for the mechanisms behind each of the marked uses identified.

3.1. Unbounded uses expressing proximity to the boundary on the scale

In Japanese, it is possible for bounded adjectives to co-occur with the comparative in contexts which express proximity to the boundary on the scale.

As stated in the previous section, for a bounded adjective to be selected in unmarked contexts, the reference value, denoting the degree to which the object possesses the quality expressed by the adjective, needs to correspond to the standard value, denoting the boundary on the scale.

However, marked uses which express proximity to that boundary on the scale are possible in contexts which satisfy two conditions. First, the level expressed by the bounded adjective in unmarked contexts, that is the level corresponding to “100%”, should be expected in the given communication situation. Second, it is necessary for two objects to be discussed in that situation, with neither corresponding to the level of “100%”. Specifically, this type of marked use expresses the speaker’s judgement that the reference value of object denoted by the noun directly modified by the bounded adjective is closer to the standard value corresponding to “100%” than the reference value of a second object.

Example (12) illustrates this type of marked use for the prototype *kanpeki-na* [perfect], which co-occurs with the comparative marker *yoru* [more]. The fact that the two conditions mentioned above are satisfied is clear in the text. First, the fact that the culprit is seeking the “perfect murder method”, corresponding to the level “100%”, can be inferred from

their regrets: *hayaku koroshi-sugita* [I killed them too fast], *motto kurushimete kara motto tanoshinde kara ni sureba yokatta* [I should have done it after making them suffer more, after enjoying it more]. Then, it is obvious that the object denoted by the noun modified by *yorikana* [more perfect], that is *tsugi no yarikata* [the next way], is closer to the level of “100%” corresponding to the standard value of *kanpeki-na* [perfect] than the murder method the culprit is thinking about with regret.

(12) 殺人を犯したあと、犯人はいろいろ反省する。「早く殺しすぎた。もっと苦しめてから、もっと楽しんでからにすればよかった。もっと別のやり方で被害者に近づけばよかった。もっと違った暴行の方法を考えればよかった」などと思うのだ。このように考えているうちに、次はより完璧なやり方で殺そうと思うようになる。

(BCCWJ-NT・FBI 心理分析官)

(12') After committing the murder, the culprits have many regrets. They have thoughts such as “I killed them too fast. I should have done it after making them suffer more, after enjoying it more. I should have approached the victims in another way. I should have thought of a different assault method.” While thinking like this, they start wishing that the next time they could kill in a **more perfect** way.

(BCCWJ-NT・FBI Profiler)

In example (13) as well, the bounded adjective *hitoshii* [equal] co-occurs with the comparative marker *motto* [more], expressing proximity to the boundary on the scale. It is clear from the text that the two conditions necessary for this marked use are satisfied. First, in order to write about dogs and cats, wild animals, insects, the grass and trees, stones (*inu ya neko, yasei-dōbutsu, mushi, kusa ya ki, ishikoro no hanashi o kiite kaku*), being in a position equal (*hitoshii*) to theirs is desirable. It is impossible for human beings and insects or weeds, the latter being presented as inferior in the text (*mushikera ya zassō to itta katō-na mono*), to be in positions which are “100%” equal (*hitoshii*), which is the level originally expressed by the bounded adjective. However, the object which the construction *motto hitoshii* [more equal] refers to – the approach which involves standing with the insects and grass and actually realizing that their existence is significant (*mushi ya kusa no gawa ni ite, sonzai toshite haruka ni omoi to jikkan shite iru kanji*) – is closer to that “100%” level than the approach of someone looking at them through kind eyes (*yasashii manazashi o sosoida kanji*).

(13) 或いはそれは人ですらない犬や猫、野生動物、虫、或いは動物ですらない草や木や、もつという生物ですらない石ころの話を聞いて書く。| と言うと、「人間だけでなくそうした虫けらや雑草といった下等なものにまで優しい眼差しを注いだ人だったのですね」なんて思うかもしれないが、そういう感じでもなく、もつと等しい感じというか、むしろ虫や草の側にいて、そしてそっちの方が存在として遥かに重いと実感しているような感じがあった。

(<http://www.arsvi.com/w/im12.htm>)

(13') Or she would write after listening to the words of dogs and cats, wild animals, insects – not even people, or to those of the grass and trees – not even animals, or even stones – not even living things. From this, one might think something like “She was someone who looked with kind eyes even at inferior things such as insects and weeds, not only at humans”. However, the approach is not exactly this, but a **more equal** approach, so to say. Rather, it meant standing with the insects and grass and, thus, actually realizing that their existence is much more significant.

Examples (14) and (15) illustrate the type of marked use in question for the adjectives *kanzen-na* [complete] and *jūbun-na* [sufficient]. In (14), the level corresponding to “100%” on the scale projected by *kanzen-na* [complete] is sought in the context of the state-owned enterprises reform (*kokuyū kigyō kaikaku*). At the same time, the new type of consumption goods market created through the reform, which the construction *yorī kanzen-na* [more complete] modifies, is closer to the “100%” level than the previous one, which is explicitly described as insufficient [*sore made jūbun de nakatta*].

In (15), the speaker employs expressions such as “I strongly felt” (*tsuyoku kanjita*) or “should have signed the contract after investigating” (*chōsa o shi, keiyaku o musubanakereba ikenai*), which indicate that the level expressed by *jūbun-na* [sufficient] originally, that of “100%”, is expected in this context. At the same time, the type of investigation the speaker expects from the buyers (*sono baibai no aite-gawa*), in other words, the object that the structure *motto jūbun* [more sufficiently] refers to, is closer to that level than the actual investigation, which brought about many problems (*iroiro to mondai o yonda*).

(14) 理論的には、「客観的経済法則」に則って運営されなかったことが主たる原因であったといわれている。国有企業改革は、それまで十分でなかった消費財市場をより完全なものにたてなおし、生産手段市場、金融市場、そして労働力市場を改めて創りだし、そのうえで自主性をもつ

た国有企業がより効率的に経済活動をし、その経済活動全体を国家がマクロ的にコントロールする構造に変革することであったといえる。

(BCCWJ-NT・中国改革・開放の20年と経済理論)

(14') In theory, the fact that they (the state-owned enterprises) were not operated in accordance with the “objective economic principles” is said to be the main cause. It can be stated that the state-owned enterprises reform meant rebuilding the consumption goods market, which had not been sufficient until that point, into a **more complete** one, recreating the production means market, the financial market and the labor market. Thus, the state-owned enterprises would have autonomy and carry out their economic activity more effectively. The reform meant switching to a structure in which the state controls this entire economic activity at macro level.

(BCCWJ-NT・Chinese reform – 20 years of opening-up and economic theory)

(15) 私は数年前、精神障害者 A の名義になっている土地を、その近親者 B が、A の名において不動産業者に売却した事後処理のケースの相談を受けたことがあります。かなりまとまった土地でしたが、その後、その土地は細分されて他に転売されていきましたから、いろいろと問題をよびました。そのような契約を精神障害者本人は是非を判断できないからといって、本人の名義で売却するほうにも問題がありますが、その売買の相手方も、売買契約にあたって、**もっと十分に**調査をし、契約を結ばなければいけないと強く感じたものでした。

(BCCWJ-NT・契約で失敗しないための知識と Q&A)

(15') A few years ago, I was consulted on a case related to the post-processing of a piece of land under the name of A, who was mentally disabled. The land had been sold to a real estate agent in A's name by B, a close relative. It was a fairly large piece of land, but it was subsequently subdivided and resold to different parties, which brought about many problems. Selling in the name of the mentally disabled person in question, just because they cannot tell right from wrong with such a contract, is problematic as well. However, I strongly felt that, when it came to the sales agreement, the counterparty in the sale should have signed the contract after investigating **more sufficiently**.

(BCCWJ-NT・Knowledge and Q&A for avoiding mistakes with contracts)

Based on the data collecting process and the analysis of the relevant examples, it can be stated that the marked use expressing proximity to the boundary on the scale is acceptable in contexts where the bounded

adjective is selected through subjectivity. This is also illustrated by the examples discussed above, since it is clear that the standard value associated with the use of the bounded adjectives in (12), (13), (14) and (15) is set through the subjective judgement of the speaker.

Specifically, in (12), the standard for “a perfect murder method” depends on the decision of the speaker, rather than encyclopedic knowledge. Similarly, the standard values for deciding whether “human beings and insects or weeds are in equal positions” in (13), whether “the form of the consumption-goods market is complete” in (14), or whether the “investigation is sufficient” in (15) also depend on the speaker’s experience or expectations.

In other words, it can be concluded that subjectivity motivates this type of marked use expressing proximity to the boundary on the scale in the case of bounded adjectives in Japanese.

3.2. Unbounded uses motivated by semantic similarity

A second type of marked use acceptable for bounded adjectives in Japanese is motivated by semantic similarity.

As previously stated, in unmarked contexts, bounded adjectives co-occur with modifiers such as *hobo* [nearly] or *kanzen-ni* [completely], which indicate the realization of a bounded scale. In the case of this second type of marked use motivated by semantic similarity, the bounded adjectives co-occur with either the comparative, or modifiers such as *totemo* [very], which should suggest the realization of an unbounded scale. However, it is not the bounded adjective itself that projects the unbounded scale.

Specifically, in marked contexts motivated by semantic similarity, the bounded adjective is selected in place of an unbounded adjective with which it is similar from a semantic point of view. Based on the data collecting process and the analysis of the relevant examples, it can be stated that this type of marked use is realized in contexts in which the speaker wants to emphasize the meaning of the original unbounded adjective. Since bounded adjectives refer to a level corresponding to “100%”, it seems natural that they should be selected in place of unbounded adjectives in contexts in which emphasis is sought.

Example (16) illustrates the mechanisms discussed above for the adjective *kanpeki-na* [perfect]. The speaker first sets the context by stating that “Messiah is a perfect Stradivarius, which is not played” (*Meshia wa kanpeki-na, ensō sarenai Sutoradivari da*). The standard for the bounded adjective *kanpeki-na* [perfect] is the boundary on the scale, in other words, the level “100%”, and the reference value found in the object denoted by the noun it modifies, Messiah, coincides with that standard.

Thus, it should be impossible that a second object, denoted by the noun modified by the structure *motto kanpeki-na* [more perfect], namely Guarneri del Gesu (*motto kanpeki-na Guarneri deru Jezu*) has a reference value which surpasses that of the first object. The marked structure *motto kanpeki-na* [more perfect] is acceptable because the bounded adjective is selected in place of another expression with an unbounded interpretation, such as “close to the original state”.

In the case of violins, “close to the original state” and “perfect” can be regarded as similar in terms of meaning, having in common interpretations like “valuable” or “beautiful”.

(16) 「珍しいんですか？」 グァスタフェステがきいた。

「とても。メシアでさえ、ストラディヴァリが作ったときのままだはないんだ。」

「それじゃこれはメシアの姉妹じゃないんですな？」

「ある意味では姉妹だよ」わたしは答えた。「メシアは完璧な、演奏されないストラディヴァリだ。これはそれよりもっと完璧なグアルネリ・“デル・ジェズ”なんだ。作り手は同じではないが、それでも二つは姉妹だよ」

(https://books.google.co.jp/books?id=olj6CwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=ja&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

(16) ‘That’s special?’ Guastafeste said.

‘Very. Even the Messiah is not as Stradivari made it.’

‘So it’s not a sister to the Messiah?’

‘In one way it is,’ I replied. ‘The Messiah is a perfect, unplayed Stradivari. This is an even **more perfect** Guarneri “del Gesu”. They don’t share a maker, but they are sisters all the same.’

(https://books.google.co.jp/books?id=1gUAXBDmWP4C&printsec=frontcover&hl=ja&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

In examples (17) and (18), the bounded adjectives *hitoshii* [equal] and *kanzen-na* [complete] co-occur with *totemo* [very], a modifier which suggests the realization of an unbounded scale. However, the unbounded scale is not associated with *hitoshii* [equal] and *kanzen-na* [complete], but with unbounded adjectives with which they are similar in meaning.

In (17), *hitoshii* [equal] functions as a replacement for “close”, with the implication that the speaker selects the bounded adjective in order to emphasize the following meaning: “the question of who I am is very close to the question of whether I have an identity” (*kono nani mono ka, to iu no wa, watashi ni wa aidentiti wa aru no ka, to iu toi to totemo hitoshii*), as expressed in the text.

(17) 私はある国立理系春から 2 年の女子大生です。近頃、自分は何者か、という問いに頭がぐるぐるしています。この何者か、というのは、私にはアイデンティティはあるのか、という問いととても等しいです。

(<https://note.com/ponzu0208/n/n4b7b89do4d24>)

(17') I am a female student majoring in science at a certain national university. I started my second year in spring. Lately, my mind has been spinning over the question of who I am. This, who I am, is **very equal** to the question of whether I have an identity.

In (18), *kanzen-na* [complete] is selected instead of “high” or “good”, both unbounded adjectives, to describe the nutritional value of honey (*hachimitsu no eiyo*). This is demonstrated by the explanations in the text, stating that the main components in honey are saccharides, even though it tends to be included in the category of health foods, which usually have high nutritional value (*kenkō shokuhin ni toraregachi-na hachimitsu no shuseibun wa tōru de*). It is even directly stated that we cannot set our expectations as high as honey’s image suggests when it comes to its nutritional value (*eiyo to iu men de wa imēji hodo kitai wa dekimasen*).

(18) 蜂蜜は非常に完全な栄養価を含んだ食品のイメージを持っていますが、本当にそうなのですか？糖尿病の人でも多く摂っても大丈夫ですか？

健康食品にとられがちなハチミツの主成分は糖類で、果糖、ブドウ糖、オリゴ糖などで全体の約 80% に相当します。果糖、ブドウ糖は単糖類と呼ばれる糖類では一番消化し易い糖で、体の中に入るとすぐ吸収されます。微量成分にはミネラルや鉄分などが含まれますが、栄養という面ではイメージほど期待はできません。

(https://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q117227761)

(18') Honey has the image of a food item which holds an **extremely complete** nutritional value, but is that really so? Is it alright even for people with diabetes to consume a lot of it?

The main components in honey, which tends to be taken as a health food, are saccharides, with fructose, dextrose, oligosaccharide and others corresponding to approximately 80% (of the components). Fructose and dextrose are the easiest to digest among the saccharides called monosaccharides, being absorbed as soon as they enter the body. Minerals, iron and others are included in the trace components, but we cannot set our expectations as high as its image (honey’s image) suggests, from the point of view of nutrition.

Similarly, in example (19), the bounded adjective *jūbun-na* [sufficient] is modified by *totemo* [very], which suggests the realization of an unbounded scale. However, as can be understood from the speaker's explanations – “the school buildings and the equipment are very beautiful and well developed” (*kōsha/setsubi ga totemo kirei de jūjitsu shite imasu*), “there are many doctors who have accumulated a lot of experience and specialist lecturers hold classes” (*ōku no keiken o tsunda sensei ga ōkattari senmon no kōshi no kata ga kōgi o shite kudasattari*) – the bounded adjective is a replacement for “appropriate”. In other words, it can be stated that the speaker selects *totemo jūbun-na kankyō* [very sufficient environment] in order to emphasize that the school is appropriate for someone who wants to become a nurse.

(19) そしてなによりも当校は校舎・設備がとても綺麗で充実しています。現場で多くの経験を積んだ先生が多かったり専門の講師の方が講義をしてくださったりと、看護師になるためにはとても十分な環境が整えられていると実感しています。

(<https://satsukan.ac.jp/senpai/senpai20.php>)

(19') And above all else, the school buildings and the equipment here are very beautiful and well developed. On the premises, there are many doctors who have accumulated a lot of experience and specialist lecturers hold classes, so I can actually feel that we are provided with a **very sufficient** environment for becoming a nurse.

This type of marked use motivated by similarity in terms of meaning can be compared to the shift in construal motivated by polysemy introduced in Paradis (2011). The two are similar, since they both rely on semantic relationships. However, Paradis (2011:11) mentions that, for example, *sober* is polysemous in that it can mean either “someone who is not drunk” or “someone who is thoughtful and serious”, with the latter interpretation being an inherently scalar one.

The marked use discussed above, motivated by semantic similarity, is not based on the bounded adjective including an unbounded interpretation. Rather, it is motivated by the fact that the bounded adjective shares certain semantic properties with an unbounded adjective in a given context, relative to the communicative purpose of the speaker. For example, *kanpeki-na* [perfect] does not inherently include the interpretation of “close to the original state”, but the two are similar in the context of violins, presented in (19). In a different context, it would be possible for *kanpeki-na* [perfect] to be selected instead of other adjectives with a positive meaning, such as “beautiful” or “high”.

When it comes to the role of subjectivity, based on the data collection process and the analysis of the relevant examples, it can be concluded that the type of marked use motivated by semantic similarity is acceptable only in subjective contexts. However, as previously stated, the unbounded scale is not associated with the bounded adjective itself, but with the unbounded adjective it is similar to. In other words, this second type of marked use does not signal a change in the gradability features of the bounded adjective itself. The role of the speaker does not lie in setting the standard value, but in the process of selecting the bounded adjective instead of the unbounded one, with emphasis as the purpose.

The fact that this second type of marked use is dependent upon subjectivity, however, can be regarded as further evidence that unbounded adjectives in Japanese have a standard value set through subjectivity, as demonstrated in Ciolca (2021), since unbounded adjectives are behind the structures specific to this type of marked use.

4. Conclusion

The present paper has analyzed the gradability features of bounded adjectives in Japanese, focusing on the role played by subjectivity, in order to account for the marked contexts in which such adjectives co-occur with the comparative or with adverbial modifiers which suggest the realization of an unbounded scale.

It was shown that, in unmarked contexts, bounded adjectives have a dual nature as far as the role of subjectivity is concerned. On the one hand, the standard value associated with the selection of the adjective in speech can be set based on objective, encyclopedic knowledge. On the other hand, this value can also be set through the judgement of the speaker, in other words, through subjectivity.

Two types of marked uses were identified for bounded adjectives in Japanese: one expressing proximity to the boundary on the scale and one motivated by semantic similarity. Only the former can be regarded as indicative of a change in the gradability features of bounded adjectives.

It was further demonstrated that this type of marked use expressing proximity to the scale is acceptable in contexts dependent upon subjectivity. Considering that subjectivity also plays an essential role when it comes to the types of marked uses acceptable for unbounded adjectives, it can be concluded that gradability is closely connected to subjectivity in Japanese. The role subjectivity plays in unmarked contexts explains the types of marked uses allowed for both bounded and unbounded adjectives in Japanese.

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Ancient Chinese and Korean influences on Japanese Tomb Murals

Marianna LÁZÁR¹

Abstract: *This paper will first introduce the basic burial customs of ancient Japan, then examine the cultural-historical factors that might have influenced the development of traditions of funerary art in the Kofun and Asuka period. The immigration of Korean monks, scholars and craftsmen to Japan during the Kofun and Asuka period transformed Japanese art. Analyzing the mural paintings of the Takamatsuzuka Tomb and Kitora Tomb, the author detects Chinese and Korean influences on Japanese funerary art. Many Korean influences during this time originated in China, but were adapted in Goguryeo or Baekje before reaching Japan. Moreover, imperial Japanese envoys who visited Sui and Tang China, came back to Japan with excellent artistic skills and introduced new artistic styles and themes of the Tang period. The frescoes of the Takamatsuzuka Tomb and Kitora Tomb are remarkable examples of how Japan greatly absorbed and modified the knowledge and philosophies of ancient Chinese culture.*

Keywords: funerary art, mural, art history, Takamatsuzuka tomb, Kitora tomb

Cultural background of the ornaments found in burial mounds (3rd-7th centuries)

Many aspects of ancient Japanese burial traditions can be highlighted for analysis. This paper examines the origins, types, characteristics and symbolism of figural ornamentation in ancient Japanese burial mounds from both a cultural and an art history perspective. In order to review and analyse these ornaments in detail, we first need to understand the cultural background that has shaped funeral customs in Japan for hundreds of years.

From the 2nd to 3rd centuries, several types of burial options were common among the Japanese aristocracy, depending on the clan to which the buried leader belonged. While at the end of the Yayoi period, in Northern Kyūshū and the coastal areas of the Sea of Japan, the standard tumulus was small and rectangular with elongated corners, from the second half of the 3rd century onwards, the rulers of the Yamato dynasty in the Kinki region were buried in keyhole-shaped tumuli. At the end of

¹ Assistant Professor, Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures, Department of Japanese Studies Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary

the 4th century the Yamato clan's power increased considerably, and they extended not only the boundaries of their sphere of influence beyond the Yamato basin, but also their burial tradition, thus strengthening the relationship system in the freshly established 'state' based on tribal alliance. Burial chambers and sarcophagi in the early tombs were simple and unadorned. The size and design of the royal tombs increased spectacularly in the second half of the 5th century, illustrating the growing political power of the rulers (e.g. Emperor Nintoku). (Yoshida 1998)

It is worth noting that the Japanese state at this time had strong economic dependence on, and good diplomatic relations with the confederate state of Gaya (加倭) in the south of the Korean peninsula, and the state of Baekje (百濟) in the southwest, while it had hostile relations with Goguryeo (高句麗) in the north. Also in the 5th century, groups of elite Japanese envoys visited the capital of the Liu Song dynasty of southern China via Pekche, a total of 13 times, to gain approval for political ranks, and they received symbolic titles from the Chinese emperor. Throughout the 5-6th centuries, monks and envoys from Baekje and later Goguryeo arrived from time to time at the Yamato court: a relationship that had a profound impact on the culture and religious traditions of the Japanese aristocracy. Thanks to vibrant domestic and foreign trade, diplomatic relations and, not least, strong religious beliefs, a large number of burial mounds continued to be built (despite this being a turbulent period of warfare), both in the central Kinki region and in the provinces, most of it with Korean-inspired grave goods and/or artistic ornaments. (Yoshida 1998)

Decorated tombs

Burial mounds have two types of decorations. *Sōshoku kofun* (装飾古墳), that have simple color paintings and/or reliefs or engravings with original Japanese motifs, were built in three different regions of Japan: first in the north-western and central areas of Kyūshū (present-day Fukuoka and Kumamoto Prefectures), then in south-western Honshū (San-in region), and lastly in the north-eastern parts of Honshū. It is important to note, however, that the form and purpose of these decorations varied greatly from region to region. The second type of decorated burial mounds called *hekiga kofun* (壁画古墳) were only built in areas ruled by the royal court in the late 7th and early 8th century.

Kyūshū has always experienced frequent interactions among the Yellow Sea sphere. The very first decorated tombs appeared in Kyūshū during the late 5th century. (Shiraishi 1993) Walls of burial chambers were decorated with patterns of simple circles and repeated triangles. Coffins were decorated in traditional Japanese relief and line carvings with

patterns of circles, triangles, arcs, and lines. The 6th century *yokoana*-style² tunnel tombs in Kyūshū, influenced by the architecture of burial mounds of Baekje³, show more developed decorations (Shiraishi 1993)⁴. The distinctive feature of these 6th century tumuli (in contrast with their counterparts in Baekje and with some of the earlier Japanese decorated tombs), was that only one of the four side walls was gorgeously decorated with unprimed paintings and/or reliefs – usually the one visible from the southern entrance. Burial chambers built later frequently featured illustrative decorations, that were diverse not only in colour (black, red, blue, green, rarely yellow) but also in subject matter: people, ritual implements, animals, supernatural creatures, weapons, shields and armour, boats etc. Non-figurative decorations were also often made. These were either complex Japanese patterns (e.g. *chokkomon* 直弧文⁵) or simpler geometric shapes. These designs are said to have been imbued with the magical meaning of protecting the deceased who was buried there (Shiraishi 1993). Concerning the narrative decorations, the human figure and animals are represented at Takehara, Mezurashitsuka, Ōzuka, Gorōyama sites. The most famous image at the Takehara tumulus (竹原古墳) in Fukuoka was painted on the 2 metre wide chamber wall facing the south entrance, as a background decoration for a stone coffin placed in front of it. The painting depicts ceremonial fans, a horseman with his horse, a boat and waves in bright red and black color with no black outline. These themes suggest that the deceased person may have been a leading cavalryman with military and foreign connections. In conclusion, the 6th century tumulus decorations in Kyūshū highlight the deceased aristocrat, protecting him and making him the 'most splendid' central element of the grave chamber. (Nishitani 2004: 23-39)

Ancient burial mounds in the North Kantō and Tōhoku regions of Honshū are characterised by primitive wall-paintings: figures wearing crowns and noble robes, warriors, hunting scenes and geometric patterns. The wall-paintings from Tōhoku, which appear at the very end of the Kofun period, are mostly orange-reddish in color, most often painted on white plastered stone walls. Among the best-known tombs in the region

² The Late Kofun chambers were set on the ground under or in the barrow mound and entered from the side through a tunnel-like passageway called *yokoana* chambers.

³ The real extent of the Paekche influence on this architecture typical for Kyūshū is unclear.

⁴ There are several theories about the origin of the ornaments and stone figurines of the 6th-century tumuli in Kyūshū, the most well-known of which is that the wall paintings and coffin ornaments appeared because the Yamato court banned the ancient burial tradition of the local clans after the Iwai rebellion (527-528), and therefore the nobles hid their traditional decorations inside the tumuli.

⁵ A visually stimulating design consisting of straight and arched lines. *Chokkomon* designs occur on a wide variety of Kofun-period materials.

are the Torazuka tumulus (虎塚古墳) and the Kiyotosaku cave tombs (清戸迫横穴).

In the second half of the 7th century, Yamato was transformed into a centralised, strictly organised state based on Chinese model. The Taika reform not only outlined the rules for everyday life, but influenced burial traditions as well. It banned the use of tumuli and the burial of ritual objects outside present-day Nara Prefecture, and all Yamato aristocratic tombs were required to be built in a pre-designated burial ground around the capital. The size and design of the tumuli was regulated for each rank: the acceptable shapes were circular, rectangular or polygonal, much smaller than before and, in most cases, undecorated. The most advanced techniques of burial mound decoration date from the late 7th to the early 8th century and can be found in present-day Asuka.

How did the Japanese people learn the new techniques of fresco painting and what inspired them to adopt foreign motifs? In the Asuka period, the Yamato court was already well acquainted with ancient Chinese cosmology and Taoism, thanks to Korean monks, scholars and Japanese envoys sent to Sui and Tang China from 630 onwards. In addition to the Chinese classics imported to Japan from the 5th century, the growing popularity of Chinese geomancy also contributed to the integration of several cosmological principles into the culture of the Japanese court. We know from the detailed entries of *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀), that the Korean monks and scholars who arrived in Japan in the 7th century were of great help in interpreting the cosmological symbols often seen in the tumuli of ancient China and Goguryeo, in introducing new materials and in learning the new painting techniques of continental origin. First and foremost, the monk Kanroku⁶ of Baekje, who arrived at the Yamato court in the early 600s.

- *Nihon Shoki*, Volume 22, Suiko-ki: In the 10th lunar month of the 10th year [of the reign of Empress Suiko] (602), Monk Kanroku arrived from Baekje. He brought gifts: books on Chinese calendar-making, astronomy and geography. He also brought books on Chinese divination and Taoist cosmology. Then 3-4 students were selected to be taught by Kanroku. Thus, it happened that Yako no Tamafuru of the fuhito/fubito rank, was taught calendar-making. Chinese astronomy and divination were taught to Ootomo no Takasato of the suguri rank, and esoteric cosmological teachings to Yamashiro no Hitate of the omi rank. They all completed their studies. (Sakamoto 1995:457)⁷

⁶ 'Kanroku' is the Japanese way of pronouncing his name.

⁷ Translated by the author.

We can also learn from *Nihon Shoki* that Japanese artists were introduced to the knowledge of how to make pigments and black ink by the Buddhist monk Donchō⁸ of Goguryeo.

- *Nihon Shoki*, Volume 22, Suiko-ki: In the 3rd lunar month of the 18th year [of the reign of Empress Suiko] (610), the king of Goguryeo [King Yeongyang] offered up the priests Donchō and Hōjō⁹ as tribute [to the Japanese imperial court]. Dōnchō knew the Five Classics well. He produced colors, paper and ink well, moreover made watermill. Has making watermill [in Japan] presumably started ever since? (Sakamoto 1995:464)¹⁰

After the fall of the Goguryeo (668), and the fall of the Baekje (660), several artist families of noble origins fled the Korean peninsula and settled in the Japanese capital of the Asuka period, taking up office. In addition to Donchō, other painters of noble Goguryeo origins mentioned in *Nihon Shoki* include members of the Kibumi (黄文) family and the Koma (高麗) family. Later, in the 8th century, their descendants were the artists who travelled with diplomatic envoys and monks to Chang'an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty, to study art, and returned to Japan with more books and other objects (e.g. Kibumi no Honjitsu). (Donohashi 2013:337)

The earliest Japanese frescoes using techniques from the East Asian continent were made near the capitals of the Asuka period. There are two tumuli with walls plastered with Chinese techniques and then decorated with Chinese-themed paintings: the Takamatsuzuka tumulus¹¹ (高松塚古墳) and the Kitora tumulus¹² (キトラ古墳).

⁸ 'Donchō' is the Japanese way of pronouncing his name.

⁹ 'Hōjō' is the Japanese way of pronouncing his name.

¹⁰ Translated by the author.

¹¹ The first sources documenting the existence of the Takamatsuzuka tumulus date from the second half of the Edo period. Excavation work began only after the accidental rediscovery of the tumulus in 1972. The walls and ceiling of the tomb, made of thick granite slabs, are decorated with brightly coloured frescoes and were declared national treasure in 1947. Based on the characteristics of the frescoes, sue pottery shards and the pattern of a Tang period bronze mirror, the tumulus was probably built between 694 and 710. (Donohashi 2013:344). The discovery of the frescoes was a huge sensation, attracting scholars both inside and outside the country, stimulating the development of several scientific fields. By the end of the 2000s, the frescoes had been so badly damaged by the negative effects of the Japanese climate (mould due to high humidity, chipping plaster, fading colours) that in 2007 they were removed from the walls of the chamber and placed in a dedicated restoration room. (Matsumura 2007) The restoration work was completed in spring 2020.

¹² The Kitora tumulus, discovered in 1983, is also a two-storey structure. The four walls and ceiling of the burial chamber are decorated with colorful frescoes, the themes and depictions of which suggest that the tumulus was probably built between the end of the 7th century and the early 8th century. (Donohashi 2013:365-366) Learning from the damage caused by the looting of the Takamatsuzuka tumulus and the collapse of the southern wall, researchers waited a few years to excavate the Kitora tumulus. With the publication of high-resolution color images, video footage and excavation reports, international interdisciplinary research has resumed in the late 1990s. Similar to the Takamatsuzuka tumulus, by the end of the 2000s the wall paintings of the Kitora tumulus were also in danger due to the hot, humid climate. To avoid further damage, the burial chamber was removed from the mound, the frescoes were cut out of the chamber wall and restoration work began immediately in a newly constructed, climate-controlled room. The exquisite frescoes have been carefully



Figure 1: Takamatsuzuka Tumulus (left) and Kitora Tumulus (right) in Asuka, Nara prefecture¹³

Characteristics and culture-historical background of the frescoes

Frescoes in the Takamatsuzuka tumulus include illustrations of ancient Chinese origin: three of the Four Guardians¹⁴, portraits of court ladies and officials, sun and moon motifs and 28 ancient Chinese constellations. On the north wall we can find the Black Warrior, on the east wall the Azure Dragon, the Sun and the officials, on the west wall the White Tiger, the Moon and the ladies of the court, and on the ceiling the constellations. The Vermilion Bird was depicted presumably on the south wall, but it was not possible to confirm the existence of the painting because the wall had been damaged by robbers in the Medieval period.

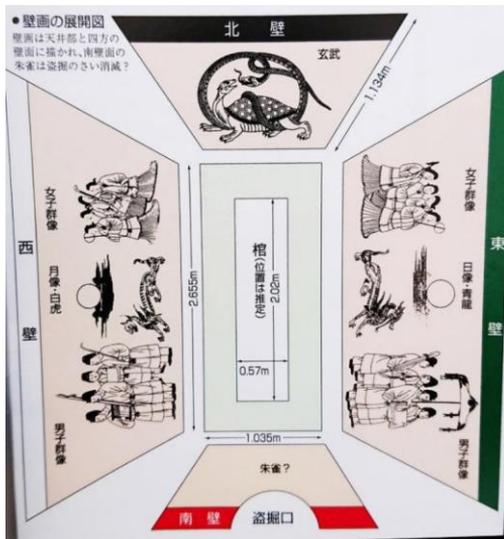


Figure 2: Frescoes of the Takamatsuzuka tumulus¹⁵

restored and later displayed at the adjoining modern museum (キトラ古墳壁画体験館 四神の館), which is designed to reflect the structure and atmosphere of the original tumulus. (Lazar 2018:66-67).

13 Photograph was taken by the author. (2015.07.24.)

14 The belief of the Four Guardians refers to an ancient Chinese faith in four mythological animal-beasts, each representing a cardinal direction: Azure Dragon of the east (Qīnglóng 青龍), Vermillion Bird of the south (Zhūquè 朱雀), White Tiger of the west (Baihǔ 白虎), Black/Dark Warrior of the north (Xuánwǔ 玄武). This topic will be discussed in detail in a following section.

15 Photograph was taken by the author. (2021.06.01.) Source: Takamatsuzuka Hekigakan (高松塚壁画館) museum pamphlet. Owned by the author.

The Four Guardians can also be found among the wall paintings of the Kitora tumulus (all four frescoes are intact), but here the mythical figures of the 12 signs of the Chinese zodiacs appear on the side walls instead of the aristocrats. Although investigations have shown that all 12 motifs were originally painted on the walls, only 6 of these frescoes remained in a visible state by the time the tumulus was discovered in 1983. The star map on the ceiling, with sun and moon motifs of the same size framing the east and west sides, is a very precise work.

The question of the closest analogy of the Japanese frescoes has fascinated many art historians and archaeologists around the country. Among these renowned scholars, the monographs and other publications of Akio Donohashi, Yoshiharu Inokuchi, Yoshitaka Ariga, Atsumu Wada, Takashi Kitamura, Tadashi Saitō, Shinji Katō, Kōjirō Naoki and Tadanao Yamamoto have been the most significant over the last 30 years. In the following, based on previous research (conducted by referenced Japanese scholars) and the authors's doctoral research¹⁶, the author will first explain the methods of paint application, then introduce the characteristics and origins of the frescoes. Finally, she will analyse their cultural role in ancient East Asian artistic tradition.

The painting techniques are similar in both tumuli. The first step was to plaster the clay wall thickly (in the case of the Kitora tumulus kaolin was also mixed into the plaster). Next, the thin preliminary outlines of the model image were copied into the wall in ink. In the case of some of the frescoes in the Kitora tomb, the remains of thin scratch marks indicate that the model image was probably pressed onto the clay wall and the outlines of the model were carefully carved out with a spatula, then painted with a thin brush. From this step on, the procedure was the same: the colored dye materials were applied and finally, the dark outline was worked out in even greater detail with a thin brush. (Donohashi 2013:335) The artist(s) had to work quickly, as the final fresco is created by the setting of the plaster, layers of paint and ink – from that moment on no refinements can be done. In terms of the pigments and color treatment techniques used, the frescoes of the burial mounds of Asuka bear a strong resemblance to the late 7th century Buddhist frescoes in the Golden Hall of Hōryūji Temple and are also partly identical to the tumulus frescoes of Goguryeo. (Donohashi 2013:336)

Name(s) of the designer(s) and painter(s) of the Takamatsuzuka and Kitora tumulus are unknown. The size and themes of the frescoes are very similar in both tumuli. The themes are clearly of Chinese origins, but the different compositions, the details of the motifs, the painting style and the

¹⁶ Analysed data (textual data and images) were collected during the author's doctoral research in Japan (2013-2016). (Lazar 2018)

dye materials used suggest that the designer and artist may have been inspired by Korean culture to an equally great extent. In fact, there are some original Japanese innovations in the Kitora tumulus.

The refined coloring and the delicate lines in Takamatsuzuka tumuli give the human and beast-deity figures character and a sense of calmness. In contrast, the frescoes in the Kitora tumulus, especially the Four Guardians, are rougher, with powerful lines and radiating dynamics, as if all the figures were about to fly away from the walls. Now, let us take a closer look at the themes themselves.

Frescoes of the Four Guardians¹⁷



Figure 3: Images of the Four Guardians based on Japanese tomb murals¹⁸

Both the Takamatsuzuka tumulus and the Kitora tumulus depict mythical figures with similar attributes. The Guardian of the East is a greenish-blue mythical dragon with sharp claws, an elongated red tongue and long horns. On its head, forelegs and hind legs, it has a thick mane and hair that is waving backwards, as if the dragon were flying swiftly. The Vermilion Bird resembles a pheasant with vermilion plumage, also depicted in flight. The long, thin body and snake-like neck of the Guardian of the West, decorated with black stripes, is not a lifelike representation of a tiger, but the sharp claws and fangs in its snarling mouth give the impression of a wild animal. The thick fur on its neck and limbs waves backwards. The Guardian of the North is a fusion of intertwined figures of a turtle with highly detailed shell pattern and an open-mouthed, dark-colored snake. The two animals face each other, the snake wraps itself once around the turtle. Grey, yellow, red, green and black were used to paint the snake in the Kitora tumulus, while the turtle in both tombs is yellowish in color.

In ancient East Asian tradition, the Four Guardians are four mythological creatures appearing among the Chinese constellations (lunar mansions) along the ecliptic. They are the Azure Dragon (青龍) of

¹⁷ They are termed in classical Chinese literature as Si Shen 四神 (four guardian deities), Si Xiang 四象 (four images) or Si Ling 四靈 (four spirits).

¹⁸ Digital lineart made by the author based on the original outlines of the frescoes of Takamatsuzuka tumulus and Kitora tumulus.

the East, the Vermilion Bird (朱雀) of the South, the White Tiger (白虎) of the West, and the Black Warrior (玄武) of the North. The cult of the Four Guardians originates in totemic traditions. Currently, the oldest known depiction was found in Puyang, Henan province (5300 BC). From the Zhou dynasty (11th century BC - 3rd century BC), they were regarded as mythical spirits who ruled the segments of the sky. Early examples of this association can be seen on decorated grave goods from the Tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng. This was also the time when they became associated with the 28 ancient Chinese constellations (lunar mansions) - this early association attested to mainly by the tomb decorations in the Húběi province. (Hashimoto 1998:17; Lazar 2018: 20-23)

In Taoism, the Four Guardians have been assigned human identities and names. They have been closely connected with the *yin-yang* philosophy and have also been syncretized into the *wuxing* (Five Phases) theory¹⁹: directions, elements, colors, seasons and many other things were associated with the creatures, giving the belief a new, stable foundation. For example, the blue-green dragon symbolizes the eastern palace, the culmination of spring, represents the wood element and the beginning of the rise of yang and so on. Being intertwined with cosmological traditions, the Four Guardians became an increasingly popular part of the Chinese funerary traditions²⁰.

Elements	Colors	Cardinal direction	Spiritual being	Directions	Yin/Yang
Wood	Blue/Green	East	Azure Dragon	East	Yin
Fire	Red	South	Vermilion Bird	South	Yang
Earth	Yellow	Central	Yellow Dragon	Central	Yang
Water	Black (Dark)	North	Black Warrior	North	Yin
Metal	White	West	White Tiger	West	Yang

Table 1. Correspondence with the Wuxing and yin-yang theory (Fung 1983: 22–26)

¹⁹ It explains the interactions and relationships created in phenomena that consist of fire, water, wood, metal and earth and lead to life, death, change and rebirth. It was combined with the yin-yang theory during the Spring and autumn periods in China and was developed into a comprehensive and logical view of the cosmos, which could be applied to every field of human society.

²⁰ The Four Guardians were represented not only in funerary traditions but also in warfare in the Warring States Period (ca. 453–221 BC).

It was in the early Han period (206 BC - 220 AD) that the mystical traditions of the aristocracy, including the attributes of the Four Guardian and their Taoist cosmological role, were first officially unified. (Vampelj S. 2011: 41) The guardians were considered symbols that could exorcise evil spirits and bring good fortune. They were widely depicted on the backs of cast-bronze mirrors or carved on lacquer ware, bricks, tiles, and seals.



Figure 4: Motifs of Han tiles emblematically representing the cardinal directions²¹

How did Taoist cosmology and philosophy of nature shape ancient Chinese tomb decorations? The frescoes and reliefs had not only a decorative function, they were also an essential part of the cosmic space artificially created inside the tomb. According to Chinese ideas of the afterlife, the social status of the deceased person in the realm of the dead corresponds with their life on earth. It was important that the soul of a person of high rank should be protected and should live in harmony in the afterlife, and so the interior of the tomb and its iconographic design were created with a view to the *yin-yang* balance and the harmony of the Five Phases. This cosmological system of rules (陰陽五行思想) is detailed in the *Zhoubi Suanjing*²² (周髀算經) and the chapter 3 of *Huainanzi*²³ (淮南子-天文訓) and in other works as well. Tombs during the Han period were built according to the *Tianyuan Difang* (天圓地方) concept of the *Gaitian* (蓋天) theory, with rectangular side walls and an "umbrella-like" hemispherical dome vault²⁴. As a symbol of the *yin-yang* energies and the

²¹ Owned by the author, these clay items are depicting round-shaped Han eave-end tiles (a particular piece of tile that is placed over the last tile in each line of tiles on the traditional Chinese roof) and are from the National Museum of History, Taipei, Taiwan. Wadang tiles were important components of tiles in ancient East Asian architecture and served as protective and decorative functions.

²² Dated to approximately 100 BC, *Zhoubi Suanjing* is one of the oldest Chinese mathematical texts dedicated to astronomical observation and calculation.

²³ Compiled by scholars at the court of Liu An (of Huainan) in the 2nd century BC, it is a collection of various Western Han philosophical treatises and an articulation of statecraft. *Huainanzi* is a synthesis of works associated with the Daoist and Confucian tradition, as well as other foundational ancient Chinese texts.

²⁴ According to the *Tianyuan Difang* (天圓地方) philosophy, above the angular earthly world (the world of mortals) there is a hemispherical sky held up by 8 pillars (the supernatural world).

circle of the Five Phases, the ceiling was decorated with spiritual beings (e.g. the Four Guardians, Sky Horse, Zodiac signs), pairs of gods or culture heroes (e.g. Nüwa and Fuxi, Xiwangmu and Dongwanggong) and magical celestial motifs (e.g. sun-bird, moon-toad, stars), representing the eternal movement of the dual celestial world²⁵. On the side walls and side chambers we can find portraits of the deceased person and his household. (Vampelj S. 2011:24) It was also customary to depict the spiritual beings and deities of the sky on the surfaces of grave goods²⁶.

From the Eastern Han period onwards, more complex tombs with multiple chambers were built, and the increased number of reliefs and tomb frescoes were created in different, more complex compositions. In the case of the Four Guardians, it can be observed that they were moved from the high plane of the ceiling to the lower plane or to the upper plane of the side walls²⁷. This change can also be attributed to the new concept that in the Taoist cosmic worldview, the Four Guardians were no longer just the guardians of the sky and symbols of the cycle of the seasons, but their role was transformed to serve as a kind of guidance deity for the highborn aristocrats. We can find evidence of the new, enhanced roles of the Four Guardians as guiding spirits on inscriptions of grave goods (e.g. bronze mirrors) and in certain liturgical works of Chinese poetry such as the Songs of Chu²⁸ (楚辭).

Compositions were able to further evolve both artistically and in terms of content during the Northern and Southern dynasties. The Four Guardians were dominant, large-scale motifs in the tombs of the Northern Wei (386-534) and Qi dynasties (550-577), but also appear in small numbers in the tombs of the Southern Qin dynasty (265-437). In addition to mythical spirits, court ladies, officials, snarling demons, Taoist immortals, equestrian hunting scenes, Buddhist floral motifs, stars and, for the first time, the 12 animal figures of the Chinese zodiac were painted on the walls and ceilings of the tombs.

From the end of the 6th century onwards, however, the patterns began to simplify, and by the time of the reign of the Sui and early Tang dynasties frescoes were only schematic images. From the 9th century, the

²⁵ A representative example is the Xi'an Jiaotong daxue tomb (西安交通大學壁畫墓) in Xi'an, built in the late Western Han period, and the Luoyang shaogou 61 hao tomb (洛陽燒溝 61 號壁畫墓) in Luoyang, dating from a similar period.

²⁶ Examples of tombs decorated according to these cosmological doctrines from the Han period include the Luoyang Yintun Mural Tomb (洛陽尹屯新莽壁畫墓), the Luoyang Qianjingtou tomb (洛陽淺井頭壁畫墓) and the Luoyang shaogou 61 hao tomb (洛陽燒溝 61 號壁畫墓), as well as the Xi'an Qujiang Cuizhuyuan tomb (西安曲江翠竹園西漢壁畫墓) and the Xi'an Jiaotong daxue tomb (西安交通大学西汉壁画墓).

²⁷ E.g. Binwang tomb 邠王墓, Bu Qianqiu tomb 千陽縣漢墓, Huo Chengsi tomb 霍承嗣墓.

²⁸ It is an anthology of Chinese poetry traditionally attributed mainly to Qu Yuan and Song Yu from the Warring States period. The Songs of Chu derives its imagery from shamanistic ritual.

placement of the frescoes and the symbolism represented by the spiritual beings changed: only the Azure Dragon and the White Tiger were favored, often depicted on the sides of the long corridor leading to the burial chamber. The Black Warrior and Vermillion Bird disappeared partially or completely from the walls of the burial chamber, but were sometimes used to decorate the coffin instead of the walls.

As Chinese culture spread widely in the Far East, the royal courts of many ancient states adopted the Four Guardians into their belief systems - with their own interpretations. The tradition of depicting the Four Guardians in the tombs of highborns spread in several waves and became popular in many regions. In the 5th century it spread to the ancient kingdoms of the Korean peninsula (especially to Goguryeo) and later to Japan, but it is also found in the decorated tombs built during the late Tang dynasty and later the Five Dynasties in present day Mongolia, Manchuria, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

As the Korean kingdom Goguryeo (37 BC–668 AD) developed, it laid claim to the most extensive realm in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula and Northeast China in the 5th century. Goguryeo tomb murals vibrantly depict lifestyles of its period, the Four Guardians and other images. They were presumably inspired by the Buddhist painting tradition of the cave temples of West China (e.g. Dunhuang) and the highborn tombs of the Northern Wei Dynasty. (Donohashi 2013:299) The images of the Four Guardians can be found most often in burial mounds with lantern roofs, where they were not depicted at the highest point of the ceiling but on the upper level of the side walls close to the ceiling – following Wei practices. From the late 5th century and early 6th century onwards, they became the dominant motif on the four walls of the burial chamber around the capital Pyongyang (e.g. Susanri tomb 樂水里古墳, Honamri sasin tomb 湖南里四神塚). Four Guardians frescoes from the first half of the 7th century supplanted all other images from the side walls. As seen in the Gangseo Tombs (江西大墓, 江西中墓), their enormous size filled the entire wall surface. The popularity of these motifs lasted until the mid-7th century, however with the fall of the kingdom in 668, the tradition of Four Guardians frescoes on the Korean peninsula ceased to exist (Saotome 2005, Azuma 1999).

Although there are examples of the use of the Four Guardians as decorative motifs on ritual objects in Baekje, the Chinese tradition of decorating burial mounds has not spread as widely as in Goguryeo. One reason for this was that Baekje, a kingdom with strong maritime trade, did not have close relations with the Northern Wei dynasty but with the Southern Qin dynasty, where the depiction of the Four Guardians was also

not widespread. There are currently 2 examples of the use of the Four Guardians, of which only 6th century Tomb No. 6 of Songsan-ri tombs (宋山里古墳群 6号墳) in Gongju has all four deities on the side walls. Moreover, it is the only case that such painted figures have been found in a brick chamber tomb. After plastering mud or mortar on the spots in the four sides where the murals were to be drawn, the murals were painted with whitewash; the figures of sun and moon were also painted on the south wall.

Japanese tradition of the Four Guardians

Buddhist monks, scholars, artists and war refugees, mainly from Baekje and later Goguryeo, arrived and settled in Japan in several waves during the 5th – 7th centuries. The tradition of the Four Guardians was gradually introduced into the culture of the Japanese court, probably together with the teachings of cosmology, as learned from Taoist philosophical texts, classical philosophical and scientific works from China. Japanese envoys intermittently sent to the capital of the Sui and Tang dynasty, new books and illustrations arrived in the country. The importance of the symbolism of the Four Guardians in this period in Japan is well illustrated by the influence of the Shijin Sōō concept ('correspondence to the four deities' 四神相応) of Chinese geomancy.

According to the original Chinese funerary customs, the Four Guardians were always to be depicted in a specific arrangement, in a way that ensured the circulation of the yin and yang dual forces and the Five Phases. This cosmic arrangement (陰陽五行) means that they are placed on the right wall of the chamber (based on the cardinal direction they rule) and face in a certain direction. In addition, each one of them must wear the color assigned to that particular cardinal direction. A special characteristic of the Japanese Four Guardians paintings is that their vivid colors show clearly their role in the theory of Five Phases, unlike the frescoes of Goguryeo, which do not show the symbolic colors.

The head of the White Tiger on the western wall of the Takamatsuzuka tumulus faces south, i.e. left – same as in all known Chinese and Korean tombs except one (General Erzhu Rong 爾朱襲墓). In contrast, the White Tiger fresco in the Kitora tumulus faces the Black Warrior on the north wall, i.e. right. With this change, the Four Guardians appear to 'move' clockwise: the Black Warrior (right) faces east, the Azure Dragon (right) faces south, the Vermillion Bird (right) faces west, and the White Tiger (right) faces north. It can be assumed that while at the end of the 7th century Japanese artists still followed the traditional Chinese rules of representation, but later, when the Kitora tumulus was built they had already interpreted the symbolism of the Four Guardians from a unique Japanese perspective, thus changing the composition of the frescoes. (Donohashi 2013:334)

This theory is supported by several important examples from the 7th-8th centuries. Firstly, as far as we know, there are no tomb frescoes in ancient China or on the Korean peninsula where all the Four Guardians face the same direction, i.e. only the right or only the left. Although from the late 700s onwards, under the influence of Chinese Zodiac symbolism, the Four Guardians also began to 'circle' on the backs of bronze mirrors from the Tang dynasty, the White Tiger and the Azure Dragon on these bronze mirrors from the 7th century still face the same direction: southwards. So no circular movement can be observed here. (Donohashi 2010:52) But what about the Japanese examples? In Japan, the pedestal of the cast-bronze Yakushi Triad (in Yakushiji, Nara) was decorated with Four Guardians figures (697), and it was around this time that special banners with motifs of the deities (四神幡 - also with roots to Chinese customs) started to appear in the most important state ceremonies of the imperial court. In 756, a Japanese bronze mirror decorated with the Four Guardians and the Chinese Zodiac was deposited in the collection of the Shosoin of Nara. In 762, a manuscript containing a sketch of a bronze mirror pattern, also of Japanese design, was deposited in the same treasury, showing three of the Four Guardians with exception of the White Tiger. Although the nature of the Four Guardians motifs on the ritual banners is unknown, the decoration of the Yakushi Triad, which was (presumably) made at the same time as the Takamatsuzuka tumulus, does indeed show the Guardian of the West facing south (left), same as in the tumulus in question. By contrast, on the Japanese bronze mirrors from 756, all the Four Guardians (and Zodiacs) face to the right and the composition suggests a circular movement, same as in the Kitora tumulus. In the sketch of the manuscript from 762, we can also observe the illusion of circular movement to the right. In the frescoes of the Kitora tumulus, built in the early 8th century, the Four Guardians begin to 'circulate' almost a century earlier than in the Chinese bronze mirrors, and there are no frescoes of the same symbolics in Chinese or Korean tombs, so the new arrangement of the Four Guardians in the Kitora tumulus is a contemporary Japanese tomb-art innovation. This innovation was probably later reflected in all the other depictions and was later in line with Tang design.

It is worth pointing out another puzzling fact here. Both the tiger and the dragon of both Japanese tombs have the tail of the animal wrapped around on the hind legs, and the very end of the tail is curled up. This characteristic can be seen in all but one of the Japanese Four Guardians depictions²⁹, and is therefore a common depiction in Japan. In contrast, it

²⁹ On the pedestal of the Yakushi Triad (697), decorated with the Four Guardians, the tails of animals were depicted rising above the legs, as in Chinese and Korean designs of the same period.

does not appear at all in the tombs of the Korean peninsula, and in China there are very few analogies, and they are not usually related to funerary art. (Donohashi 2010:46) At present, we know of only one example in China where this design has been used as a funerary fresco: in the tomb of Tang General Su Dingfang (蘇定方墓), who died in 667, has the tail of the White Tiger wrapped around his right hind leg. Later, in the 8th and 9th centuries, the rare depiction appears on the occasional carved tombstone, the entrance to a few burial chambers or some bronze mirrors, but it does not become popular, the classical depiction remaining more common.

Frescoes of court ladies and officials

On both the west and east walls of the burial chamber of the Takamatsuzuka tumulus, 4 human figures are depicted on each wall alongside the corresponding Guardian. The subject matter of the frescoes is of Chinese origin. Portraits of the deceased and his household first appear in the tombs of the Northern dynasties. Under the influence of the Northern Wei dynasty, the tombs of the 5th and 6th century Goguryeo also have a number of colorful murals of the deceased and his household wearing clothes of the same period. Later, in the Tang period, the tradition of the depiction of the deceased disappeared altogether, but pictures of parading court ladies and officials appeared on both sides of the wall of the



corridor leading to the burial chamber, together with the Guardians of the East and the West. (Donohashi 2013: 369) Highborns always carried ornate fans or other ceremonial instruments (e.g. the tomb of Princess Yongtai 永泰公主墓, the tomb of Crown Prince Jiemin 節愍太子墓).

Figure 5: „Asuka Beauties”³⁰

The richly colored portraits of the court ladies (known as "Asuka Beauties" 飛鳥美人) and the portraits of the officials in the Takamatsuzuka tumulus were clearly influenced by the tomb frescoes of the Tang dynasty. The figures, who appear to be talking to each other, wear colorful noble

³⁰ This Japanese postage stamp (part of "Asuka Archaeological Conservation Fund - Takamatsuzuka Kofun Tomb Murals" stamp set, issued on 26th March, 1973) is owned by the author.

dress as they parade, holding ornate period fans and a ritual staffs. The joyful ceremonial nature of the frescoes suggests a major court ceremony that could actually take place in Fujiwara-kyō. The composition is very similar to the fresco in the tomb of Tang Princess Yongtai, as if it were a miniature copy, however there is one difference: the ladies and lords are dressed differently.

It is assumed that the dress of each figure reflects the court fashion of Asuka of the time. If we observe the full kimono, we can see that this dress pattern also appears on the embroidered artwork 'Tenjukoku Shūchō Mandala'³¹ (天寿国繡帳). Furthermore, the frescoes of the court ladies of Susanri tomb in Goguryeo from the late 5th century also show a similar style of dress (long-sleeve jackets and skirts with folds and stripes of many colors). Although the Japanese composition on the western and eastern chamber walls was clearly influenced by the traditions of the Tang dynasty, the particular coloring and the style of the clothing clearly show that it was created from a Japanese perspective. Moreover, the clothing of the Japanese court ladies suggests that the strictly regulated court fashion for men and women in the Asuka period may have been inspired by the slightly earlier fashion of Goguryeo. (Donohashi 2010:18)

The depiction of celestial bodies (the sun, the moon and stars)

Ancient Chinese astronomy was both philosophical and astrological. By the Han empire, concepts of the cosmos were changing basically from that of the Four Quarters (四方) to the Five Phases and yin-yang (陰陽五行), with a place for emperors to act as an essential pivot in the interlocking relationships of Heaven, Earth and Man. The astronomers of the emperors not only tracked the passage of time by the movement of the moon, but also kept careful records of celestial phenomena for political divination. It was believed that any change that occurred in the heavens would also occur in the mortal world (Smith 2015:11). The Moon's zodiac was designed based on her position in relation to significant star groupings. These are the 28 lunar mansions (二十八宿). According to the Han cosmological doctrines, the four regions of Heaven were ruled by the Four Guardians, and the 28 lunar mansions were divided so that each Guardian had 7 of them to rule. (Hashimoto 1998:16)

³¹ Originally made in the Asuka period, it is the oldest known example of embroidery in Japan and was created in honour of Prince Shōtoku after his death in the 7th century. In the Edo period, remains from the original textile and parts of its replica made during the late Kamakura period (late 13th century) were gathered into the present form. Currently, the embroidery is in the collection of the Nara National Museum, but remains the property of the Chūgū-ji temple.

Numerous grave goods, stone carvings and tomb frescoes testify to how this system was woven into the funerary traditions of East Asia. The tradition of depicting the celestial bodies in burial chambers started around the 3rd century BC and was later passed on to Goguryeo and Japan.

On the completely flat ceiling of the Takamatsuzuka tumulus, the lunar mansions are depicted in 4 groups, as they belong to each deity according to the cosmological principle. The ceiling is dotted with small bits of gold leaf, which are in turn joined in various patterns by red lines in such a way as to represent star charts. In the centre of the area enclosed by the lunar mansions ('Purple Forbidden Enclosure') are the North Star and the stars known in Chinese as the "Four Advisors" (四輔).

The celestial map in the Kitora tumulus, created on a not entirely flat granite slab, consists of 68 constellations (about 350 stars of different sizes). It shows the stars in astonishing detail, including the 28 lunar mansions and even a part of the Milky Way.

All stars were made from gold leaf and then connected by red lines. In the central part of the ceiling, 4 red lines organise stars and the visible celestial paths of the Moon and Sun. This high level of astronomical knowledge clearly originated on the East Asian continent, and was most likely introduced to Japan during the 7th century by Korean scholars.

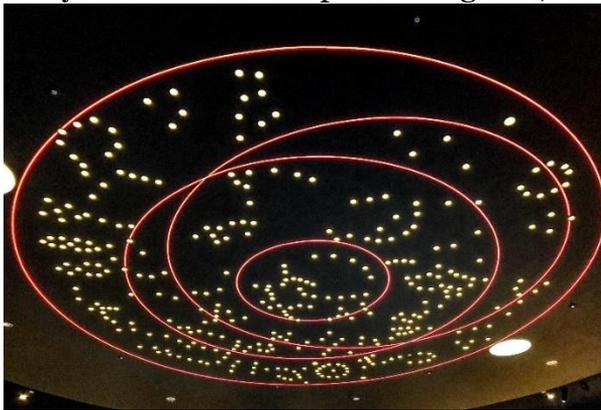


Figure 6: Ceiling of the Kitora tumulus³²

The Kitora star map is not a purely symbolic representation of heaven, as in the case of the Takamatsuzuka tumulus, but is based mostly on accurate observations: it represents the actual state of the sky at a given time, as recorded from a given location. There are many questions about the model of this star map, as there is no known source that depicts the sky in such detail before the end of the 7th century. Moreover, no similar work of art has remained intact anywhere in the world. This is why the ceiling

³² Photograph was taken by Zsófia Imai for the author at „Kitora Tumulus Mural Museum – Shijin no Yakata” (キトラ古墳壁画体験館 四神の館). (2018.08.01.) Used with permission.

fresco of the Kitora tumulus is now considered to be the oldest star map in the world. (Hashimoto 1998:13-14) Several archaeoastronomical theories have been proposed in the past 20 years for when and where the sky depicted on the map was recorded. According to an older theory the star map may date back to the 1st century AD and may have been recorded in the area of present-day Xi'an. More recent research has identified Pyongyang, the capital of Goguryeo, as the place of origin of the model star map, and records show that a famous star map carved in stone existed in the kingdom, but was destroyed when Goguryeo fell (668). As mentioned earlier in this paper, we know from the Nihon Shoki that in 602 the Korean monk Kanroku went to Japan to teach and brought books on astronomy and astrology to the Japanese imperial court. It is possible that he was the one who introduced the Japanese court to the star map used as a model for the ceiling fresco in the Kitora tumulus, and it is also possible that this model was a copy of the famous star map of Goguryeo (Miyajima 1999).

The images of the sun and moon symbolize the cycle of time. According to Taoist cosmology, the Sun was correspondent with the East, yang energy and the Azure Dragon, while the Moon was correspondent with the West, yin energy and the White Tiger. While in China and the Korean peninsula the sun and moon motif was never depicted on the side walls of the burial chamber, in the Japanese Takamatsuzuka tumulus these images appear above the Azure Dragon and the White Tiger frescos, close to the ceiling plane, surrounded by green mountains and red clouds. This 'landscape style' painting bears a resemblance to some of the details in the mid 7th century paintings of the Tamamushi Shrine. In the Kitora tumulus, these symbols are on the east and west sides of the descending edge of the ceiling, acting as a frame to the star map of unparalleled detail – but they are not a part of it. Here, too, the sun and moon motifs, painted in gold and silver, emerge from a sea of clouds, but the representation of the clouds is different. There is more space between the pale red lines with blurred red painting and rough green mountain peaks in the background, creating a more lifelike, foggy effect. This style of painting with color transitions was probably introduced to Japan under the early Tang dynasty, and can also be seen in the background of Buddhist frescoes in the Golden Hall of the Hōryūji Temple.

The 12 Chinese zodiac signs

According to the Chinese lunar calendar, time consists of the endless circle of 60-year cycles. An entire 60-year period is defined by two independent cycles: Celestial Stems of the wuxing and the yin-yang forces and the Earthly Branches of the 12 zodiac signs. At the beginning of each lunar year, a different animal takes over and rules the following year. According to Taoist cosmology, each zodiac sign has a corresponding

element, a cardinal direction, a Guardian, a color, and also carries the yin or yang characteristics. This system of association changes every 12 years and ends and starts again in the 60th year.

In China, it was first during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589) that the artistic tradition of displaying the 12 zodiac signs along with the Four Guardians in the tombs of aristocrats was first developed (Donohashi 2013:354). In the tombs of the northern Wei and Qi dynasties, they can be seen exclusively in animal form painted on the ceiling (e.g. the tomb of Prince Lou Rui of Northern Qi). Later, several standing or sitting tomb figures with human bodies and animal heads, wearing clothing of officials and sometimes holding small ritual staffs, made of earthenware were found in the floodplain of the Yangtze River and in northern and western China dating back to the Sui and Tang dynasty. This pictorial innovation appeared in the capital Chang'an and Luoyang only very late, from the mid to late 8th century. The Tang bronze mirrors are also worth mentioning, where the zodiacs appear exclusively in animal forms from the 8th century onwards. The depiction of the Dragon sign is very similar to that of the Japanese Azure Dragon and some of its Chinese predecessors, as it often has its tail wrapped around its hind legs.

It was also from this period that the use of zodiacs in tomb decoration became popular in Silla, which enjoyed good relations with the Tang court. The tombs of General Gim Yu-shin and King Gyeongdeok, buried in the mid-8th century in Gyeongju, are decorated with stone carvings of the defending animal figures in human form, dressed as generals and holding weapons. This ornamental technique (influenced by Buddhist art) was used on 9 other royal tombs in addition to King Gyeongdeok's in Silla during the 8th-9th centuries. (Lim 2017:2)

Zodiacs rarely appear in royal tombs of Baekje, but when they do it is only on tombstones placed at the entrance to the corridor and they are not depicted nor in animal or anthropomorphic form, only with their names carved in Chinese characters on the back of the tombstone. The most famous example is the tombstone of King Muryeong of Baekje, who died in 523³³.

The six frescoes of zodiacs that survive in the Japanese Kitora tumulus (Rat, Ox, Tiger, Horse, Dog, Pig), dating from the early 8th century, are completely unique in the period. At present, we do not know of any tomb frescoes from the 7th-8th centuries in the East Asian region that depict mythical animals in anthropomorphic forms with weapons in their hands, either in China or in the Korean peninsula (Donohashi 2013: 300).

³³ This data is primarily based on personal viewing experience of the author during her fieldwork in Gongju (including a visit to the Gongju National Museum), South Korea in 2014, but the main text of the 2013 Japanese edition of the Gongju National Museum Catalogue („Midokoro”) was also consulted.

We can presume that originally 12 paintings were made, but only 6 of them remain more or less intact, of which the Horse and Tiger zodiac is currently in the best condition. Underneath the paintings you can still see the scratch marks left when the contours of the original model drawing were carved into the wall. This technique was often used in the decorated tombs of the Tang period.

Originally, 3 frescoes may have been placed on each wall according to cosmological rules. The mythical figures have a human body and wear a simple noble kimono, but have an animal head, and hold either an ornamental weapon or an actual weapon (e.g. a spear). They are depicted in a standing position on the lower level of the side walls. Each group of zodiacs is placed under one of the Four Guardians according to the traditional cosmological order. In addition, each zodiac wears the color that corresponds to the cardinal direction and Guardian to which it belongs. This unique style of representation, which was born in Asuka half a century before the reliefs in Silla, are influenced by the tomb art of the Sui dynasty and early Tang dynasty and lies somewhere between the artistic styles of the two regions. Some elements of it, such as the symbolic colors the zodiacs wear and the pairing of anthropomorphic figures with the Four Guardians, can be considered a completely unique Japanese interpretation (Donohashi 2010:38-39). This unique Japanese representation of the Chinese zodiacs lived on in Japan: in the iconographic manual *Kakuzenshō* (覚禅鈔)³⁴ from the late Heian - early Kamakura period, the Buddhist Twelve Heavenly Generals (十二神将) were depicted wearing clothing of court officials, holding weapons but with animal heads.

Summary

This paper has reviewed the development of the funerary art of the Japanese aristocracy in the Kofun and Asuka periods, including an intercultural context in which the origin, function and evolution of the representational tradition of cosmological symbols of decorated burial mounds of Asuka were examined. Although wall paintings were made in various regions of Japan as early as the second half of the 6th century, from an art historical and cultural historical perspective, two burial mounds in Asuka can be considered outstanding: the Takamatsuzuka tumulus and the Kitora tumulus. The ceiling and wall decorations of their burial chambers are remarkable examples of the intercultural exchange process between Japan, Chinese dynasties and the states of the Korean Peninsula. Analysis

³⁴ Consisting of Shingon mikkyō teachings and rituals, "Collected Notes of Kakuzen" was compiled by the monk Kakuzen (覚禅) between 1183 and 1213.

of all frescoes revealed a developed correlative cosmology (yin-yang and wuxing) which manifests its concrete image in symbolic codes of individual iconographic motifs. The paintings of both tumuli are eloquent proof that Japan was already an integral part of the cultural circulation between the ancient East Asian countries in the Asuka period - not only as a Buddhist state, but also as an empire with a strong cultural identity in its roots. Many of the foreign doctrines and cultural elements adopted by the court were absorbed into ancient Japanese traditions (e.g. tomb art) and presented in a distinctively Japanese interpretation.

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IN SEARCH OF ACCURACY IN JAPANESE-ENGLISH TRANSLATION: ANALYSIS OF RENDITIONS BY COURT INTERPRETERS IN CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS IN JAPAN¹

Jakub E. MARSZALENKO²

Abstract: *Interpreting in the legal setting is frequently described as a genre of interpreting, in which accuracy is of crucial importance. This is because mistranslation can lead to serious consequences for the parties involved as well as for the administration of justice. This, in turn, gives rise to the use of terms such as “conduit” as a way to describe the court interpreter’s role, who, by this logic, performs a “simple” task of swapping words in the source language “literally” into those in the target language.*

Despite the fact that for decades many have argued against such a simplistic view of the court interpreter’s role, it still seems to prevail among many. In this paper, therefore, I will analyze actual instances of Japanese-English (and vice-versa) rendition in criminal court hearings in Japan. Through this, I will argue that even in a setting as rigid and restricted as court interpreting, achieving accuracy is not a straight-forward task. This is due to the fact that with languages of roots as different as Japanese and English, there are numerous instances where interpreters must make certain choices to provide accurate rendition of the source text.

Keywords: *Japanese-English translation, court interpreting, discretionary choices, honorifics, personal pronouns*

1. Introduction

Arguably no other debate pertaining to translation³ has been more heated or garnered more attention than that on to what extent the product of the translational act (i.e., the target text⁴) should be “faithful” to the original (i.e., the source text). Nida (2004 [1964]) suggested that this is not a simple “either-or” matter (either “literal” or “free” translation), and that the target text can fall somewhere on the continuum between “formal” and “dynamic” equivalence.

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² Senior Lecturer, Department of International Japanese Studies, School of World Liberal Arts, Nagoya University of Foreign Studies

³ Throughout this paper I follow Pöchhacker in treating interpreting “as a special form of Translation” (2004:9). I will therefore use the terms “interpreting” and “translation” interchangeably, but it should be borne in mind that, unless specified otherwise, they will both refer to oral rendition of spoken utterances.

⁴ Note that “text” in “source text” and “target text” can refer to both written texts and oral utterances.

Depending on the setting, interpreters and translators may have either more or less “poetic license” in producing the target text and in some cases, accuracy in rendition may not be as important as the esthetic value of the language used in the final product. In other words, in some cases dynamic equivalence may be more desirable than formal equivalence. Translation of literature illustrates this well. For example, in his translation of Dazai Osamu’s novel *Shayō* [*The Setting Sun*], Donald Keene chose to render the Japanese word *shirotabi* with “white gloves,” rather than “white socks” or “white *tabi*” (Dazai 1968). Despite seemingly lacking in accuracy (after all, *tabi*/socks are worn on feet, whereas gloves on hands), Higashino (2001:56) argues that this translation is “more functionally equivalent to ‘白足袋 (*shirotabi*)’.” The benefit of this translation is that the associated image from ‘白足袋 (*shirotabi*)’ has been conveyed by its cultural substitution ‘white gloves.’” In other words, formal equivalence may have not achieved the desired effect and would not have conveyed the intention of the source text author (in this case, Dazai Osamu).

Translating literature may be an exception rather than the rule, however, and in many other fields, accuracy is one of the most important, if not *the* most important, quality sought after in the target text. Legal translation (both written and oral) is one such field and it can be said that it is on the opposite extreme of the abovementioned continuum of equivalence, giving the translator as little “liberty” as possible, if any at all. It has been traditionally argued that the target text in legal translation needs to demonstrate features of formal equivalence, thus being as close to the original as possible in both form and content (Munday 2008). This is probably why legal interpreters’ discretionary powers are rarely desired or even acknowledged. This, however, does not mean that interpreters in the legal setting do not exercise such powers. As Ng and Creeze note, “[m]ost of these studies [pertaining to court interpreting], empirical or anecdotal, have pointed to a conflict between what has been considered the codified role of the interpreter and the normative practices of court interpreting, versus what actually happens in the courtroom” (Ng and Creeze 2020:2). As I will demonstrate, however, accuracy in legal interpreting is usually far more nuanced than it may seem and that depending on the circumstances and the language pair they work with, court interpreters need to make certain decisions and *choose* the most appropriate and equivalent rendition, sometimes out of many possible candidates.

Given the aforementioned discrepancy between what some (legal practitioners, in particular) believe interpreting should be like and the actual processes taking place during translation, this article will revisit the issue of “accuracy” in the context of interpreter-mediated criminal court hearings in Japan conducted with the use of Japanese and English, taking

into consideration differences in expression between the two languages. This will be done on the basis of the notion of “discretionary choices” (Laster and Taylor 1994), a concept which can be explained in simple terms as choices made by interpreters when more than one possible rendition exists. Thus, this work will look into what terms or expressions interpreters actually use, what led to the necessity of making these choices in the first place, and what it can tell us with respect to the challenges in achieving accurate translation with languages such as Japanese and English.

2. Interpreting in “Public Services” Settings

2.1. The Critical Nature of Interpreting in Law

Legal interpreting, alongside healthcare interpreting, is usually classified as a subtype of “community interpreting” or “public service interpreting” as opposed to conference or business interpreting⁵. As in any interpreted interaction, to the recipients of the target text, the court interpreter’s rendition is not merely a translation but the source text speaker’s “own” words. This of course puts a significant responsibility on the interpreter to provide as accurate a rendition as possible, taking into consideration the style and register of the source text, the speaker’s accent or any other idiosyncratic features of their speech. As Ng and Creeze (2020:1) note, mistakes in interpreting settings as critical as law and healthcare “can become, literally, a matter of life and death, or result in miscarriages of justice.” This is especially important in jurisdictions like Japan, which still renders and practices capital punishment, and in which, in most extreme cases, undetected or uncorrected inaccuracies in translation can cost the defendant their life. Thus, interpreters need to be mindful not only of *what* is being said, but also *how* it is being said. Furthermore, in adversarial systems interpreters should be aware of the strategies lawyers apply in their use of language.

Given the above, all utterances must be translated accurately, namely, in a manner that conveys all aspects of the source text. To borrow Mikkelson’s words,

[court i]nterpreters are expected to convey every element of the meaning of the source-language message, without adding, omitting, simplifying, or embellishing. In other words, they must maintain the tone and register of the original message, even if it is inappropriate, offensive, or unintelligible (Mikkelson 1998: 21).

These expectations are justified. This is because in many jurisdictions (Japan included) hearsay evidence is either not allowed in

⁵ See Tipton and Furmanek 2016 for a detailed discussion and description of this field, which these authors call “dialogue interpreting.”

court, or its use is significantly restricted. Should the interpreter exercise more “liberty” in rendition, the target text would run the risk of becoming hearsay evidence. In other words, the distinction between what the defendant (or a witness) has *said* and what the interpreter has *heard them say* would be more difficult to discern (Laster and Taylor 1994). This, in turn, leads some legal practitioners and even interpreters to define the interpreter’s role in terms such as “conduit,” “translating machine,” “microphone,” or through the use of similar non-human metaphors (see Hale 2007, 2015; Marszalenko 2016; Yoshida 2020). Such definitions give the impression that interpreting is a fairly simple task, wherein the interpreter merely swaps words from one language into the other, without any cognitive or analytical processes taking place in their brain. This simplistic and unrealistic view is “monological,” because,

[l]anguage use is regarded from the perspective of the speaker. The meaning of specific words and utterances are seen as resulting from the speakers [sic] intentions or strategies, while co-present people are seen as recipients of the units of information prepared by the speaker. It is as if while creating meaning, the individual speaker is thought away from her interactional context and thought into a social vacuum (Wadensjö 1998: 114).

This, however, is not how communication between humans (and interpreting is a particular form of communication) actually takes place. Whatever the situation of a communication act, “[w]hen a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it” (Goffman 1981: 3). Thus, Goffman (1981) categorizes hearers into ratified and unratified (with the latter category being further subdivided) and speakers into animators, authors, and principals. In this “participation framework,” the interpreter is both a ratified hearer (of the source text), and a speaker (of the target text). Yoshida (2008) demonstrated that interpreters take an active role as authors of the target text exercising more discretionary power than an animator would.

It can be said that the following processes take place in an interpreter-mediated communication act: 1) comprehension and interpretation (the latter term being used here in the sense of “analysis of meaning,” not “translation”) of the source text, 2) selection of the most appropriate equivalent(s), 3) rendition of the target text. The process of interpretation (analysis of the meaning) of the source text cannot be avoided and given the undeniably fallible nature of human interpreters, erroneous comprehension may occur in some cases, thus leading to an inaccurate translation. On the other hand, depending on the source text, more than one *accurate* translation may be possible, complicating the matter even further.

2.2 Sociocultural Aspects of Language

It is important to note that language is not the only object undergoing the translation process. Language can rarely, if ever, be separated from the cultural and social background of its speakers, and such metalinguistic dimensions may not be easily conveyed into other languages. As Rudvin observes, “PSI [Public Service Interpreting] is by definition an intercultural activity. This may lead to a highly complex communicative process involving cultural, social and pragmatic features relating to socio-cultural interpersonal relations” (2020: 26). Further, Yoshida (2020) argues that limiting the rendition process to “interpreting only what has been said as it has been said”⁶ (2020: 198) may result in ignoring such sociocultural aspects of the utterance, which could prove crucial to the evaluation of the Limited Japanese Proficiency (LJP) speaker’s testimony. This, in turn, leads to the assessment of such testimony solely from the perspective of the recipient culture (in this case Japan) and its governing social norms, thus not allowing for consideration of the beliefs, worldview, or common sense of the LJP speaker (Yoshida 2020: 199).

To illustrate this issue, Yoshida uses as an example (2020: 207) the final statement (*saishūchinjutsu*) given by defendants after the examination of all evidence has been completed. In some cases, defendants who are speakers of European languages may ask the court to forgive them. Yoshida uses Spanish as an example: *Estoy muy arrepentido. Por favor, perdóneme* [I am very sorry. Please forgive me.] (2020: 207). This can be “literally” translated into Japanese as *Dōka watashi o yurushite kudasai*⁷, so on the purely linguistic level equivalence is achieved. However, given the sociocultural background of the recipients of the utterance (the court, prosecutors, lay judges), this, to many native speakers of Japanese, may come across as self-centered (Yoshida 2020: 207), because in this context the defendant is expected to express *remorse* rather than *ask* for “favors” such as forgiveness. For many persons of European background, on the other hand, asking for forgiveness is, or at least can be, a way of expressing remorse, regret, or apology. Thus, focusing solely on the narrow linguistic aspect of the utterance may lead to a rendition that will not convey the entirety of the intended message and its sociocultural context, and, as a result, will not be fully accurate.

3. Interpreters’ Discretionary Choices

3.1 The Immediacy of the Interpreting Process

Laster and Taylor (1994) argue that court interpreters make a number of “discretionary choices” in the course of the translation process.

⁶ All translations into English are by the author unless specified otherwise.

⁷ Translation from Spanish into Japanese by Yoshida (2020: 207).

Such choices may be caused by a variety of factors, such as differences in expression between the source and the target languages, sociocultural differences, or cognitive processes taking place in the interpreter's brain. Even languages as (relatively) closely related as English and Spanish can pose a significant challenge (see Berk-Seligson, 1990 [2002]). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to surmise that with languages, which have as little in common in terms of syntax, lexicon, and, as importantly, metalinguistic dimensions affecting how speakers of these languages express themselves as English and Japanese, the difficulty in rendition is of the highest order.

Choices made by interpreters may not always be entirely deliberate or conscious. For example, Rudvin notes that "... many difficult decisions are enacted in the fraction of a second, intuitively (seemingly) intuitive on the basis of training but also of experience" (2020: 73). Regardless of whether the interpreter is *actively* or *consciously* choosing one rendition over another, the fact is that this rendition is *being chosen* and that should a different interpreter be in the same situation, they may use a different form of expression.

The time pressure mentioned above is precisely what makes the interpreting process challenging regardless of the field in which it is performed, since interpreting "can be distinguished from other types of translational activity most succinctly by its immediacy: in principle, interpreting is performed 'here and now' ..." (Pöchhacker, 2004: 10). As a result of this immediacy, the author of the target text (as opposed to the author of the target text in written translation) cannot take their time to contemplate on the best possible equivalent. To borrow Hale's words, "[i]nterpreters ... need to deal with the oral text as it is presented to them, without the opportunity to consult references, previous interpreting assignments (except through the use of their own memory) ..." (2007: 8).

3.2 Accuracy and Ethics in Legal Interpreting

As mentioned in the Introduction, mistakes or errors in translation performed in critical fields such as law or healthcare can lead to serious consequences. Thus, accuracy in the translation process is not only an important concept, but can even be considered a virtue:

Arguably, the core – and indispensable – feature of interpreting, its *sine qua non*, is accuracy (in the full sense of the word), a condition that fulfills the nature of the translation or interpreting act. ... [W]ithout [accuracy] interpreting and translation are rendered senseless. Thus, accuracy is arguably a central (professional) 'good' or 'virtue' as well as being a defining parameter. *This should be treated with caution in order not to fall into the essentialist/absolutist paradigm of claiming that interpreting is objective, that it is a mechanical language transfer process with no pragmatic or non-linguistic contingent features ...* (Rudvin 2020: 33, emphasis added).

Defining accuracy, however, is not an easy task. Therefore, many jurisdictions or professional organizations provide interpreters with guidelines or codes of ethics that include matters related to accuracy and the interpreter's role (see Phelan 2020 for a detailed discussion). On the other hand, no official code of ethics is available for court interpreters in Japan (Takeda 2013). Thus, it is usually the ethics of individual interpreters that guide them through this process. This of course can lead to a significant pressure on the interpreter but also potential issues, because “[e]vidently, when the interpreter’s discretionary powers expand, the discretionary powers of the professional in charge of the institutional discourse will diminish” (Skaaden 2020: 180).

4. Research Outline and Methodology

In her seminal work on court interpreting, Berk-Seligson (2002 [1990]) investigated modifications done by English-Spanish court interpreters in the United States. To conduct her analysis, she used audiotapes of actual exchanges taking place during interpreter-mediated criminal trials. Studies using similar methodology were also conducted by Hale (1997) in Australia.

In Japan, on the other hand, hoping to conduct research into courtroom interpreting with the use of audio- or video-recordings of actual exchanges taking place during a trial is highly unrealistic, as access to such material is usually not granted to scholars (Marszalenko 2020). Thus, there are perhaps only two research methods available should one wish to analyze how interpreters actually provide their rendition. The first method, used by Yoshida (2008), is analysis of interpreting taking place in a mock trial. Interpreters in Yoshida’s study were actual court interpreters who performed their duties as they would in an actual criminal trial. This analysis led to important findings and insights into the court interpreter’s role. Having said that, it must be acknowledged that certain aspects of an actual trial could be different or absent in a mock trial. For example, those playing the roles of lay participants (the defendant or witnesses) in a mock trial would likely be native speakers of the language of the court. They would also use a script for their “testimony.” This means that certain sociocultural aspects of utterances or speech idiosyncrasies (hedges, incoherent utterances, mispronounced or unintelligible utterances, etc.) may be less frequent in a mock courtroom discourse.

The other method available is analysis of interpreter-mediated exchanges based on notes taken during criminal trial observations. As audio-recording is not allowed, the researcher can only use handwritten notes. Thus, this method, too, is not without its limitations. First of all, the length of utterances to be analyzed is limited by the observer’s memory and

their stenographic skills. As a result, only a certain number of instances of renditions can be collected in any given trial. Further, in order to avoid the research project becoming a case study on the rendition style of one interpreter, it is preferable for the researcher to gather large volumes of data from a number of different criminal cases and mediated by different interpreters. This, naturally, is time- and resource-consuming. Despite all its constraints and limitations, this is the method applied to this study.

The data analyzed in the subsequent section were obtained during visits to district courts in Chiba (3 cases), Naha (4 cases), Osaka (3 cases), and Tokyo (3 cases), amounting to a total of thirteen different criminal trials observed. There are two reasons behind the selection of these district courts: 1) the author’s access to information on interpreter-mediated cases, and 2) the fact that these jurisdictions are home either to international airports or large populations of foreign residents, thus resulting in relatively more frequent criminal proceedings that use English. The data were collected between June 2019 and December 2020 (however, four examples of renditions observed in a 2013 case for the author’s previous research project have also been included) and include a total of 188 instances of discretionary choices. Other basic information on the data collection can be found in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Data Collection Details

Case no.	Date	District Court	Main Charge against the Defendant	Instances of discretionary choices
1	July 2013	Osaka	Violation of Stimulants Control Act	4
2	June 2019	Chiba	Violation of Stimulants Control Act	16
3	October 2019	Tokyo	Theft	11
4	January 2020	Naha	Violation of Stimulants Control Act	9
5	March 2020	Naha	Damage of Property	5
6	June 2020	Chiba	Violation of Stimulants Control Act	23
7	July 2020	Chiba	Violation of Stimulants Control Act	14
8	September/ December 2020	Osaka	Violation of Cannabis Control Act	15
9	November 2020	Osaka	Violation of Cannabis Control Act	16
10	November 2020	Tokyo	Violation of Stimulants Control Act	19
11	November 2020	Naha	Violation of Cannabis Control Act	29
12	December 2020	Tokyo	Violation of Stimulants Control Act	18
13	December 2020	Naha	Violation of Cannabis Control Act	9
Total Number of Instances of Discretionary Choices Observed				188

As can be seen in Table 1, a significant number of cases (11 out of 13) involved narcotics – either cannabis or stimulants (this latter term is the most common English translation for the Japanese legal term *kakuseizai*, which refers to amphetamine, methamphetamine, and their derivatives). The two cases of cannabis involved use, whereas the cases involving

stimulants were based on the charge of smuggling the drug into Japan, which means that they were tried in lay judge (*saiban'in*) trials.

Defendants and witnesses whose utterances and their renditions were analyzed, were of diverse backgrounds. Some spoke English as their native tongue (for example, all defendants in the cases observed at Naha District Court were of American nationality, which is quite common in this southern part of Japan due to the presence of U.S. military bases and a large number of American military personnel and staff affiliated with military subcontractors), while some of the others were from countries where English is used as an official language, but is not necessarily the defendant's or the witness's first. However, there were no major communication issues deriving from the JLP speaker's English proficiency, thus such potential issues will not be addressed here.

5. Analysis and Discussion of Selected Examples

We now turn to the presentation of what types of discretionary choices have been identified in the course of this study. It should be borne in mind, however, that without direct insights or explanations by the author of a given translation, we can only speculate as to why a particular expression was used as opposed to a different one. However, these "informed speculations" will be made in order to explore the complexity of the translation process.

Before we go into details, it must be emphasized here what the purpose of this analysis is, and what it is not. The purpose is to present instances of discretionary choices in order to demonstrate that accurate translation can take different forms and produce different results depending on the situation and the interpreter, because, to paraphrase Yoshida, it is clear that no two interpreters will produce identical translations (2020: 212). On the other hand, it must also be acknowledged that, as mentioned previously, interpreters are not infallible but rather prone to making mistakes or errors, just like professionals in any other occupational group. Finding and pointing out such mistakes or errors, however, is *not* the objective of this paper. In the multiple trial observations carried out as part of this project, some such instances did indeed occur, but they were infrequent, were immediately corrected by the interpreter, and, as a result, did not lead to impediments in communication and had no major impact on the overall quality and accuracy of the translation.

One could argue that in an "ideal" situation with an "ideal" interpreter this would not happen. However, this view of the interpreting process is unrealistic. An interpreter interviewed for a previous research project (Marszalenko 2017: 207) states as follows.

[Some legal practitioners say:] “If there is hesitation [in the defendant’s utterance], there should be one in your rendition as well.” I do that, but do the lay judges understand it? It’s impossible for interpreters not to hesitate [in their rendition] at all (...) So, how are the lay judges supposed to know whether the interpreter is reenacting the hesitation in the defendant’s utterance, or hesitating and looking for words? So, I think that this [demand] is rather absurd. (Interpreter I)

The examples analyzed in this paper, therefore, will focus on situations in which the interpreter *made a choice* (either consciously or subconsciously) to use a certain term, phrase, or expression over another possible rendition, rather than a mistake or an error.

Categories of the most frequently occurring discretionary choices, which are the focus of this paper because they highlight differences between the languages in question, are presented below. Instances observed included alterations at different levels of “the language hierarchy (lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic)” (Hale 2007:7). The more frequent types of discretionary choices occurring in double digits included complementation (50)⁸, politeness and honorifics (41), synonym choice (20), personal pronouns (17), and domestication (16). Selected examples of discretionary choices in these categories will be analyzed below in detail.

The reason for narrowing the current discussion to these more common translation strategies is that they may give us some insights into the trends that Japanese-English court interpreters follow. That is not to say that discretionary choices appearing in the data less frequently are of no interest. However, their numbers at this point are too small to determine whether they point to more universal translation strategies or are isolated cases of a particular interpreter’s style. Examples of such less frequently occurring discretionary choices included shifts between the active and passive voices (accompanied by shifts in the subject; 6 instances), simplification (2), or syntax change (1), among others.

5.1 Complementation (50)

As this term suggests, discretionary choices in this category include additions of certain phrases or clauses that make the target text clearer as it otherwise would be. This is not arbitrary, however, because the interpreter does not serve as a proxy for the source text speaker (i.e., these choices are not “embellishments” of the target text, to use Mikkelson’s (1998: 21) words again), but rather draws from the context to make sure that the target text is understood as the source text would be.

⁸ Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of instances of discretionary choices identified in each category.

Example 1-1

Due to the many differences between Japanese and English, even phrases as seemingly innocent as “yes” and “no” can pose a challenge and require vigilance. This is especially the case with negative tag questions, to which Japanese speakers reply in the opposite way compared to speakers of English. For example, the question “You don’t know John Smith, do you?” will be answered with a “yes” if the speaker does *not* know John Smith. This is because the speaker is agreeing with the questioner’s premise: “Yes, what you are saying is correct, I don’t know John Smith.” Conversely, “no” is the appropriate answer if the speaker *does* know Smith: “No, you are wrong, I *do* know John Smith.” This is not unlike the German *doch* or the French *si* when used to contradict a negative question.

This of course causes no difficulty if the speaker answers in full sentences like those above. If, on the other hand, they answer with a simple “yes” or “no,” the interpreter must make sure that the answer in the target language is not the opposite of what it was in the source language. Given this complexity, which is a source of potential confusion, the interpreter may choose to render the speaker’s answer in a more complete way, as in the following exchange between the defense counsel (DC) and the defendant (D) observed in a stimulant smuggling case.

DC: Kikai o shimesaremasendeshita ne?

I: You weren’t shown any machines, right?

D: No.

I: Shimesaremasendeshita.⁹

[Back translation: [I] wasn’t shown [any machines]]

Had the interpreter rendered the defendant’s answer as a simple *ie* (the most common Japanese word for “no”), the likelihood of it having been incorrectly understood in the sense that the defendant “was shown some machines” would have outweighed the correct interpretation. Thus, in this case, not only is “literal translation” (“yes” as “yes,” and “no” as “no”) inaccurate but is actually the opposite of the source text meaning.

Example 1-2

The following two samples demonstrate a difference in expression style between English and Japanese. Certain elements of an utterance can be omitted in Japanese speech because they are either implied or understood from the context.

⁹ In the analysis of discretionary choices presented in this section, focal points in the interpreter’s rendition have been underlined.

DC: Soshite, Z¹⁰ kara wa ...?

[And, ... by Z?]

I: What did Z then say?

DC: Soshite, Z kara no tsugi no shiji wa ...?

[And, the next instruction from Z ...?]

I: What was the next instruction from Z?

The portions in the square parentheses are more direct renditions of the defense counsel's questions. The phrases added by the interpreter (especially the verbs) are necessary in English, but in Japanese they are clear from the context. Of course, the defense counsel could have finished the sentences as one would when speaking English, but this style of speaking, where the latter part of an utterance (or sometimes even the core part of it) is omitted, is natural in Japanese and causes no confusion if both parties are familiar with the context.

5.2 Politeness and Honorifics (41)

Politeness and honorifics are an essential aspect of any language and culture, but given the relatively hierarchical nature of Japanese society, the Japanese language is arguably uniquely complex in this regard, with three categories of honorifics (*keigo*) – *sonkeigo*, *kenjōgo*, and *teineigo*, used depending on the relationship between the interlocutors and the situation in which the conversation takes place.

There are cases where using neutral expressions in English is acceptable and polite, while seemingly neutral utterances in Japanese may come across as harsh, impolite, or even uncooperative, defiant, or hostile towards the court or the party asking the question. Thus, in order to maintain the (neutral or polite) intention of the source text speaker, the interpreter may need to adjust the degree of politeness to a level acceptable in Japanese.

Discretionary choices included in this category demonstrate the rich character of Japanese *keigo* and its potential to explore various levels of social and situational hierarchy, formality, or even repentance and remorse on the part of the defendant.

Example 2-1

The following samples demonstrate how the interpreter uses the verb *itasu*, which is a *kenjōgo* form of the verb *suru* [to do]. In Japanese, “to do” phrases are used much more frequently than in English, because they can be coupled with various nouns, thus creating new verbs. In the following samples the verb is paired with the nouns *shinsei* [application]

¹⁰ All names of persons and places used in this paper have been altered.

and *chekkuin* [check-in], thus producing “to apply” and “to check in,” respectively. Further, in both cases, the verb is used in its polite (not neutral or casual) form and in the past tense (thus, *itasu* becomes *itashimashita*).

D: I applied for GED.

I: GED ni shinsei itashimashita.

[Back translation: I applied for GED]

D: I checked in at the hotel.

I: Hoteru ni chekkuin itashimashita.

[Back translation: I checked in at the hotel.]

In a Japanese-to-English rendition both verbs (*itasu* and *suru*) would be translated in the same way (as can be seen in the back translations provided) but in the opposite direction, the interpreter needs to choose what they believe to be the more appropriate form in a given situation. Should the interpreters in the above samples have made the other choice (*shimashita* in the *teineigo* form of the past tense of *suru*), accuracy of the rendition would have still been preserved. Why, then, did they opt for *kenjōgo* instead of *teineigo*? This is possibly because humility and respect are important virtues to be expressed by the defendant in Japanese courtrooms (and in Japanese society at large) and thus, more appropriate for someone, whose future is in the hands of the court.

Example 2-2

Another group of discretionary choices in this category worth mentioning involves adding the honorific suffix *-san* (or the more polite version *-sama*) to names of persons referred to in reporting on events under discussion in the hearings. This suffix is often treated as the Japanese equivalent to the English “Mr.” or “Ms.” (it is gender-neutral) but it is far more versatile than its English counterpart and can be used not only with regard to people but also non-human entities (e.g., companies), situations or states. For example, a common way in Japanese to show someone appreciation after a job or task performed is *otsukare-sama* (or more casually, *otsukare-san*), whose translation into English is famously difficult as it depends entirely on the situation (it can sometimes be used even as a regular “hello,” provided that it is not the first “hello” of the day).

However, in the following samples this suffix refers to people, so in this particular case it can be treated as the equivalent of “Mr.” (the persons referred to are all male).

W: Tanaka was calling Miguel, asking him when the money would be sent.

I: Tanaka-san ga Migueru ni denwa shite, okane ga itsu okurareru ka ni tsuite kiite imashita.

[Back translation: Mr. Tanaka was calling Miguel, asking him when the money would be sent.]

PP: Sono okane wa dō shite imashita ka.

I: What were you doing with the money?

W: Of course, I was giving it to Tom.

I: Mochiron, Tomu-san ni watashite imashita.

[Back translation: Of course, I was giving it to Mr. Tom.]

There can be multiple reasons explaining such use of the suffix by the interpreter. One of them may be that in Japanese, referring to a person only by their name can be considered too casual or impolite, rather than simply neutral. Another possible explanation is that unless the person referred to is in one's "close circle" or lower in the social hierarchy than the speaker, some form of honorifics or the person's title or function is likely to be used. Therefore, by adding *-san* to "Tom's" or "Tanaka's" names (but, interestingly, not to "Miguel's"), two things are achieved: 1) the rendition sounds appropriately polite (and thus possibly more suited for the courtroom setting), and 2) suggestion that the relationship between the source text speaker (in this case, a witness) and the person being referred to is not that intimate or close (which could suggest that the witness was closer to "Miguel" than to "Tom" or "Tanaka").

5.3 *Synonym Choice (20)*

This category is rather self-explanatory but in more interesting cases the choices are derived from external influences on the Japanese language. Japanese is a language heavily influenced by the languages, cultures, and societies of China and Korea, which is especially visible in its highly complex writing system and rich vocabulary composed of innumerable expressions of Chinese and Korean origins, used alongside indigenous Japanese vocabulary. In more modern times, though, Japan and its language have been also greatly influenced by Western nations. This influence can be seen in medical, technical, and sociopolitical terminology, and in more recent times (especially after World War II), in (mainly English-derived) lexicon relating to contemporary culture, entertainment, IT, and even everyday life.

Let us turn to an example demonstrating these recent influences on the Japanese language, namely, some choices the interpreter can make when rendering the English "tattoo" into Japanese. Two Japanese words will be discussed here: *irezumi*, and *tatū*¹¹. Even though Japan has a long tradition of artistic tattooing, in modern times, they have rather become

¹¹ Yet another Japanese word for "tattoo" is *horimono*. However, this term refers to a specific type of traditional Japanese tattoos and does not appear in the collected data. It will therefore not be discussed further.

associated more with members of organized crime syndicates, or the *yakuza*. In this pejorative context, the term used more commonly is *irezumi*. On the other hand, some Japanese sport tattoos as a form of self-expression without being affiliated in any way with organized crime, just like people in other countries. In this case, the more common word to use is the foreign-derived *tatū*. However, these two words can be used interchangeably, and the nuances described above are not necessarily universally shared by all Japanese speakers.

The difference between the usage and its implications between *irezumi* and *tatū* was clearly demonstrated in one of the cases observed. Whenever the public prosecutor referred to the defendant's tattoos (which were "regular," i.e., not "gang," tattoos), he used *irezumi*. This, perhaps, was a tactic in order to show the defendant in a less advantageous light, maybe even suggesting his "criminal tendencies" or some association with organized crime. In the Japanese-to-English rendition this nuance is difficult to convey, and the word was translated simply as *tattoos*. The interpreter could have, perhaps, used *ink*, which is a colloquial or slang term. However, it does not necessarily have the same "criminal" connotations as the Japanese *irezumi* often does. Further, *irezumi* is not a slang term, therefore the use of *ink* would have been hard to justify in terms of preserving the accuracy of the prosecutor's formal style and register.

Interestingly, however, every time the defendant himself mentioned his tattoos, the interpreter elected to use the word *tatū*. Using *irezumi* here might have produced a negative impression of the defendant. This, of course, would not have been something for which the defendant wished, though possibly it would have been welcomed by the prosecutor.

5.4 Personal Pronouns (17)

Japanese personal pronouns are one of the most interesting parts of speech in this language, as they provide a mirror into the culture, society, and relationships among people in Japan. This is because Japanese boasts a myriad of personal pronouns, whose usage depends on the speaker's status in relation to the hearer, their gender, age, or the situation among other factors. Furthermore, usage of these pronouns is not fixed, and any one person will use at least some of them in different circumstances or at different stages of their life.

For example, where most languages of Europe have just one first person singular pronoun (the English *I*, the Spanish *yo*, or the German *ich*), speakers of Japanese can choose from a rich repertoire: *watakushi*, *watashi*, *atashi*, *boku*, *ore*, *washi*, or *jibun* to mention just a few. The same applies to second person singular, with some of the options including *anata*, *kimi*, or *omae*.

These pronouns, however, are not merely grammatical elements indicating and differentiating between various interlocutors in the communication act. According to Kinsui (2014), some of them can be classified as *yakuwarigo*, or markers of traits such as the speaker's age, gender, profession, or personality. Therefore, choosing one personal pronoun over another can have quite a significant impact on how the hearers perceive the speaker. It must also be borne in mind that in many cases not using any personal pronoun at all, can also be a choice (and often is).

In the data collected, whenever the defendant is speaking about himself (with the exception of one case, all defendants were male in the trials observed), the renditions included the formal, often gender-neutral *watashi* or even the more formal *watakushi*.

Interestingly, however, usage of different pronouns was observed when referring to the “external reality” (as opposed to the “courtroom reality;” Hale and Gibbons 1999) reporting on conversations or events having taken place prior to the trial. For example, in one of the cases observed, on the occasion of reporting on conversations the defendant had had with friends or acquaintances, *boku* was used as the first person singular, and *kimi* as the second person singular. In the “courtroom reality,” on the other hand, the public prosecutor used mainly *anata* when addressing the defendant (in all cases observed, legal practitioners referred to the defendant either with this pronoun or simply by *hikokunin* [defendant]).

Example 4-1

PP: Anata wa, Anna ni “Boku wa kimi ni nanimo okuttenai kara ne” to iu messēji o okurimshiata ne?

I: You sent a message to Anna saying, “I didn’t send anything to you,” correct?
[Back translation: You [=anata] sent a message to Anna saying, “I [=boku] didn’t send anything to you [=kimi],” correct?]

In this sample, we can observe two out of the many Japanese “yous.” When referring to the defendant, the public prosecutor uses the more formal *anata* (this pronoun, however, would likely be classified as *teineigo* rather than *sonkeigo*). The defendant, on the other hand, would not use *anata* speaking to any of the lawyers in the courtroom; they would rather refer to these professionals using their function in the communication act, i.e., “prosecutor” (*kensatsukan*), “defense counsel” (*bengonin*), or “judge” (*saibankan*). This is because *anata* can be used among persons on an equal footing or by the “more powerful” party when speaking to the “less powerful” one, which clearly defines the relationship between a prosecutor and a defendant.

In the quoted conversation between the defendant and “Anna,” the latter person becomes *kimi*, (informal, casual pronoun used mainly by men referring to both men and women), whereas the defendant is represented by *boku* (used mainly by men when the speaker is referring to himself, or by either gender when used in second person addressing young boys). Both *kimi* and *boku* are used in more casual conversations, in which interlocutors are on more informal, friendly, or even intimate terms with each other.

The differences in the personal pronouns used in the external and courtroom realities demonstrate that interpreters are mindful of the importance of this part of speech in the Japanese language. In theory, the interpreter could have rendered the first person singular in all instances as *watakushi* or *watashi* or the second person singular as *anata*. However, should they have done so, the relationship between interlocutors in the external reality (“Anna” and the defendant in the samples above) would have sounded too formal or even awkward (it is highly unlikely that a man would use *anata* speaking to a woman with whom he is in a close or friendly relationship), and would have lost the “natural” character of the Japanese casual conversation style. In other words, pragmatic equivalence would not have been achieved.

The example introduced above is one of an English-to-Japanese translation. However, in the opposite case (Japanese to English), this complexity cannot be easily expressed in English, and these pragmatic features of Japanese personal pronouns would most likely be sacrificed in the rendition.

5.5 Domestication (16)

Discretionary choices in this category can often be explained by the interpreter’s desire for the target text to sound natural or accessible to its recipients. An interesting example here is the use of Japanese imperial era years rather than Western calendar years. For example, the year 2021 can be also expressed as “the 3rd year of *Reiwa*,” with *Reiwa* being the name given to the period presided over by the current emperor of Japan, Naruhito.

To a defendant or a witness not familiar with this custom, the following question by the public prosecutor would, most likely, make little to no sense (it would, of course, cause no confusion to the recipients of the *source* text): “I am going to ask you about your purchasing of cannabis on July 31, Reiwa 2.” Thus, “July 31, 2020” is the more common choice preserving the pragmatic equivalence of the public prosecutor’s question. This is because it is highly unlikely that the intention of the prosecutor was to confuse the defendant by using *Reiwa* – the imperial era years appear in most legal documents presented in trial and are commonly referred to in the courtroom discourse, more so than their Western counterparts.

5.6 Summary of Findings

Regardless of the language pair with which an interpreter works, certain discretionary choices will be made, “since no two languages are identical, either in the meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the way such symbols are arranged in phrases and sentences ...” (Nida 1964 [2004]:126). With languages which share origins (e.g., English and Spanish) the scope and scale of such choices may be smaller. However, as Berk-Seligson (2002 [1990]) demonstrates, this does not mean that they are insignificant or that they may not have serious implications. With languages with roots as distant as English and Japanese, on the other hand, interventions by the interpreter may be more conspicuous. This has implications not only for understanding the linguistic aspect of interpreting in the legal setting, but also provides insights into how interpreters deal with sociocultural aspects of speech.

Examples in the category complementation have demonstrated that, in some cases, interpreting “word-for-word” may lead to the target text being understood in the opposite sense to the source text (Example 1-1), or that in some cases English may require more complete utterance, whereas Japanese may rely more heavily on deriving the meaning from the context (Example 1-2). The politeness/honorifics category has shown the richness of the Japanese *keigo*, and that without adjusting the honorific level, a rendition into Japanese could result in a less favorable (i.e., inappropriate or insufficiently polite) impression of the source language speaker, thus failing to preserve pragmatic equivalence.

The *tatū/irezumi* difference sheds a light on the impact that choosing one synonym over another may have on the pragmatic aspects of communication. In other words, choosing *irezumi* rather than *tatū* in the defendant’s utterances, could have resulted in a negative impression of the said person, and could have possibly even affected the outcome of the case.

The usage of the Japanese personal pronouns has brought to the fore differences in the courtroom and external realities (Hale and Gibbons 1999). It has also shown that interpreters are aware of how important this part of speech is in terms of creating natural rendition and at the same time preserving accuracy.

The last category discussed, domestication, was of particular interest because it offered a glimpse into the culture and society of Japan. The example introduced (Japanese imperial era years) could potentially stir the most controversy out of all the discretionary choices introduced in this study. This is because by replacing the Japanese phrase *Reiwa 2* with the numbered year 2020, it moves entirely away from the notion of “literal translation.” Those defining the role of the court interpreter as “conduit”

or in similar terms, could argue that this example is one illustrating excessive liberty on the part of the interpreter. However, as I have argued throughout this paper, accuracy in the translation process is a far more complex phenomenon and sacrificing pragmatic equivalence for narrowly defined linguistic “faithfulness” may lead to undesirable results (i.e., misunderstandings or miscommunication).

6. Concluding Remarks

The discussion in this article has attempted to demonstrate that achieving accuracy in translation in general, and in court interpreting in particular, is not a simple or straight-forward task. Court interpreters are allowed very little “poetic license,” and this is for a good reason, given that mistakes or errors in judgment can lead to serious consequences. Nevertheless, they do make discretionary choices, which are a result of highly nuanced and complex processes taking place during the translational act. To present this argument, I have focused on the differences between Japanese and English, giving particular attention to honorifics, personal pronouns, or differences in style of expression manifest in categories such as complementation, synonym choice, or domestication.

It is clear, however, that the data presented in this paper do not demonstrate a complete picture of discretionary choices made by court interpreters but simply offer a glimpse into the phenomenon. The data samples collected and analyzed totaled 188 instances and came from thirteen different criminal trials mediated by multiple interpreters. Those discussed in this paper were selected because they bring to the fore some of the more interesting differences between Japanese and English, but this analysis is by no means exhaustive and much more still can and needs to be researched about this topic.

Some important limitations of this study need to be addressed. First of all, the scope of the analysis was limited to one language pair (Japanese and English) due to the linguistic limitations of the author and limited access to information about interpreter-mediated criminal trials. It would be highly informative to see what kind of discretionary choices are made between Japanese and other languages, particularly Korean, which shares many linguistic and cultural features with Japanese. Are challenges for this language pair the same, similar, or different? Does the syntactic and lexical similarity between the languages make achieving accuracy easier or more difficult? How do Japanese-Korean interpreters deal with Japanese honorifics or personal pronouns? Addressing these questions would bring us closer to a more comprehensive understanding of how court interpreters in Japan strive to produce accurate renditions and how

they understand their role in the legal process. Furthermore, learning how Japanese-language interpreters in countries other than Japan deal with matters pertaining to accuracy, would also be an invaluable contribution to the field.

Japanese is a dialect-rich language, so gaining some insights into how such dialectal differences of Japanese-speaking witnesses can be expressed in English rendition would also be of interest. This insight would be especially valuable for the dialects spoken in the Tohoku (Northeastern Japan), Kyushu and the Ryukyus (Southern Japan), or Kansai (Western Japan) regions, as these are believed to demonstrate significant differences from standard Japanese. Naturally, dialects or variations of English may also prove a source of important data from the perspective of matters concerning accuracy in English-to-Japanese court interpreting.

As I have argued through this paper, accuracy in translation is not easily defined or even entirely objective, however, and depending on the person conducting the analysis, a different conclusion may be reached. This diversity of opinions is necessary, and should be encouraged, in order to further the discussion on this important topic. To illustrate this, let us turn to another interpreter interviewed for my previous (2016: 37) study:

It seems to me that when legal practitioners talk of “faithful” [or “literal”] interpretation they take this mathematical standpoint that there is only “one correct translation.” From a practicing interpreter’s perspective, though, it seems that there is a certain range for “correct translation,” and as long as one’s rendition is within that range, it’s fine. *Some will find it [a particular rendition] good, while others won’t, that’s where people’s opinions will differ.* (Interpreter II, emphasis added)

Another limitation that needs to be addressed here is the fact that this analysis was not able to present many instances on difficulties in achieving pragmatic equivalence deriving from sociocultural differences (Higashino 2001, Yoshida 2020). In the current time frame of this research project (June 2019 – December 2020), such clear examples were not found with the exception of those already introduced. It would be interesting to see how sociopolitical, cultural, or religious differences affect not only Japanese-English translation, but translation across languages, cultures, and societies.

Given the constraints on court interpreting research in general, and in Japan in particular (Marszalenko 2020), however, even this small-scale study is a step forward in building our understanding on issues surrounding accuracy in translation between Japanese and English. Further research will unquestionably deepen this understanding and, hopefully, help not only legal practitioners but also scholars and

interpreters themselves to see the translation process as it really is. This, in turn, will free all involved in the interpreter-mediated legal process from the unhelpful and debunked myth (or “legal fiction,” to borrow Laster and Taylor’s (1994) words) of “literal translation,” thus contributing to the provision of better, smoother, and more equitable interpreting and translation services in the legal process.

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ONE YEAR IN PONTOCHŌ: RESEARCH NOTES ON THE GEIKO WORLD IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Carmen SĂPUNARU TĂMAȘ, Noriko ONOHARA¹

Abstract: *The everchanging world of the geisha (or geiko, as they are known in Kyoto) has always been a topic of great interest for artists, researchers, men of leisure who could appreciate the beauty of the “flower district,” or even those affiliated with the various businesses that create and support the beauty embodied by the maiko and geiko. The current paper presents some preliminary results of a research project that aims to compile a visual record of the seasons in Pontochō (one of Kyoto’s pleasure districts), accompanied by an analysis of what this community means, how it is seen, and how it sees itself in contemporary society. These research notes will address the scope and structure of the project—the attempt at creating a material record initiated not by a researcher, but by the subjects of research themselves, as well as an analysis of some aspects of the material culture most often associated with maiko and geiko, and by extension with the Japanese culture as a whole: the kimono.*

Keywords: Geisha, geiko, kimono, ritual, material culture

1. Project beginnings and structure

In the summer of 2019, the leader of one of the groups associated with Tenjin Matsuri decided to reward the interest displayed by two foreign researchers in Japanese culture, and their willingness to spend long hours standing under the torrid summer sun just to observe the activities of the group, by inviting myself (Carmen Tămaș) and an American colleague to an evening in Kyoto: dinner with a geiko² and maiko³, followed by a dance performance at a tea house, and ending in conversation and drinks. That night we returned home with the feeling that we had been in a dream: as scholars of Japanese culture, we had (of course) had extensive encounters with the geiko, but they had all been limited to the written pages of books, and maybe movies. We also knew that a professor’s salary was not exactly sufficient to support that particular type of entertainment, not to mention the fact that one does not simply barge into a teahouse, hence our feeling of wonder after a “close

¹ Both authors are associate professors at the University of Hyogo, School of Economics and Management.

² The general term is *geigi* (geisha for the Kanto area, geiko for Kansai), and it is used to “designate the women who attend banquets, entertaining customers with artistic performances such as music and dancing.” (Matsuda 2020: 4; author’s translation)

³ “A term used to designate a young woman during the period of apprenticeship before becoming a geiko. Maiko does not indicate a profession in itself.” (Ibid. p. 6)

encounter with a geisha.” I use the term “geisha” here, because it is the word that non-Japanese people usually associate with these artists, but henceforth the term “geiko,” which is common in Kyoto, shall be used. After that evening, my friend returned to the United States, but I have had the opportunity to visit the teahouse and meet the geiko several times, and one evening I asked the lady of the house, *okāsan*, whether she had any information on a ritual involving combs, which is performed annually at Yasui Konpira Shrine in the Gion district. She did not, yet she offered something even more valuable: she opened her kimono storage room for me, brought out several albums of old photographs, and asked me whether I wanted to do research in order to preserve something of those precious things that no longer had a real practical value.



First encounters (the author and Ms. Ichisayo, Pontochō, June 2019)

A few weeks later, with help from the gentleman who had made the initial introductions, I met a professional photographer, and we started considering our project. At the end of April this year (2021) we received official approval from Pontochō Kabukai (the Artists’ Association active in the Pontochō district of Kyoto) to conduct research and attend events in the area.

In 1983, Liza Dalby, an American anthropologist, published the first ethnography (“Geisha”) of the geiko world in the English language, an attempt at explaining to the Western readers a fascinating aspect of Japanese culture. In 2008 an anniversary edition of the book was reprinted, with a preface by the author which tried to describe the changes that had occurred in the “flower world” during the 21st century.

The present project does not attempt to copy Dalby’s impressive work (the result not only of extensive research, but also of herself having

become a geiko), but it has something in common with it: the effort to preserve tradition. The fact that society is rapidly changing has never been more obvious than during the past year, when the entire world has been affected by a pandemic. The beauty of the geiko and their finely-honed skills are as fleeting as the much-admired cherry blossoms, but unlike the cherry blossoms, what a geiko has to offer to the artistic world disappears for good when she retires from the scene.

The final project will combine the skills of a professional photographer with those of an anthropologist in order to record (and explain to a wider audience) what a year in the Pontochō district means: how beauty is constructed and performed, what are the seasonal ceremonies and how they are conducted (a geiko's appearance will subtly change every month, as their attire and conduct revolve around the seasons), the difference between daily life and ritual occasions. Wherever possible, references to the history and structure of the geiko world will be made, in order to support the story created through photographs, old (provided by records) and new (taken by the project author).

The final result will be an overview of a year in Pontochō, with a focus on seasons and their connection to the geiko's appearance, kimonos and accessories, the events that define each month, as well as the various rites of passage that are connected mainly to individual maiko and geiko, but which at the same time are symbolical of the life in the district.

2. In the footsteps of Liza Dalby

Geisha have long been a source of fascination for both the Japanese and non-Japanese alike. When Japan opened its borders and started exporting culture in the beginning of the Meiji Period (late 19th century), geisha became a symbol of Orientalism (one of the sources of and often associated with Japonisme), an embodiment of eroticism for non-Japanese men, and an icon of “authentic,” traditional culture in Japan—“associated with the gratification of sexual pleasures by Western men,” and a “symbol of Japanese beauty” within the country (Nishihara 246). Liza Dalby's doctoral dissertation, published in 1983, represents if not the first English-language study of the geisha, at least the most comprehensive to date. As our colleague Dr. Kathryn Tanaka put it, this is also the first effort to “de-exoticize” the geisha. Although Dalby aptly compares them to the contemporary movie stars, studying the geisha may be an enterprise more difficult than doing research on the work of actors, because there is only a limited number of events open to the general public, and those do not offer a true insight into the “flower”⁴ world. One can, of

⁴ The districts where geisha are active are called (in Kyoto) 花街 *kagai* ~ the “flower district.”

course, ask permission to do research, but even if permission is granted, it would be difficult to follow the ladies on their various appointments, as their time is paid for by customers who may not always be delighted by the idea of having an outsider join their party and take notes. Since fieldwork is essential for an anthropologist, only two options remain: become either a customer (something that would require ample funding, and would offer only a one-sided perspective) or a geisha, as Liza Dalby did. Her position was a privileged one, because she had access to all aspects that compose the world of a geisha, from her life in an *okiya* (“a geisha house, an establishment where geisha are affiliated in order to be registered in their communities”—Dalby 2005: 333), to her interactions with the various teachers and professionals that help her achieve the accomplished image presented to the world, to the select group of customers who can afford this type of entertainment. Two chapters of Dalby’s work, 4. *Pontochō of long ago*, and 5. *Geisha Renovation*, trace a history of the profession, from its beginning during the Edo Period, when geisha were male “comedians and musicians [who] made all-around good company for parties” (2005: 56), showing up when customers spent time with *yūjō* (“women of pleasure”), to present times. According to Dalby, “in 1751, some customers in a Shimabara brothel were surprised when a female drum bearer (*onna taiko-mochi*) pranced into their party. She was referred to as a *geiko*, the term still used in Kyoto instead of geisha” (Ibid.)

The geisha were soon recognized as a special category of entertainers, compelled to adhere to the strict regulations imposed by the government, but it is interesting to note that what has become an embodiment of Japanese tradition has a history of less than three centuries. However, this comparatively short period was enough for the geisha to assimilate and refine not only the performative aspects of Japanese culture their profession originated from, but many others, ranging from dress, make-up, style, the art of conversation, and the even harder to grasp art of being an aesthetic ideal. Liza Dalby notes that they actually turned from being “fashion innovators” during the Edo period (when Japanese society was not threatened by an identity crisis and was looking outside its borders for novelty and amusement) to “curators of tradition” during the mid 1900’s—“trying to be modern, they were in danger of losing that which made them special as geisha. [...] This conservative function has been vital to the existence of the profession today.” (2005: 74)

I have used the term “geisha” in reference to Liza Dalby’s work because this is the general term she prefers, but hereafter the term “*geiko*” will be used, in connection to the center of this research project, *Pontochō*. In the 21st century, Kyoto’s *geiko* have become its worldwide famous symbol, their status as a living tourist attraction reaching levels where it

turned into an inconvenience: geiko and maiko could hardly go out for their daily lessons and appointments without being harassed by tourists, a phenomenon reported by major news outlets such as the Japan Times (*Respect Maiko, Don't Act Like Paparazzi, Kyoto Tells Tourists*, January 13, 2009⁵), the New York Times (*In Kyoto, a Call Not to Trample the Geisha*, April 7, 2009⁶), the Independent (*Kyoto Tourists to be Fined for Hassling Geishas*, October 29, 2019⁷), or the Guardian (*Geisha selfies banned in Kyoto as foreign tourism boom takes toll*, November 5, 2019⁸). This fascination with the maiko and geiko is related, of course, to their exquisite presence, but it is also fueled by their inaccessibility: with the exception of the few seasonal shows offered by each of the five *kagai* districts in Kyoto, close contact with them is not something easily obtained. The main job of a geiko is to entertain customers during banquets or informal meals, the appointments being usually made through an *ochaya*, teahouse. Historically, their profession was closely connected to these parties held at teahouses, where they can only drink, not eat, but nowadays they are frequently invited to dinner by their customers (where they do eat), and even on trips abroad (one of my informants recalled an interesting stay at a haunted French chateau, while another mentioned a business trip to Singapore, where she attended a big event hosted by a Japanese company).

Access to an *ochaya* is made through an introduction, with the person making the introduction being the one who guarantees for the new customer. Most *ochaya* in Pontochō (through a fortunate coincidence, our project is focused on the same district where Liza Dalby conducted fieldwork, a fact proudly mentioned by Ms. Ichisayo during our first encounter in 2019) still follow the old *kōza* system, which means that a customer has an account with a single teahouse, where all the expenses are added—the cost for the maiko/ geiko joining a party, food and drinks, small souvenirs if the situation requires them, and so on—and the bill for the month is sent to the customer in the beginning of the new month. It is possible to have *kōza* with more than one *ochaya*, but it is not very common, since one establishment can arrange all the necessary appointments for the customer. This is obviously a relationship based on trust, and as such the *ochaya* must be very careful in selecting their customers, which made it difficult if not impossible for tourists to have

⁵ <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2009/01/13/national/respect-maiko-privacy-dont-act-like-paparazzi-kyoto-tells-tourists/>

⁶ <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/07/world/asia/07iht-geisha.html>

⁷ <https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/kyoto-tourists-geishas-fine-japan-gion-selfies-hassle-a9175491.html>

⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/05/geisha-selfies-banned-in-kyoto-as-foreign-tourism-boom-takes-toll>

access to genuine geiko entertainment. During the tourist boom that preceded the Covid-19 pandemic, some *ochaya* had decided to forego with this system, and actually acquired credit card readers, but the pandemic prevented the spread of this innovation.

Geiko and maiko remain elusive symbols of beauty, transient and ephemeral: one can catch a glimpse, can even linger on a breathtaking moment, but one can never hold it for long. A public lecture offered online by a Romanian cultural organization, Fundatia Calea Victoriei, focused precisely on these aspects of being a geisha: art, pleasure, and femininity⁹, and this is the message the geiko themselves want to send to the world. In an interview with Ms. Ichisayo I asked her (like I ask all the maiko and geiko I have the chance to meet) why she had decided to become a geiko, and what she thinks this profession means. She replied that, being born in Kyoto, being a geiko had been a childhood dream, and now her dearest hope is to be able to preserve this special culture, and pass it on to the future generations. As an anthropologist, I realize only too well that the informants' statements must be considered in context and sometimes taken with a grain of salt, but during my encounters with the maiko and geiko I have come to understand that they are truly aware of their role as pinnacles of Japanese tradition, and they focus their efforts on behaving as such.

3. Pontochō no Etō

The current project began in one of the many teahouses of the Pontochō district in Kyoto, which is in turn one of the five *kagai* (literally, “flower street”; other commonly encountered expressions that designate these areas are the “Floating World,” the “Pleasure District,” or the “Flower-and-Willow District”): Gion Kobu, Miyagawachō, Pontochō, Kamishichiken, Gion Higashi. Pontochō was established in 1712 (Clancy 2016: 64), and according to Liza Dalby, “its name sounds vaguely odd to the Japanese ears. [...] One of the more plausible theories is that *ponto*-derives from the Portuguese word for bridge, *ponte*, as bridges are such a prominent feature of the area.” (Dalby 2005: 49)

The Etō *ochaya* was established in the tenth year of the Taishō Period (1922) by a man named Etō Seijirō, and on February 7, 1946 (Shōwa 21), a Mrs. Yuki Etō took over, obtaining a permit for *fūzoku eigyō*¹⁰. The current owner, Mrs. Hiroko Etō is the sixth generation of patronesses, having taken over on November 3, 1990 (Heisei 2), and she stated that she was “born to continue the family business.” During a

⁹ GHEIȘA – feminitate, artă și plăcere japoneză (lecture by Dr. Alice Teodorescu, April 23, 2021, <https://www.fundatiacaleavictoriei.ro/gheisa/>)

¹⁰ Establishments categorized under the generic term of *fūzoku eigyō* include all types of restaurants, bars, cafés and other similar businesses. (Tamas 2017: 223)

longer interview conducted on April 15, 2021, Etō *okāsan*¹¹ cheerfully declared (cheerfulness seems to be the only face she shows the outside world) that her purpose in life was to become the next patroness, and that she did not really have any other choices. Since early childhood, she has been a part of the *kagai*, starting from elementary school with minor roles in the seasonal performances. She takes pride in the memory of her mother, who would pick her up from school to take her to rehearsals, and in the fact that she was destined to be one of the few keepers of tradition.

It is the researcher's duty to look beyond the informants' statements and to reconstruct a reality from the observed instances and the collected stories, and that is why I do not begin this project with the intention to conclude that yes, this is the role of the geiko, to be the only true guardians and embodiments of traditional Japanese values, yet it has become obvious during my fieldwork that, to a certain extent at least, they truly believe that this is their mission. One of the goals of this project is to determine how much of this perspective is one more thing the geiko must learn and perform when necessary, and how the narrative changes according to individual and age.

Mrs. Etō herself acknowledged that Pontochō is not what it used to be, which is a good thing, because people in Kyoto have always liked new things, so change is not a negative but a natural and welcome type of evolution. Mrs. Etō's "younger sister" (the inner hierarchy of the *kagai* dictates that a maiko would call all geiko and all maiko who had joined the *okiya* before her "older sister;" a geiko would similarly call all geiko who had achieved that status before her "older sister," and they would use the same word as a polite way of addressing other women they meet), Mrs. Miyako Etori, was also present during the interview, and supplied many useful details. Mrs. Etō (the former Ms. Ichitomo) and Ms. Miyako (the former Ms. Ichiyuki) were maiko together, and have maintained a close relationship even after Ms. Miyako got married and left the *kagai*. A few years ago, Ms. Miyako returned to Kyoto, and she now helps Mrs. Etō during various events, including offering information to a Romanian anthropologist.



Ms. Miyako as a maiko

¹¹ The owner of a teahouse is called *okāsan*, "mother."

Ms. Miyako is originally from Tokyo, and her grandmother (who passed away soon after Ms. Miyako was born, so she never heard the stories directly from the source) used to be a geiko in Kanazawa, until she eloped to Hokkaido, where she opened a Japanese-style restaurant. Ms. Miyako's parents were artists, semi-professional shamisen and tsuzumi drum players; having grown up in an artistic family, she considered following in their footsteps, but that would have meant a long period of training and being dependent on her family. Feeling slightly rebellious and having read a newspaper article about the maiko in Kyoto, young Miyako called Kaburenjo (the theater in Pontochō) for more information. She was told that the best way would be to directly experience the *kagai* world, which she did during the next summer holidays, when she spent a week at the *ochaya* under the supervision of Mrs. Etō's grandmother. Ms. Miyako wanted to finish high-school before becoming a maiko, but was told that would be too late (even nowadays most aspiring maiko join immediately after they finish middle school, when they are 15), as rules were much stricter 40 years ago.

Neither Mrs. Etō nor Ms. Miyako seem to experience regret for their more (in Ms. Miyako's case) or less (in Mrs. Etō's case) voluntary choices, with Ms. Miyako being positively exuberant to be back and proudly asserting that being a geiko is part of her identity, something that gives her strength, so that as long as the *ochaya* is there, she feels she can do anything. I mention the concept of regret here because the life of a maiko or geiko is by no means an easy one; they have a schedule stricter than that of most people (regardless of their age), maybe comparable with that of professional athletes, and they also have to obey a multitude of rules. For example, in Pontochō maiko are not allowed to possess a computer or a phone; for information, they may use the computer available in their *okiya*, or they can ask an "older sister" to help them with appointments, but only when they become full-fledged geiko are they allowed to possess a phone. In terms of choices, the current young generation has more than all the previous generations put together, and having to do without many of the conveniences of the 21st century may be one of the reasons the number of maiko and geiko is decreasing. In April 2021 there were 5 maiko and 34 geiko in Pontochō, with two more ladies having acquired the status of maiko on May 28 and June 3.

4. Kimono—material culture and memory

As a keeper of tradition, Mrs. Etō proudly showed me her collection of kimonos, kimono belts (*obi*), hair and *obi* accessories, and the project began as an effort not only to preserve the image, but also to record the meaning and the memories associated with those objects.



Hair and *obi* accessories from the Etō collection

Material culture, materiality, and the relationship between humans and the objects they made and which make them in turn are concepts often discussed in recent anthropological studies, a concern that “forces us to acknowledge the centrality of materiality itself to the constitution of humanity.” (Miller 2005: 34) Or, to use Michael Engelke’s plainer terms, “humans use material culture [...] to make sense of, express, and sum up who they are.” (2018: 34) One cannot be a maiko without the exquisite long kimono, the heavy *obi* belt, or the hair ornaments that change with the seasons. All these accoutrements belong to the *okiya*, not the maiko herself, yet they become part of her identity—once the final touch is added to her first maiko ensemble, she completes a rite of passage and steps into a new world and a new stage in life. Her attire and hairstyle create a maiko, and when she becomes a *geiko*, she takes them off while leaving a part of herself behind. In their 2020 study, Alexandra Binnenkade and Felicitas Macgilchrist explore the plurality and polysemy of objects, and their association with memory: “Objects can relate past, present, and future, combine different perspectives and meanings.” (2020: 44) In the *kagai* world, maiko and *geiko* are defined by their kimonos, whom they imbue with their character, actions, and stories. The kimonos stored on the third floor of Etō *ochaya* are works of arts in themselves, and become much more when contextualized—they represent individuals and generations, and become repositories of histories and feelings.

a) Kimono as painting

Looking at the vintage kimonos from the Etō collection, the association between seasons, the changes that occur in nature, and their representation in art becomes obvious. A kimono becomes a painting through which the viewer can appreciate the beauty of each season, and such works were created using a special technique called *yuzen*. Originally *yuzen* indicated the process of using rice paste when applying dye, so that the colors would not blend into each other on the silk fabric (Ono 1978:

124~132). This particular dyeing style was invented by Miyazaki Yuzen (thus the name), a Kyoto painter specialized in traditional Japanese fans, thanks to whom mere garments were turned into works of art. It is also said that the water of the Kamo River in Kyoto, cold and clean, played an important role in developing the *yuzen-zome* (*yuzen dyeing*) technique.

The kimono below (Figure 1) is called *uchikake*, a luxurious outer kimono. The black satin silk shines brightly and its dark color as a base for the design serves to highlight the landscape. The idea of luxury is suggested by a Japanese traditional motif for celebration, called *sho-chiku-bai* (pine,



bamboo, and plum). In the center of the lower part one can see a *kake-hashii* (bridge), which used to be a popular motif for the woodblock prints of the Edo period, nowadays apparent not only in visual arts but also in Kyoto confectionary culture¹². The bridge (*hashii*) can be seen over the pure blue-colored river surrounded by chrysanthemums, plum blossoms, and peonies.

Figure 1

Some pine branches - the pine tree being one of the most common symbols of celebratory occasions - can be seen on the right shoulder, and with the exception of the blue river, all the other colors, red, green, and white, are not excessively bright, a subtle use colors close to the ancient style (*kodai shoku*) used to express the harmony of nature.

The next example is an *obi* belt, often said to be the most significant item in a kimono ensemble, one last addition which is considered the most important for the final look. The *obi* in Figure 2 bears the white flower crest (*kamon*) of the *ochaya*, a symbol of family and perpetuated tradition. On it is depicted the Naginata Hoko, the first and most important of the parade floats present at Gion Matsuri (one of Japan's three most important festivals), indicating that the *obi* is worn by maiko only in July, the month of the festival. *Darara-obi*, an *obi* hanging much lower than

¹² If the bridge is depicted among iris flowers (*kakitsubata*), the motif is called *yatsubashi*, a word that currently designates a type of sweets made from a thin sheet of glutinous rice paste flavored with cinnamon, one of the specific Kyoto souvenirs.



usual, seems to have been created with the specific purpose of allowing viewers to admire the image it displays.

The kimono seems to exist to entertain the people who look at it, rather than just for the enjoyment of those who wear it, and for this reason, the back of the design is more exquisite than the front. At museum exhibitions, kimonos are usually displayed like the kimono in the first picture, hanging flat, with the back part (usually the most decorated) visible. Anna Jackson, an English curator of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, states that in her recent exhibition catalog: “In museums, kimono are usually shown individually hanging on stands, this being the optimum way to appreciate the design and ensure that what are often fragile objects do not

Figure 2

get damaged by being dressed on a mannequin. The disadvantage of this method of display, however, is that it results in kimono being seen as works of art rather than as items of wearable clothing.” (2020: 19) I would like to point out here that the British curator seems to view kimono not just as a mere piece of clothing when working on displaying them, but something akin to a three-dimensional once it is properly fitted on a human body.

b) Traditional patterns and special techniques

The kimono in Figure 3 is *kodai-murasaki*, classical purple, a special color in most cultures of the world, Japan included, where it has remained an indicator of high status since 603, when Prince Shotoku Taishi established a ranking system for colors. The apparently simple design is actually rich in motifs, including traditional patterns such as *asa-no-ha* (hemp leaves), *seigaiha* (sea waves), *matsuba* (pine needles), *kikkamon* (chrysanthemum crest), *karakusa* (arabesques), *toridasuki* (two birds and flowers in a circle), *kaigara* (seashells), or *uchide-no-kozuchi* (magic mallet) (Ishizaki 1965: 64-92). The *ochaya* crest is present in the center of the upper part of the kimono (under the collar), and all the small motifs mentioned above come together to create the image of a sailing ship.

The kimono in Figure 4 is also purple, with another traditional motif, *kai(f)bu-gara*, seashells and pine leaves on a beach, artfully created by using gold powder (*haku*) with the *yuzen* hand painting technique.



Figure 3



Figure 4

Embroidery with gold thread was used to create the *obi* in the next two images, another example of the close association with the seasons and the rituals performed, in this case, *Kodomo-no-hi* (Children/ Boys' Day), celebrated on May 5th (the fifth day of the fifth month). *Kodomo-no-hi* is a day to pray for the health of boys, at the same time using various symbols to suggest courage and strength, such as the dragon pattern (*un-ryu-mon*, dragons and clouds) in Figure 5. The other side of the *obi* (Figure 6) shows an arrow, because on this day equestrian archery¹³ is performed both as a show of masculine strength and skill, and as an offering to the protector deities.



Figure 5



Figure 6

¹³ “The *Shoku-Nihonkōki*, chronicling the years from 833 to 850, notes that the festival was a day for horse racing and equestrian archery.” (Yumiyama Tatsuya: http://jmapps.ne.jp/kokugakuin/det.html?data_id=78635, accessed on May 5th, 2021)

The last technique to be introduced here (with the help of kimonos from the Etō Ochaya collection) is *shibori*, tie-dyeing. I (Noriko Onohara) myself am an avid collector of *shibori*-style *haori* (short coat/ jacket-style kimonos), and I can still remember the first item in my collection, bought at a flea market in Kyoto many years ago. As fond as I am of such kimonos, the ones I shall discuss below surpass any other *shibori* kimono I have seen in beauty and opulence. The *shibori* technique involves tying the silk fabric to create patterns, the result being a fabric of a special texture, like a miniature silk bubble wrap. The American art historian Annie Van Assche explains as follows: “undyed fabric is gathered using one or more of several methods: pinching, folding, knotting, stitching and binding with thread, rolling onto a cylinder and then bound, or clamped between boards.” (2005: 13) The combination of visual elements and unique texture leads to an extraordinary sensory experience, enhanced in the examples below by the embroidery in gold-wrapped silk thread: plum blossoms in Figure 7 and chrysanthemums in Figure 8.



Figure 7



Figure 8

When geiko or maiko wear such kimonos, they are wrapped (referring here to Joy Hendry’s concept of “body wrapping” discussed in her 1989 study) in Japanese art and culture. The wearers are not the only ones enjoying the experience of putting on an exquisite garment, but they also allow the viewers to appreciate its beauty and the tradition it represents. As Anna Jackson stated, “Western aesthetics have tended to emphasize the wearer’s shape [...] In Japan the shape of the body is essentially irrelevant” (2020: 11). Western fashion has developed by designing clothes for individual wearers, but in the Japanese fashion, the kimono is “art for art’s sake,” meaning that the body must adapt and flatten as much as possible in order to emphasize the beauty of the

garment, not the other way around. On the international stage, the term *kimono* was introduced together with the term *geisha*, a phenomenon that began during the 19th century World Expositions, where the woodblock prints *ukiyo-e* became popular. The models for these *ukiyo-e* were women working in the *kagai*, the pleasure districts: *yujo*, *oiran*, *maiko*, *geiko*, and as such they came to embody both Japanese femininity and fashion (Toita 1972, Kikuchi 1973). Japonisme, the current that emerged due to the rich import of Japanese artifacts in Europe, influenced Vincent Van Gogh, who created one of the most famous non-Japanese paintings of a geisha: an image quite distorted yet attractive enough, where the kimono patterns are emphasized by bold strokes. The aesthetics of the Far East influenced the painter, changing the value system of Western art history. The most drastic thing seems to be not focusing on figures (people) in painting, but rather on the details of costume, furniture, and other background elements. The perspective shifts from a human-centric view, bringing material culture to the front—a function similar to that of the kimono. The geiko as artists are trained not to express themselves and their feelings directly, but that does not mean that no message is sent. The kimonos are one such medium of expression: garment, cover, art, family treasure and repository of memory—as is the case of the kimonos preserved at the Etō *ochaya*.

5. Ritual life—*Omisedashi*

The scope of this project comprises three aspects of the maiko/ geiko world: the aesthetic one—the construction and performance of beauty, the ritual one—the seasonal cycle of ritual activities, and the social one—the life (and if possible, thoughts) of maiko and geiko in the 21st century. We shall conclude these research notes with a brief description of *omisedashi*—the ritual showing of a new maiko to the world, which marks her ascension from *shikomi* (a teenage girl who lives in an *okiya* and trains to become a maiko) to maiko, the era of intricate hairstyles, white make-up, and elaborate kimono ensembles that sometimes weigh as much as half her body weight. The *omisedashi* I attended took place on May 28, 2021, for young Ms. Momihiro from the Katsumi *okiya*. Due to the pandemic, the event had been postponed as much as possible, but in the end the *okāsan* decided to go ahead and hold it in a restrained form, that included mostly the compulsory greetings to the teahouses in Pontochō, without the banquets that would have normally accompanied such a celebratory occasion.

I arrived at the Katsumi *okiya* at 11 am, when Ms. Momihiro was doing her make-up under the supervision of one of her older sisters. Again, due to the pandemic, access to the *okiya* had been limited to the closest

members and one photographer, while all the other older sisters, formally dressed in kimonos, were waiting in a room downstairs. The walls at the entrance were covered in hand-painted posters created especially for the occasion, said to fulfill the function of the flower bouquets offered to artists: beautiful, valuable, carefully selected, but not permanent. Bjørnar Olsen (2013: 182-183) talks about the “durable qualities of things,” the fact that their persistency makes our “existence predictable and secure,” yet here we encounter material things, beautiful objects that are not meant to last more than a few days, and which are expected to persist only in memory. They do not become repositories of human memories (except for when an anthropologist receives a couple as a souvenir), instead, the limited and fallible human memory is their only hope for endurance.



Ms. Momihiko on her first visit to the teahouses in Pontocho

Once the make-up was finished, before getting dressed the new maiko had to partake of a ritual meal including a grilled sea bream—*tai* in Japanese, a fish chosen because the resonance of its name, echoing the word *medetai*, congratulatory, and also because its scales are white and pale red - the colors of happiness and celebration. Ms. Momihiko was too nervous to eat more than one small bite, yet that tiny piece of fish had to be consumed, as it was one part of the ritual which could not be ignored. The entire setting, the preparations, the agitation, the celebratory atmosphere reminded me of my own wedding day, a fact which I shared with Ms. Miyako, who confirmed the similarities between these two rites of passage, mentioning that maiko and geiko are called *hidari-zuma*, because they hold the hem of their kimono (*tsuma*) with their left hand, while brides hold it with their right hand. I dare say (although the ladies from the Etō were not able to confirm) that this expression is also a play upon words, *tsuma* being not only the term for hem, but also the one for wife.

The ensemble Ms. Momihiko wore on that day included three layers of undergarments with red trimmings, a black *kuromontsuki* kimono (only used on the most formal occasions and worn for the first three days of the *omisedashi*, to be replaced on the fourth day with a colored one, *irromontsuki*) with a cream and gold *obi* with no accessories. I noticed that the usually extravagant *obidome* accessory worn by maiko was missing, and I asked Ms. Miyako about it, but all she could say was that indeed, during the *omisedashi* week, the maiko outfit does not include an *obidome*, without being able to tell me the reason for this absence. Even during my brief period of fieldwork, I could notice that, while the ladies from the “flower world” claim to be fierce preservers of tradition, this tradition can be sometimes modified and adapted according to the necessities of the moment—another proof that rituals are not immutable, existing in a bubble of tradition, but living entities that change according to the desires of the agents in charge.

The *omisedashi* week involves numerous banquets with the patrons and sponsors of the geiko; however, this is another aspect performed only at a ritual level on May 28, when Kyoto was under a state of emergency, as large gatherings and the consumption of alcohol in public places was forbidden. Mrs. Etō had invited two of her regular customers to attend and celebrate the occasion, and although we did not actually party on that day, Ms. Momihiko was received as tradition dictates, by three customers (myself included) at a table laden with Kyoto delicacies.



Mr. Katsunori Meshii at the ritual banquet for Ms. Momihiko

6. Instead of a conclusion

It would be close to impossible to draw conclusions to a research project that only began a couple of months before writing these fieldnotes, so I would like to offer instead some aspects that need to be explored further. For a better understanding of the “flower” world, a clearer historical background is necessary, and it is our intention to access the records kept at the Pontochō theater, Kaburenjo. The administrator told us that many of those records were damaged during a recent flooding, but that they had done their best to replace them by collecting all the materials available at *okiya* and *ochaya*. The history of the district is closely connected to the development of the businesses that support the maiko and geiko: kimono makers, hairdressers, craftsmen who create all their accessories, restaurants and shops selling the sweet or savory treats the customers receive as gifts. We were assured that we have the support of the district in our research endeavor, meaning that visits to some of these businesses and interviews are possible, and definitely on our future schedule.

The ritual perspective is another aspect that requires more in-depth observation and analysis, as maiko and geiko adhere to a strict code of behavior tuned to specific times, places, and occasions. During the photo sessions we have had so far, I noticed that if we visit a temple or a shrine, the first thing they do is pay their respects in front of the altar—something that many Japanese people do, yet not with the same religious (the term is used here both in the literal and metaphorical meaning) consistency. The maiko and geiko are performers who can never really stop acting—they may become slightly different out of costume (I went to a rock concert with two geiko dressed in “civilian” clothes), might even stop using the specific Kyoto dialect, yet their true self will remain carefully hidden under many layers of artistry and polished technique. Pontochō is a universe moving according to its own inner mechanism, where seasons and tradition dictate behavior and appearance. To give just one example, in June we wanted to take photos with a *chi-no-wa*, the grass ring used during the Great Purification Ceremony¹⁴, but due to scheduling conflicts, the photo shoot was postponed to July 3. I had thought that hair ornaments specific to July (usually in the shape of fans) would be appropriate, since it is the month of Gion Matsuri, a festival whose origins are traced back to Susano-wo advising a human to make and wear

14 *Nagoshi no harae*. Circular rings or “gates” made of miscanthus reed (*chinowa*) are common in the popular nagoshi ritual. These large rings are made of reeds bundled together with paper strips and placed under a shrine's torii, or in front of its worship hall (*haiden*). Worshippers, led by the chief priest (*gūji*), pass through the reed gate and are thus purified of all defilements (*kegare*) and protected from misfortune. (Iwai Hiroshi - *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, <https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=8895>, accessed on May 20, 2021)

miscanthus wreaths around the waist in order to be protected from epidemics. Nevertheless, I was told we must pretend it was June, since the purification period in Pontochō ends on June 30. The myth may be “true” in sacred terms—the foundation of the narrative supporting a millennium-old festival—yet in Pontochō tradition takes precedence.

While looking into custom, tradition, fashion, speech, social mechanisms and embodied aesthetic ideals, one must not forget the stories, as they are what keeps the fabric of the world together. Geiko entertain their customers not only with music and dance, but also with stories - stories they create by living them (such as the one about getting a group of friends to finish 50 portions of first class beef in a yakiniku restaurant as a challenge) or by adding just a puff of glittery powder to the naked truth (as in the one about the ghost in the French castle, haunting our heroine from a painting hanging right outside her door). Liza Dalby spent one year in Pontochō as a geiko; the goal of this project is to offer a comprehensive perspective of one year in the district through its lived materiality, an endeavor which will take more than one year to complete and which aims to offer new insights into a glamorous world that is not quite within an ordinary person’s grasp, a world built upon classical precepts of Japanese tradition, yet very much present and evolving in the 21st century. To be continued.

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DAISETZ T. SUZUKI'S ENCOUNTERS WITH FOREIGN CULTURE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE¹

Miki SUEHIRO²

Abstract: *This study seeks to reveal a number of unsolved issues related to Zen priest Daisetz Suzuki's experiences of contact with a foreign culture and what sort of influence these experiences exerted on the formation of his identity from a linguistic and cultural point of view. In order to decipher his cross-cultural experiences and the process of his transformed identity from multiple perspectives, references are made to the concepts of Erik Erikson's stage of psychosocial development and the framework of James Marcia's methods of measuring identity status. In addition, John W. Berry's scales of psychological acculturation and the process of self-formation seen in cross-border authors in relation to the construction of identity wrought by contact with languages other than Japanese also provided insights. Several features were discovered. First, the loss of his parents and his family home left him both psychologically and in reality *déraciné*, uprooted, and forced him into a serious attempt to understand his identity. Second, this unrootedness in Japan, as well as being left behind by the cultural and social developments of the Meiji Period, led him to America. Finally, the task of translating the Chinese classics into English and the English language as a stepmother tongue were the keys that helped him overcome his Oedipal problems and establish his identity.*

Keywords: acculturation, intercultural contact, disseminating-type identity

Introduction

Daisetz T. Suzuki's experiences with the English language and foreign cultures inevitably come up in discussions about him, and it is fair to say that they have usually been mentioned in discussions of Zen. However, since Suzuki was not fond of autobiographies or memoirs (Suzuki, 1965: 166)³, even though these factors have been mentioned, there are really only about five works⁴ that deal with the psychological

¹ This article is based on a study first reported in the title of Daisetz no Ibunka Seshoku to Eigo. 2010. 106-140. In *Suzuki Daisetz to Nihon Bunka*. Tokyō: Chōbun-sha. In the process of translation into English, in accordance with the seventh edition of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, "they" as a singular third-person pronoun is used in this article.

² Professor, University of Hyogo

³ "They requested that I talk about something like an autobiography, but since I'm not really fond of doing things of that kind, I have decided not to talk about my own history or memories." Suzuki, Daisetsu. 1965. 166. *Yafuryukan jiden*. In *Suzuki Daisetz Zen Senshu (supplement): Suzuki Daisetz no Hito to Gakumon*. Tokyō: Shunjū -sha.

⁴ There are two documents that are considered to be the autobiography of Suzuki. One is *Yafuryukan jiden* [Autobiography of Yafuryukan] in *Suzuki Daisetz Zen Senshū* (Bekkan) -*Suzuki Daisetz no Hito to*

changes that occurred during his contact with foreign cultures or with the specifics of his time overseas. Suzuki even dismisses the events of his stay in the United States with, “Years and months went by, and soon eleven years had passed (Suzuki 1962: 98)⁵.” Hardly any of the details are known. Even his pupil, Ryōmin Akizuki, who was given permission to write a memoir about Suzuki, said of Suzuki's eleven years of living alone overseas, “I was unable to get the Master to tell me anything himself (Akizuki 1971: 237).” From this we can infer a difficult sequence of events in which Akizuki ended up not hearing any account from Suzuki, even though he tried to elicit it. As a result, he says, “None of the people who got to know the Master are around anymore. Now, because he himself did not try to talk to anyone about those times, nobody will ever be able to find out about them (Akizuki 1971: 237)⁶.” In other words, Suzuki's time in America, undoubtedly the time that influenced his core identity the most, has remained a mystery.

Yet in this paper, I would like to take the bold step of using the documents at hand to focus on the mysterious part of Suzuki's life and once again attempt to decipher who he was as a person. It has often been stated in developmental psychology (Erikson 1980[1959], 1994[1968]) and in the studies of language acquisition and identity (Norton 1995, 2000), that youth is the most important period in a person's growth and that moving to a foreign country during that time and immersing themselves in a language other than their own exerts a major influence on many aspects of forming their personality. However, there are still few studies that focus on how these factors affected the formation of Suzuki's personality from a linguistic and cultural viewpoint. For that reason, I will keep previous research in mind as I focus on the period before and after Suzuki's encounter with foreign culture, including his first trip to the United States, his life in a foreign country working as an editorial assistant, and his return to Japan. I treat them as phenomena related to his contact with foreign

Gakumon- [Collection of Zen writings by Daisetz Suzuki (supplement) –Personality and study of Daisetz Suzuki] (1965) published by Shunjū-sha, from page 165 to 181, and the other is *Zen tono deai –Watashino jijoden-* [Encounter with Zen – my autobiography-] (2007) published by Shinchō-sha. The former is the dictation of a radio program Suzuki had recorded at the age of ninety. The latter is what may be called the reprint of it, only published in CD format. Therefore, the contents of what is being told are exactly the same between the two. Another document that could serve as Suzuki's autobiographical work is pages 67 to 115 in *Watashi no ririkisho Dai 15 shū* [My curriculum vitae volume 15] written by Suzuki, D. in 1962 and published by Nihon Keizai Shinbun, Inc. There are also biographical documents about Suzuki written by his direct disciple named Ryōmin Akizuki, each titled *Sekai no zensha – Suzuki Daisetz no shōgai* [Zen Buddhists of the world –[the life of Daisetz Suzuki] (1992), Iwanami Shoten, *Suzuki Daisetz sensei no shogai – Suzuki zengakuno natta koromade-* [The life of master Daisetz Suzuki – up to the establishment of Suzuki zen study] in *Suzuki zengaku to Nishida tetsugaku* [Zen study of Suzuki and philosophy of Nishida] (1971), Shunjū-sha, and *Suzuki Daisetz* (2004), Kōdan-sha Gakujutsu Bunko.

⁵ Translation by the author. The following quotations from Japanese books are all translations by the author.

⁶ Translation by the author. The following quotations from Japanese books are all translations by the author.

cultures and his identity, and I want to trace Suzuki's identity to the point where he ended up saying "Sekai wa wagaya (The world is my home)."

Then I would like to make a multifaceted examination of the process of change in identity brought about by contact with foreign cultures. In order to do that, I will refer to charts of Erik Erikson's stage of psychosocial development (Erikson 1988 [1980], 1989 [1977]; Tatara, Yamamoto, and Miyashita 1984), as well as to the process of self-formation seen in cross-border authors⁷ in reference to effects on the construction of identity wrought by contact with languages other than Japanese. I will also view issues of contact with foreign culture in terms of the framework of James Marcia's methods of measuring identity status (1966) and John W. Berry's scales of psychological acculturation (1992).

1. Contact with a Foreign Culture and the Process of Acceptance

1.1. Psychological Acculturation

When people encounter a foreign culture, they tend to feel uneasy and conflicted, because the cultural patterns are different from what they have known up to that point, and the changes that occur on an individual level are referred to as *psychological acculturation* (Graves 1967) in the field of intercultural psychology. This term refers to the process by which the individual changes his or her identity, values, and patterns of behavior in the course of interacting with groups that possess different cultural norms.

Berry et al. (1992) combine the answers to two questions in order to classify this psychological acculturation into four stages (cf. Table 1). The first question is "Do you think that there is value in maintaining the cultural characteristics of your own country and your own society?" The other is, "Do you think there is value in maintaining relationships with other cultures and social groups?" Both are to be answered "yes" or "no" (cf. Table 2). This is one methodology for measuring and determining the status of a person's changes due to contact with a foreign culture in terms of assimilation, separation, marginalization, or integration.

⁷ Discussed here as the representatives of border-crossing writers of the 90's is Hideo Levy (1996, 2007), the winner of both the National Book Award in the U.S. and the Noma Literary Award for New Writers in Japan, and Minae Mizumura (1995), who also won the Noma Literary Award for New Writers.

Table 1
Degrees of Psychological Assimilation: 4 Categories (Berry, et al. 1992: 278)⁸

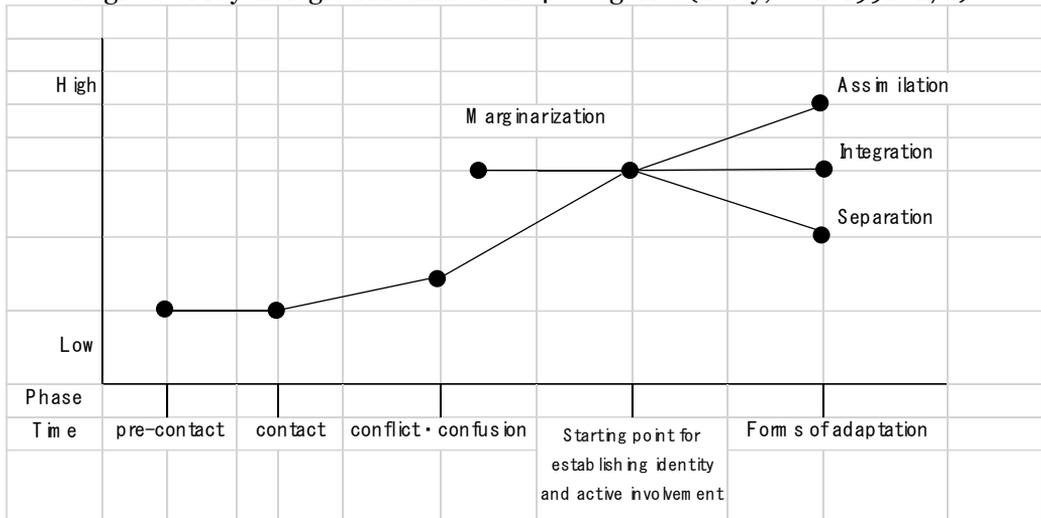


Table 2
Methodology for Measuring Psychological Assimilation (Berry, et al. 1992: 282)

		Question 1 It is considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and	
		YES	NO
Question 2 Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?	YES	Integration	Assimilation
	NO	Separation	marginalization

People normally share the values and thought patterns of the group to which they belong, and they live their lives with an awareness and sense (their cultural identity) that they are members of that group. However, when they come into contact with a foreign culture, they begin to experience doubts about the values and worldviews that have been self-evident to them up to this point. In other words, the state of assimilation means that people have not held onto their cultural identity but have maintained a relationship with a foreign culture and have become or have a desire to become members of the foreign culture. People are somehow suddenly or gradually motivated to doubt or resist the society or culture that never made them feel uneasy before and turn toward the foreign and begin to place their expectations on it. In other words, being unable to find value in their own culture, they find it in the foreign culture and are

⁸ The “Marginalization” stage is depicted as going backwards in time. However, it is just the opposite of the “Integration” stage.

strongly attracted to this new culture. This phenomenon is classified as *assimilation*. The opposite phenomenon is called *separation*. This is the feeling of regarding one's own culture highly and negating the foreign culture. *Marginalization* refers to people no longer maintaining the characteristics of their own culture but at the same time, not having any affiliation with the foreign culture. *Integration* is the opposite of marginalization: the state of maintaining the characteristics of both one's own culture and the foreign culture.

According to J.W. Berry, U. Kim, and P. Boski (1988), integration is the ideal state of adaptation to a foreign culture. Their measurement methodology began with surveys of the psychological assimilation of immigrants, but nowadays, it is useful for understanding the psychological assimilation of anyone who comes into contact with a foreign culture, not just immigrants⁹. I will refer to these concepts in trying to understand Suzuki's psychological assimilation in chronological order.

1.2. *Déraciné*

Table 3: Events that may have influenced the formation of Suzuki's identity before he went to the U.S.

Age	Major Events
0	Born in Kanazawa in 1870
6	His father dies
17	Transfers to the university preparatory class of newly established Higher Secondary School No. 4
18	Quits School No. 4 Takes Zen training for the first time
19	Becomes an English teacher in the secondary division of Iida Elementary School in Suzugun, Ishikawa prefecture
20	His mother dies The family home is sold Leaves Kanazawa and goes to live with his second oldest brother in Kobe
21	Moves to Tokyo a few months later and attends Tokyo Specialized School (now Waseda University) Studies Zen Enters Tokyo Imperial University to study philosophy
22	Translates Shaku Sōen's speeches into English at the Parliament of World Religions Studies Zen with Sōen Meets Paul Carus
25	Goes to the United States, Open Court Publishing Company in LaSalle, Illinois

⁹ For example, in Inoue, T. and Itō, T. 1995. Rainichi ichinenme no ryūgakusei no ibunkatekiou to kenkou – Shitsumonshichousa to ibunka counseling no jirei kara (Intercultural adaptation and health issues for the first-year foreign exchange students – from questionnaire survey and cases of intercultural counseling) in *Ibunkakan kyōiku* (Intercultural education) vol. 9. 128-142. Ibunkakan kyōiku gakkai. this method is used for conducting their survey on how the first-year foreign exchange students adapt to a foreign culture.

Table 3 summarizes the main events in Suzuki's life that are believed to have influenced the formation of his identity before he went to the United States at the age of 25.

Suzuki was born in 1870 in Kanazawa, but his father died when he was six. In those days, society was strongly patriarchal, so we can imagine that his father's death was a severe shock to the family in both economic and emotional terms. In fact, he had to quit higher secondary school at the age of 18 due to economic difficulties. It was around this time that Suzuki began studying Zen. The experience was more significant than he could have anticipated, and he probably embarked on it while wondering what to do with his life from now on. That is because he had transferred to School No. 4 only the previous year. There he had met friends such as Kitarō Nishida with whom he could discuss matters freely and with whom he could study the subjects he liked. However, circumstances had changed suddenly. According to Akizuki (2004: 26-28), Suzuki himself reminisced about his first study of Zen: "From the time I quit school, I found myself harboring doubts about life. Trees and plants grow unconsciously, bloom, and are self-sufficient, but why can't human life be like that? These thoughts were the first step of my move into religion." In his later years, he said, "I was driven by thoughts of 'Why have I met with this fate?' and this made me venture into the world of Zen (Sakai 2006b: 36)."

Erikson (1959, 1980) cites building of an identity as the psychosocial developmental task that one ought to accomplish in one's youth, and it is fair to say that Suzuki was no exception, because during his youth, quitting school became the impetus for wrestling with the formation of his identity.¹⁰ When individuals establish their own identities, one rite of

¹⁰ Although Erikson had suggested the construction of identity as the issue for adolescence, he may very well have been influenced by this opinion Suzuki had reached through his own experience. Erich Fromm has been known as the one who benefitted the most among the Neo-Freudian scholars from Suzuki's study (Okamura, M. & Ueda, Shizuteru. 2008. *Ikko no jiyujin toshite ayunda shogai* [A life lived as an individual free person] In *Daisetz no Fukei* (Landscapes of Daisetz). P. 85. Tōeisha.). The possibility of Suzuki having some kind of influence, though not directly, on Erikson, who also was a Neo-Freudian scholar, could not be eliminated. Because even though Erikson's theories of development are based on Freudian theory, the period of questioning one's own identity asking, "who am I," which he cites as the issue of adolescence, coincides with the opinion of Suzuki on the period of Buddha's enlightenment experiences for the issues that made Buddha suffer, Suzuki explain that, 'to put it in a modern way, it is about "Where do we come from and where do we go?" Or more simply put, "What is this thing called ego?" or "Who am I?"' (Suzuki 2006. *Daisetz zen wo kataru – Sekai wo kandō saseru mittsuno eigo koen* – [Daisetz talks on Zen – Three English lectures that moved the world.] p. 10. Tokyō: ArtDays Inc.) Moreover, Suzuki suggested that it was more likely that Buddha was 19 years old when he abandoned his family in order to solve his own issues, unlike the conventional opinion of his age being 29 years old. Suzuki explained his opinion in his lecture at Wellesley College in the U.S. held on 10 March 1958 and titled *Zen no tetsugaku* [On Zen Philosophy] saying that, "I would like to think 19 years old is more appropriate. Because 29 years old seems a bit too late age-wise, and 19 years old seems to be the right time in life to become more firmly aware of the sense of religion." (Cited previously, p. 7.) It might very well be assumed that this idea was based on Suzuki's own experience. Moreover, Suzuki mentions that, "People who feel this kind of religious impulse, or rather

passage they must go through is “killing their parents (Kawai 2000: 72).” This sounds terrible, but it refers to the rite of “breaking away from an emotional life based on one’s parents’ protection and values and preparing to live according to one’s own worldview (Tatara & Yamashita 1999: 63-64).” If one is to discover one’s future direction in life and answer the questions of “What am I?” and “What should I do to achieve my goals in life?” then one cannot avoid the rite of “killing one’s parents (Tatara & Yamashita 1999).” Freud’s Oedipus complex theory, which holds that boys want to murder their fathers, is particularly well known. For example, as they are influenced by interactions with many kinds of people other than their parents, including siblings, teachers, grandparents, friends, older children, and lovers, they develop a clear idea of sameness and difference, separate themselves from their parents’ values, and begin searching for and finally establishing their own unique identities. In this sense, their parents are important partners in the process.

In Suzuki’s case, however, his father died when he was six, and his eldest brother, who would have been a substitute father, was assigned to areas other than Kanazawa for work, while his second oldest brother was adopted by another family. On top of that, the older brother closest to him in age died the year after their father died. In other words, Suzuki had no father and none of the other father figures needed for the rite of “killing one’s parents.” Furthermore, his mother died when he was twenty, so in fact, he had neither a father nor a mother to serve as the object of the youthful rite of passage of killing one’s parents, which hampered his psychological weaning and made it extremely difficult to establish a firm identity as the one and only Teitarō Suzuki. We can infer that from his later psychological suffering. In order to elucidate this further, I will continue to trace his situation up to the time he left for America.

The loss of his parents and his family home left Suzuki both psychologically and in reality *déraciné*, uprooted, and forced him into a serious attempt to understand his identity: “Where did I come from, and where am I going?” “What am I?” Suzuki finally decided, “Unless I solve this issue in a decisive way, I cannot move forward (Shigematsu 2006: 37).” After a period of trial and error, he concluded, “Instead of analyzing bits and pieces, I will devote my whole self to these questions (Shigematsu 2006: 8).”¹¹ He left Kanazawa and went to live with his second oldest brother Kotaro, then moved to Tokyo to attend Tokyo Vocational School (later Waseda University) and then entered the Philosophy Department

aspiration, can never chose their way to live unless the issue comes to the final conclusion (Suzuki 2006: 7).” This coincides with Erikson’s theories of development (Erikson 1959, 1980), which suggested that each issue needs to be resolved before going to the next step, or the influence of the same issue will remain.

¹¹ Translation by the author.

of Tokyo Imperial University. It was during this period that he met someone who would change the course of his life, Shaku Sōen. It was Sōen who recommended that he go to Paul Carus in LaSalle, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago. There was nothing to keep Suzuki in Japan. The loss of his parents and his family home had left him *déraciné* and impelled him to head for a foreign country.

To gauge the state of Suzuki’s identity at this time, I refer to the Ego Identity Status Interview devised by Marcia (1966), and find that he was in a state of *moratorium* (Table 4)¹². The five identity statuses are gauged and classified in terms of two axes, “crisis” and “commitment.” At this time, he was in the midst of confronting the crisis, the starting point of establishing his identity, so we can determine that he was “currently experiencing it.” The other main axis, “commitment,” is the state of current, serious efforts and struggles, but the individual has not yet decided anything about his or her future and so is in an *uncertain* state.

Table 4: Five Categories of Identity Statuses

Identity Status		Crisis	Commitment
Active identity		Already experienced	Yes
Moratorium		Currently experiencing	Vague
Passive identity		Not yet experienced	Yes
Identity diffusion	Type 1 Pre-crisis identity diffusion	Not yet experienced	No
	Type 2 Post-crisis identity diffusion	Already experienced	No

1.3. Loneliness and Diligence

1.3.1 Assimilation: The First Three Months in the U.S.

Even though Suzuki had no home in Japan when he went to America, he considered the establishment of an identity to be “a period that everyone must pass through at least once in his life, (Suzuki 2006: 9)” and he was prepared to do so when he set out for this new land. We can interpret this as meaning that he took his first steps overseas in a very optimistic mood. He hoped to go to India someday (Okamura & Ueda 2008: 110), and it is believed that this wish was motivated by his time in America (Andō 2006: 17). Despite being uneasy about going to a country he had never seen, he no doubt harbored great expectations at the same time.

Suzuki’s life in America began outside of Chicago in the town of LaSalle, where he helped philosopher Paul Carus translate Taoist writings

¹² Table 4 is created by the author based on the concept of Marcia, J (1966), and referred Tatara (1990).

into English. LaSalle was a small, out-of-the-way town with a predominantly white and Christian population, and yet, Suzuki seems to have been surprised by the lifestyles, diet, and social status of women, the custom of “ladies first,” all of which were so different from those of Meiji Japan. “I think Japanese women are too self-effacing,” he wrote to his friend Ryōkichi Yamamoto, “but I don’t know... (Sasaki 2006c)” From this, we can infer that he was evaluating the values of this foreign country.

Shortly after his arrival in America, he contracted typhus. He apparently was quite seriously ill, but this illness gave him the experience of having nuns as nurses. This experience seems to have motivated a change in his attitude. For example, he wrote in a letter, “Instead of building assembly halls, why don’t temples in Japan build dormitories to help people who want to study religion? Why don’t they build hospitals? What does it say about the Japanese that they don’t even consider such things? (Sasaki 2006b)” From this, we can infer that Suzuki had begun to have doubts and negative feelings about his own culture and society, something he had never questioned before. That is to say, during his first three months in America, he felt strongly attracted to the country, and everything he saw and learned was a new experience. In terms of Berry’s concept of psychological assimilation, we can surmise that Suzuki was at the “assimilation” stage, where he had negative feelings about his own culture, social ideals, and values.

1.3.2 Separation: From the third month to the end of the second year in America

Suzuki was unable to discern any value in his own culture and was strongly attracted to the new culture of a foreign country, but after about three months, when he had settled into his life in America, he wrote a letter to his close friend Ryōkichi Yamamoto. “I have no friends of my own age here who like the same fields of study that I do, and I am exceptionally lonely” and “I’m accustomed to living a quite solitary life, but I’d like people to realize how a new arrival in a foreign country feels (Sasaki 2006b).” At the end of the year, he wrote, “I don’t have a single friend nearby, and it is a major hardship not to have anyone with whom I can discuss ideas” and “spending my life in solitary loneliness is truly painful (Sasaki 2006b).” His frequent exchange of letters with another friend, Kitarō Nishida, also allows us to imagine that his everyday life alone in a foreign country was quite lonely. We can determine that he no longer felt the excitement he had experienced during his first three months in America and had now returned to a calm, detached ability to compare his own culture and society with that of the New World or foreign country. The time when he was enchanted by everything he saw in this new world

had passed, and he had come back to reality with an ability to take an objective view of his new life. He noticed that he had no one with whom he could share his feelings about the events around him in his own language¹³, and I believe that this made him intensely anxious.

On Berry's scale of psychological assimilation, which we are using as our frame of reference, this state corresponds to the characteristics of *separation*, in which a person praises his own culture and disavows the foreign culture. Note, however, that he expresses no strong feelings of hostility, so we can assume that he was in a state of "light" separation. There are several conceivable reasons for this. First of all, he is said to have worked without a break, except for weekends, during his eleven years in America, but even so, he had so little money that it was hard for him to come up with funds for travel (Sakai 2006b). For that reason, it is thought that his life in America was not an affluent one, but one marked by adversity. Life in a foreign country, which had seemed so good at first, lost its allure, and it can be assumed that he reaffirmed the values of his own culture and society. When asked if he was treated with hospitality in America, Suzuki's adamant response was "Oh, no! (Sakai 2006b)"

To express it still another way, it is the letdown experienced by homesick international students or people who have embarked on a new life. In Kalervo Oberg's theory of culture shock (1960), it is thought of as a transitional and learning period that comes along after the *incubation period* or "honeymoon stage." The transitional period is nearly parallel to the incubation stage and is said to be a period of bewilderment, tension, or hostility. The learning period is the designation for the period in which a person becomes able to understand the features of the foreign culture and how they differ from their own culture, after getting used to the foreign culture to a certain extent, snapping out of the elevated state typical of the incubation period, and regaining their sense of equilibrium (Oberg 1960). This is something that most people who experience a foreign culture have gone through. Therefore, even though Suzuki's treatment and his words about his psychological acculturation in that period did not display a violent disavowal of the foreign culture, it may be fair to say that he was in a state of *light separation*, and I believe that he was in this state for about two years. This notion may be supported by something he wrote to an acquaintance two years after his arrival in America, quoting a poem, "What are you moping about, willow on the riverbank? You spend your life watching the water flow," and adding, "That is really hard, isn't it? (Sakai 2006a)" It is a confession that his troubles have emboldened him and is interpreted to mean that he has

¹³ "His own language" here does not necessarily indicate actual languages, such as Japanese or English. It means the conversation is held in the same mindset.

settled down in an unknown land. In other words, even though Suzuki thought that he might find the answers he was seeking simply by going to America, this was not what actually happened, and his expectations were betrayed (Sakai 2006a).

What becomes clear from the available documents is that Suzuki moved his venue for self-discovery to the new land of America, and he evidently worked tirelessly to solve the problem, but one gets the impressions that he engaged in no specific efforts. This is the same state he was in when the family home was sold and he asked his brother in Kobe to take him in. His attitude was, “Good things are more likely to happen to me if I move to the city rather than working as an elementary school teacher in the country (Suzuki 1962: 87).” Suzuki himself undeniably gave that impression when he spoke of endless fretting. In the period between the fourth month and second year after his arrival in America, his expectations were unfulfilled, he had become disappointed by this foreign culture, and he once again recognized what was good in his own culture, but he was unable to return to Japan. We can infer that he was in the separation stage, just living alone in a foreign country while longing for his homeland.

However, over the course of two years, he gradually began actively participating in the quest to find the answers to the issues of one’s youth, namely, what kind of person he was and in which direction he should move, or, in other words, how he should live. He made the decision to take an active role for the first time and cast off the self that was bogged down in fretting. Without a word to anyone, he concentrated on doing the best possible job on the work at hand instead of being preoccupied with distracting thoughts. We might call that the opening round of his effort to cast off loneliness. In this study, I treat these efforts as a form of active participation in the acquisition of his identity. We can infer that the battles he fought to acquire this identity continued for seven years or more, since we can see that he was still suffering in the midst of this foreign culture in the seventh year of his stay.

1.3.3 Marginalization: From Suzuki’s Third Year in America to His Return to Japan

The more Suzuki absorbed of Western society, the less able he became to determine his own position between the languages and cultures of East and West, and as a result, he remained unsettled and agonized. One indication of this is a letter after that he wrote to Ryōkichi Yamamoto after living in America for seven years: “Despite living so long in a foreign country, I cannot get rid of the feeling that I am in someone else’s country, perhaps because the differences between Eastern and Western civilization

are so deeply rooted (Sasaki 2006b).” He also referred to himself as “a solitary wanderer” and claimed, “All I am doing is growing older (Sakai 2006c).” In his seventh year in America, he seemed to be displaying more anguish than before at the gap between Eastern and Western culture. We can interpret these utterances as meaning that he had lost his home in Japan, and even though he had gone to America in expectation of finding a new home, he had been unable to claim a place for himself there either. Might not this state of mind correspond to what Berry’s scale of psychological assimilation refers to as *marginalization*? In other words, Suzuki was suffering from not being affiliated with either Eastern or Western society, and he had not put down any roots of identity. He was still rootless. He had not retained the characteristics of his own cultural identity, but at the same time, he had not maintained any connections with groups in this foreign country. His interactions with Yamamoto and Nishida were extremely limited and narrow, and it is appropriate to assume that his question in a letter: “Should I become a low-level worker at a legation overseas or something? (Sasaki 2006c)” supports the idea that he had no physical or emotional home in Japan.

In the end, his dream of going to India to research the ancient classical language of Sanskrit never came true, and through the good offices of Kitarō Nishida and Ryōkichi Yamamoto, he was able to assume positions as a lecturer at Gakushūin University and Tōkyō Imperial University. That is to say, his psychological assimilation before and during his stay in the United States and around the time of his return to Japan seem to be traceable through assimilation, separation, and marginalization. In the end, Suzuki’s psychological assimilation ended up as *integrated*, but that occurred some time after his return to Japan. I will discuss what led to his achieving integration while taking another look at the process of identity formation.

2. The Process of Identity Formation

2.1. Self-Examination

Suzuki manifested changes in his values and behavior due to his contact with a foreign culture. But what effect did his contact with a foreign culture and his contacts with languages other than Japanese have on the formation of his identity? I would like to consider this question with reference to the process of identity formation in cross-border writers.

According to Erikson’s theory of developmental issues, which I have mentioned before, youth is the period in which people relativize the values of their parents and establish their own identities. At a public symposium titled *Daisetz Suzuki and Japanese Culture*¹⁴, held on February 18, 2007,

¹⁴ This open symposium titled *Suzuki Daisetz to Nihon bunka* [Daisetz Suzuki and Japanese Culture] was held on 28 February 2007 at Ishikawa City College with the grant from the Cross-Research Curriculum

Okamura stated that Suzuki was typical of people in the Meiji Period in that he had a firmly established identity. Considering Suzuki's age when he went to America (twenty-five), that was the second half of his youth, and even though there are individual differences, there is nothing odd about her believing that he already had a firmly established identity, given that he was a man of the Meiji Period. However, identity is a matter of how you want to live, finding your own path in life, establishing yourself, and achieving emotional independence and autonomy. "An identity is formed by experiencing conflict and bitter struggles, or, in other words, facing the problem of establishing one's self head-on and examining one's self (Tatara and Yamashita 1995: 49-50)." Understanding the course of Suzuki's life in this way, as described in this study, we can see that within him there was a fully developed "self" who could struggle with the issues of youth (Tatara and Yamashita 1999: 52-53), and yet, it is difficult to say that he had set a firm course for his life in terms of what his life's goals were or what he should do.

Reiji Andō (2006: 4-5) claims that Suzuki decided on his direction in life only after the age of forty, and his reason is as follows: "Suzuki's youth was almost exactly parallel to the establishment of early modern Japan. He reacted viscerally to the systems that the early modern period imposed, and as a result, he was left behind in the course of the Meiji Period. The two people, Nishida and Suzuki, who opposed early modernity were finally able to find a place for themselves just when the Meiji Period was ending, when both of them were past forty."

Thus, even though his father's death, the decline of the samurai class, his mother's death, and the sale of the family home motivated Suzuki to struggle and examine himself as the basis for establishing his identity, it is appropriate to conclude that he had not established a firm identity at the time of his move to America.

2.2. Confrontation with His Father

At the end of two years of loneliness and solitude in a foreign culture, Suzuki finally decided to devote himself to translation work as a strategy for breaking through these emotions. This move has been understood as his first instance of active participation in forming his identity, but what I would like to emphasize here is that this translation work resulted in spurring the formation of his identity.

Project for the 2006 Academic Year provided by the Consortium Universities Ishikawa, and was hosted by Ishikawa Prefectural Nursing University, cohosted by the Consortium Universities Ishikawa, under the patronage of the Ishikawa Kitarō Nishida Museum of Philosophy and the Great People of Kanazawa Memorial Museum, and with the planning support of the Community Health Care Center in Ishikawa Prefectural Nursing University. The details of the event are recorded in a volume edited by Asami Hiroshi. 2010. *Suzuki Daisetsu to Nihon Bunka* [Daisetsu Suzuki and Japanese Culture] 49-50. Chōbun-sha.

One may believe that Suzuki's attitude about immersing himself in work was one of his inborn traits. On the other hand, it may have been a means of easing his loneliness in a foreign culture where he had no friends. It has been said that the lonelier he became the more he threw himself into his work (Sasaki 2006a). Then these efforts may have been at the outset simply a matter of being disgusted with his gloomy self. In this study, however, I follow a different interpretation, namely, that in the course of quietly doing his work, Suzuki discovered a new world and discovered the self he had been looking for. I think that reading works in classical Chinese taught him about the spiritual world and provided nourishment for his life. In other words, translating classical Chinese works into English was in itself the process of acquiring a self. The reason is that the content of the Chinese classics made up the philosophy that had regulated the everyday life of Suzuki's father (Akizuki 2004:16), so I see his growing understanding of the Chinese canon as leading to a confrontation with his father.

Zen has incorporated a certain amount of Confucian thought. In addition, Suzuki talked about how Japan's *bushido* (samurai code), Confucianism, and culture (art, the tea ceremony, haiku) and Zen had developed while influencing one another. It may appear that Suzuki was just following in his father's philosophical footsteps, but that is not the case. Tataru, Yamamoto, and Miyashita (1995 [1984]: 69) explain this aspect of the identity acquisition process by giving a specific example. "For example, if a youth who has grown up with a father who is a Christian, a supporter of the Republican Party, and a farmer has no doubts about his father's opinions, and ends up supporting the Republicans and joining a Christian church, can we say in the end that he has really established a solid identity? Or can we say that if the youth ends up making the same kinds of choices as his father, can we say that he had no inner doubts and never experienced any emotional tension?"

Since his father was absent, Suzuki could not overcome his Oedipal issues. So for him, the Chinese classics became a substitute for his father, that is, something containing his father's views, thoughts, values, and worldview that he had always wanted since his childhood but had never been able to learn from his father¹⁵. For this reason, Suzuki must have felt

¹⁵ "His father was enthusiastic about the education of his children. Every morning at breakfast, he would read thin booklets of about 17 pages, which were written by him and titled *Shushin Juniji Uta* [Twelve-character songs for moral training] or *Eisei Juniji Uta* [Twelve-character songs for health education] to his family, and even gave a simple lecture about them from time to time. His sister and three brothers would spread books their father had written for them over their box tables and read them. He watched them enviously, still at the age of 4 or 5, from his mother's lap where he was held. 'I had no idea what was written, nor what my father was talking about yet, I still can recall how I was feeling things like, "I wish I could read them" or "I wish I could write something like that." These events may very well be one of the reasons why I later became a writer.' He had once told me such episode." Akizuki, Rōmin. 2004. *Suzuki Daisetsu*. Kōdan-sha Gakujutu Bunko. p. 17.

inner emotional tension. Since Confucianism positions family-centered ethics as the basis for society, it differed in many respects from the individualism and egalitarianism of Buddhism. I think that as he read and interpreted all sorts of Chinese classics and began to understand them, he must have conducted an emotional dialogue with his father and experienced conflict and victory. Suzuki's father had been respected as a "first-class intellectual (Akizuki 2004: 16)," and through the tasks of coming to understand the Confucianism that had regulated his father's everyday life, on the one hand, and coming to understand the nature of Buddhism on the other, he overcame his Oedipal problem. I think that he then took these ideas and used them as steps toward developing the basis of his own new worldview and thought. I even believe that this experience of conflict is the reason why he said that the spirit of Zen is freedom and not being constrained by anything.

We can obtain this understanding of the Chinese classics as a substitute for the rite of killing one's father, and since the process of translating the Chinese classics into English gradually transitioned into the acquisition of his own unique spiritual world, we can assume that this is why Suzuki was so wrapped up in it. On the surface, he seemed to be working quietly, but in reality, it was a determined and persistent conflict with his father, the work of acquiring a true self.

2.3. The Father's Language, the Mother's Language, and the Third Language

Thus the motivation for creating the core of Suzuki's identity was the task of translating the Chinese classics into English, but his identity was not established so easily. One thing we must keep in mind is that English, a foreign language, helped shape his identity. To put it another way, it was precisely because of the English language that he was able to secure his own unique identity.

Tsuchida & Aoyagi (2004: 226-259) state that when a young person is forced to move to another culture and society while still growing, he or she acquires multiple identities. For example, Ian Hideo Levy is a major cross-border novelist prominent in the 1990s. He was born in the United States, but then grew up in several cultures, first Hong Kong and Taiwan, and then Japan. He has stated that he needs a language he has chosen on his own, something separate from his father's language or his mother's language, as "an inner implement that undergirds his spirituality (Tsuchida and Aoyagi 2001: 246)." That is, someone who has spent his youth in contact with a foreign culture, or, in other words, has constructed his identity as a challenge for adolescents in developmental psychology in a foreign culture, he needs "a special language that undertakes the

exploration of the spiritual world (Tsuchida and Aoyagi 2001: 248)” in addition to his everyday language. It is easy to understand that the lack of such a language makes it difficult to construct a spiritual world as a foothold for one’s emotions (Levy 1996). This language has been referred to as a “stepmother tongue (Tsuchida & Aoyagi 2001: 247),” “not the one you were born into, but one that you acquired voluntarily.” It is defined as “a language that clearly supports the formation of the self on a deeper level than the mother tongue and allows construction of a spiritual world (Tsuchida and Aoyagi 2001: 247).” The same phenomenon can be seen in another cross-border writer, Minae Mizumura, who experienced difficulty in forming her own identity after moving to America at the age of twelve (Mizumura 1995). She succeeded in gaining confidence in herself by acquiring “her own language” separate from her everyday language.¹⁶

A person cannot undertake intellectual activities without language, and intellectual activities are precisely those needed for acquiring an identity. When carrying out intellectual activities in a foreign culture, one must use a language that is neither their father’s language nor their mother’s language but a third “stepmother” language. One that has no trace of their own cultural background or social values and one that admits no constraints. With that third language, it becomes easier to create and understand a new worldview.

In Suzuki’s case, even though his mother tongue, his home language, was Japanese, it was also the language of his lost home. Let us assume that it could never be the language that supported the formation of an autonomous self or the construction of a spiritual world. On the other hand, Chinese was the language connected to Confucianism and could be seen as his father’s language. In that case, if we follow the assertions of the cross-border writers, he needed a new language other than Japanese or Chinese in order to form a new self. For Suzuki, that language was English. In the course of translating Chinese into English, English was transformed from simply a language for everyday life to an essential output language. “When you sense yourself while facing another person and preparing to express yourself, and when you express what you have felt, your ‘self’ takes shape and is manifested (Tatara and Yamashita 1999: 55).” The language has been transformed in his own language that makes free generation of ideas possible.

Concerning Suzuki’s use of English, there were remarks such as, “In every lecture, Professor Suzuki thought things through with great care and was endowed with an earnestly chosen and paradoxically witty

¹⁶ In Minae Mizumura’s case, ‘her own language’ that fosters the rich spiritual world is not the Japanese language spoken daily by her mother, but the language in literature such as in Japanese novels, though they may be both the same Japanese.

manner. He was also direct and forceful, using straight talk to break down the listener's emotional defenses (Okamura & Ueda 2008: 160)." Others said, "He used such simple English that you would be misled if your attention wandered (Okamura M. and Ueda S. 2008: 160)." Those are the kinds of impressions that he made on his listeners. This is because his English-language talks were the output of the language in which he had constructed the spiritual world at the core of his being. For that reason, "he had a monopoly on traveling between the deepest reaches of different cultures, reviving and disseminating a unique tradition, and making the world new (Okamura & Ueda 2008: 59)." This supports the idea that English was Suzuki's stepmother language.

Furthermore, it is interesting that like Ian Hideo Levy and Minae Mizumura, Suzuki declares, "In the end, I am not some sort of founding father. I just want to write my own concept of Kegon Buddhism in English (Andō 2006: 24, Akizuki 1971: 224)." Even though he says, "When I express the essence (true nature) of Zen, I think Chinese writing is the most suitable language (Okamura & Ueda 2008: 86)," he still expresses a desire to write in English, which is proof that English is the language that he has chosen for himself. Here he agrees with other cross-border writers in wanting to write not in his mother tongue but in "the language that he chose for himself (Tsuchida & Aoyagi 2001: 244)."

2.4. Integration: From Teitaro to Daisetz

Suzuki left us a large number of writings. The way he signed his name to these works gives us a glimpse of how the evolution of his name matches his evolving identity. For example, in books written in Japanese, such as *Kokoro (Heart)*, he wrote his name in either kanji or the hiragana syllabary. On the other hand, in his English-language books such as *Man's Extremity is God's Opportunity*, he writes his name in the Latin alphabet as "Daisetz" or "Daisetz T. Suzuki." He presents his own name in different scripts as the occasion demands.

When Suzuki's first translation of a Western book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, was published, his English name was listed as "Suzuki Daisetsu Teitaro." The book had been published in Japan as *Budda no fukuin*, and there his name was given as "Suzuki Teitaro, of a samurai family of Ishikawa prefecture." There was no mention of his Buddhist title, "Daisetsu." After that, his name was written as "Suzuki Daisetsu Teitaro" or "Suzuki T. Daisetsu," with the order of the names varying, and sometimes a simple "T." stood in for Teitaro, when his given name was not completely omitted. He also experimented with his name in other ways, changing the order from "Suzuki T. Daisetz" to "Daisetz T. Suzuki." When he wrote "O Wonderful, Wonderful, and Most Wonderful

Wonderful! and Yet Again Wonderful" in 1966, the year of his death, he wrote his name simply as "Daisetz." The way he settled on "Daisetz" is reminiscent of the way a young insect repeatedly sheds its skin as it grows into a mature insect. That is, we can infer the process by which Suzuki's identity was transformed from the changes in how he wrote his name.

Actually, Suzuki's father also changed his name three times, from 了準 (Ryōjun), to 良準 (Ryōjun) written with different characters, to 柔 (Jū). In addition, Suzuki's father changed the names of his three eldest sons using words selected from the classical Chinese book of divination, *I Ching* (Akizuki 2004: 15). Erich Fromm, who influenced Suzuki's thought, gave up the surname he had inherited from his father and changed the spelling from "Fromm" to "Fromme" in order to move to America as a new person. The pronunciation remained the same, but adding an "e" made it into a new name, making him a new person. It was a quick and easy way of signaling that he had broken away from his past and that he had created a new self, or at least, a different self.

Incidentally, I wonder if Suzuki's adoption of the Buddhist name of "Daisetsu" was motivated by the fact that Teitaro Suzuki had lost his family home and become rootless and wanted to acquire a new self. It is possible to interpret this move as an attempt to do so. Yet, simply adopting the name of "Daisetsu" was not enough to acquire a new self. I have already mentioned that Suzuki expected this to happen in the foreign culture of America. He went through numerous changes, and finally, he used the name "Daisetz," which expressed the identity he had settled upon. Discarding "Teitaro" and taking the name "Daisetz" represented the fact that he did not think of himself as belonging to either the East or the West but that he was one man who belonged to the world of Zen. For that reason, a surname was unnecessary, and even a nuisance, as we can see from Fromm's example, because he would be constrained by the name of "Suzuki." We might be able to call it a victory over his Oedipal problems. The spelling "Daisetsu" was in accordance with the system of Romanization that Japanese people use, giving a strong impression that he thought of himself as belonging to Japanese culture and society. It is said that his final change from "Daisetsu" to "Daisetz" was a creative method to make Western people pronounce his name correctly. In other words, it was the result of being accepted in the West and searching for a form that would make him acceptable. It was a way of representing the self that usually inhabited the spiritual world. It tells us that Suzuki's identity belonged to the world. I wonder if Suzuki himself wrote either "Daisetz" or "Daisetz T. Suzuki" depending on what mood he was in or depending on the blank space available. Even if this is a possibility, we can view that freedom and that flexibility as a form of his amoeba-like ability to transform his identity

any number of times. Arai (1995: 37-51) cites Roger Pulvers' "Isn't it fine to have any number of identities?" in order to explain the connection between the functions of identity and cultural relativism. Thus Suzuki held several identities at the same time. We can conclude that he established an integrated identity after his return to Japan, even though he went through the stages of assimilation, separation, and marginalization through his contact with a foreign culture (Berry 1992: 279).

3. A Disseminating-type Identity

Suzuki's life was marked by his father's death, the decline of the samurai class, his mother's death, the sale of the family's home in Kanazawa, his move to Tokyo, and his move to America. After returning to Japan, he moved from Tokyo to Kyoto to Kamakura, but he continued traveling tirelessly to America, Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, and Mexico to give lectures and presentations, and he never settled on any piece of land that he could call "my home." We can interpret this as meaning that Suzuki was not seeking a physical permanent home, because he, a dweller in the spiritual world, had no need for *things*. We can assume that he was rootless, but he was different from merely rootless and wandering individuals. Imagine an individual moving far away from his hometown, crossing the ocean, and landing in a foreign country. One type of person is like a seed that falls on the ground, sprouts, grows roots, grows branches, and ends up as a big tree, having put down roots wherever he landed, and he is unlike the one who returns to his hometown to die, like the falling leaves that return to the roots. If we were to characterize the identity that we have seen Suzuki form over a long period of years, we would have to call it "a disseminating type." This is just like Jacques Derrida's concept of *la dissemination*. That is, *écriture* (written materials, means of writing, the act of writing) is unlike *parole* in that once it is written, it contains the meaning in itself that the writer intended. Thus, it is disseminated. As Suzuki said, "There is something that I have to do now. If I let this time pass by, is it not the same as flowers dedicated to blooming being unable to bloom? (Okamura & Ueda 2008: 88)", and it is as if he wandered around scattering (disseminating) the seeds of his thought.

This view is supported by his words, "We cannot know what our destiny is. For that reason, if I scatter good seeds, there is no doubt that they will be of benefit to someone (Andō 2006: 26)." In other words, his identity did not consist of putting down roots but of scattering the seeds of his identity throughout the world. Then wherever he went, flowers of various colors, shapes, and fragrances bloomed. Having bloomed, the flowers then created seeds, and these seeds were carried by the wind to the

next generation. For him, the statement "The world is my home" evokes an image of the seeds he had sown floating, being scattered, and being diffused.

This concept is reflected in his thoughts about Zen. For example, he links it with confronting various problems of contemporary society and acting to solve them. His conviction that the teachings of Zen have many branches and that they can meet the needs of seekers who are Christians, Jews, or members of any other religion is a result of his disseminating identity.

4. Conclusion

In this study, I have ventured to take a cultural and linguistic approach to the supposed puzzle of Suzuki's experiences of contact with a foreign culture and what sort of influence these experiences exerted on the formation of his identity. In doing so, I was able to discover that his contact with a foreign culture had several features.

The first is that his father's death, the decline of the samurai class, his mother's death, and the sale of the family home in Kanazawa consigned Suzuki to a state of both physical and emotional rootlessness. These experiences were the starting point of his identity and fostered the development of the foundation of self-exploration, as well as prompting him to go to America. Next, I determined the nature of Suzuki's psychological assimilation during his eleven years in America based on his words and status, and I was able to confirm that he changed continuously, passing through the states of assimilation, separation, and marginalization. He then achieved an ideal state of integration in concert with establishing his identity after his return to Japan.

I was able to discover some interesting characteristics of Suzuki's process of identity formation. One was that his parents' deaths and the sale of the family home prompted him to experience the starting point of establishing an identity, the issues of youth in which one figures out who one is. Being left behind by the cultural and social developments of the Meiji Period was another factor in his entrusting himself to fate and going to America without a firmly established identity. The second is that while nearly crushed by loneliness during his second year in America, he seems to have taken specific actions to move in the direction of finding out who he was and what he should do with his life. He stopped fretting and began to devote himself to the task of translating Chinese classics into English at Open Court Publishing, and what I most want to assert in this paper is that this act was the key that led to the establishment of his identity. The reason is that Chinese classics took on the role of emotional substitute for his father and were one factor in helping him overcome his Oedipal problems. I also showed that in this process, English ended up taking on

the function of being his stepmother tongue and enabled him to create a worldview. It is no exaggeration to say that contact with a foreign culture and the English language created a base for the core of his identity.

Revisiting Suzuki's encounters with a foreign culture and the English language from a linguistic and cultural point of view has allowed me to identify several extremely interesting features of his experiences. However, there are parts that I have not touched upon. For example, in this paper I have not dealt with his meeting Beatrice Lane in the tenth year of his stay and later marrying her, and how this influenced the formation of his identity. The marriage may have performed the role of keeping that space known as America as part of his emotional world. On the other hand, it may be related to his adoption of English as his stepmother language in order to acquire a sense of self. There are still aspects of his life in America that give a strong impression of being unsolved mysteries, but gaining a more well-rounded and comprehensive view of Suzuki including the people who surrounded him from a cultural and linguistic angle will be an issue for further research.

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HŌJŌ TAMIO'S CHILDREN'S STORIES IN THE 1930s AND TODAY, WITH TRANSLATIONS¹

Kathryn M. TANAKA²

Abstract: *Hōjō Tamio (1914-1937) is perhaps the best-known author of a genre of writing in Japan known as Hansen's disease literature, or work by people diagnosed with Hansen's disease (leprosy) who were subject to Japan's post-1931 quarantine policies. Hōjō's work has been variously read as a window in patient subjectivity, as a protest against government policies, or as acceptance of life in a quarantine hospital. Overlooked in Hōjō's oeuvre, however, are his two children's stories. In direct contrast to his writing for adults, these works do not specifically mention his illness; yet, for children diagnosed with a stigmatized illness and in many cases living in isolation from their families, these stories would have specific meaning. The stories were first published and circulated in the monthly magazine of Tokyo Zensei Hospital (today Tama Zenshō-en), Yamazakura. In 2016, however, both stories were republished as illustrated children's books. The timing is significant, coming after survivors of Hansen's disease successfully sued the Japanese government for violating their human rights and the publication of Hōjō's real name and family history. This presentation provides a close reading of the two stories and explores the significance of the republication and the meaning the illustrations adds to the text. Ultimately it demonstrates that the republication can be understood as part of a broader contemporary process of historical reconciliation and human rights education about Hansen's disease.*

Keywords: Hōjō Tamio, children's literature, picture books, Hansen's disease, Japanese modern literature

Introduction

In 2014, the city of Anan on the island of Shikoku in Tokushima prefecture claimed the early Showa author Hōjō Tamio as one of their own, a son of a family with a long history in their town. This was worthy of note because Hōjō had been known only by his pen name. This was largely because his writing career drew public attention when he lived and wrote from Zensei Hospital in Tokyo, an institution that had been established for the quarantine and treatment of people suffering from Hansen's

¹ This paper was originally presented as part of a panel on children's literature in Japan at the Asian Studies Japan Conference of 2019. I thank my fellow co-panelists and our discussant, Sharon Domier for her thoughtful comments and her encouragement to pursue this topic. I also thank Abbie Miyabi Modry and two anonymous reviewers whose comments made this a much richer article.

² Associate Professor, University of Hyogo

disease. The stigma of having the condition meant that he published under a pen name to protect his family.³

I have noted elsewhere⁴ that there had been efforts to have the Shichijō family publicly acknowledge Hōjō Tamio as Shichijō Teruji, but these requests had been refused prior to the publication of *Anan-shi no senkakusha-tachi—Dai isshū* [Pioneers of the City of Anan-Volume 1].⁵ At the time, in an interview with media, Shichijō Hiroshi, the grandson of Hōjō's younger half-sister, stated that “his was an existence hidden by history, but times aren't like that now,” and they hoped that the revelation of Hōjō's family and hometown would help further diminish discrimination against survivors of Hansen's disease and their families.⁶

The public acknowledgement of Hōjō's real name and his family history added new context to his works and life, giving scholars and the public alike an opportunity to revisit his literature. Indeed, his writing career itself is often treated as if it began in a void: Hōjō Tamio began writing in 1934 after his institutionalization at Zensei Hospital (*Zensei byōin*, today *Tama Zenshō-en*). In 1936, Hōjō Tamio gained renown in Tokyo's literary circles as the reluctant “father” of what was declared to be a new genre of literature, at the time called “leprosy literature” (*rai bungaku*),⁷ i.e., writings by patients about their illness and quarantine experience under Japanese legislation targeting people suffering from Hansen's disease. Hōjō made his debut as a pupil of Kawabata Yasunari, and after the success of his second novella, “Life's First Night,” he became famous for pioneering this new literary genre. Yet, as I have noted elsewhere, Hōjō himself resisted this categorization and reduction to a writer of “leprosy literature,” and in fact, although the work is no longer extant, Hōjō was a writer of proletarian fiction before his diagnosis.⁸

Despite his resistance to this categorization of his work and life, however, Hōjō continues to be treated as representative of the genre of

³ Abe Hirota, “Hōjō Tamio Honmyō wo kōhyō” [Hōjō Tamio's Real Name Made Public], *Mainichi Shimbun*, 31 July 2014, morning ed., +25.

⁴ Hōjō Tamio, translated and with an introduction by Kathryn M. Tanaka, “‘Life's First Night’ and the Treatment of Hansen's Disease in Japan,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, No. 3, January 19, 2015, np.

⁵ *Anan-shi no senkakusha-tachi-dai isshū kikaku iin*, ed. *Anan-shi no senkakusha-tachi-dai isshū* [Pioneers of the city of Anan - volume 1]. Anan, Shikoku: Anan-shi bunka kyōkai, 2014.

⁶ Abe 2014.

⁷ For more on the naming of this genre and its meaning see Kathryn M. Tanaka, “Literature as Social Activism and Reconciliation: Survivors' Writing and the Meaning of Hansen's Disease in Japan,” in: *Forms of the Body in Contemporary Japanese Society, Literature, and Culture*. Irina Holca and Carmen Săpunaru Tămaș, eds. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2020: 175-196.

⁸ Hōjō Tamio, translated and with an introduction by Kathryn M. Tanaka, “‘Life's First Night’ and the Treatment of Hansen's Disease in Japan,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 3, No. 3, January 19, 2015; and “*Metonymy and Social Margins: Censorship and the Meaning of Hansen's Disease in ‘The Farce’*,” Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, “*Annals of Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University Linguistics, Literature, and Methodology of Teaching*”, Volume XIX, No 1 (2020): 114-141.

patient writing and his work is routinely read as a window into patient experience. One of the consequences of this is a tendency to overlook the breadth of Hōjō's writing. Despite his short life (1914-1937) and the even shorter time he was actively writing and publishing the works we have from him today (1934-1937), Hōjō wrote essays, short stories, novellas, skits, and children's stories.

This essay focuses on two of his less-considered works, the two short stories he wrote for children, as a way to reconsider both writing for and by children in relation to Hōjō's literature, and what the restoration of his identity and more of his history means. These works are revealing as pieces he wrote before he became famous, written for use in the institution's school. The two pieces originally appeared in the *gakuen kikanshi*, or a magazine published for the school of the Tokyo hospital, but they were republished in 2015 as picture books for children after Hōjō's identity was revealed. After an examination of the question of the genre of writing for and by children, and a discussion of the stories within the context of Hōjō's life and work, I argue that the republication should allow for engagement with Hōjō's literature in important new ways.

The Institution and Writing for and by Children

Hansen's disease has a long history in Japan, and as Susan L. Burns has noted, it has often carried "social, political, and religious meanings" beyond the illness experience that "stigmatized its victims."⁹ The illness was given more media and political attention during the Meiji period, within a framework of international debates about the etiology of the disease, culminating in public health care measures targeting sufferers of the illness.¹⁰ At the time, the illness was incurable and care was palliative, and forms of quarantine rapidly became the dominant form of care. In 1907, the first national measure established five regional districts and required each district to build a facility for the care of sufferers. The first public institutions opened in 1909, and they quickly became what Susan L. Burns has described as "complex communities that defy easy characterization as prison, hospital, village, colony, or sanctuary."¹¹ Indeed, the institution shared characteristics with all of the above, and different residents experienced the institution and community in different ways.

Zensei Hospital (*Zensei byōin*, today *Tama Zenshō-en*), was one of the first public hospitals, established outside of Tokyo by the first regional

⁹ Susan L. Burns, *Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019, 20. For more on quarantine and its development and application in Japan, see Hirokawa Waka, *Kindai Nihon no Hansen-byō Mondai to Chiiki Shakai* [Modern Japan's Hansen's Disease Problem and Local Communities]. Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2011.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

block that included Tokyo-fu and the prefectures of Kanagawa, Saitama, Niigata, Chiba, Gunma, Ibaragi, Tochigi, Aichi, Nagano, Yamanashi, and Shizuoka. The space of the hospital reflected its multiple purposes while at the same time reflecting divisions: the area in which medical staff lived and worked was strictly divided from the patients' area and men were separated from women.¹² The space changed as the hospitals grew, further reflecting the ways in which patients created communities to meet their evolving needs.

One part of these unusual communities were schools for children who were institutionalized for the treatment of Hansen's disease. The school in the Zensei Hospital for the regional district around Tokyo, Zensei Academy (*Zensei Gakuen*) first opened in a corner of a religious hall in 1910 and was at that time called Zensei Hospital Youth Educational Facility (*Zensei byōin shōnen kyōiku-sho*).¹³ In that small corner, an adult patient was responsible for educating the children who lived in the institution, separated from their families. According to survivor accounts, education at that time consisted primarily of reading, writing, and basic mathematics. Because it was likely children would spend their lives in the institution, emphasis was placed on a practical and basic education, something children would use within the institution.¹⁴

In 1931, a new law was passed that on paper strengthened the provisions for public quarantine of the 1907 law. These stricter provisions, coupled with awareness-raising campaigns such as the Leprosy-Free Prefecture Movement (*Murai-ken undō*) resulted in an increase in patient numbers in the public institutions. Zensei Hospital was no exception, and the grounds of the community expanded and changed as the patient population increased and their needs changed. In November of 1931, a separate school house was built as the number of institutionalized children also increased.¹⁵ Finally, after 1941, the institutional facility was recognized as a charter branch of the local public school.¹⁶

Writing in general was promoted within the institution as a way to provide some solace to residents, but writing by and for children was an important part of institutional life within the school system.¹⁷ Beginning in the 1920s, life-writing (*tsuzurikata*) became an increasingly popular technique to teach children to read and write, with magazines and books

¹² *Ibid.*, 143-144.

¹³ Hiwatashi Naoya, *Kanja kyōshi, kodomotachi, zetsumetsu kakuri "Hansen-byō ryōyōjo"-Zenshō-bun kyōshitsu jichi to kodomo teate* [Patient teachers, children, quarantine for eradication: The self-government of the classroom at Zenshō and the care of children] Tokyo: Chirekisha, 2013, 47.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 311.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Kathryn M. Tanaka, "Writing Ties in Japan: Family, Familialism, and Children's Writing in an Early Twentieth-century Hansen's Disease Hospital," *Japanese Studies* 36 (2), 231-250.

dedicated to essays, stories, and other forms of writing produced by children.¹⁸ The use of children's writing in the institution was therefore not unique, and indeed, other schools in other institutions also collected and published children's writing as well.¹⁹

In addition to being collected and published as a book, there were several ways writing by and for children with Hansen's disease circulated within the institution, but two main publications were magazines and newsletters printed within Zensei Hospital. The first was *Yamazakura* (Mountain Cherry Blossoms), published by a group of male patients for a larger readership. This larger magazine also included selections of children's writing for its readers. In December of 1924, *Yamazakura* published a column of "Shōnen Haiku," or Young Men's Haiku for the first time, featuring three poems.²⁰ In July of 1927, for the first time a "Children's Column" (*Jidō-ran*) began to run, featuring writing from children aged around ten to twenty, but this time including both boys and girls.²¹ The writing was done as part of their language study in the hospital school they attended. In July of 1927, a "Children's Literary Arts" event was held, and after that the "Children's Column" was a regular monthly feature in *Yamazakura*, usually running over several pages. By the end of the 1920s, then, the schools and writing by children was already well-established in Zensei Hospital through its appearance in *Yamazakura*.

In 1930, the editorial staff at *Yamazakura* collected and published a volume of children's writing, *Hoshikage* (Starlight).²² The original volume was a scant 85 pages, and very few copies were printed, only about three hundred.²³ In fact, its printing was funded through an anonymous charitable donation.²⁴ Yet, the book proved so popular that its contents were expanded and it was reprinted through a publisher outside of the institution.²⁵ In the postscript, the teacher of the school wrote that the works should be understood as "a record of life just as it is" in the sanatorium, and should "only be understood as simple children's literature."²⁶

¹⁸ Mika Endo, 'Pedagogical Experiments with Working Class Children in Prewar Japan.' Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 2011, 195.

¹⁹ See, for example, Mitsuda Kensuke, ed., *Nozomigaoka no kodomotachi* [Children of the Hill of Hopes], Tokyo: Sangabō, 1941, which was a later collection of writing by children from the first national sanatorium for the treatment of Hansen's disease, Nagashima Aisei-en. For more on that collection, see Tanaka, "Writing Ties in Japan."

²⁰ "Shōnen haiku" [Young boys' poems], *Yamazakura* 6 (10), 1924 December, 18.

²¹ "Jidō-ran" [Children's column], *Yamazakura* 9 (7), 1927 July, 46-54.

²² Fujita, Kōzō, ed. *Hoshikage* [Starlight]. Tokyo: Yamazakura insatsujo, 1930.

²³ Fujita, Kōzō, "Dai yon-gō wo henshi oete" [After compiling the fourth edition], in: *Hoshikage* [Starlight]. 4th edition. Tokyo: Nagasaki Shoten, 1931: 103.

²⁴ Fujita, Kōzō, ed., 1930, 83.

²⁵ Fujita, Kōzō, ed., 1931

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

In contrast to this, a new introduction to the fourth edition noted that the institution played an important role in “purifying the nation from the trouble of leprosy” and that the children’s literature had been inspired by other, more senior writers in the institution, such as the members of Esperanto club and *tanka* club, who had also published work for consumption outside of the sanatorium.²⁷ The introduction continued that the only contribution children could make to these patriotic efforts was to urge other boys and girls outside the sanatorium to come to this joyful place. The new introduction strongly contrasts the misery of children suffering from disease outside the institution with the happy children who have come to Zensei Hospital for treatment: “We poured the sufferings of our past, and the joy of our present, the misery of before and our gratitude now, into *Hoshikage*. These are the voices of deep gratitude. And this is the flute which calls out to our friends in sickness who are suffering and sad.”²⁸

The republication of the volume for a readership outside the sanatorium, then, meant a change in how the work was presented and how it was intended to be read and received. Children’s writing was deployed in service of the national fight against Hansen’s disease. It was no longer for the children themselves; it was for the nation. Children’s writing in this volume was also firmly established as part of a genre of writing about illness experience originating within the sanatorium, the genre of literature that Hōjō Tamio would later be credited with popularizing.

Independent of the *Hoshikage* collection, in April of 1934, the school began publishing a newsletter called *Yobukotori*, a word taken from the ancient imperial poetry anthology the *Man’yōshū* to mean most literally, “Calls of Little Birds.”²⁹ The first edition of the letter was published as a supplement to a special issue on religion of *Yamazakura*.³⁰ In this first issue, articles by the head of Zensei Hospital, Hayashi Yoshinobu, other medical doctors, and staff stressed the misery of children “living in store rooms where they cannot see the light” and where they are not allowed to attend school.³¹ As a whole, the articles published in this initial issue to announce and celebrate a publication by and for children explicitly contrast the joy of the seventy children institutionalized for the treatment

²⁷ Written on behalf of the Eighty Children of Hoshikage, “Yo ni kaete” (In place of an introduction), in: Fujita, Kōzō, ed., 1931, 3-4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁹ The reading for this word in Japanese is typically *yobukodori*, rather than *yobukotori*, but the newsletter contains an English spelling that indicates its name was, in fact, the latter.

³⁰ *Yamazakura* 16 (4), April 1934.

³¹ Shionuma Hidenosuke, “Ten ni takara wo tsumu mono” [Those Who Lay Treasure in Heaven] *Yobukotori* Inaugural issue, April 1934, 1.

of their illness with the plight of those concealing their condition and undergoing treatment at home.

The newsletter included writing for children by older hospital residents and school teachers, writing selections from the children, news from the school, and critical pieces on children's writing or the life of children within the institution. The first issue notes that residents spent the first 20 years creating the buildings and landscape of the institution, and the publication of *Yobukotori* was part of a push to turn their attention to the spirits of those who lived there.³² The goals of the magazine were to give the children an outlet to express their feelings and their experiences with the illness to people in society and to others in the institution. Yet another goal, equally explicit in its pages, is to depict Zensei Hospital as a paradise for children, where the trauma of living separately from their parents is compensated by the fine situation, caring staff, and schooling they can receive in the institution.

Publication of *Yobukotori* continued sporadically for years. Issues for the years 1934, 1935, and 1936 are preserved in the National Hansen's Disease Museum archives in Tokyo, but it is likely copies from other years exist. Handwritten, mimeographed copies of the short publication from 1953 are also extant, indicating a lengthy, if sporadic, publication history. In general, materials from the schools - either used to teach the children, or writing by the children themselves - were not preserved, making the issues we have of *Yobukotori* especially important, while at the same time leaving open questions about how children's writing was published and used within the institution, while the *Hoshikage* volume makes it clear that children's writing was also used to promote national health policies.

Hōjō Tamio's Writing for Children

On May 18, 1934, at twenty years old, Shichijō Teruji entered Tokyo's Zensei Hospital. An aspiring author before his diagnosis, he struggled to accept his illness and quarantine. He was introduced to some of the other young men interested in literature soon after he arrived, and he began to work on *Yamazakura*. He published his first short piece in that magazine under the penname Chichibu Teruichi. The last name was taken from his dormitory, and the first name was very close to his own given name, using one of the same characters. Soon after, under his real name, he also wrote to Kawabata, a leader in the Tokyo literary scene of the 1920s and 1930s, requesting the famous author to accept him as a pupil.

Within the context of the blossoming children's literature culture in the institution, on the first night he spent there, Hōjō met Mitsuoka Ryōji (1911-1995), who was then teacher at the hospital school and an editor of

³² "Henshū kōki" [Editorial Postscript], *Yobukotori* Inaugural issue. April 1934, 8.

Yobukotori. In his diary entry on October 23rd, 1934, Hōjō wrote that he promised to write Mitsuoka a story and had in fact managed to write six pages for *Yobukotori*, the story that likely became “*Kawaii Pōru*” (Adorable Paul), but at the same time he was also being pressed to complete a manuscript for Kawabata.³³

On December 20 of the same year, he wrote: “The deadline for *Yobukotori* is today. Last night I managed to pull it together somehow, but as I was revising today, I only corrected three pages before I got sick of it and stopped.”³⁴ Likely referring to “*Sumire*” (The Violet), this short entry underscores the fact that for Hōjō writing was often a difficult process. His diary reveals his frustration with what he wants to write, in contrast to what he is able to express, and we see that dissatisfaction reflected in his writing for children. At the same time, both children’s pieces were completed and published before Hōjō was able to start his first submission to Kawabata Yasunari, *Magi Rōjin* (Old Man Magi), which was eventually published in literary magazine *Bungakkai* (Literary World) in October 1935.

It was after the publication of the award-winning novella *Inochi no shoya* (Life’s First Night, 1936) that Hōjō became well-known to literary coteries outside the institution and newspapers and magazines began referring to “leprosy literature” as a distinct literary genre describing a patient’s experience with an incurable illness, spending their lives in special hospital communities. While children, birth, and pregnancy appear in Hōjō’s later work, and indicate an ongoing concern with women and children in the institution, he did not write any other pieces for children.

Reading Hōjō’s Children’s Stories in the 1930s and Today

When children’s literature, and ultimately all patient writing, began to be published for an audience outside the institution, it was introduced as a unique literary genre. Hōjō Tamio was resistant to the label of “leprosy literature” as a distinct genre, and he chafed at the idea that he had popularized it, but from the first his work was published within that frame. His children’s works, as well, have been read through the frame of Hansen’s disease, when they were read at all. In fact, with the exception of several very short examinations of the tales, these children’s stories have been neglected by scholarship altogether.³⁵

³³ Hōjō Tamio, *Hōjō Tamio bungaku zenshū gekan* [Collected Works of Hōjō Tamio Volume 2], 2 vols., Tokyo: Sōgen-sha, 1996, 186.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 192.

³⁵ Igarashi Yasuo, an early scholar of Hōjō Tamio, published two articles on Hōjō’s children’s stories. Igarashi’s work is highly problematic because he violated the privacy of the family in order to gain access to materials and family records. More recently, Takasaki Yuri has published on the pieces. See “Dōwa sakka to shite no Hōjō Tamio” [Hōjō Tamio as a Children’s Author]. *Toyooka Tanki Daigaku Ronshū* No. 14, 497-506.

“*Kawaii Pōru*,” or “Adorable Paul,” which was published in October 1934, tells the story of a young girl, Miko-chan, who rescues a puppy she names Paul from a dog catcher and the happiness they find together. The second story, “*Sumire*” (“The Violet”) from January 1935, is a tale about an old man living alone deep in the mountain woods, whose wife has died and whose son has gone to the city to live and work. The old man makes plans to join him, but before he can go, he befriends a small violet, and gives up his plans to stay with the personified flower. Both works are printed in standard, pre-1945 Japanese, using both hiragana and kanji characters. Furigana, or hiragana characters used next to kanji to aid reading, were not used. Furthermore, “The Violet” was published without illustration, although “Adorable Paul” featured a black and white image of a young girl in Western clothing feeding a collared dog, as seen below.³⁶

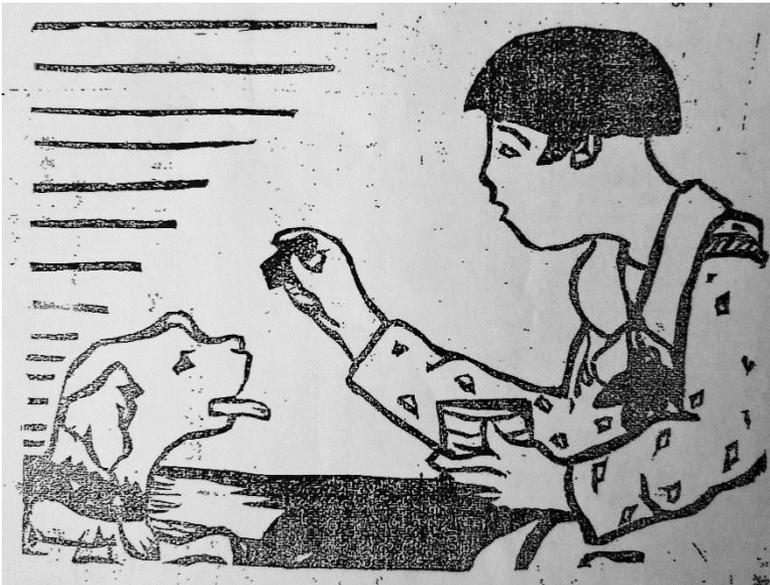


Fig. 1 Illustration for “Adorable Paul” in the October 1934 issue of *Yobukotori*

With the exception of the single illustration, then, these two children’s stories as originally published in *Yobukotori* were not clearly marked as stories for children and they would have been difficult for young students to read by themselves. This highlights again the dual purpose of writing for and by children in the hospital: on the one hand, *Yobukotori* contains stories and poems for and by the children, but it also contains news items from the school and critical pieces such as “*Dōwa to watashi*” (Children’s

³⁶ Takasaki Yuri, in an article on teaching Hōjō Tamio’s children’s pieces today, speculates the illustration was included because the story was too short and in order for it to completely fill the space allotted on the front page they added the image. Takasaki Yuri, “Dōwa sakka to shite no Hōjō Tamio” [Hōjō Tamio as a Children’s Author]. *Toyooka Tanki Daigaku Ronshū* No. 14, 500.

Stories and Me) by Mori Fuyōshi and Harada Kashishi’s “*Byōsha no bungei to Yobukotori ni tsuite*” (On the Literary Arts of Sufferers of Illness and *Yobukotori*).³⁷ Such critical pieces can be understood as part of a larger debate between institutional literary coteries about the meaning and purpose of patient writing, a debate that was ongoing before the notion of a genre of “leprosy literature” crystalized around Hōjō and his writing. It remains significant, however, that like the *Hoshikage* volume, the critical pieces in *Yobukotori* stress the care the children receive in the hospital, and the act of publishing their writing as a way of developing “love, sympathy, and understanding” for their situation from society outside the institution.³⁸

Hōjō’s children’s stories were published within this context, and on the face of it, neither work has much to do with Hansen’s disease or quarantine, yet underpinning each work are questions of confinement and finding your place. In “Little Paul,” the story is told as a flashback, beginning with Miko and Paul together and happy before relating the circumstances that brought them together. The puppy was captured by dog catchers and Miko-chan plead with them unsuccessfully to take the dog out of the cage as the puppy grew more upset at its confinement: “The puppy who the dogcatchers had thrown into the box suddenly became upset and began to whimper, in such tones that it seemed his throat would dry and crack, and begin to bleed. He probably wanted to hurry home and get warm beneath his mother, and he scratched the box as he cried. But the strength of a puppy could do nothing.”³⁹

The helplessness of the puppy and his separation from his mother is foregrounded here, as is Miko-chan’s own helplessness. Her pleas to the dog catchers to release him proved powerless until a police officer intervened and released the puppy. Paul then became Miko-chan’s best friend, as the story underscores their close bond. Paul was saved, and he found a new family.

The name “Paul” comes from, as Narita Minoru, director of the National Hansen’s Disease museum, notes, Paul Dukas (1865-1935), a famed French composer who set literary works and folk tales to music. Narita speculates Hōjō used this name because the author admired the

³⁷ Mori Fuyōshi, “Dōwa to watashi” (Children’s stories and me), *Yobukotori* No. 1, June 1934, 6; and Harada Kashishi, “Byōsha no bungei to Yobukotori ni tsuite” [On the literary arts of sufferers of illness and *Yobukotori*], *Yobukotori* No. 4, January 1935, 8. The pen names used by these authors may also be read Fuyōko and Kashiko, but the *-shi* ending is more likely based on pen name patterns common among men at the time, in particular among the literati. I thank Kimura Tetsuya for his assistance in identifying these authors and contextualizing their work.

³⁸ Harada, 8.

³⁹ Hōjō Tamio, “Kawaii Pōru” (Adorable Paul), in: *Teihon Hōjō Tamio bungaku zenshū jōkan* [Collected Works of Hōjō Tamio Volume 1], Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1996: 368-371. All translations are my own and the full story appears at the end of this piece.

French composer, and in the work, Hōjō intends “Paul” to represent himself, and Miko-chan to represent Kawabata Yasunari.⁴⁰ It is simple to read the stories as a metaphor for quarantine and draconian health policies under this understanding of the story, as well, especially given the frightful description of the dog catchers. A *Mainichi Shinbun* newspaper article makes this point, when National Hansen’s disease museum archivist Takai Satoshi echoes Narita in arguing that in “Adorable Paul” “[t]he dog catchers are the image of the forced quarantine of patients; Hōjō projected Kawabata on Miko and himself on Paul, and he was picked up by Kawabata.”⁴¹

The impulse to read the story as a metaphor for Hōjō’s own circumstances in quarantine and a symbolic “rescue” by Kawabata is thus understandable. In the story, Paul is saved and becomes a part of Miko-chan’s family and community, loved by all. But it also may be overly simplistic and too reductive to argue the dog catchers represent quarantine, Miko-chan represents Kawabata, and Paul is Hōjō himself, in part because such a reading relies on knowledge of later circumstances to understand the story. At the time “Adorable Paul” was written, Hōjō had only just begun to work with Kawabata.

Certainly, Kawabata was a link between Hōjō and the world beyond the sanatorium, and in some ways can be understood to be Hōjō’s savior, but this story draws on other, more universal themes: flourishing in the community you find yourself, the difference a child can make in the lives of others, and bravery in difficult situations. Read more broadly, the work is also about oppression, rescue, and who has the power to help in the face of violence represented by the dog catchers. Indeed, as Abbie Miyabi Modry pointed out in private correspondence about these two pieces, the description of the crowd gathered around a bright-red mailbox, coupled with Hōjō’s description of the brutality of the dog catchers (literally, “dog killers,” *inu goroshi*, in Japanese), further underscores the violence underpinning the story and the heroic role of the policeman.⁴² Modry further suggests that the policeman with his cape might resemble an intellectual college student as their uniforms were similar, thus casting a young man not unlike Hōjō in the role of rescuer of a young girl. There are complicated layers to the act of “rescue” here: Miko-chan rescues Paul,

⁴⁰ Narita Minoru, “Kawaii Pōru (dōwa) wo oyomino okosama ni itsuka shirasete itadakitai koto” [Things I want to share someday with the children who read (the children’s story) Adorable Paul,” in: Hōjō Tamio, *Kawaii Pōru* [Adorable Paul]. Illustrated by Obo Makoto. Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hansen-byō Shiryōkan [National Hansen’s Disease Museum], 2016, back cover.

⁴¹ “Hōjō Tamio no dōwa - ehon ni” [Hōjō Tamio’s children’s story - As a picture book]. *Asahi Shimbun* 20 September 2016. Evening edition, +8.

⁴² I thank Abbie Miyabi Modry for her insight into the two pieces I discuss here, in particular in relation to violence and gender.

the smallest of the captured puppies, while the other dogs that have been caught remain in the cage; and then the policeman in turn rescues both Miko-chan and Paul. To focus only on Miko-chan's act of rescuing Paul from the cage reveals again a tendency to reduce the understanding of the story to a metaphor for quarantine.

Certainly, confinement and rescue are a key theme in the story in "Adorable Paul," and should be acknowledged. Similarly, themes of confinement or being stuck in a place and finding a way to flourish underpin "The Violet" as well. The old man gives up his plan of going to the city to water and care for the violet, but as he does so he asks the violet the point of blooming in such brilliance in the obscure mountains where no one can see it:

One day the old man said, "You are so beautiful; how sad you must be to be born in the mountains where no one will see you."

And the violet answered, "No."

"You can't walk and you can't work, you probably have nothing to interest you," the old man continued.

And again the violet answered, "No."

...

"My body is so small, and I can't walk or work. But no matter how small my body, I can see the spacious, spacious blue skies, and the white clouds that drift by, and every night I can see the beautiful, twinkling stars like golden sand in the night sky... To me, just that is enough to make me happier than anyone else."⁴³

Here, the violet is beautiful, but small and unable to move. It is a poignant passage that would resonate with children unable to leave the sanatorium, who surely felt small, and who were confronted with the limits of their ailing bodies. The story contains a powerful message about doing the best you can even in undesirable circumstances. Both of these pieces are careful in the way experiences of confinement and quarantine are woven into the text to make the stories speak to universal experiences, while at the same time offering children in quarantine ultimately hopeful tales that speak very clearly and specifically to their circumstances, as well.

The stories both underscore separation from blood families, and the creation of new family ties. In "Adorable Paul," the youth and helplessness of the puppies in the box and the puppy Miko rescues are both highlighted through references to longing for mother's milk and mother's warmth. In the end, Paul finds a family with Miko-chan, and in "The Violet," the old man finds a family with the violet, rather than with his biological child in the city.

⁴³ Hōjō Tamio, "Sumire" (The Violet), in: *Teihon Hōjō Tamio bungaku zenshū jōkan* [Collected Works of Hōjō Tamio Volume 1], Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1996: 373-377. The full story appears at the end of this piece.

Indeed, many children who lived and studied in Zensei Hospital lived apart from their blood families and their hometown—this is something that articles in *Yobukotori* highlighted to the point of repetition. And it may be important to note that in fact, Hōjō himself had experienced loss and relocation as a child. He was born in Seoul, South Korea, then a Japanese colony when his father was serving in the military. His mother died when he was a year old, and Hōjō, together with his older brother, were sent to live with his maternal grandparents back in Shikoku. His father remarried when Hōjō was three, but the young boy and his step mother remained distant. Perhaps, in some way, the stories also reflect what Hōjō himself struggled to do both as a child and again after his institutionalization: accept his place in this strange community and find a way to grow there. To read the story and try to understand it solely within the contexts of illness and quarantine is in a sense to quarantine the literature as well as the author.

The republication of his children’s stories as picture books in the wake of the announcement of his real name by the National Hansen’s Disease Museum in Tokyo to celebrate the centennial of his birth was a step toward making the stories universal for the first time.⁴⁴ “The Violet” appeared first, in 2015 with illustrations by Yamazaki Katsumi.⁴⁵ A year later, “Adorable Paul” was published with illustrations by Obo Makoto.⁴⁶ Both books contain postscripts by the director of the National Hansen’s Disease Museum, Dr. Narita Minoru, which discuss Hōjō’s illness and his experiences, and frame the story within life in quarantine and a denunciatory historical narrative. But the postscripts are clearly written for parents, using kanji and more difficult language. In contrast, the stories themselves are brightly illustrated, and the kanji has been replaced with hiragana throughout, making them accessible and attractive to children today.

Obo Makoto’s illustrations of “Adorable Paul” are done in colored pencils, with the characters drawn in a way that evokes 1930s Japan. Buildings, post offices, and clothing are depicted in a way that clearly places the story in an earlier, but still relatable time. The colors are muted, relying heavily on greens, blues and yellows. When Miko and Paul interact with members of the community—in a scene where neighborhood women

⁴⁴ Takagi Tomoko, “Hansen-byō sakka, 100 nen yomitsugu Hōjō Tamio, bunkoka ehonka tsuzuku” [Hansen’s disease author, read over 100 years—Continuing to make Hōjō Tamio’s books into picture books], *Asahi Shinbun Osaka*, evening, 2016 February 9, +32.

⁴⁵ Hōjō Tamio, *Sumire* [The Violet]. Illustrated by Yamazaki Katsumi. Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hansen-byō shiryōkan [National Hansen’s Disease Museum], 2015.

⁴⁶ Hōjō Tamio, *Kawaii Pōru* [Adorable Paul]. Illustrated by Obo Makoto. Tokyo: Kokuritsu Hansen-byō shiryōkan [National Hansen’s Disease Museum], 2016.



praise Paul, and when Miko is begging the dog catchers to release him—the characters are drawn against a blank, colored background. This puts the emphasis on the interactions and expressions of the characters, setting it apart from the world around them.

Fig. 2 Cover Illustration of “Adorable Paul,” 2016

The scenes in Miko’s home are the most colorful, with red cushions and dishes, and the final page of the book showing Miko and Paul cuddled together in a futon covered with a pink blanket decorated with bright orange flowers and orange and blue leaves. The use of reds and pinks in the scenes in Miko’s home adds depth and warmth to the book. Overall, the images underscore the home as a haven and the outside world as colder and separate from the space Miko and Paul share together. Through its images, the picture book reinforces the message of finding and making a warm and safe home.



The illustrations in “The Violet” by Yamazaki Katsumi are very different, painted explosions of color on every page. The heavy use of color and strong brush strokes reinforce the emotions in the story: the first page depicts a wooden cottage almost hidden by thick green foliage. The old man is visible in one room of the home, blending into the surroundings and colors around him.

Fig. 3 Cover Illustration of “The Violet,” 2015

When the home is depicted at night, the image underscores the loneliness described in the text by heavy dark blue and green brush strokes that sweep over and obscure the tiny cottage almost like a wave, a blur of yellow light from a window the only bright spot in the image. Similarly, in images where the Old Man reflects on his life as he sits in his cottage, his thoughts and his memories are depicted as bursts of colorful images around him. His deceased wife and his son, busy working in an office, surround him in one image; in another, busses, trains, cars, cakes and candy fly around him, urging him to the city.

What may be most striking about the illustrated version of “The Violet,” however, is the personification of the violet itself. The violet is first shown as the old man packs for his journey to the city, and its depiction is in stark contrast to the colorful confusion of the previous pages. In the image, nature dominates and the blue of the violet stands out from the greens and browns of the rest of the background. As the old man tends to the violet day after day, he explicitly begins to think of her as a girl, and so the violet becomes personified on the pages of the book.

The book shows the old man and the violet enjoying the sky and nature together; in one specific image, a beautiful night sky with luminescent yellow stars against the indigo background radiates from the violet into the imagination of the old man. The image graphically shows how the thoughts and imaginations of the characters in the story connect them and allow to share their world. The images of the sky, of clouds and stars, crowd out the dizzying images of cakes and cars from the earlier pages. The story concludes with the man stretched out with the violet, in her flower form, in the woods, looking at the sky.

In both cases, the images change how we understand and situate the works. In the case of “The Violet,” the natural world is depicted as expansive and peaceful, in contrast to the confused whirl of images associated with the city. In the case of “Adorable Paul,” the emphasis is on the brightness and warmth we find in the home. In either case, the use of pictures to tell the story de-centers Hōjō and a reading of the story as solely a comment on quarantine.

The picture books also serve to clarify the subtle use of gender in the stories. “The Violet,” being a flower, may be read as symbolic of feminine in Hōjō’s piece, but violets also have a longer and more complex history in Japanese literature. Indeed, Natsume Sōseki (1867~1916), one of Japan’s most famous modern authors, wrote a well-known haiku about the flower in 1897:

菫程な小さき人に生れたし
Sumire hodo na chiisaki hito ni umare tashi
I wish to be born a person as small
As a violet⁴⁷

The violet for Sōseki represented the quiet beauty of a small and often overlooked wildflower. Sōseki was a scholar of English literature as well as Japanese, and he associated the flower not only with fidelity, but also the mourning of death and a celebration of rebirth in spring.⁴⁸ While Hōjō

⁴⁷ Quoted in Sakamoto Takeshi, “Natsume Sōseki no eibungaku (jo): Hikaku bungaku kenkyū-teki oboegaki” [Notes towards Comparative Literary Studies: An Introduction to Soseki Natsume's English Literature], in: *Eibungaku Ronshū* 47, 2007: 14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

was likely unfamiliar with Sōseki's haiku, we know from his diaries that he was an avid reader and likely would have been familiar with the literary symbolism of the violet.

The picture book takes the symbolism of the violet a step further, personifying the flower as a young girl with pink cheeks and hair in pig tails, wearing a pink, violet-patterned outfit reminiscent of clothing worn by Japanese farmers in the 1930s. With the violet and Miko-chan, then, both of Hōjō's stories have young girls as protagonists. Takasaki Yuri, in her analysis of Hōjō's short stories, draws on his diaries, where he notices the children, in particular the young girls, and argues that "he looked at the girls with especially fond eyes, while on the other hand finding solace in the purity of the girls."⁴⁹

It is indeed significant that both of these stories feature feminine protagonists. The violet shares feminine attributes and in the modern picture book is personified as a girl, and Miko-chan is also a brave young girl. But it may be oversimplified to argue that the works feature girls so prominently because Hōjō found solace in their purity. Rather than a focus on purity or rescue, when considered in larger contexts of quarantine and Hōjō's life, reading the stories with attention to the feelings toward women with which Hōjō struggled may be less reductive. His use of a young girl and a feminine violet in these stories seems especially significant when we consider that Hōjō's short life was marked by the loss of several important women in his life, beginning with the loss of his mother as an infant.

In fact, in Hōjō's short life, he had several ill-fated relationships with women. In November of 1932, after his older brother's death, he was married to a relative of his grandmother's. The marriage was short and ill-fated; he was diagnosed with Hansen's disease in February of 1933, and divorced from his wife four months after their wedding. Hōjō biographer Takayama Fumihiko lays out evidence his young bride likely attempted suicide by drowning later that year.⁵⁰ Hōjō himself later wrote in his diary about receiving word of her death in a letter from his grandfather:

"It said my former wife Y had died of tuberculosis. I couldn't help but stop and dwell on that. As a wife I didn't know her well and she betrayed me, but when I heard she died at that instant I felt a sadness I didn't know how to put into words. I didn't love her. But when I heard she was dead, I felt such regret and had a longing to once again hug her neck... She was so healthy, grown like a hearty village daughter, a good woman, then... it seems so strange she would die."⁵¹

⁴⁹ Takasaki, 499.

⁵⁰ Takayama Fumihiko, *Hibana: Hōjō Tamio no shōgai* [The Spark: The Life of Hōjō Tamio], Tokyo: Kadogawa Shoten, 2003: 58-59.

⁵¹ Hōjō Tamio, "Diary, August 28, 1934," in: *Teihon Hōjō Tamio Zenshū*, vol. 2., Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1996: 173.

The betrayal referred to here, Takayama speculates, is her attempted suicide. It seems likely that Hōjō's feelings about his wife were ambivalent; in addition to diary entries about her, in an unfinished essay he writes that the time they spent as husband and wife "was the last joy given to me" before his diagnosis.⁵²

After he was diagnosed with Hansen's disease, Hōjō struggled with the idea of romantic relationships with women. In addition to ambivalent feelings toward his former wife, his writing reflects in places a gaze that seems to be underpinned with desire directed at young women in the institution. For example, in his most famous work, "Life's First Night," the main character Ōta watches women through a hedge, in a voyeuristic scene that draws on a long erotic literary motif of men spying on women through fences. He writes:

"Out of the corner of his eye, he [Ōta] saw that both women were wearing short-sleeved kimonos with the same striped pattern; as he surveyed them from behind, their white aprons fluttered up into sight. He was slightly disappointed that he could not see their faces, but from behind they looked nice indeed, with their thick black hair casually tied back."⁵³

At the same time, however, Arai Yuki has noted that after his institutionalization, he may have developed feelings for a nurse, a liaison that would have been strictly forbidden in the hospital. Arai argues it is this that causes him to conclude in his diary: "I must not love women. I must not feel affection for women. The hot blood of youth must be emptied and buried in the sands of time."⁵⁴ Finally, as Hōjō was writing these two pieces, he also noted in his diary that he was struggling to write, and ultimately abandoned, a piece called "The Young Wife." For example, Hōjō wrote on 18 September, 1934: "In the morning, I sat at my desk to try and write "The Young Wife," but I could not write at all."⁵⁵

This is all to note that Hōjō had at best complicated relationships with women, and struggled with his own feelings toward them. In that sense, the relationships he depicts with the violet and Miko are a safe way to resolve the tension and confusion Hōjō may have felt in his own relationships with women. By casting men and women as protectors and helpers rather than lovers, Hōjō demonstrated non-romantic family relationships that were acceptable within the institution, and the relationships with which Hōjō was struggling. The question of the space

⁵² Hōjō Tamio, "Hatsubyō shita goro" [When I was Diagnosed], in: *Teihon Hōjō Tamio Zenshū*, vol. 2, Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1996: 57.

⁵³ Hōjō, translated by Tanaka, "Life's First Night," n.p.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Arai Yuki, "Hōjō Tamio nikki no nazo" [The Mystery of Hōjō Tamio's Diaries], in: *Koi suru hito bungaku* [Literature of people who love], Tokyo: Kanrinsha, 2016: 182-183.

⁵⁵ Hōjō Tamio, "Diary, 18 September, 1934," in: *Teihon Hōjō Tamio Zenshū*, vol. 2, Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1996: 180.

of quarantine and “acceptable” emotions for patients, together with finding one’s place in a larger community were all concerns of Hōjō’s, in addition to his experience of illness and quarantine. And all of these themes are arguably present in texts that are much richer when they are read in broader contexts.

It seems relevant to acknowledge that violence as embodied by the dog catchers, or Hōjō’s treatment of young girls in *Miko-chan* and the violet may be subtexts in these pieces that would garner more attention from scholars if the critical focus is taken off of Hansen’s disease. Hōjō himself argued that he wrote about human experiences we all shared, and these stories for children should be read with that in mind.

In that sense, these two picture books, despite their publication by the National Hansen’s Disease Museum, are an important step to reframing how Hōjō’s work is read and understood. The images and the picture book format open new possibilities and de-link the tales from the context of Hansen’s disease and quarantine, making them open to more universal understandings of relationships, home, community, love, and who can help in the face of violence.

Conclusion

Cristina Vischer Bruns, in *Why Literature? The Value of Literary Reading and What it Means for Teaching*, argues that literature should be grounded in readers’ experiences of the texts, and will necessarily include the readers’ the assumptions or biases.⁵⁶ Reading Hōjō not as Hansen’s disease literature but within broader contexts allows readers to create their own meaning from the text and allows for richer and more rewarding textual engagement, on the part of scholars or students in the classroom. It puts Hōjō’s work in dialogue with broader literature about other universal questions, and even other human rights issues, rather than continuing to treat it as Hansen’s disease literature, or its own isolated, unique genre.

The appearance of these illustrated books is a move to reframe Hōjō’s literature as writing about humanity and issues common to many readers rather than writing exclusively about illness experience. While in a sense the stories are still framed by Hansen’s disease given the postscript and the publisher, in fact their republication for the first time does allow them to be read broadly by children in Japan, giving them new impact, and perhaps, new meaning.

⁵⁶ Cristina Vischer Bruns, *Why Literature? The Value of Literary Reading and What it Means for Teaching*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011.

Annex: translation of “*Sumire*” & “*Kawaii Pōru*”

The Violet

A Story for Children

In a forest so deep in the mountains that it was dark even during the day, old man Otokichi lived. About three years earlier, his wife had died, and since then the old man had lived alone. The old man had a son who would be twenty this year, but the son had gone to work in the city far from the old man. Sometimes the old man received a letter, but he couldn't see his son's face. The old man spent his days truly alone.

Since he was deep in the mountains, far from any village, there were no passersby, and it was so lonely that at times an owl's hoot could be heard during the day. But the loneliest thing of all were the nights when the sun had sunk behind the mountains to the west and it was completely dark, nights when the sound of the black wind shaking the leaves of the trees could be heard. As the old man sat next to the sunken hearth, he heard the call of wolves from the far away mountain pass, and they gave him the chills.

At times like that, while quietly warming his hands over the hearth fire, the old man thought of his departed wife and his son in the faraway city, and he would be forlorn in his own loneliness.

When his wife was alive, they had talked together about their son, and they were able to comfort one another, but he couldn't do that now. The coming of each day, one after the other, meant another day of no pleasure and loneliness, so gradually the old man came to hate living in the mountains.

“Ah, I hate it. I hate it. I've come to hate this life alone!” When he said this, the old man was no longer able to do the work he had enjoyed more than anything up to this point.

And then one day, the old man said while drumming his knees, “I've got it! I know! I'll go to the city. In the city they have trains and steam engines, and cars—I've never seen one of those before! And then, I'm sure they have sweets so delicious they melt on your tongue. I've got it, I've got it! I'll go to my son's house in the city.”

The old man decided to do this.

“I wonder why I never realized what a great thing this would be before,” he said, as he prepared as quickly as possible to go to the city. But, at that moment, from the corner of his garden, a small violet blooming dejectedly caught his eye.

“Oh my,” he said, and he went over to look at it. It was incredibly small, and looked lonely. Its sweet petals were so blue, as if they had soaked up the color of the sky, and it was as beautiful as a gem.

“Ah. At my age, I've never seen a violet as beautiful as this before,” he couldn't help exclaiming. But it looked so lonely, he asked, “Violet, Violet, why do you look so lonely?”

The violet was silent and gave no answer.

The next day, the old man was at last ready to depart for the city, but as he put on his straw sandals, he suddenly remembered the violet from the day before.

Just like yesterday, the violet was there, blooming in loneliness. The old man thought, “If I go to the city, how lonely will this violet be! And with such a tiny body, it's blooming with all its might.”

Thinking this, the old man just couldn't leave and go to the city.

The next day, and the day after that, the old man thought of the violet and he couldn't leave, no matter what.

“If I go to the city, I'm certain the violet will wilt in a single night.” And with this idea, day after day the old man delayed the day of his departure for the city.

Every day the old man went over to the violet, and gave it water and night soil. Each time, the violet looked happy, and with a smile, thanked the old man: “Thank you, thank you!”

The violet became ever more beautiful and kept blooming in fresh purity. When the old man looked at the violet, he forgot all about going to the city.

One day the old man said, "You are so beautiful; how sad you must be to be born in the mountains where no one will see you."

And the violet answered, "No."

"You can't walk and you can't work, you probably have nothing to interest you," the old man continued.

And again, the violet answered, "No."

"Why is that?" The old man cocked his head as he thought about this, as if something were strange.

"For me, truly, every day is simply a pleasure."

"My body is so small, and I can't walk or work. But no matter how small my body, I can see the spacious, spacious blue skies, and the white clouds that drift by, and every night I can see the beautiful, twinkling stars like golden sand in the night sky. With this small body, how is it possible for me to see the vast sky? To me, just that is enough to make me happier than anyone else."

"Huh." The old man listened to the violet's words and mulled over them.

"And then, even if there isn't anyone to look at me, I want to bloom as beautifully as I possibly can, as best as I can. No matter whether it is in the mountains, or the valleys, I want to keep blooming with all my might, and then I want to wilt. That's my only duty in life." The violet spoke quietly. Otokichi listened in silence, before saying, "Ah! What a clever flower you are! I know! I'm going to give up going to the city."

In the end, the old man gave up going to the city. And then, together with the violet in that lone place, they watched the clouds like cotton drift by in the clear skies.

Adorable Paul

Miko-chan's puppy was really very cute. Hair as soft as cotton grew in a puff over his round, fat body.

He was named Paul. Miko-chan had thought for three days before naming him this. Paul was the name of a master in France who wrote beautiful songs.

Miko-chan loved Paul. For his part, Paul listened to anything Miko-chan said. On top of that, Paul would follow Miko-chan like a samurai's retainer everywhere she went.

"Paul! Paul!" No matter where he was, when he was called, Paul ran to Miko-chan and waited for her commands.

Even the old women in the neighborhood, seeing Paul, would call, "Little Paul, Little Paul!" so that they could give him his favorite biscuits. They would then look at Miko-chan and praise her, saying, "Aren't you clever, Miko-chan?" This was because Miko-chan helped Paul before he came to live at her house.

It was the evening of a day so cold that snow seemed ready to fall when Miko-chan helped Paul. Miko-chan had to take her father's letter to the post. The north wind blew strong and it chilled her, as though her hands and feet would freeze. Yet she still walked on cheerfully.

Just as she came up, a large crowd of people were standing and talking excitedly around the red post box. Together with their voices, the mournful wail of a dog could be heard.

What's going on? Miko-chan thought as she approached the crowd, and she saw from the edge of the group they were hunting stray dogs.

Despite the cold, one man was wearing a straw hat that had holes in it, and he carried a thick stick. Another wore an overcoat splattered with dirt, and he glanced about with an angry glare. He had a strong-looking rope in his hands.

A push cart was stopped right next to them. On top of the cart sat a giant box, and when the two caught a dog, they would push it into this box.

The man with the fearsome eyes said, "We've only caught twenty-four since this morning."

The man with the holes in his hat replied, "Yeah, I really want to catch another ten." Hearing this, Miko-chan couldn't help shuddering.

From inside the box on the cart, she heard the cry of a puppy, whimpering in agony, probably longing for milk from its mother. At that same moment, a puppy that looked almost newborn came running out of hiding. It must have heard its friend's cries from inside the box and came out to see what was wrong. The puppy looked at the big box and seemed to think it strange.

The two fearsome dog catchers spotted the puppy.

"Ha! Look at this runt!"

"That's great!" "Which of us shall catch it?"

The two dog catchers surrounded the puppy from both sides.

"Oh, that's awful!" Miko-chan spoke without thinking. Upon hearing her voice, the puppy suddenly ran over to her and pawed at her leg. Miko-chan hurriedly picked the puppy up in her arms.

Seeing this, the two dog catchers glared at Miko-chan and cried, "Hey! If you don't let that dog go now, we'll put you in the box with it!"

"No! No!"

"Are you saying you're not letting him go?" the dog catchers spoke in a loud voice and tried to pull the puppy from Miko-chan's arms. Miko-chan held the dog as tightly as she could, but she couldn't withstand the strength of the big men. Before long they took the puppy from her.

"Get into the box!" And sadly, they grabbed the puppy by its neck and flung it into the box.

Miko-chan felt so sorry for the puppy she resolved to somehow help him.

"Hey, mister? I'll take that puppy. So please, give him to me. Hey, mister, that'd be all right, wouldn't it?" Miko-chan begged as hard as she could. But it was to no avail.

The puppy who had been thrown into the box suddenly got scared and began to whimper, so much that it seemed his throat would parch and crack, and blood pour out. He probably wanted to hurry home and get warm beneath his mother, and he scratched the box as he cried. But the strength of a puppy could do nothing.

Seeing this, Miko-chan also became sad.

At that instant, a kind policeman wearing a black cape passed by, and patted Miko-chan's head.

"You're an admirable child. It's OK. I'll help you out." Saying so, he took the puppy from the box. What joy Miko-chan felt!

"Sir, thank you! Thank you, sir!" Again and again, Miko-chan thanked the police officer and bowed her head in thanks.

This pitiful puppy was Paul. After this Miko-chan and Paul became the best of friends. Paul is always playing happily at Miko-chan's house.

When she sees this, Miko-chan always thinks, thank goodness I saved Paul then.

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TOYOSHIMA YOSHIO'S TRAVEL WRITING ABOUT TAIWAN

Jotung WU¹

Abstract: *Toyoshima Yoshio was invited to Taiwan in 1942 with other three Japanese writers. The four traveled around Taiwan giving speeches and meeting with Taiwanese and Japanese living in Taiwan. After this trip, Toyoshima published "The Image of Taiwan." In this paper, I use newspapers released in Taiwan during Toyoshima's trip to confirm the details of his trip. Then, I analyze Toyoshima's travel writing to introduce his insights and how he represented Taiwan.*

Keywords: Toyoshima Yoshio, trip to Taiwan, Taiwan's image in 1942, historic record, travel writing

1. Introduction

Depictions of Taiwan were common in the Japanese literature from the colonial period, and there are also many that date back to the Edo period. Rai Sanyō 賴山陽 (1780-1832), for instance, mentioned Taiwan in his classical Chinese poem "Agune" (阿嵎嶺, 1818) when he viewed it from Kagoshima. From then, Japanese visited Taiwan and produced works about the island from various perspectives. Some, like Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋 (1885-1942), appreciated the exoticism of Taiwan. Others, especially female writers like Hayashi Fumiko 林芙美子 (1903~1951), Kitamura Kaneko 北村兼子 (1903~1931), and fellow members of the Women's Culture Lecture Association 婦人文化講演会, criticized, albeit vaguely, Japanese colonialism after giving lectures in Taiwan during the 1930s.

Toyoshima Yoshio 豊島与志雄 (1890–1955), who also visited Taiwan, provided his own interpretation. In this paper, I explore what Toyoshima experienced in Taiwan and how he wrote about it. Toyoshima Yoshio, a reputable Japanese writer, started his literary career in the Taishō period, when he published a coterie literary magazine *Shinshichō* 新思潮 with Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 in 1914. His works were admired by Akutagawa and other contemporary writers, earning him recognition throughout his literary career. Besides short stories, he also left numerous fairy tales and essays. He translated *Les Misérables* from

¹ Independent researcher.

French to Japanese in 1917, showing an active interest in affairs beyond the borders of Japan. During the 1940s, he traveled to China three times and to colonial Taiwan once. After these trips, he wrote numerous works based on his experiences in a variety of genres, such as travel writing, fairy tale, and short story.

In 1942, for a period of one month, Toyoshima was invited to Taiwan with three other writers, Kubokawa (Sata) Ineko 窪川(佐多)稲子 (1904-1988, a writer of proletarian literature), Matsumura Shōfū 松村梢風 (1961-1889, a writer of popular literature), and Hamamoto Hiroshi 浜本浩 (1891-1959, a writer of popular literature), to give speeches about literature. Kubokawa was the only female writer among the four. After this visit, both Toyoshima and Kubokawa completed several works about Taiwan. Especially Toyoshima (as mentioned above) portrayed Taiwan in a variety of genres. These works provide important clues about Taiwanese affairs and the Japanese travelers' perception of Taiwanese culture during the colonial period, but they have not been sufficiently researched yet.

There are two points I will focus on in this paper. Firstly, I will trace the four travelers' steps in Taiwan by referring to Taiwanese local newspapers, such as *Kōnan Shinbun* 興南新聞 and *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* 台湾日日新報. I will also trace the literary exchanges between the four visitors and local intellectuals by referring to other historical materials. Secondly, I will analyze Toyoshima's essay "The Image of Taiwan" (台湾の姿態, 1942), in order to understand what he thought about colonial Taiwan during the period of the Greater East Asia War. Next, I will compare "The Image of Taiwan" with Kubokawa's short story "A Trip to Taiwan" (台湾の旅, 1943), in order to clarify how Toyoshima constructed his own image of Taiwan.

2. Toyoshima's Trip to Taiwan

Toyoshima's essay "The Image of Taiwan" was first published in the national magazine *Bungei* 文芸 in June 1942, while Kubokawa's a short story "A Trip to Taiwan" was published in Taiwan's local magazine *Taiwan Kōron* 台湾公論 the next year. There are more studies about "A Trip to Taiwan" than about Toyoshima's work. For example, Kawahara Isao (1998) has indicated that Kubokawa's "A Trip to Taiwan" gives a proper sketch of Taiwan under the movement of Japanization, the so-called *kōminka* 皇民化, while there is only one paper about Toyoshima's "The Image of Taiwan."

Sekiguchi Yasuyoshi (1987) commented about this essay in just one sentence, stating that "[it] observes Taiwan's affairs accurately and kindly;" it is indeed a pity that he provides no more details.

We can obtain further information by looking at what Toyoshima himself comments on his own work. Including “The Image of Taiwan,” almost all of Toyoshima’s travel writings were compiled in the volume *Bungaku Botai* 文学母胎 (*Inspirations for Literature*), published in December 1942. We can get some hints about Toyoshima’s ideas from the following postscript to *Bungaku Botai*:

日本はいま、戦争と發展とのたゞ中にある。このことは當然、吾々の文學一般の背景的母胎となる。私はこの母胎を、臺灣や北支や中支に探つてみた。これは旅行記ではなくて、やはり一種の文學ノートである。但し、これらの土地の事情は刻々に変化しつつあるので、文章のそれぞれに日付をつけておいたし、その日付を考慮を入れて読んで貰いたいのだが。

Japan is now amidst war and development. Naturally, we build on these topics in our writing. I looked for inspiration in my trips to Taiwan and Northern and Central China. To me, these are not travel writings, but a kind of literary notes. However, as the places I visited are changing so rapidly, I provided dates for each essay and would like the reader to keep these dates in mind when reading (*Bungaku Botai*, December 1942).

Toyoshima thus points out that he intended for his travel writings to be read as observations of the places he had visited, in a specific historical context. This intention makes his travel writings historical materials. That is why I will analyze his essay from a historical perspective, concentrating on how Toyoshima depicts and interprets the Taiwan that he visited.

2. 1. About the Lecture Trip

According to *Kōnan Shinbun* and *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō*, the four writers’ trip was financially supported by the publisher Kōa Keizaisha 興亜経済社, sponsored by the Government General of Taiwan 台湾総督府, as part of the Bungeijūgo Movement 文芸銃後運動. The Bungeijūgo Movement refers to activities such as the literary speeches given by Japanese writers in Japan’s overseas territories, as contributions to the Greater East Asia War.

Although they lectured on different themes, it can be said that the main focus of the lectures given by the four authors traveling to Taiwan was on how to build sound minds, especially from a cultural perspective, during the Greater East Asia War. Their lectures were delivered as part of the so-called *Daitōabungeikōkai* 大東亜文芸講演会.

As for their schedule, *Kōnan Shinbun* gives March 24 as the first day of their visit, mentioning an appointment with Taiwan’s Governor General, Hasegawa Kiyoshi 長谷川清 (1883-1970) on that night. According to Kubokawa’s “A Trip to Taiwan,” they had traveled by ship

and firstly arrived at Keelung Harbor (基隆港). It is likely that they had arrived in Taiwan at least one day before. Their first lecture was held in Hsinchu (新竹) on March 26. Then they lectured in Tainan (台南), Taipei (台北), Hualian (花蓮), Kaohsiung (高雄), Changhua (彰化), finally going back to Taipei and Keelung. The last article about their lectures is dated April 17, so they stayed in Taiwan at least until then.

Table 1: The schedule of the visit

3/24	arrived at Taipei (台北), had an appointment with Governor General Hasegawa Kiyoshi
3/26	lectured in Hsinchu (新竹)
3/28	lectured in Tainan (台南)
3/30	lectured in Taipei (台北)
4/1	headed to Hualian (花蓮)
4/2	lectured in Hualian Harbor (花蓮港)
4/6	lectured in Kaohsiung (高雄)
4/9	lectured in Changhua (彰化)
4/10	headed to Taipei (台北)
4/17	lectured in Keelung (基隆)

Besides the towns mentioned above, they also visited the Zhiben hot spring (知本温泉) in Taitung (台東), and the northeastern part of Taiwan, Yilan (宜蘭). They even visited the most southern part of Taiwan, Cape Eluanbi (鵝鑾鼻), where Pintung (屏東) is located. According to “Trip to Taiwan,” they travelled around Taiwan extensively, by ship and by train.

2.2. Exchanges between the Visitors and Local Intellectuals

During the period that they were in Taiwan, the four writers had several exchanges with local intellectuals. According to newspaper articles, they had meetings with local intellectuals to exchange opinions about literature and culture almost after each lecture. The articles do not provide many details about the content of their exchanges, yet some hints can be found in the local literary magazine *Taiwan Geijutsu* 台湾芸術. Toyoshima and Hamamoto were interviewed by this magazine to share their impressions of Taiwan at the Taipei Railway Hotel. In one of the articles from *Taiwan Geijutsu*, Toyoshima stated that they met some local intellectuals and had nice conversations about literature with them.

It seems that the exchanges between the Japanese visitors and the local intellectuals in Taiwan were quite pleasant. Among those meetings, only one can be ascertained. According to Kubokawa’s “A Trip to Taiwan,” there was a literary meeting at Taichung. Although the details are still

unknown, what we can be sure of is that the four visitors met the prominent writer Yang Kui 楊逵 (1905-1985), the editor Tanaka Yasuo 田中保男 (life years unknown), and others members of the local literary magazine *Taiwan Bungaku* 台湾文学. Huang Huei Cheng (2009)'s study of Yang Kui confirms the existence of this meeting in Taichung.

2.3. Local Intellectuals' Expectations for the Japanese Writers' Visit

As mentioned above, there is unfortunately little information about these meetings, but we do know a few things about what the local intellectuals thought of the Japanese writers' visit from the literary critiques published in Taiwan. Let us take Hayakawa Masao 速河 柁夫 (1909~1973, pen name of 濱田 隼雄, a member of the literary coterie around the magazine *Bungei Taiwan* 文芸台湾)'s article as an example. The following article was published in *Bungei Taiwan* in May 1942, immediately after Toyoshima's trip.

従来の作家の来臺は講演するのが主目的で、台湾の現実認識は講演の合間に副次的になされてゐるが、これも一考を要する...講演は二の次にして、作家の眼を以て、現実の台湾の正しい認識をして、文化的な見方に於いての台湾統治の参考になるやうな意見を徴するやり方も考へて欲しいものである。

So far, writers always gave priority to lectures when they visited Taiwan. Therefore, recognizing Taiwan's condition has been seen as a side issue. I hope that the visitors can see giving lectures as secondary and use the time to educate themselves so that they can aptly evaluate the contemporary Taiwan as writers, and thus provide advice on how to create cultural policies to properly rule Taiwan. ("About the Japanese writers' visit," *Bungei Taiwan*, Vol. 4-2, 1942. 5)

Hayakawa's is but one example among numerous similar articles. It seems that intellectuals in Taiwan, especially Japanese settlers, expected the Japanese visitors to make contributions to Taiwanese local culture through their trips. This appeal is related to the period of the Greater East Asia War and the colonial policies aimed at making Taiwan the base for the southward expansion that had started from 1940s. In 1941, the Kōmin Hōkō Association 皇民奉公会 was founded to promote this movement. Besides reinforcing the development of Taiwan, e.g., the economy and public construction, the advancement of Taiwanese local culture was also one part of the movement. Although the trigger for building up Taiwanese local culture was political, encouragement of developing Taiwan's local culture was welcomed by intellectuals, both Taiwanese and Japanese.

3. About Toyoshima's "The Image of Taiwan"

The situation in Taiwan when Toyoshima visited was influenced by the above conditions. Next, I will discuss what Toyoshima saw and how he represented Taiwan by focusing on the "The Image of Taiwan." In a nutshell, Toyoshima observed the Taiwanese character generally and commented about its cultural features from three perspectives. The core of his essay focused on the Taiwanese culture.

3.1. Natural Features, Unique Products, and Lifestyle

Firstly, he stated that his first impression of Taiwan focused on its rich natural features and pointed out the typical geographical characteristics. He admired the magnificent mountains, especially Taroko National Park 太魯閣國家公園 in eastern Taiwan, which was introduced as the Grand Canyon of Taiwan in an official guidebook published in Taiwan in 1942, which was called *Guidebook for a Railway Trip in Taiwan* (台灣鐵道旅行案内, published by the Government General of Taiwan). Toyoshima also mentioned that Taiwan's climate is changeable, with differences between every locality. He used a Taiwanese local saying "windy Hsinchu and rainy Yilan" (竹風蘭雨) to describe the difference. Even rivers did not escape his attention. He indicated that rivers in Taiwan are almost all short streams that flow fast. Tropical plants and agriculture also caught Toyoshima's eye, and he wrote on cycads, coconuts, sugar cane, and so on. He associated these rich natural features with Taiwan's passion and energy.

Besides the geographical aspects, Toyoshima also identified several products and lifestyles unique to Taiwan. He started with papaya. Actually, Japanese in the mainland were not familiar with papaya at that time. Clues about this can be found in Kubokawa's "A Trip to Taiwan," too. According to Kubokawa's short story, the Japanese in Taiwan usually offered their guests papaya as a very precious food, but people from the mainland were often reluctant to accept this exotic fruit. Not only papaya, but also Taiwanese red liquor did not receive high acclaim from the Japanese. According to the 1942 *Guidebook for a Railway Trip in Taiwan*, Taiwanese red liquor was the most high-quality alcohol in Taiwan and less expensive than the Japanese "sake." Toyoshima agreed with the guidebook and regretted that the Japanese in Taiwan show no interest in this local beverage.

He was also impressed by Taiwanese traditional markets. He visited 江山樓前市場 (*Kōzanrō mae ichiba*, the market in front of Kōzanrō) in Taipei, which was a spot recommended by guidebooks of the period. He enjoyed the food stands and crowds in the market and noted the energy of the Taiwanese people. However, most Japanese rarely visited the

traditional markets in Taiwan and the products or lifestyles recommended by official guidebooks remained largely unknown to them during this period. It could be said that Toyoshima tried to discover for his Japanese audience those characteristics of Taiwan that were only known to the Taiwanese, drawing the readers' attention to Taiwanese specialties at the same time.

Toyoshima recognized Taiwan's passion and energy from its rich natural features, unique lifestyle, and products. Through this process of confirming Taiwan's specialties, he indicated that Taiwan already had its own particular characteristics which were distinct from the Japanese.

3.2. Cultural Features and Local Literary Conditions

In his work, Toyoshima addresses the cultural features of Taiwan. In contrast to the island's rich natural features, the cultural features of Taiwan seem to have been unable to satisfy Toyoshima. He uses a word "lonely" (淋しい) to portray his feeling.

To Toyoshima, Taiwan had its own distinct nature, but had not developed a distinct culture just yet. Japanization, or *kōminka*, had started in colonial Taiwan from the late 1930s, forbidding traditional forms of entertainment such as Taiwanese opera. In this context, Toyoshima criticized Taiwan's cultural affairs from two perspectives: Japanization and the native culture of Taiwan. Toyoshima observed that permanent Japanese inhabitants were few and thus Japanese culture did not take root in Taiwan. The data from *Guidebook for a Railway Trip in Taiwan* supports his observation: in 1942, there were only 308,845 Japanese living in Taiwan, with the local population reaching 5,392,806 people.

On the other hand, he points out that the native cultures in Taiwan (Han Chinese culture and the aboriginal cultures) co-exist with the Japanese culture. Under this dual cultural climate, Toyoshima notices a stagnation within the native cultures of Taiwan due to the *kōminka*. In the case of the Chinese culture, based on his previous travel experiences to China, he comments that the traditional Chinese-style architecture and gardens look humbler in Taiwan than in China. According to him, as Taiwan was cut-off from the mainland during the colonial period, it could not keep up with China in the advancement of Chinese-style culture. Meanwhile, he concludes, the culture of the aborigines, while less affected by Japanization, is also being overlooked and underdeveloped.

To sum up Toyoshima's opinions, it can be said that he thought that the cultural lag in Taiwan resulted from the island's one-way Japanization and the disregard of native Taiwanese characteristics. This created a situation where the advancement of the local culture in Taiwan only depended on how deeply Japanization permeated it. He concluded that

imposing one-way Japanization was not effective and would result in a generally underdeveloped culture. Here, Toyoshima suggests that Taiwan's local culture should not be disregarded or negated but should be modernized to meet the Taiwanese cultural needs.

3.3 Advice for Building Taiwanese Local Culture

Furthermore, Toyoshima discussed Shinto and Shinto shrine architecture as unsuitable for the Taiwanese climate. Per his opinion, it was necessary to reconsider enforcing Japanese culture in Taiwan. He suggested building a new type of culture that would be modern but also represent the Taiwanese characteristics. This is visible in his discussion on architecture. He used as an example the Kenkō shrine (建功神社) located in the Taipei Botanical Gardens. The shrine had been constructed in a brand-new style that combined Western, Japanese, and Chinese elements, and was designed by the famous Japanese architect, Ide Kaoru 井手薫(1879-1944), who had also designed Taipei Zhongshan Hall (台北中山堂), and other modern buildings. Toyoshima also mentioned with appreciation Tamsui Junior High School (淡水中学校) in Taipei, a school established by the Western missionaries before the colonial period, built in a modern Western style but incorporating distinctive Chinese elements. He further pointed out the Ginza avenue (銀座通り) in Tainan, where a well maintained road was lined with flame-of-the-forest trees, a species native to Taiwan. Here too local and Japanese elements were harmoniously combined, in his opinion.

Toyoshima had similar ideas about the cultural life in Taiwan. As mentioned previously, he noted the lack of entertainment in 1942. It was a time when Taiwanese traditional theatre and plays were forbidden due to the *kōminka*, while modern types of entertainment had not yet developed. Toyoshima's thoughts about this phenomenon are seen in his interview for the local literary magazine *Taiwan Geijutsu*. In *Taiwan Geijutsu* (Vol. 3, No. 5), he talks about the modern playwright Matsui Tōru 松居桃楼, who had been invited to Taiwan to lead the newly founded Taiwan Theater Association (Taiwan Engeki Kyōkai 台湾演劇協会) from April 1942. Toyoshima was inspired by the work of people in different fields when he stated that not only the Japanese way, but also the Taiwanese way is important to give birth to a variety of cultural features. In his writing, he directly expressed his expectations for Matsui to forward the development of modern plays in Taiwan.

He also provided advice for the development of local modern literature. There were two literary magazines in the 1940s: *Bungei Taiwan* (文芸台湾) and *Taiwan Bungaku* (台湾文学). They were founded by two groups with

different approaches. The approach of *Bungei Taiwan* was to portray Taiwanese customs as exotic, while the members of *Taiwan Bungaku* tried to realistically portray the lives and family matters of the Taiwanese people. Toyoshima showed his understanding of the Taiwanese literary scene and advised members of *Taiwan Bungaku*, with the intention to contribute to the creativity of their works. However, the literary trends in Taiwan were under a heavier influence from the Greater East Asia War after their trip. The leading authors of the Taiwanese literary coterie were forced to write about how to contribute to the war, and Toyoshima's suggestions quickly faded into the background and were forgotten.

When referring to Taiwanese affairs, Toyoshima used the image of a young aboriginal lady with a colorful bamboo hat standing barefoot as a metaphor for Taiwanese local culture. Standing barefoot is a symbol of the lack of advancement in Taiwan, and the colorful bamboo hat refers to creativity.

It could be said that Toyoshima admired the realistic literature about the actual struggles of the Taiwanese people, but at the same time expected there would be much more native/ local color in the Taiwanese works going forward. It could not be denied that his allusions to "Taiwanese local color" is similar to the interest in the exotic seen in the writing of other Japanese, but his emphasis on Taiwanese matters almost unknown by Japanese also should not be disregarded.

4. A Foresight for the Development of Taiwanese Local Culture

Toyoshima indicated that the challenge to forward Taiwanese local culture lies in the attitudes of the Taiwanese people. According to "The Image of Taiwan," he thought that Taiwanese people are too passive about developing Taiwan's potential. To overcome this, he advised the Kōmin Hōkō Association to encourage Taiwanese people to develop their culture by themselves. He believed that it was the duty of the Kōmin Hōkō Association to provide the proper circumstances for building up the Taiwanese local culture. Of course, the drive to encourage Taiwan-specific culture arose due to the political reasoning that sought to make Taiwan the base of Japan's southward expansion, but it cannot be denied that the observations and suggestions made by Toyoshima were based on his intention to recognize and bring to the attention of his fellow Japanese Taiwan's unique characteristics.

5. Conclusions

From the recognition of Taiwan's particular characteristics to suggestions for reinforcing Taiwanese local culture, "The Image of Taiwan"

is not only a travel journal, but also a critique of Taiwanese culture. Compared with Kubokawa's "A Trip to Taiwan," Toyoshima does not attempt to present a complete picture of Taiwan at the time. The first difference between these two works is visible from the depiction of a group of Japanese immigrants in the Yoshino village in Hualian. Kubokawa commented on the Japanese immigrants' problems, such as the suffering brought about by hard work and being away from their hometown. On the other hand, Toyoshima does not mention anything about this issue. The second gap is visible in their writing about shrines. Kubokawa mentions *Taiwan Jinja* (台湾神社), which was constructed in the traditional Japanese style, but Toyoshima does not, instead commenting on the fact that Shinto shrines are not a good match for the Taiwanese climate and geography.

Such differences point to the two authors' unique perceptions of Japanese culture in Taiwan. Toyoshima focused on Taiwanese local matters, especially Taiwanese people and local culture, and intended, in his travel writings, to preserve the images of the places he visited, right as they were undergoing rapid changes. On the other hand, Kubokawa tried to compose her travel writings as a kind of historical record for the places she visited but ended up being selective. It was in fact Toyoshima's comments and what he portrayed that more closely matched the expectations of local intellectuals.

In his work, Toyoshima was greatly influenced by his exchanges with the local people. "The Image of Taiwan" can be seen as a kind reply to the local intellectuals' appeals. In other words, exchanges between a Japanese visitor and the local people gave birth to this piece of travel writing. From August 1942, a culture department was constituted under the supervision of the Kōmin Hōkō Association to develop the Taiwanese local culture. In December 1942, when "The Image of Taiwan" was published in *Bungaku Bōtai*, appeals by Taiwanese local intellectuals had already been noticed. Just like the postscript of *Bungaku Bōtai* notes, Toyoshima had added dates to each essay to record the rapidly changing conditions. Thus, "The Image of Taiwan" is a historical record of a turning point in Taiwanese local culture.

According to the column about the four travelers' visit published in *Taiwan Geijutsu*, visiting the east coast was rarely included in the itineraries of Japanese writers' trips to Taiwan. Maybe that is why the image of the east coast of Taiwan appeared in both Toyoshima's "The Image of Taiwan" and Kubokawa's "A Trip to Taiwan." It means that Toyoshima achieved a dual milestone through this trip to Taiwan: making a record of the history of Taiwan's sightseeing, and taking a record for Taiwan during the 1940s.

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