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YAKUWARIGO IN JAPANESE LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND TRANSLATION – NEW APPROACHES TO THE CONCEPT OF ROLE LANGUAGE

edited by Patrycja Duc-Harada
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Editorial Note

Dear Readers,

the present issue of *Silva Iaponicarum* is, in a way, a new opening for the quarterly. Almost two decades after *Silva* debuted with its Autumn 2004 fascicle, a major swap in the Editorial Board resulted in a virtually completely new team working on compiling, editing and disseminating *Silva*, coordinated by Aleksandra Jarosz, the only member of the previous Editorial Board who transferred to the present iteration of the quarterly.

The remaining members of the previous Board have all expanded the list of *Silva's* Advisory Board. They include: the so-far Editor in Chief, Prof. Arkadiusz Jabłoński, as well as Dr Adam Bednarczyk, Prof. Beata Bochorodycz, Dr Maciej Kanert, Prof. Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka, Prof. Stanisław Meyer, Dr Aleksandra Szczechla and Dr Anna Zalewska.

First and foremost, we would like to extend our appreciation to all persons listed above, as well as to everyone else who contributed to creating and shaping *Silva Iaponicarum* throughout the past two decades. We are grateful for the time, effort and resources you have invested in making this project happen.

At the same time, we wish to invite our readers to continue our shared *Silva* journey. The essence of *Silva* as a peer-reviewed platform for disseminating the newest research results in the broadly comprehended field of Japanese studies remains unchanged. Some modifications will be applied in the editorial policy, including editorial guidelines. Most of these will only be introduced in the next issue, however, as the fascicle at hand has been edited in accordance with the thus-far regulations. By way of exception, Jarosz's review of the second edition of Alexander Vovin's *Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese* serves as a sneak peek of the new guidelines.

Content-wise, *Silva* will stay focused on the peer-reviewed papers presenting original Japanologist research. The papers will be collected intermittently in general fascicles and thematic volumes like the present one. Our intention is also to expand and diversify the content with reviews of the newest Japan-related publications, English translations of Japanese (and Japonic) texts, and

Japanologist miscellanea, all with the intention to enhance the reading experience. Furthermore, starting in 2021, *Silva* has also re-established its presence on the internet [**silvajp.web.amu.edu.pl**] and social media, specifically Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/silvaiaponicarum/).
Another substantial change involves *Silva's* editorial e-mail address. The current address is **silva.iaponicarum.quarterly@gmail.com**.
We are awaiting your individual contributions and proposals for thematic volumes. Consult our homepage [**silvajp.web.amu.edu.pl**] for all relevant information concerning current calls for papers and editorial guidelines.

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RESEARCH PAPERS

SPECIAL ISSUE:

YAKUWARIGO IN JAPANESE LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND TRANSLATION – NEW APPROACHES TO THE CONCEPT OF ROLE LANGUAGE

Patrycja Duc-Harada

Editor's Preface

The present volume gathers contributions from young Japanese studies researchers and is dedicated to the concept of *yakuwarigo* 'role language' presented from the perspective of the Japanese language, literature and translation. The term *yakuwarigo* refers to the various styles of language used in the speech of the characters in Japanese comic books, animated movies and novels that convey special features and attributes of the characters such as age, gender, affiliation, profession, status, place of birth, etc. Even with a basic knowledge of Japanese, the foreign viewers of Japanese *anime*, as well as the readers of *manga*, light novels or fantasy books, usually can notice the variation in speech styles of peculiar characters. Among them, the most recognizable types are: dialects (e.g. *Kansaiben* 'dialects of Kansai', *Tōhokuben* 'dialect of Tōhoku'), young ladies' language (*ojōsama kotoba*), the language of the warriors (e.g. *bushi kotoba*, *ninja kotoba*), the speech of elderly people (*rōjingo*) or the speech of certain minorities (e.g. *aruyo kotoba* as a speech style of the Chinese minority or the aliens). The growing popularity of Japanese role languages leads to the common misconception by foreign receivers that the contemporary Japanese do use these speech patterns in real-life Japanese. However, although role language depicts certain features of the Japanese language and is rooted in its linguistic tradition, it is, to a certain extent, stylized and stereotyped, and hence, it should not be applied without awareness and alertness.

The present volume includes the papers of five authors who attempted to present the subject of role language and language stylization from various perspectives. Wojciech Gęszczak suggests the revision of the terminology used in the discourse on *yakuwarigo* in order to differentiate between character stylizations, their linguistic markers and the distinctive features of fictional characters with whom they correlate. Hana Kloutvorová analyzes and compares the self-referring expressions used by teenage girl characters of *shōjo manga*, whom she divided into protagonists, major and minor characters, and colligates a relatively low variation in their use with how the heroines are portrayed in Japanese romance stories. Patrycja Duc-Harada attempts to describe the examples of "role languageness" of standard language observed in both real-life and fictitious Japanese in order to emphasize its reliable function in both variants. Magdalena Kotlarczyk analyses the examples of role language implementation in the

Japanese translation of Andrzej Sapkowski's *Chrzest Ognia* and compares it with the original version and the English translation, focusing on such aspects of stylization as archaization, colloquialisms and vulgarisms. Finally, Katarzyna Sonnenberg-Musiał refers to the mosaic of styles in Natsume Sōseki's *Wagahai-wa neko de aru* and suggests that when discussing Sōseki's novels, the notions of style and stylization reflect the creativity, interrelatedness and humour of the characters' languages more adequately than that of role language.
The volume also contains an additional text, namely a review of Alexander Vovin's *Descriptive and comparative grammar of Western Old Japanese* written by Aleksandra Jarosz.

Cracow, July 2021

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Stratification of *Yakuwarigo* as Character Stylization Patterns

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to revise core definitions and categories of stylistic strategies introduced to Japanese discourse as *yakuwarigo* 役割語. For this purpose, the key concepts of *yakuwarigo* studies are briefly introduced, with a particular focus on the lack of clarity in the terminology used in the discourse and on possible improvements to the preexisting categorizations. The established term 'role language' (Kinsui 2017), used as the English equivalent of *yakuwarigo*, and four types of Character Language (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015) are reassessed based on how they correspond with the observed nature of the phenomena. The correlations between linguistic markers, characteristic traits of fictional speakers linked with them and complexity of character types result in the proposal of four Marker-Trait Relations (M-TR). The primary opposition among these relations is based on the axis of agreement and disagreement between linguistic markers and character traits composing particular stylization patterns or clichés. This differentiation is followed by the distinction of Character Stylization Patterns (CSP), Character Stylization Markers (CSM) and Character Stylization Traits (CST). The suggested stratification takes into consideration both stylizations present in contemporary Japanese discourse and stylizations that are utilized only in the works of Japanese popular culture. This brief reevaluation of the *yakuwarigo* discourse results in the proposal of a methodological apparatus that allows for a more precise categorization of this stylistic subcategory and a potential adaptation in stylistic analysis of similar phenomena found in other languages.

KEYWORDS: Japanese linguistics, stylistics, terminology, typology, sociolinguistics, dialectology

The aim of this study is to reevaluate and revise existing definitions and categories of Japanese stylistic strategies known as *yakuwarigo* 役割語. The primary motivation behind this attempt lies in the evident need for improvements in the terminological consistency of this concept. For example, while the term *yakuwarigo* is translated as 'role language' into English, it is believed that this term does not reflect the true nature of the stylization strategies chosen as the subject of this study. Furthermore, multiple possible interpretations of the original term make the meaning of

'role language' unclear. This is due to the fact that it can be interpreted both at the level of whole stylization patterns and at the level of their lexical and grammatical markers (Kinsui 2017: 124). A similar statement can be made about the way particular relations between constituents of stylizations are addressed in the discourse. However, the mention of Character Language and its four types proposed by Kinsui and Yamakido (2015) hints at the possibility of mapping the relations between linguistic markers and distinctive character traits. Based on previous studies, this paper proposes both a set of Marker-Trait Relations that aids the categorization of *yakuwarigo* and a stratified model of Character Stylization Patterns. Special focus is put on various dependencies between stylizations, actual use of different speech styles, and relations between stylization markers and distinctive character traits.

The Definition of *Yakuwarigo* as Speech Stylistics

As a field of scholarly inquiry, *yakuwarigo* studies date back to 2003, when the term was first used by Satoshi Kinsui. However, to introduce the stylistic phenomena that are the subject of this field of studies, a more recent definition of *yakuwarigo* is cited below:

> Often in Japanese fiction and popular culture, a character's vocabulary and grammar vary greatly according to the person's attributes (gender, age, social status, occupation, region of residence or birthplace, appearance, personality, etc.). Consequently, one can infer the type of role portrayed from the character's vocabulary and grammar. Examples of established character types in popular culture, associated with particular linguistic features, include the elderly male, the young lady of a good family, and the Chinese person. Their fictional utterances often make these established character types easily recognizable in Japanese culture, even if actual people fitting these character types are unlikely to produce such utterances in real life. (Kinsui 2017: 125)

As the description suggests, the concept introduced by Kinsui consists of elements with varying levels of complexity. One of them is the level of linguistic markers that evoke particular character stereotypes, yet another is the level of those character stereotypes. These levels require precise terms that do not seem to be evident in the cited discourse. However, before revising the preexisting terminology, it is crucial to assess the accuracy of

basic definitions. What is more, the relation between stylistic markers and character stylization described as *yakuwarigo* requires further explanation. Stylized vocabulary and grammar are connected with distinctive character types. Particular grammatical categories are described as the primary sources of potential markers of *yakuwarigo* stylizations. Another excerpt from the previously cited book shows some of such categories. The grammatical analysis of examples included in the cited text is omitted due to a different focus of this paper.

> Let us look at a few sample variations of a phrase meaning 'Yes, I know that' in (1). The hypothetical speakers of (1a) to (1c) are an elderly male, a female, and a macho male, respectively.
>
> (1) a. *Sō-ja washi ga shit-teoru-zo*
> […]
> b. *Sō-yo atashi ga shit-teiru-wa*
> […]
> c. *Sō-da ore ga shit-teru-ze*
> […] (After Kinsui 2010: 51)
>
> In these examples, the respective combinations of the copula (i.e., *ja*, [zero copula+] particle *yo*, or *da*), first-person pronoun (i.e. *washi*, *atashi*, or *ore*), aspect form (i.e. *teoru*, *teiru*, or *teru*) and final particle, *shūjoshi* (i.e. *zo*, *wa*, or *ze*) correspond to the character types portrayed (elderly male, female, macho male). These sets of spoken language features (e.g. vocabulary and grammar) and phonetic characteristics (e.g. intonation and accent patterns), associated with particular character types, are called *yakuwarigo* ("role language"). (Kinsui 2017: 125-126)

As it can be seen in the cited examples, all grammatical categories present in spoken Japanese, together with phonetical, lexical and phrasal varieties characteristic of particular social and regional dialects of this language, could be treated as potential sources of *yakuwarigo*. Furthermore, different character traits are stereotypically linked with different linguistic markers. Based on the notion that patterns previously mentioned as Role Language (abbrev. RL) points at recurring character stylization strategies established in popular culture, any stylizations that did not match these criteria required introducing a separate term. Hence, four types of correlations that

are not to be treated as RL were introduced as Character Language (abbrev. CL):

> Character Language Type (i): Restricted Role Language – a speech style that, while associated with a particular social or cultural group, is not widely enough recognized within the speech community at large to qualify as true role language
> Character Language Type (ii): Role Language Shifted Outside of Its Social or Cultural Groups – a speech style in which a type of role language is unexpectedly adopted by a character who does not belong to the social or cultural group with which it is typically associated
> Character Language Type (iii): Regional Dialect Employed to Represent a Character's Personality – a speech style in which a type of role language is employed to express its speaker's personality, rather than the stereotype of the social or cultural group with which it is associated
> Character Language Type (iv): Unique Character Language – a peculiar speech style that does not correspond to any social or cultural group, bus is assigned to a certain character for his/her role in the story (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015: 32-39)

The differences between particular Character Language Types (abbrev. CLT) are based either on the way particular stylization patterns relate to a non-stylistic use of a speech style, social dialect or regional dialect (CLT2 and CLT3), or on the degree particular stylizations are established as recurring patterns (CLT1 and CLT4). This typology creates an opposition between the proper RL and the CL that cannot be classified as RL. The former guarantees a high probability of correct inference of speaker traits based on used vocabulary and grammar, or the other way around. On the other hand, the latter points at either little or no possibility of such inference due to particular relations between linguistic markers and distinctive character traits typical for speech stylization. This is due to the fact that either these relations are not recognizable, or they differ from what can be expected based on the conventionalized use of speech styles. Hence, the introduction of CL provides useful insight into the actual extent of the stylistic subcategory first introduced as *yakuwarigo.*

Marker-Trait Relations in Character Stylization Patterns

The preliminary introduction of RL and CL with its subtypes allows for further stratification of these subcategories of Japanese speech stylistics. The paper cited above attempts to categorize distinct RL patterns, dividing them into six subgroups based on the following categories:

> I. Gender: male language, female language, gay male language
> II. Age/generation: elderly male language, elderly female language, middle-aged male language, young speaker's language, boy's language, schoolgirl language, gal language
> III. Social class/occupation: wealthy woman's language, young-lady-from-a-good-family language, boss language, formal-speech language, king/nobles language, butler's language, army language, comedian's language, doctor's language, (young)-dancing-girl-of-Kyōto language, maid language, *yakuza* (gangster) language, delinquent-girl's language, *sumo*-wrestler language
> IV. Region/nationality/ethnicity: Osaka language/Kansai language, rural language, Okinawan language, Owari language, Tosa language, Nagoya language, Kyūshū language, Kyōto language, *arimasu*-language, *aruyo*-language, pidgin, broken language, Chinese language
> V. Pre-modern: Edo language, princess language, Kyōto-Ōsaka language, court-noble language, live-in student language, merchant-class language, *ninja* language, *samurai* language, prostitute language, *jii* (old chaperon) language, downtown language
> VI. Imaginary creatures: alien language, god language, ghost language (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015: 31-32)

Even though this categorization includes over fifty variants of *yakuwarigo*, it still lists only some of the stylization patterns already observed in Japanese popular culture by contributors to this field of study. The range of stylizations presented by Kinsui and Yamakido includes only variants based on the dialects that have been noted to have particular stereotypes linked to their users. Also, multiple additional stylizations, such as patterns relying on the onomatopoeic repertoire of the Japanese language, could be included, for example, the feline language, in which the onomatopoeia *nya* にゃ (lit. 'meow') replaces phonologically similar parts of utterances in fiction (Akizuki 2012). However, this categorization of *yakuwarigo* hints

at an open stylistic category, serving as a starting point for further categorization.

One additional remark can be made regarding the terminology used in the cited categorization. The English term *language* used by Kinsui and Yamakido suggests there is at least some systemic complexity in these stylizations. However, as the names assigned to them suggest, their use is restricted to utterances whose aim is to evoke particular character types. Hence, in most cases, the use of the term Character Stylization Pattern (abbrev. CSP) instead of *language* seems to express the function of stylizations in a more precise way, for example, elderly male CSP, formal-speech CSP, gal CSP, broken language CSP, *ninja* CSP, etc.

Due to the fact that *yakuwarigo* is defined as restricted to genres of Japanese popular culture such as comic books and animated cartoons, they require a brief introduction. One feature shared by them is their multimodality, which means "the coexistence of more than one semiotic mode within a given context" (Gibbons 2013: 8). The semiotic modes present in comic books and animated cartoons are text, picture and sound. For the purpose of this paper, only multimodality based on the coexistence of text and picture will be taken into consideration. The inclusion of the visual mode allows for a more complex character stylization than in standard text-based literature due to the possibility of emphasizing some direct relations between textual speech stylization markers and visual traits of fictional characters. Four relations of this kind can be introduced in order to enhance the scope of comparison proposed in preceding typologies of *yakuwarigo* stylizations. These relations can also be applied to contexts that are lacking multimodality, where character traits point at any characteristic features of fictional speakers indicated in text, composing CSP. Previously cited CLT will be used as reference for the proposed Marker-Trait Relations (abbrev. M-TR).

The first of the relations introduced in this paper is the Relation of Agreement (abbrev. RoA). It points at the compatibility of linguistic markers and graphic depictions of fictional characters' traits in a particular RL or CL character stylization pattern. Examples of RoA stylizations can be observed in female characters who use stereotypically female speech or characters representing particular social groups who use the corresponding social dialects. This basic relation applies to most RL stylizations, CLT1 and CLT3. These two types of CL adhere to the requirements of RoA due to the fact that even though they are not recognized as widely as RL, they still are composed of compatible markers and traits.

The second relation introduced in this paper is the Relation of Emphasis (abbrev. RoE). Even though it could be treated as a subtype of RoA as it also requires the M-D relation of compatibility, its distinctive feature is the overuse of the markers. In other words, RoE points at the inclusion of linguistic markers and character trait depictions that is more excessive than the M-TR needs to be to function as a stylization. An example of CLT3 presented by the authors of the CL typology can be classified as a representation of RoE where a regional variant is used by a character in particular situations to represent that character's personality (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015: 37-38). Another example would be the macho male type of a fictional character mentioned in the second excerpt from Kinsui (2017) in the first section of this paper. Excessive use of stereotypically masculine speech enhances the impression of a physically strong male character.

The third relation introduced in this paper is the Relation of Disagreement (abbrev. RoD). An example of this relation is the stereotypical use of African American Vernacular English in pre-contemporary American animated movies as the dialect used by animals that can speak (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015: 34). CLT2 is the only type of CL that is not compliant to relations number one and two precisely because it is shifted outside of the social or cultural groups that use it by default and its M-TR is that of disagreement.

The fourth and last relation proposed here could be treated as a subtype of the RoD as it is also founded on the incompatibility of textual and visual modes of stylization. However, its distinctive feature is the fact that these markers must not only be shifted (see CLT2), but also show the relation of contrast (M-TR of contrast). Hence, it could be named *Relation of Contrast* (abbrev. RoC). This relation can be observed in the examples of the stereotypical gay male CSP or delinquent girl CSP included in the categorization of RL by Kinsui and Yamakido. Table 1. compares all four M-TR, presenting how they are placed on the axis of agreement between markers and traits and how they correspond with RL and CL.

M-TR	M-D in Agreement		M-D in Disagreement	
	RoA	RoE	RoD	RoC
RL, CL	Most RL, CLT1, CLT3		CLT2, some RL	

Table 1. Marker-Trait Relations and Role Language

The introduction of M-TR into the discourse can aid proper recognition of *yakuwarigo* as a subcategory of stylization strategies used in contemporary Japanese text, notably in popular culture genres.

Character Stylization Patterns as a Stratified Model

A brief analysis of possible designations of the Japanese term *yakuwarigo* and vagueness of the English term 'role language' proved the need for a new set of terms to designate particular elements of the *quasi*-systematic speech stylistics described by Kinsui, Yamaguchi and other scholars of this subject. Since these elements can be observed mainly in multimodal genres of contemporary Japanese popular culture such as comic book and animation, they should not be treated as literary stylistics. As it has been already noted, some particular stylization patterns are purely fictional and were created by establishing a conversational convention in a particular work of fiction, overusing existing speech styles for accomplishing various stylistic means, or mixing stylistic markers that do not appear together in the real-life use of the Japanese language. From the perspective of the revision of the terminology used in the discourse on *yakuwarigo*, it is important to differentiate between character stylizations, their linguistic markers (vocabulary, grammar, phonetics) and the distinctive traits of fictional characters with whom they correlate. Moreover, there is a need for reassessing the complexity of particular stylizations and revising them according to the proposed set of relations.

At the highest level of the stratified model proposed in this study lie Character Stylization Patterns (abbrev. CSP). This term indicates that particular speech patterns can function as a correlation between the character type and the speech style associated with it. As it has already been mentioned, RL types introduced in the second section of this study could be renamed with the addition of CSP abbreviation for easier categorization. However, some of the stylizations have limited sets of linguistic markers. Such stylizations are lacking variation; therefore, they seem cliché compared to patterns richer in available linguistic markers. Hence, Character Stylization Clichés (abbrev. CSC), a sub-category of CSP consisting of such patterns, could be distinguished.

Each CSP consists of two elements. In the proposed stratification, they are called Character Stylization Markers (abbrev. CSM) and Character Stylization Traits (abbrev. CST). The former are linguistic representations of speech styles conventionalized as characteristic for particular stylization patterns. The latter mean distinctive features of fictional speakers stereotypically linked with particular markers. Due to the simplicity of the

proposed stratifications, it is possible to introduce them smoothly into the discourse. Rebranding *yakuwarigo* as either Character Stylization Patterns or Character Stylization Clichés allows for the introduction of this concept in discourses concerning similar phenomena observed in other natural languages.

One additional remark has to be made regarding a potential categorization of CSP with the inclusion of CSC. This attempt would require assessing the clichéness of all previously introduced stylizations by differentiating patterns that have vaster sets of stylization markers than those that have fewer stylization markers. For example, the male language from the categorization proposed by Kinsui and Yamakido would be treated as a CSP, while the 'boss language' would be considered a CSC because it is expressed mainly by the use of the archaic verb *tamau* 給う as a sentence-ending imperative *tamae* 給え (Kinsui et al. 2014: 122). This is due to the fact that the use of stereotypically male speech does not seem to contrast with the actual language use to such an extent as the inclusion of an imperative verb that is no longer used in contemporary Japanese.

Conclusion

This stratification proposal aimed to show aspects of *yakuwarigo* that have not yet been addressed in preceding papers dedicated to this field of inquiry. This addition allows for a further research into the subject with a more stratified methodological apparatus.

As it has been observed, stylistic phenomena that are the subject of *yakuwarigo* studies require a more stratified approach due to their heterogeneous nature. The reevaluation of the results of preceding studies led to the introduction of four Marker-Trait Relations (M-TR) as an extension of the preexisting Role Language (RL) and Character Language (CL) model. The dependencies between the constituents of RL that had determined the emergence of Character Language Types (CLT) were used as reference to assess those relations. The Relation of Agreement (RoA) and Relation of Emphasis (RoE) indicate stylizations with compatible linguistic markers and distinctive character traits, with RoE manifesting in the overuse of stylistic markers. On the other hand, Relation of Disagreement (RoD) and Relation of Contrast (RoC) are distinguished based on the lack of such compatibility, with RoC being limited to situations where markers are opposite to those conventionally inferred from the distinctive character traits available in a given context.

Upon introducing the set of four M-TR, a stratified model of Character Stylization Patterns (CSP) was proposed, with Character Stylization

Markers (CSM) and Character Stylization Traits (CST) as its constituents. In this model, CSM indicate linguistic markers of character stylizations, and CST indicate distinctive character traits that are stereotypically associated with particular speech styles or behavioral patterns. This simple stratification allows for a more precise presentation of particular dependencies within this concept.

Furthermore, because not all CSP are equally complex with respect to their linguistic markers and non-linguistic traits, the CSP model could incorporate Character Stylization Clichés (CSC) as a separate subgroup. CSC would indicate stylizations more complex in terms of intertwining CST but less complex in terms of the repertoire of CSM. This proposal hints at the need for further research and categorization of character stylizations based on the complexity of their CSM and CST. Such a categorization could be conducted on a wider range of stylizations extracted from a larger corpus of stylized utterances than the categorization cited in this paper. It would require comparing the complexity of each character stylization with other instances of the same pattern or cliché.

Nevertheless, from the perspective of general linguistic inquiry, an approach incorporating the stratified model of M-TR and CS could serve as a prototype of a methodological apparatus dedicated to the exploration of other natural languages in search of stylistic strategies similar to *yakuwarigo*.

Abbreviations

CL – Character Language
CLT1 – Character Language Type (i)
CLT2 – Character Language Type (ii)
CLT3 – Character Language Type (iii)
CLT4 – Character Language Type (iv)
CSC – Character Stylization Cliché
CSM – Character Stylization Marker
CSP – Character Stylization Pattern
CST – Character Stylization Trait
M-TR– Marker-Trait Relations
RL – Role Language
RoA – Relation of Agreement
RoC – Relation of Contrast
RoD – Relation of Disagreement
RoE – Relation of Emphasis

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First Person Expressions Used by Teenage Girl Characters in *Shōjo Manga*[1]

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ABSTRACT

This paper compares possible uses of self-designating terms among similar types of fictional characters in works included in a *shōjo manga* corpus. The use of first-person terms by similar types of fictional characters is viewed with regard to the role of an individual character in a given narrative and the categorization of a singular use of self-reference terms as a *yakuwarigo* type/sub-type. The data suggest that the overall variety in the use of individual first-person expressions in *shōjo manga* is relatively low – the most frequently used expressions were *watashi* and *atashi* – and the utilization of role language to signal a specific character type was, in fact, very limited. However, the use of *watashi* by the *shōjo manga* protagonists corresponds to Shibamoto-Smith's (2004) findings regarding the first-person use by romance heroines. The frequent use of *uchi* by certain characters should not be classified as *yakuwarigo* but rather implies a very casual speech act performed by a character who can be perceived as active, lively and vigorous.

KEYWORDS: *shōjo manga*, first-person, manga corpus, fictional language, *yakuwarigo*

While the term *yakuwarigo* refers to the speech which consists of many elements of spoken Japanese, the expressions used for person reference can arguably be counted as some of its most salient features. Contemporary Japanese boasts a vast repertoire of expressions one can use to call oneself. The list includes *watakushi*, *watashi*, *atakushi*, *atashi*, *watai*, *wate*, *wai*, *atai*, *watchi*, *a(s)shi*, *wa(s)shi*, *boku*, *ore*, *ora*, *oira*, *onore*, *uchi*, *jibun*, *kochira*, *kotchi*, *kotcha*, *kochitora*, and *ware* (Martin 1988: 1076-1077). This list can easily be expanded by adding dialectical or historical terms. Besides designating the speaker, these expressions carry numerous semantic, stylistic and socio-cultural implications in their use. Traditionally, they were classified according to the gender of the speaker, or to be more

[1] This paper is based on a part of the Author's dissertation thesis: "Teenage girls and female shōjo manga characters: Continuity or difference in the use of Japanese socio-person deixis?" (Kloutvorová 2020).

accurate, whether these expressions are believed to convey femininity or masculinity. It is no small wonder that first-person expressions can therefore also play a part in the portrayal of fictional characters by being associated with some stereotypical characteristics.

The main focus of the paper is to map out which first-person expressions appear in the speech of female *shōjo manga* characters (that is, of manga characters depicting young women) through an analysis of a manga corpus, which was created based on the results of a survey among the manga readership. The reason why this paper's scope had been narrowed to include only teenage girl characters is that it enables the Author to compare possible differences in the use of self-designating terms among similar types of fictional characters with regard to the role of an individual character in a given narrative and the relationship of self-reference term use with *yakuwarigo.*

Yakuwarigo and *Shōjo Manga* Characters

Yakuwarigo (lit. 'role language') is often used in various popular media (such as manga, anime, light novels etc.) to portray secondary characters and accordingly to highlight the protagonist, who requires a more detailed and nuanced description (Teshigawara and Kinsui 2012: 39). Kinsui noticed that the speech of a protagonist is the least marked with the use of *yakuwarigo* elements (2003: 66-67). Obviously, minor characters would therefore be more characterised through role language. Furthermore, the use of normative gendered language by fictional heroes and heroines of (hetero-)romance can be taken as an index of heterosexual attractiveness (Shibamoto-Smith 2004: 115), and although this linguistic femininity/masculinity as performed by romance novel characters cannot be explicitly defined as *yakuwarigo* as developed and interpreted by Kinsui, the language elements are used to indicate particular characteristics and serve as a cue for the reader, which suggests the interconnectedness of these two phenomena.

Female language (*onna kotoba*) is defined as a set of stereotypical gendered elements which are applicable to female characters in the broadest sense as a signal of a fictional character's gender. This notion is not exclusive to *yakuwarigo*. Inoue (2003: 315) even goes as far as to claim that nowadays *onna kotoba* (or *joseigo*) as used by female characters in fiction has become an example of the most authentic women's language, while the language of real Japanese women is naturally an amalgam of various elements and linguistic (and perhaps also

paralinguistic) features, which may traditionally be classified either as feminine, masculine, or neutral.

In the case of the young female *shōjo manga* characters, the role language types, which Kinsui and Yamakido (2015: 32-33) have identified and which are most likely to be used in this medium, are *ojō-sama* language (language evolved from the speech of Meiji schoolgirls), schoolgirl language, gal language (*gyarugo*) and the speech of delinquent girls. In terms of first-person use, the expression *atai* suggests a low-class uneducated woman or a member of a girl-gang (Kinsui 2014: 5-7), while *watakushi* and *atakushi* can be associated with an *ojō-sama* character (ibid. 204). *Atashi* is frequently employed to signal a female character in general (part of *onna kotoba*), but, as it lacks the formality associated with *watashi*, it is customarily found in the speech of young tomboyish women (ibid. 8).

Shōjo Manga **Corpus**

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the virtual language used in *shōjo manga*. Therefore, it has to be determined how characters who belong to one social group (namely high school students) use role language elements. This group of fictional high school students can be divided into various subcategories, such as delinquents, girls from well-off families etc. This paper intends to determine if these specific role language categories are reflected in the use of first-person expressions. This meant carrying out an analysis of a corpus of *shōjo manga* texts.

In order to ascertain which *shōjo manga* works should be included in the corpus, a questionnaire conducted during field work in Japan from January to March 2018 was used. 701 female junior high school students from several schools located in urban and suburban areas of major cities around Honshū Island responded to the survey.

The teenage girls were asked whether and how often they read manga (either in traditional print or digital), and those who identified themselves as readers of *shōjo manga* were asked to state their favourite manga titles[2]. In total, out of 701 respondents, 385 girls claimed they read *shōjo manga* in print, and 337 read it online, which is also the most popular medium for frequent manga consumption (reading *shōjo manga* at least once a week).

The ten most frequently mentioned works are shown below in order of their popularity among the respondents.

[2] The scope of questions included in the survey and their goal was broader than those presented here. The results of the survey thus highlight the titles that are the most popular and therefore relevant to the formation of the reader's experience of the intended audience, which was a crucial part of the Author's further research. However, discussing this is beyond the content of this paper.

Title	Author	First published	Magazine
1. *Aoharaido*	Sakisaka Io	2011	Bessatsu Māgaretto
2. *Chihayafuru*	Suetsugu Yuki	2007	BE LOVE
3. *Haru matsu boku-ra*	Anashin	2014	Dezāto
4. *Orenji*	Takano Ichigo	2012	Bessatsu Māgaretto
5. *Tsubasa-to hotaru*	Haruta Nana	2014	Ribon
6. *Sutorobo ejji*	Sakisaka Io	2007	Bessatsu Māgaretto
7. *Omoi, omoware, furi, furare*	Sakisaka Io	2015	Bessatsu Māgaretto
8. *Romanchika kurokku*	Maki Yōko	2012	Ribon
9. *P-to JK*	Miyoshi Maki	2012	Bessatsu Furendo
10. *Hana-yori dango*	Kamio Yōko	1992	Māgaretto

Table 1. Individual *shōjo manga* works
Source: based on the Author's research

All of the ten most frequently mentioned titles chosen by the respondents as their favourites belong to the school life subgenre of *shōjo manga.* This subgenre depicts the day-to-day lives of the protagonists in a realistic (or semi-realistic) high school setting. This setting also implies that the protagonists and other female characters usually represent students between the ages of 15 and 17. The corpus thus consists of the first[3] *tankōbon* (lit. 'standalone/independent book') volumes of the *shōjo manga* titles listed above.

Corpus Analysis

[3] The exception is the manga *Chihayafuru*, where volume 2 (chapters 6-11) was included in the corpus instead in order to keep the ages of protagonists consistent (volume 1 takes place primarily during the protagonist's elementary school years).

The teenage girl characters appearing in the collected texts are divided into three categories: protagonists, major characters and minor characters. This method was chosen in accordance with Kinsui's idea that the rate of utilization of role language differs significantly according to the prominence of a given character in a narrative. Every token (overt use of a person-designating term by a specific teenage *shōjo manga* character)[4] was recorded and assigned to an individual character. One of the typical features of *shōjo manga* as a genre is the inclusion of the inner thoughts/inner monologues of a fictitious character in the form of an overt soliloquy. Thus, soliloquies appearing in the selected narratives were also included in the study. In total, 657 tokens of first-person use were collected.

Protagonists

According to the data presented in Figure 1., *watashi*, arguably the most unmarked first-person expression a female speaker of standard Japanese can use (see, e.g., Ide 1989, Shibamoto-Smith 2003 etc.), is the dominant means of self-reference for all but one of the protagonists. The only exception is the heroine of the classic manga *Hana-yori dango*, first published in 1992, who uses the feminine *atashi* throughout all the collected material. Instances of the use of other self-designating terms are severely limited, and as the evidence suggests, the protagonists do not change their first-person expressions based on a situational context, emotional stance or their interaction partners (a phenomenon found in a natural spoken discourse). Out of the possible non-standard first-person expressions, that is expressions which might be interpreted as instances of character language (as defined by Kinsui and Yamakido 2015), only *asshi*, a contracted variant of *atashi*, is used once by the protagonist of the manga *P-to JK*. Kinsui (2014: 11-12) categorizes *asshi* as either a role language of *yakuza* members or a part of *Edo kotoba* ('language of Edo/Tōkyō natives'). Therefore, it is apparent that the presence of *asshi* in the corpus should be interpreted as an example of casual speech added to highlight the scene where the protagonist – a high school student – poses as a carefree older woman.

[4] While singular and plural forms are not identical in terms of their referents, they are not discussed here separately, as the aim of this study is to determine whether a given expression is used in the corpus at all.

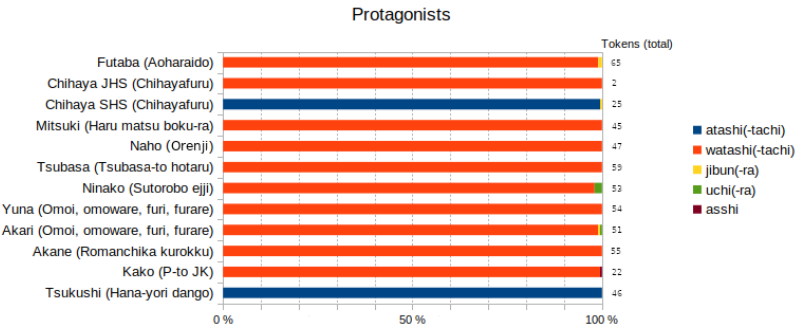

Figure 1. Protagonists
Source: based on the Author's research

The other occasionally employed expressions are *uchi* and *jibun*, or rather their plural forms derived by the suffix *-ra*: *uchi-ra* (used twice) and *jibun-ra* (once). The only use of *jibun-ra* is illustrated below.

(1) *Jibun-ra-mo burikko surya i: ja-n.*[5]
'We should all pretend to be cute.'
(interaction with a friend of the same gender),
Aoharaido, vol. 1.

The overall variation of choice of first-person expressions among the protagonists is very low. Several factors may contribute to this result. One of them may be the characterization of the protagonists – none of them can be seen as an extreme or a member of a specific or marginal social subgroup or sub-culture. And accordingly, their assigned self-reference expressions are the most standard ones. The least marked *watashi* might have been chosen for the protagonists to promote the readers' identification with them. Moreover, technical aspects of manga as a medium may also have limited the range of self-reference expressions found in the corpus.

Major Characters

The major characters in the analysed manga were usually defined by their relationship to the protagonists. They very often served as close friends,

[5] The transcription here denotes an irregular/non-standard graphic realization in the original manga text.

friends or schoolmates. In total, 97 tokens of self-designating terms used by the major characters appeared in the corpus. When compared to the speech of protagonists, the data presented in Figure 2. suggest that self-reference is slightly more varied in the case of major characters.

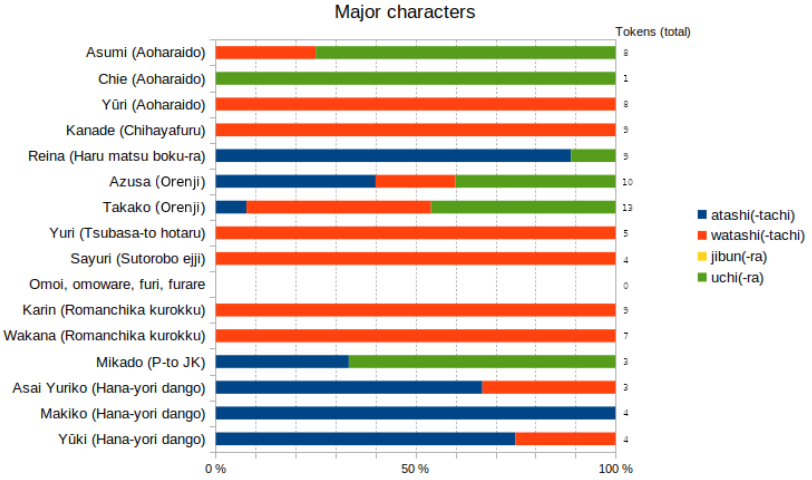

Figure 2. Major Characters
Source: based on the Author's research

This applies not only in the ratio of primary forms of self-reference – *watashi* versus *atashi* – but also in the variations the individual characters employ. Quite interestingly, a plural form *uchi-ra*, which is used only in severely limited cases in the utterances of the heroines of the stories, seems to be more frequent in the speech of major characters. One of the typical usages of *uchi-ra* can be illustrated by the following example, in which Azusa (*Orenji*) implores the main character Naho to participate in a softball game.

(2) *Naho-ga dokan-to hitto uttara uchi-ra yūshō da-yo.*
'If you can bat a strong safe hit, we will win.'
(interaction with a friend of the same gender),
Orenji, vol. 1.

The plural form *uchi-ra* in this example is used in a casual interaction and denotes a group of classmates. In the second example shown below, *uchi-*

ra is used while gossiping about an absent member of a group of young female friends and indicates the speaker and the hearer.

(3) *Futaba tte-sa an kurai joshiryoku hikui-kara issho-ni irare-n da-yo-nē uchi-ra.*
'Because Futaba's girlishness is so low, we can let her hang out with us.'
(interaction with a friend of the same gender),
Aoharaido, vol. 1.

However, besides the three forms mentioned above (*watashi*, *atashi*, *uchi-ra*), no other self-reference expressions were observed in the collected data.

Minor Characters

The female characters appearing in the selected manga who were classified as minor were chiefly classmates or schoolmates appearing in the background. They were usually left unnamed, and their minor role in the narrative was also often marked by how they were depicted visually (drawn in fewer details and typified). In the majority of instances, their input to the story were just isolated utterances. As seen in Figure 3., *watashi* prevailed as the most recurrent first person term, with the feminine casual *atashi* being the second most frequent. Except for one isolated use of *uchi-ra* and one of *jibun*, no non-standard expressions appeared in the corpus. The only instance of self-reference by one's first name is found in the speech of Mayuka, an older sister of the protagonist's friend in *Sutorobo ejji*. In it, Mayuka jokingly reminds her brother to entertain her during their meeting.

(4) *Nani-yo. Motto yorokobi nasai-yo. Sekkaku onē-sama-ga kite ageta-no-ni.*
'What's this? Be more cheerful since your big sister generously came to see you.'
(interaction with a younger brother),
Sutorobo ejji, vol. 1.

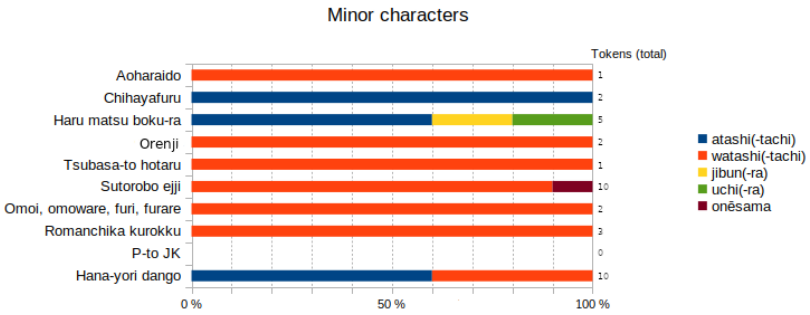

Figure 3. Minor Characters
Source: based on the Author's research

In the following conversation, Mayuka uses *watashi*, which leads to the assumption that it may be her primary self-reference expression even during interactions with her brother. The relatively constant use of low variation of first-person expressions indicates that there are no expressions employed which could be immediately placed as pointing to a role language type/subtype and, consequently, to a specific character type (such as *ojō-sama*).

The Protagonist Chihaya and the *Burikko* Yūri

Chihaya, the main character of the manga *Chihayafuru*, appears briefly as an 18-year old young woman on a two-page spread and in one panel in a short prologue in volume 1. The remaining five chapters contain a volume-length flashback to the time when the protagonist was an elementary school student and found her passion for *karuta*, a Japanese card game, through an encounter with one of her classmates. The second volume then follows Chihaya in high school, but again with flashbacks to both her elementary school and junior high school years.

As a senior high school student, Chihaya uses *watashi* as her primary (and only) means of self-reference. In this, she is no different from the majority of analysed protagonists. Chihaya, both as an elementary school student and as a junior high school student (presumably)[6], uses *atashi* as her

[6] The data of Chihaya as a junior high school student are unfortunately very limited in the available corpus.

dominant self-reference form. This transition from the casual feminine *atashi* towards the more formal *watashi* denotes Chihaya's maturing.

(5) *Okā-san atashi D-kyū-de yūshō shita-n da-yo.*
'Mum, I won in the D group!'
(JHS student Chihaya, interaction with her mother),
Chihayafuru, vol. 2.

(6) *Watashi-wa buji-ni kōkōsei-ni natta.*
'Without trouble, I became a high school student.'
(SHS student Chihaya, soliloquy),
Chihayafuru, vol. 2.

However, it is necessary to note that also the protagonist from the manga *Aoharaido*, whose story also starts with the opening chapter taking place during her junior high school days, consistently uses *watashi* only throughout the analysed material. And similarly, the main character of *Romanchika kurokku*, who remains a junior high school student for the duration of the whole narrative, also primarily uses *watashi*. So, although in the case of Chihaya the author decided to depict the protagonist's ageing also through the change of her choice of the first-person expression, it is not a universally used strategy and could be perceived as an artistic choice.
The manga *Aoharaido* features Yūri, the protagonist's classmate, who eventually becomes a friend of the main heroine as the story progresses. Yūri is ostracized by her female classmates and is directly branded as a *burikko*[7] by them because of her popularity among boys. Her female classmates perceive it as a direct result of Yūri's overly feminine behaviour. However, while it is possible to argue that, in overall comparison to the other teenage girl characters of this manga, Yūri's speech might be considered slightly more feminine, this assumption is not reflected in Yūri's use of first-person expressions, which bears no significant difference to that of other characters. Inversely, Yūri is not labelled negatively as a *burikko* due to her employing a specific character language.

Role Language in the Corpus – The Case of *Uchi(-ra)*

[7] *Burikko* is usually defined as a woman exhibiting overly feminine, childish and innocent behaviour to an extent and/or in a situation where such behaviour is not deemed appropriate (Miller 2004: 150).

While the speech of all *shōjo manga* characters exhibits to some extent the characteristics of *onna kotoba*, overall, there were no significant occurrences of self-designating terms typical for *yakuwarigo* belonging to a more specific social group or subgroup (e.g. *ojō-sama* language, 'a lady's language', or a delinquent girl language). Similarly, idiosyncratic non-standard pronominal expressions, which could be categorized as a part of specific character's idiolect, i.e. character language, appear only in a limited number of instances. Even though the manga *Hana-yori dango* takes place at an elite urban high school, no character uses the self-reference expressions such as *atakushi* or *watakushi*, which are directly categorized as typical for the *ojō-sama* language (Kinsui 2014: 204). However, in comparison with other manga works, a relatively higher occurrence of sentence-final particles categorized as a part of *onna kotoba* (*no-yo*, *wa-yo* etc.) is, in fact, present in the speech of female characters in *Hana-yori dango*. Nevertheless, this may also be influenced by this work being older than other *shōjo manga* works included in the corpus (*Hana-yori dango* was first published in 1992, while the rest first appeared between 2000-2015).

In the analysed corpus, several characters used *uchi* and the plural form *uchi-ra* as their first-person expressions. In his dictionary of role language expressions, Kinsui defines *uchi* as a first-person pronoun often used by women in the Kansai dialect, where the original idea of *uchi*, literally meaning 'household/home', was expanded to identify first-person as well (Kinsui 2014: 25). He subsequently identifies two main uses of *uchi* as role language – the first is its use in the Ōsaka/Kansai dialect for characters of young women (ibid. 25); the second is the use of *uchi* as an element of *gyarugo* (lit. 'language of gals'), a language of young female fashionistas (ibid. 26).

The language of the analysed major and minor characters does not contain other elements of *gyarugo* (such as popular abbreviations or copula). Neither could the characters be immediately placed as *gyaru* by visual clues (typical fashion and styling choices), meaning they were not intended to be depicted as members of the *gyaru*/*kogyaru* subculture. However, drawing on the close relation between *gyarugo* and *wakamono kotoba* (lit. 'young people's language') or *shinhōgen* (lit. 'new dialects') in general (Miller 2004b: 232), and the rise of popularity of *uchi* used as a self-designating term by teenage girls (see, e.g., Miyazaki 2004, Hishikari 2007, Honda 2011), this paper suggests that the use of the first-person expression *uchi* – or, more precisely, its plural form *uchi-ra* – by *shōjo manga* characters does not fall into the *yakuwarigo* category per se. However,

when connecting the collected data with the visual and other types of clues presented in the narratives, it can be said that *uchi* frequently denotes a very casual speech act performed by a manga character who can be interpreted as active, lively and vigorous (as a counterpart to a more studious or serious type of character).

Conclusions

There seems to be a strong overall tendency towards a low variation of self-reference terms in the speech of characters in the collected data. In other words, each *shōjo manga* character usually uses only one primary self-reference expression. This tendency is the most prevalent in the case of protagonists. The overall number of individual first-person expressions appearing in the corpus is also relatively low – the most frequently used ones are, in fact, *watashi* and *atashi*.

One of the reasons for the low variation of expressions used is the nature of *shōjo manga* narratives. The discourse in *shōjo manga* follows the code of realism, and while the discussed topics often include the character's emotions, the speech remains casual, as would be expected from teenagers. Moreover, while an appearance of a new character or progress in an existing relationship is often one of the key elements of the plot, the character groups are stable on the axis of social distance and relatively stable on the axis of psychological distance. Together with the low social gap, this makes the use of more formal expressions (i.e. *watakushi* for women) unnecessary. There is very little switching between codes to be found. As the *shōjo manga* works included in the corpus fall in the semi-realistic school-life subgenre, further research, including a comparison to works belonging to other subgenres of *shōjo manga*, would certainly provide valuable insights into the variation of first-person use and role language elements utilized.

Shibamoto-Smith (2004), during her research on the use of gender normative language in romance fiction aimed at adult women, remarked that romance heroines in *happīendo* (lit. 'happy-end') romance stories used *watashi* more often than the protagonists of tragic romance novels, who used other feminine expressions such as *atashi*, *uchi* or even one's name more often. Shibamoto-Smith then suggests that:

> Women in love should stick to *watashi* rather than turning to more 'feminine' forms of self-reference. Certain kinds of hyperfemininity are, it seems, not desirable. (2004: 123)

Her findings do indeed correspond to the results of the corpus analysis presented in this study, as the *shōjo manga* protagonists also predominantly used *watashi* for self-reference. As romance was one of the main, if not fundamental, themes in all of the analysed *shōjo manga* titles, it can be assumed that a trend similar to adult romance stories is at play here, as well. Moreover, Hiramoto (2013) also links the use of gender normative expressions with a fictional character's desirability. Therefore, it might be said that, regardless of her age, a romance story heroine should present herself by using the most prestigious *watashi* to convey her feminine attractiveness.

The technical explanation for this relatively low variation in the first-person reference is not dissimilar to the use of role language as a reader-friendly device. In the case of minor characters, it is often more economical, as well as more comprehensible, to choose stereotypical language. Correspondingly, using one primary means of self-reference may help the reader ascribe each utterance to its producer even in the scenes where the speech balloons are either placed too far from the character, have no tails linking them with their speakers, or appear in a panel otherwise devoid of speaking entities. However, it would be fascinating to see whether a more extensive variation in person markers can be found in manga aimed at an older and more experienced readership.

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Standard Language as a Role Language in Real-life Japanese and Fiction

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to determine to what extent and from which perspectives standard language (*hyōjungo*) can be regarded as a significant representative of role languages (*yakuwarigo*). In common perception, standard language is usually contrasted to Japanese dialects (*hōgen*) and common language (*kyōtsūgo*) and described as an abstract, conventional, and imposed pattern of language. Accordingly, as a speech style, it is often perceived with more reserve. As a norm of language, it is also often considered as barely existing in real-life speech or restricted to written or formal styles only. However, the research into the models of fictitious speech patterns of the characters of popular TV series, animations, and comic books displays a significant influence of standard language on depicting specific types of roles and poses the characters perform in the plot. The analysis of selected dialogues reveals that the primary function of standard language as a role language is to emphasize the contrast between, especially, normality and extraordinariness, regularity and irregularity, seriousness and jocularity, maturity and immaturity, schemata and deviations from them. However, in this paper, the scope of functioning of *hyōjungo* as a role language is not only restricted to pop-cultural, fictitious forms. It can be easily noticed also in the dialogues in the textbooks used for Japanese language education. In the case of the materials for beginners, the language is unified and limited to standard addressative forms only, and any possible varieties or registers of Japanese are barely applied. In this regard, standard language can be considered as a role language or, more precisely, a model language of Japanese learning. This *model* function is motivated by its "reliability" feature, which is based on the fact that standard language exists in real-life Japanese to play the significant role of offering interlocutors the mutual feeling of comfort of sharing the same behavioral and linguistic schemata.

KEYWORDS: standard language, role language, common language, norm of language, honorifics

The Japanese term *hyōjungo* 標準語, lit. 'standard language', refers to the norm of the Japanese language which was constituted in the Meiji era (1868-1912) as a result of national language planning in the modernizing country. From the sociolinguistic perspective, standard language is

regarded as one of the varieties of the Japanese language (*gengo henshu* 言語変種). More specifically, as the primary form of language, it is used for public communication and official situations and, consequently, it is often acknowledged as the most prestigious language variety. However, because of its codified, fixed, and stabilized character, *hyōjungo*, in the strict sense, is usually associated with written language or regarded as an ideal variant of language which hardly appears in real-life conversations.

Due to its stability and homogeneity, standard language is usually contrasted to Japanese regiolects and sociolects, which are more diversified and reveal certain flexibility. This contrast is also noticeable in Japanese fiction – in Japanese comic books or animations, standard language is applied as a role language (*yakuwarigo* 役割語) of protagonists and juxtaposed with other varieties of Japanese spoken by antagonists or third-plane characters.

When juxtaposing the background, the scope of functioning, and the correlation with real-life Japanese of both *hyōjungo* and *yakuwarigo*, certain noticeable similarities and dependencies can be displayed.

The aim of this short paper is to examine whether and to what extent *hyōjungo* is a substantial component of real-life speech. However, there are questions concerning its use in fiction that also need answering: On what basis and to what degree may such factors as historical motivations for the establishment of standard Japanese (as well as its specific range of functioning) justify the conviction of its fictionality[1]? In which aspects can standardized Japanese be associated with language stylization implemented in fiction? These questions are to be taken into account in this analysis in order to reconsider the scope of functioning and meaning of contemporary *hyōjungo* in both real-life and fictitious Japanese.

Standard Language – Meaning, Origin, Definition

The term *hyōjungo* 標準語 was introduced by the linguist Yoshisaburō Okakura (1868-1936) in his *Nihongogaku Ippan* 'Outline of Japanese Linguistics' (printed in 1890) as a translation equivalent for the English term 'standard language' (Okamoto and Shibamoto-Smith 2016: 35-36). It was promoted then by another scholar, Kazutoshi Ueda (1867-1937), who insisted that the government of modernizing Japan should institutionalize

[1] In this paper, "fictionality" is understood as being applied and reflected in fiction (narrative forms that are imaginary) rather than reality, and accordingly, as having more abstract characteristics than real ones.

the normative language for Japan to increase national consciousness (ibid. 36). He also suggested how and on what basis standard language should be constituted and implemented. As a result, the language of the educated elite of the Yamanote district in Tokyo (*yamanote kotoba* 山の手言葉) was selected as a norm for standard Japanese (Yasuda 2012: 38) and, consequently, the role and status of other Japanese varieties (*hōgen* 方言) were diminished. Standard language was primarily implemented in written Japanese; however, due to the spread of radio auditions since 1925, it has also been gradually promulgated as a spoken language used for public communication.

According to Sanada, since the implementation of *hyōjungo* was decided objectively by external (social) factors and not internal (linguistic) ones, it is justified to interpret standard language as a tool of language policy (*gengo seisaku* 言語政策) (1987: 89, as cited in Carroll 2013: 30). As the following quote implies, the establishment of one, fixed, standardized Japanese was decided not only to colligate Japanese nation and respond to the trends of modernization and innovation but also to present Japan on the international arena as one unified and strong nation with one language:

> (…) language planning, particularly where it serves modernization, is national planning. (…) Language planning is thus intertwined with national self-image and the image to be projected to the outside world. (Fishman 1973: 31, as cited in Carroll 2013: 21)

In sociolinguistic discourse, *hyōjungo* is often contrasted to various dialects of Japanese language (especially *chiiki hōgen* 地域方言 'regiolects; regional dialects') in order to differentiate norm of language, which is usually expected, especially from the adults speaking in public, from local varieties that should be restricted to private communication only. Another sociolinguistic and normative phenomenon that frequently appears in the reflection on varieties of Japanese language is called *kyōtsūgo* 共通語 'common language'. This term was introduced after the II World War to constrict the normative image of standard language (Kinsui 2017: 40). From the beginning, common language has been gaining more popularity than *hyōjungo* because it was perceived as the language which was actually in use by the Japanese (Shioda 1973: 36-37). Although both terms, standard language and common language, responded to the

monolingual vision of Japan and were initiated to serve political purposes (not to mention that they are often considered as two different notions which refer to the same contents), they have different connotations and, consequently, the Japanese often hold contrasting attitudes towards them.

Perception of Standard Language

Words connoting or referring to such phenomena as rules, regulations, prescriptions, or schemata of behaving are usually perceived as imposed from above and, consequently, can be treated with a certain aloofness. Similarly, for the Japanese people, the word *hyōjun* 標準 'standard; norm' in relation to the language in use, was initially accepted with the feelings of suspicion and anxiety. Firstly, the implementation of standard language was decided *from above* and caused the marginalization of dialects that were commonly spoken and thus perceived as natural languages for their users. Moreover, the interrelatedness of standard language with linguistic etiquette and its conventional, prescriptive, and official character resulted in the feeling of certain artificiality.

> The research into this language (standard language) exposed its connections with etiquette. Although one century has passed, it is still regarded as something artificial, and the Japanese language appears suffocated. (Takiura 2013: 193, from the afterword)[2]

Contrarily, from the beginning, common language has had more positive connotations. The word *kyōtsū* 共通 'common; conjoint, mutual' is usually perceived with less reserve as semantically it refers to something that is shared and, accordingly, to something that connects people; and in the discussed case, it refers to the language that is *shared by* people, not to the norm that is *imposed on* people.

The Japanese language used in public domains displays noticeable differences in communicative strategies, especially in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary. The language used in Japanese media also reveals noticeable deviations from the norm, as the speech of radio or TV presenters is diversified and individuated on various linguistic layers: the

[2] Orig.: 調べていくと、この言葉(標準語)が「作法」につなっがているところが見えた。どこか“作り物”のにおいが取れないまま一世紀が経ち、日本語の呼吸は息苦しそうに感じられた。

lexical layer (by implementing various regiolects, sociolects, loanwords, contracted words, colloquial expressions, etc.), the morphological layer (by contracting the Japanese addressative form *desu/-masu* into *-ssu* ending) or the register layer (by skipping honorificity, mixing it with colloquial expressions or using it incorrectly). Consequently, Japanese sociolinguists underline the necessity to search for the traces of real *hyōjungo*'s presence in the spoken Japanese language:

> In current Japanese, there is no standard language in its strict sense. Although the language of TV and radio announcers is close to it, there are differences depending on the broadcaster, and there are some deviations in their pronunciation and wording. (Takamizawa et al. 2004: 185)[3]

As mentioned above, Japanese standard language is often perceived as currently not in use in its strict sense, especially in the case of spoken Japanese (*hanashikotoba* 話し言葉), which is more spontaneous and variable than written Japanese (*kakikotoba* 書き言葉)[4]. Contrarily, the perception of common language as more flexible and situational makes a more natural impression, and hence, *kyōtsūgo* is often regarded as "closer" and more presumable to appear in the real-life spoken Japanese than in standard language.

Hybrid Style as a Recent Communicative Trend – Youth Interference in Standard Language

Recently, there have appeared new tendencies such as the frequent use of regiolects and sociolects in Japanese media, language deviations in the statements of public figures (presenters, politicians), and a trend to skip

[3] Orig.: 現在、日本語には厳密な意味での標準語は存在しない。テレビやラジオアナウンサーが使うことばがそれに近いが、放送局によって違いがあり、発音と語法のゆれも少なくない。

[4] In this regard, *hyōjungo* corresponds to the high norm of language (Pol. 'norma wysoka' or 'norma wzorcowa'), which, due to Polish normative linguistics, is described as codified, stabilized, and sanctioned: *Codified norm can be found in the grammars and lexicons and is promulgated in language education and language counseling* (Bugajski 1993: 7-8). Simultaneously, *kyōtsūgo* reveals noticeable congruency with the so-called language *usus,* which is defined as the customary norm (Pol. 'norma zwyczajowa') or the norm of usage (Pol. 'norma użytkowa'). Similarly to the customary norm, Japanese common language refers to the common usage of linguistic units in a speech community and is considered more liberal, situational, and has more positive connotations than standard language, which is perceived as a high norm.

appreciativeness and modesty in favor of addressative forms, considered as an example of simplification (*keigo-no kanketsuka* 敬語の簡潔化) or democratization of honorifics (*keigo-no minshuka* 敬語の民主化 (Inoue 2017: 16, 95). These tendencies result in a frequent emphasis of the discontinuity of Japanese linguistic tradition.

According to the public opinion poll conducted by the Japanese Agency of Cultural Affairs in 2000, 31.5% of the Japanese claimed that the media language and the language spoken in everyday life are disintegrated (*midarete iru* 乱れている). 54% of the respondents considered the youth generation, especially middle school and high school students, as the most responsible group because they are said to omit linguistic politeness, mix registers, overuse youth sociolect (*wakamono kotoba* 若者言葉), and deform standard language[5].

The broadly mentioned "disintegration" (*midare* 乱れ) of Japanese is a subject of criticism of the conservative part of Japanese society that wishes to preserve the image of fixed, stabilized, and unique Japanese language, and hence, negatively comments every act of linguistic deviation and negligence. However, paradoxically, language purists are simultaneously the most responsible for discrediting the status of *hyōjungo.* By promulgating the concept of "disordered Japanese," the status of standard language, regarded as an integrated and stabilized norm of the Japanese language, is undermined. Hence, the current language situation in Japan should be considered not as disordered or disintegrated, but rather as promulgating the so-called "hybrid style" (regarded as a mix of different registers and varieties in one statement or as a tendency to form hybrid expressions which replace standard expressions) as the most comfortable and common language behavior[6]. The sociolects and regiolects intermingling with standard forms and occurring in private and public

[5] According to the results of a survey conducted in 1999, 85.8% of the Japanese admitted that the Japanese national language (*kokugo* 国語) is disintegrated, while a similar investigation carried out in 2015 shows that the number of respondents describing the Japanese language as disordered slightly decreased to 73.2%. (Source: http://www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/tokeichosa/kokugo_yoronchosa/pdf/h26_chosa_kekka.pdf [Accessed: 12.06.2020])

[6] One of the displays of youth interference in the morphological layer of standard language is a trend among Japanese youth to form hybrid expressions of standard stems and regiolect endings, such as *kōhen* 'not to come' (standard: *konai*), *ikahen* 'not to go' (standard: *ikanai*). This phenomenon is an example of a Japanese interdialect called *neo-hōgen* 'neo-dialect' (Read more in: Tokugawa and Sanada 1991).

communication do not discredit the status of *hyōjungo*, but, in a certain way, indicate mutual concomitance.

What Standard Language and Role Language Have in Common

Standard language as a literary convention is often juxtaposed with other speech styles implemented in fiction called *yakuwarigo* 役割語. The term *yakuwarigo* 'role language' was introduced by Kinsui in modern times (2003, 2014) and refers to various styles of speech used in dialogues of Japanese light novels (*raito noberu*), comic books (*manga*), animated movies (*anime*), TV series (*dorama*), etc. All speech patterns used in role languages originate from real-life Japanese, but they have undergone certain modifications. There are six general subcategories of role language which refer to the specific attributes of characters: 1) gender, 2) age/generation, 3) social class/occupation, 4) region/nationality/ethnicity, 5) pre-modern, 6) imaginary creatures (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015: 31-32). Each of these attributes can be introduced into fictionalized orality to emphasize a particular feature of a given character based on their stereotypical traits. In the linguistic analysis, role languages (e.g., *hakasego* 'doctor's language,' *Kansaiben* 'Kansai dialect,' *ojōsama kotoba* 'young lady's speech') are frequently contrasted with standard Japanese to indicate significant phonetical, morphological, and lexical deviations from the norm.

Nevertheless, certain significant similarities can be revealed when juxtaposing standard language and role language with respect to their origin, functionality, and correlation with real-life Japanese.

Firstly, certain stylization patterns in modern Japanese literature were implemented due to the political movements of the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-26) eras. Two linguistic movements – the establishment and codification of standard language, as well as the imposition of *genbun'itchi* (言文一致 'unification of written and spoken language') concept – served the ideas of modernization and development of the Japanese country. Japanese literature became more accessible to the public and, consequently, the authors of the Meiji era, such as Sōseki Natsume, started to implement typical features of speech styles, e.g., *onna kotoba* 女言葉 'women language,' to the dialogues of their novels (Hasegawa 2015: 363). Although the term *yakuwarigo* primarily corresponds with speech styles used in pop-cultural forms, the fictitious speech of female characters (especially elderly women or elegant adult women) from *manga* or *anime* was undoubtedly influenced by *onna kotoba*.

Moreover, *yakuwarigo* and *hyōjungo* were both intentionally constituted in order to fulfill certain goals. Standard language was implemented as a norm of language to make education more accessible and reduce the unbalance between written and spoken language. It reflects imposed schemata and does not evolve spontaneously. Role languages imitate real-life Japanese but are also schematized; hence, similarly to standard Japanese, they can be perceived as *tsukurareta* 'produced.' On this ground, the impression of conventionality and certain artificiality brings these two concepts closer.

Finally, as standard language is considered a variety of Japanese, it can also be applied to fiction as one of the speech styles. In his research on *yakuwarigo*, Kinsui interprets standard language as one of the role languages. However, he also emphasizes that *hyōjungo* is a specific type of *yakuwarigo* which functions as a base, or in other words, as a norm (*kijun* 基準) for other types of *yakuwarigo*, which he calls *hi-hyōjungo* 非〈標準語〉'non-standard languages' (Kinsui 2003: 58).

> "Standard Language" used here is understood not only as a language associated with issues, such as vocabulary, phonology, grammar, and usage, but also as a speech style and literary style in which these aspects are integrated. (Kinsui 2017: 39).

Kinsui divides standard language into two categories, namely, written language and spoken language, in the following way:

(1) Written language: casual forms and honorific forms
(2) Spoken language: public spoken language and personal spoken language (female language and male language) (ibid. 65).

The author suggests that all these types can be applied to fiction as role languages, although with different *role language degree* (*yakuwarigodo* 役割語度), which he evaluates on the scale of 0-0,5-1. Female and male languages are the most distinguished and reveal individual features of the characters. Hence, Kinsui evaluates their *role language degree* as 1. Contrarily, formal written language does not expose the peculiarity of the speaker and consequently is evaluated as 0. Public spoken language gains 0,5 degree as it falls between written language and personal language (ibid. 68-69). As we can see, spoken standard language cannot be evaluated as 0

since it can be applied in fictionalized speech to perform certain roles, e.g., to juxtapose the speech of a character from Tokyo with the speech of a regiolect user, or to indicate social distance in student/subordinate's talk to the teacher/superior. However, in the opinion of this paper's author, in all mentioned cases, *role language degree* should be evaluated as more than 0. For instance, if a character uses formal written Japanese incorrectly, certain personal features are also clearly exposed.

Examples of Standard Language as a Role Language

Kinsui notices that standard language is given a special privilege as a type of role language. As a model language variety, especially with respect to its use in education and public situations, it is also introduced in fiction as a language for protagonists (ibid. 61), while simultaneously, the antagonists happen to speak in one of the non-standard varieties (e.g., regiolects of Kansai).

According to Takiura, *hyōjungo* can be applied as a role language to indicate *tadashisa* 正しさ 'correctness' or refer to the matters that are perceived as *kō* 公 'public; governmental' (2013:16-17). As a social-identity marker (Hasegawa 2015: 361, after Kinsui 2003), standard language is used by the protagonists or characters who are depicted as models of normality and mundanity. Therefore, it can be assumed that the general function of standard language applied as a role language is to emphasize contrast. Usually, it indicates the opposition between the protagonist and the antagonist, but it can also be used to contrast such features as, e.g., regularity and irregularity, formality and informality, groupness and individuality, correctness and incorrectness, maturity and immaturity, responsibility and irresponsibility.

In order to illustrate how the character's sense of responsibility and maturity are reflected using standard language, Ishiguro cites a short dialogue from the popular animated movie *Tonari-no Totoro*[7]. One of the protagonists, a young girl named Satsuki, uses carefully polite forms of standard Japanese despite her very young age.

> Satsuki: *Kyō-wa sumimasen deshita*. 'I am sorry for today.'
> Kanta's mother: *Kotchi-koso. Oyaku-ni tatenakute-nē.* 'We're sorry too. We couldn't help you.'

[7] *Tonari-no Totoro* となりのトトロ 'My neighbor Totoro' is a famous animated movie directed by Hayao Miyazaki and produced by Studio Ghibli in 1988.

Satsuki: *Ano, kono kasa, Kanta-san-ga kashite kureta-n desu*. 'And this umbrella, I borrowed it from Kanta.' (Ishiguro 2013: 98)

Satsuki is speaking to an older person; hence, she carefully uses addressative forms (*-masen deshita*; *n desu*). However, this kind of polite language is not typical for the speech of a very young person. Although Satsuki is still a primary school student, she often takes care of the household and her younger sister. Despite her young age, she is portrayed as a very diligent and responsible girl, and these features are reflected in her polite language, which resembles the speech of adults (ibid. 98-99).
Another function of standard language applied as a role language is to accentuate a specific pose the character attempts to strike to make a particular impression. This kind of *show-off* characters often appears in a popular comedy manga *Kureyon Shin-chan* written by Yoshito Usui. In the two scenes introduced below, the main character, a kindergartener Shin-chan, participates in calligraphy class and encounters a master of *shodō* calligraphy, Mr. Mizuru Hongōji.

(1) Hongōji: *Shodō-wa moji-no shugyō-wa mochiron, seishin-no shugyō-ni-mo narimasu. Watashi-no yō-ni shodōreki 50 nen-to-mo narimasu-to keshite torimidasu yō-na koto-wa arimasen.* 'The calligraphy is indeed a practice of characters. However, it is also a practice of souls. If you experience calligraphy for 50 years like me, you will never lose your self-control.'
Shin-chan's mother: *Honto-ni ochitsuitete onwa sō-na sensei-ne. Shin-chan-mo isshokenmei yareba ano sensei mitai-ni nareru-wa-yo.* 'He seems to be a really calm and gentle teacher. Shin, if you do your best too, you could become a similar person.'
Shin-chan: *Ē? Ja ora-mo anna fū-ni ago-no tokoro-ni kabi haechau-no?* 'What? You mean that my chin will also get moldy like his?'
Hongōji: *Ka…kabi ja nakute ohige da-yo hahaha…* 'It's not mo… mold, it's my beard.' (1990: 94)

(2) Shin-chan: *Kāchan mite mite. Ora-mo sensei mitai-ni mimizu-san kaita-yo.* 'Mom, look, look. I also drew an earthworm like the teacher's.'
Shin-chan's mother: *Kora' sensei-no-wa mimizu ja nai-no*. 'Hey, what the teacher drew was not a worm!'
Shin-chan: *Ja unagi?* 'So an eel?'
[*buchi'*][8]
Hongōji: *Daiunagi kaichau-zo. Ora orā'. Shodō-wa bakuhatsu ja!! Shodō-wa batoru ja!! Gya hahaha. Shikkari mitero-yo. Muda-de narai-ni kita seito-domo.* 'I will write a huge eel. Me mee. Calligraphy is an explosion!! Calligraphy is a battle!! Yeah hahaha. Watch me carefully. You useless pupils!'(1990: 95)

In the first scene, the teacher explains to his pupils the essence of practicing calligraphy. The addressative forms of standard language (*ni-mo narimasu, to-mo narimasu, koto-wa arimasen*) are introduced in his speech to fulfill two major goals. The first one is to depict the position (*role*) of Mr. Hongōji as an experienced calligraphy master. Mr. Hongōji skips addressative forms in his final short comment (*ja nakute, da-yo*) as he partially speaks to himself to give an excuse for Shin's impolite remark. He is slightly confused at the end of the scene, and hence, he pays less attention to the suitable use of language.
The second goal, and probably the more interesting one, is to depict the peculiar *pose* Mr. Hongōji attempts to strike. The teacher wants to be perceived as a professional, competent, and sophisticated person whose attitude corresponds well with the art of calligraphy, which is calm, elegant, and harmonic. Although slightly irritated by the immature behavior and comments of his pupils, he still attempts to keep his *heijōshin* 'the presence of mind' and stay calm and cool. However, although his *role* does not change in the second scene, Mr. Hongōji loses the ability to keep his *pose* of a professional and sophisticated person in the second scene. After being flustered by the protagonist, his presence of mind finally deserts him. Accordingly, his language becomes more expressive and even aggressive, which is reflected by the use of expressive particles (*zo, yo*) and a variation of the copula *de aru* (*ja*), which are typical for informal and rather inelegant speech of elderly male characters. In the presented example, the

[8] Onomatopoeia in the background which is explained as the sound of losing one's presence of mind.

use of standard addressative forms serves to emphasize appropriate behavior, namely the type of behavior that is expected from a mature and serious person (in this case, the teacher). The change of attitude is demonstrated by the deviations from the standard (such as the use of the archaic pronoun *ora*, etc.).

However, what can also be applied as the role language that reflects a specific kind of character is not only standard language but also the language that distorts the standard and deforms it. The protagonist of the last year's Tuesday series by TBS Television, *Kono koi atatamemasu-ka* 'Do you want to warm up this love?'[9], is Kiki Inoue, a 21-year-old girl who works as a part-timer in the convenience store *Coco Every*. She is a candid, simple-minded, and slightly tomboyish girl whose daily activities focus on posting reviews of sweets on social media. In the second episode, after losing a sweets-making competition, she decides to quit her job in the products section and expresses her gratitude to her co-workers by writing on the board: *Arigatō deshita* 'I was thankful.' This incorrect version of the Japanese expression of gratitude [*arigatō gozaimasu* (Present Tense)/ *arigatō gozaimashita* (Past Tense)] occasionally appears on Instagram or Twitter accounts of young Japanese and indicates the negligence of honorifics in their speech. In the mentioned example, the status of a protagonist as a young modern girl who is strongly influenced by the Internet and its language (*intānetto surangu* インターネットスラング) is emphasized. Moreover, by neglecting language etiquette, certain character features of the heroine, such as immaturity, lack of refinement, and rather poor experience in working with adults, are also displayed.

In the third episode, the president of the company asks his employee during a formal meeting whether they will manage to prepare the new dessert and the wrapping durable enough to pass the so-called "delivery test."

> President: *Maniaimasu-ka*? 'Will you manage to do it on time?'
> Kiki: *Maniau… maniaumasu*. 'Yeah… we will do it.'

The heroine, Kiki, spontaneously responds using the short, non-addressative form of the verb *maniau* 'to be on time,' displaying her lack of manners and experience in speaking in public again. After "reading" the atmosphere, she corrects herself by adding the addressative ending *-masu*

[9] Date of release: 20.10.2020.

to the verb; however, she performs it incorrectly (*maniaumasu* instead of correct *maniaimasu*). The negligence of linguistic convention by the incorrect use of standard addressative form indicates her artlessness and cuteness and adds humor to the scene. Simultaneously, it reflects the actual speech of Japanese youth (*wakamono*), who reveal certain aloofness to the linguistic politeness and readily deform standard language, which highlights their individuality.

The Role of Standard Language in Real-life Japanese

Takiura emphasizes that from the beginning of its implementation, standard language was regarded as something "produced" (*tsukurareta* 作られた) and imposed from the above (2013:11). *Hyōjungo* was indeed a "product" of the Meiji era that was based on the idea/ vision (*rinen* 理念) (ibid. 9-10) of the powerful and educated people of early modern times.

As one of its function is to reduce the unbalance between written and spoken language, standard language is often perceived as a tool for ideal communication (*risōteki-na komyunikēshon* 理想的なコミュニケーション), which, according to Takiura, cannot be obtained in the case of these regiolects which are functionally restricted to spoken language only (2013, from the introduction: vii). However, as all languages display frequent morphological and stylistic deviations from the norm, it is almost impossible to obtain this ideal level. In this regard, standard language refers to idealized communication (*risōka sareta komyunikēshon* 理想化されたコミュニケーション) rather than ideal communication (ibid. vii-viii). This assumption responds to the standpoint that standard language, in its *flawless* sense, does not exist in real-life speech.

However, Takiura also suggests another way of categorizing standard language, which is based on its essential role in communication associated with etiquette (*sahō* 作法). Although language etiquette is often perceived with certain reserve due to the impression of its artificiality and obligatory character, its significance results from the fact that the use of etiquette offers language users peace of mind. For instance, Japanese greetings (*aisatsu* 挨拶), fixed phrases (*kimari monku* 決まり文句), and other formalized expressions that contain Japanese honorifics (*keigo* 敬語) are used to lead smooth communication without giving it much thought. Takiura notices that if the greeting or honorifics are omitted, the speaker may be considered immature and lacking manners or even reprimanded. However, if the expected formalized expressions will be used (even if in a

slightly improper or ungrammatical way), the speaker will not be dispraised (ibid. x). In the cases mentioned above, interlocutors share the same feelings of relief (*anshin* 安心) due to their use of fixed expressions, which function in speech in a reasonably automatic and predictable way. Similarly, standard Japanese can also be regarded as a tool for reliable communication (*anshin-no/shinrai-no komyunikēshon* 安心の／信頼のコミュニケーション) based on the feelings of comfort and relief resulting from sharing common knowledge, following schemata, and using the same language variety, which makes the interlocutors feel less burdened (ibid. viii-ix, xii).

Standard Language in Language Education – Role Language or Model Language?

The above-mentioned *reliable* function of standard language plays a significant role in teaching Japanese as a foreign language. Japanese studies courses begin with the explanation of *hyōjungo*. Students are required to implement standard language forms in dialogues or e-mails exchanged with Japanese lecturers. Any possible language errors, especially at the beginning of the studies, are natural consequences of learning a foreign language. In this regard, in the case of messages written by Japanese language learners, grammatical correctness, although important, is perceived as less crucial than the selection of the adequate register, namely polite addressative forms of standard Japanese (*teineigo* 丁寧語). Since the use of the proper register (speech style adjusted to a given situation) is an essential measure of smooth communication in Japanese, learners acquire it from the very first classes; hence, they naturally get accustomed to its use. If the forms selected by students are appropriate, the receiver (lecturer) feels relieved. However, if the student skips/ignores standard forms, the receiver's reactions may be just the contrary. For example, the student may use regiolects (e.g., *metcha* 'very much' from Kansai dialect instead of *totemo/hijō-ni/kiwamete*), sociolects (e.g., *watashi-teki-ni-wa* typical for youth sociolect instead of *watashi-ni totte*/*watashi-wa* 'as for me'), or colloquial expressions (e.g., *itchatta* instead of *itte shimaimashita* 'I went'). And although the teacher's reaction may depend on their individual approach, the use of non-standard forms may result in evoking feelings of awkwardness or uneasiness, perceiving the text as incongruous or, in the best case, slightly amusing, but certainly not as accurate.

Hyōjungo is the first Japanese language that foreign students approach and acquire during their studies. The explanations and examples introduced in Japanese textbooks for foreign learners are also written in standard language. Although the dialogues included in textbooks imitate real-life Japanese, they are purposely adjusted to learners' level of competence and accordingly schematized and simplified. As the level of difficulty increases, the language in dialogues becomes more stylized, and certain colloquial, sociolectal, and genderlectal features gradually appear. Based on this, it can be assumed that the speech styles used in dialogues in textbooks and workbooks are another display of *yakuwarigo*.

What kind of role does standard language play in textbooks? A simple example from lesson 19 in *Shokyū Nihongo* "Basic course of Japanese" may help answer this question.

In the following dialogue, two young students, Mana from Thailand and Tanaka from Japan, talk about their families. Although there is no specific information concerning the characteristics of the speakers, it can be deduced from further dialogues included in the textbook that they are quite familiar with each other.

> Mana: *Tanaka-san-wa chōnan desu-ka?* 'Mr. Tanaka, are you the oldest son?'
> Tanaka: *Iie, watashi-wa suekko desu. Ue-ni ani-to ane-ga arimasu.* 'No. I am the youngest one. I have an older brother and sister.'
> Mana: *Go-kazoku-wa dochira-ni irasshaimasu-ka?* 'Where does your family live?'
> Tanaka: *Ryōshin-wa inaka-de nōgyō-o yatte imasu. Ane-wa tonari-no mura-ni sunde imasu. Mō kekkon shite ite, kodomo-ga arimasu*. 'My parents have a farm in the village. My sister lives in the neighboring village. She is already married and has a child.' (2010: 40)

This dialogue was used to demonstrate the differences in naming kinship relations in Japan, which are based on inside-outside (*uchi-soto* 内外) relations. Accordingly, the honorific *go-kazoku* '(your) respected family' was contrasted to the neutral *ryōshin* '(my) parents,' *ane* '(my) older sister,' *ani* '(my) older brother' to accentuate two variants of naming relatives, which depend on the speaker's perspective. Both participants in the dialogue are students, peers, and – most likely – acquaintances, yet they

use addressative forms (*desu/-masu*). Since all dialogues included in the mentioned book serve to teach proper and grammatically correct Japanese, pragmatically determined differences in Japanese language varieties or registers are omitted, and standard addressative forms are used exclusively.
On a different note, the use of the verb *aru* 'to be; to exist' (used for inanimate objects in modern Japanese) instead of *iru* 'to be; to exist' (used for animate objects) while referring to one's family members is also worth considering. In the mentioned case (*kodomo ga arimasu* 'to have a child'), the use of *aru* results from the specific function of this verb, which is not very common nowadays and is limited to situations when the speaker is talking about unspecified and indefinite matters[10]. The verb *aru* was intentionally implemented in the dialogue to inform learners about this particular function and contrast it with the verb *iru*. Nevertheless, the recent young generation in Japan is usually not aware of this function. Apparently, its occurrence is restricted to language education only and represents slightly stylized (archaic) Japanese.
Mana, a participant in the dialogue and a foreigner, similarly to other exchange students from the textbook, speaks fluent Japanese using perfectly correct standard language in all situations. Textbooks serve educational purposes, and hence, the application of normative language goes without saying. Standard language, especially in its addressative variant, works in such cases not only as a role language but also as a model language that fulfills the significant function of demonstrating and teaching the most schematized and expected linguistic behavior. Therefore, it can be concluded that if someone is searching for the traces of the actual presence of *hyōjungo*, they can easily find it in the basic stages of Japanese language learning. It is due to the general fact that the programs for beginners are more grammar-oriented, and more advanced levels of learning focus on developing students' communicative and sociolinguistic competence. Consequently, they may offer more variants of non-standard language use.

Conclusion

Japanese standard language is regarded as a norm of language, binding from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day. As a set of

[10] In this sense, the verb *aru* can be used when offering general, not specified information about someone's existence, e.g., *Kanojo-ni-wa futari-no kodomo-ga arimasu* 'She has two children.' Moreover, in the mentioned example, the use of *aru* is thought to reflect the nuance of "possessing someone whom adults want to protect." However, *aru* cannot be used while giving precise and specified information about someone. Hence, the statement *Kanojo-ni-wa Yuki-to iu kodomo-ga arimasu* 'She has a child called Yuki' is incorrect and requires using the verb *iru.*

commonly used linguistic rules and assets, it is considered as the most appropriate variety of Japanese language in public and official communication, written forms, and education. In this respect, Japanese *hyōjungo* corresponds with the high norm of language and is frequently opposed to common language (*kyōtsūgo*), which, by its scope of functioning, resembles the customary norm, which is believed to *be closer* to language users. Although both concepts were implemented due to the national language planning, common language has more positive associations because of its more liberal, situational, and less stabilized character. Standard language, especially in the case of spoken communication, is often perceived as abstract, idealized, and consequently, less achievable. This attitude is usually motivated by the general conviction that every utterance is, to a certain extent, individualized and variable due to the influence of such attributes as, e.g., age, gender, status, education, state of emotions, particular circumstances. Consequently, it is hardly possible to speak in one fixed way, obeying all linguistic rules even in formal situations. However, similarly to formalized and fixed expressions such as greetings, standard language functions in real-life Japanese to play a significant role. While language varieties, due to their diversification and flexible (non-standardized) character, may display differences between interlocutors and lead to miscommunication (provided that the speaker and listener do not share the same language awareness or speak in different registers), the fixed style typical for standard Japanese brings the feeling of relief by demonstrating polite attitude and, at the same time, offering the comfort of sharing the same linguistic and behavioral schemata.

This *reliable* function of *hyōjungo* justifies its popularity in Japanese comic books, *anime*, and TV series as the role language of those characters who present themselves as mature, responsible, and serious, and those who can adjust to particular circumstances. However, on the other hand, not only the use of standard language but also the negligence towards it plays a certain role in depicting a character. By inappropriate or incorrect use of *hyōjungo*, the characters reveal their personality and individual attitude to the world. Additionally, it makes the plot more comical or unpredictable.

Similarly, in both real and fictitious (depicted in comic books or novels) communication, the inappropriate or non-normative use of standard Japanese honorifics may highlight the character of the speaker and their attitude to the world, as well as inform about the changes occurring in

Japanese society, which may influence such spheres as, e.g., recent business relations in Japan.

Standard language applied according to its rules can also be considered as a role language functioning in real life. As a *model* educational tool, *hyōjungo* is introduced as the primary language for Japanese language education. In the process of acquiring standard Japanese, especially its addressative forms, students gradually familiarize themselves with the most suitable patterns of behavior, which will be appropriable and expected in their future social and professional life within the Japanese environment. In this regard, it can be concluded that in both real-life conversation and fictitious speech, the use of standard language plays a similar role – it demonstrates the most appropriate and expected social attitudes and can therefore be regarded as the most *reliable* linguistic tool.

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Role Language in Translation: A Comparative Character Analysis of Maria Barring in Andrzej Sapkowski's *Chrzest Ognia*

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ABSTRACT

This article presents an analysis of *yakuwarigo* 役割語 implementation in the Japanese translation of Andrzej Sapkowski's *Chrzest Ognia* (*Baptism of Fire*). Focusing on the character Milva's manner of speaking, the author analyses selected passages from the Polish original focusing on stylization (archaization, colloquialisms, vulgarisms). She compares them with corresponding passages from the Japanese translation by Yasuko Kawano, concentrating on the use of *yakuwarigo* in order to compare the character images of Milva in the two texts. Due to a weaker character image and the lack of linguistic markers indicating Milva's background in the Japanese translation, the author juxtaposes those passages with their counterparts in the English translation by David French, which may have served as the source text for Kawano's translation. Since Milva's character image as presented in French's work is the weakest and least distinctive of the three languages, this might explain the relatively low number of *yakuwarigo* expressions in the Japanese translation.

KEYWORDS: *yakuwarigo*, Andrzej Sapkowski, Milva, translation

Although the Japanese term *yakuwarigo* 役割語, commonly translated as 'role language', refers to a relatively new linguistic category, the concept of different language features being characteristic of different social, regional, educational etc. backgrounds is certainly not a new one. Even learners of basic Japanese learn to distinguish between *onna kotoba* 女ことば ('women language') and *otoko kotoba* 男ことば ('men language'), or recognize the meaning connotations behind specific personal pronouns. Using *yakuwarigo* helps create a certain – if often stereotypical (cf. e.g. Kinsui 2011, Bun 2018) – image of a character, e.g. a scholar, an elderly man, a macho man, or a lady.

The category of role language was introduced as a tool to analyse the speech of characters in *manga* マンガ or *anime* アニメ; however, it may also be useful for analysing characters in other works of fiction. What is more, role language poses an interesting problem not only from the linguistic point of view, but also from the perspective of translation studies,

particularly the case of translation strategies from Japanese into languages which do not possess the 'role language' category (Kinsui 2011, Bun 2018). However, in this paper the issue is approached from the opposite angle, namely, the introduction of *yakuwarigo* into the Japanese translation of a text originally written in a language which does not possess a distinctive role language category, such as Polish.

This paper analyses the extent to which *yakuwarigo* is used in the Japanese translation of Andrzej Sapkowski's *Chrzest Ognia* (*Baptism of Fire*) in character presentation. The research presented here focuses on the character of Maria Barring, known as Milva, who has an easily recognizable manner of speaking in the Polish original.

What Is *Yakuwarigo*?

In his presentation at the *Comicology: Probing Practical Scholarship* symposium Satoshi Kinsui (2015a) gives the following English description of *yakuwarigo*:

> A newly emerging field in Japanese linguistics examines the connection between spoken language features and the depiction of character types in fiction, popular culture (e.g. manga [comic books] and anime [animated cartoons]), the Internet, and beyond. Often in Japanese fiction and popular culture, a character's vocabulary and grammar vary greatly according to the person's attributes (gender, age, social status, occupation, region of residence or birthplace, appearance, personality, etc.). Consequently, one can infer the type of role portrayed from the character's vocabulary and grammar. Examples of established character types in popular culture, associated with particular linguistic features, include the elderly male, the young lady of good family, and the Chinese person. Their fictional utterances often make these established character types easily recognisable in Japanese culture, even if actual people fitting these character types are unlikely to produce such utterances in real life. (Teshigawara and Kinsui as cited in: 1-2)

In a fully Japanese transcript of this lecture, Kinsui (2015b: 1) defines *yakuwarigo* in a more concise way:

> Patterns of speech (combinations of vocabulary, syntax, voice peculiarities, set phrases, etc.) strongly associated with the character image of the speaker (such as sex, age, generation, occupation, social class, regional background, nationality, race) which are found mainly in works of fiction are called *yakuwarigo*.[1] [2]

Both definitions emphasize the use of *yakuwarigo* in fictional speech[3] (e.g. characters' speech in *manga* or *anime*), as opposed to real-life utterances. Role language – as the name itself suggests – plays an important role in creating the images of characters:

> If we can recall the image of a character (their age, sex, occupation, social class, era [they live in], appearance, personality, etc.), when hearing some particular expressions (vocabulary, syntax, phraseology, intonation, etc.), or if we can recall expressions which may be used by a character when we are shown their image, then such expressions are called *yakuwarigo*. (Kinsui 2003: 205)[4]

Manner of speaking and character image are tightly interconnected, particularly in the case of stereotypical characters. Moreover, it can be said that *yakuwarigo* may be particularly useful for creating the character images of characters from *fantasy* fiction. Due to the specific, often Middle-Ages-inspired setting, the characters in *fantasy* works tend to exhibit more traits (as compared to characters in modern settings) which make them distinguishable, such as class and/or social background, race,

[1] All translations into English are by the Author unless otherwise noted.
[2] Orig.: 役割語とは、主にフィクションのなかで、セリフを話す人物の人物像（性別、年齢・世代、職業・階層、地域・国籍・人種等）を強く連想させる話し方のパターン（語彙、語法、音声的特徴、セット・フレーズ等の組み合わせ）のことを言います。
[3] However, Kinsui (2011) points out that to some extent *yakuwarigo* functions in daily conversations as well. Due to the fact that, depending on the situation, speakers take on different social roles (e.g. a worker, child, parent, friend, customer, etc.), the way they speak changes in a more or less significant manner in order to adapt to that situation.
[4] Orig.: ある特定の言葉遣い（語彙・語法・言い回し・イントネーション等）を聞くと特定の人物像（年齢、性別、職業、階層、時代、容姿・風貌、性格等）を思い浮かべることができるとき、あるいはある特定の人物像を提示されると、その人物がいかにも使用しそうな言葉遣いを思い浮かべることができるとき、その言葉遣いを「役割語」と呼ぶ。

and occupation. These traits are usually reflected in characters' speech by means of stylization and role language.

But it also should be emphasized that speech is not the only factor influencing a character's image. Therefore, an analysis of only role language implementation is a partial analysis of a character's image as a whole (Bun 2018: 36). However, this is not to say that such an analysis is pointless, on the contrary, it may show interesting interdependencies and/or discrepancies between a character's actions and their speech, thus rendering a more complex character image.

Another interesting matter is whether role language is added into Japanese translations of texts written in other languages, particularly those languages which do not have a similarly functioning role language of their own, such as Polish or English. This paper compares the Polish original of Andrzej Sapkowski's *Chrzest Ognia*, the fifth part[5] of *The Witcher* saga, with the Japanese translation, and focuses on the dialogue parts of Maria Barring, known as Milva.

However, before the reasons for choosing this particular character and the analysis itself are presented, characteristic features of Andrzej Sapkowski's writing style in *The Witcher* saga should be briefly described.

Andrzej Sapkowski's Language in *The Witcher*

Andrzej Sapkowski, a Polish fantasy writer, is well-known for his peculiar use of language in his novels and short stories. This is how Tomasz Pindel (2019) describes Sapkowski's style in his on-line article for the *Przekrój* magazine:

> The expression which immediately comes to my mind when I think about *The Witcher* prose is "juiciness". Sapkowski uses a very rich Polish, builds original sentences, pays attention to lexical subtleties. What's more, he shows incredible eloquence in his implementation of various registers. A perfect example is the complex scene opening the first [sic] volume of the saga, namely *Blood of Elves* (…) And every race, nation, [social] class, and sex speaks a different language: mages [speak] scholarly, elves courtly, dwarves are bawdy, merchants direct, and peasants speak their local jargon. These several pages

[5] Counting *Ostatnie życzenie* (*The Last Wish*) as volume one, and *Miecz Przeznaczenia* (*Sword of Destiny*) as volume two.

> perfectly show the author's linguistic virtuosity and incredible ear[.]

Pindel also points out how impactful Sapkowski's dialogues are:

> Dialogues are Sapkowski's actual secret weapon: perfectly written, dynamic, introducing the reader into the represented world in such a way that next pages simply flow by. (ibid.)

Language in dialogues is particularly interesting from the point of view of *yakuwarigo* implementation in the Japanese translation. And it is the dialogues in *The Witcher* which contain the most numerous examples of linguistic stylization. Sapkowski introduces many neologisms into his books, the most significant of which is the titular *witcher* – Pol. *wiedźmin*. Other neologisms (mainly the names of monsters) include such words as *mimik*, *mglak*, *przeraza*, [6] etc. (cf. Dziwisz 2013). There are also borrowings from other languages, e.g. *bruxa*, *ghul*, *Kelpie*[7] (Mucha 2015: 63). The author puts numerous jokes and humorous expressions into his characters' mouths, as well as into the descriptive parts. Moreover, Sapkowski does not refrain from using vulgarisms. But the most significant feature of his style in *The Witcher* saga is the use of archaisms. Joanna Kaczerzewska (2016: 62) categorizes Sapkowski's archaization as partial:

> It is intense only in the parts which imitate written sources and in dialogues of some of the characters. Usually it is mild, but it is not present in all narrated parts, or in every dialogue or monologue. The narrator often refrains from using archaisms when he wants to speed up the action. He usually does not archaize the language of educated characters or those from upper classes in society[;] there are also parts written in an altogether modern language – scientific and technical.

[6] *Mimik* (a creature who can copy both the physical and psychological features of people and animals) is most likely derived from the word *mim* 'mime artist' or *mimika* 'facial expression'; *mglak* (a magical monster living in the swamp) is derived from *mgła* 'fog'; *przeraza* (a magically created monster which lives in the desert) is derived from *przerażać* 'to frighten' (Dziwisz 2013).

[7] *Bruxa* (a type of vampire) is borrowed from Hispanic legends; *ghul* (a monster feeding on dead bodies) is inspired by Muslim mythology; *Kelpie* (the name Ciri gave to her horse, based on the horse's resemblance to a water creature called *kelpie*) is borrowed from Celtic myths (Mucha 2015: 63).

What is interesting is that Sapkowski uses archaization as a form of substitution – it represents what the fictional language spoken in the saga's fictional world might be like if translated into Polish (ibid. 63). Moreover, archaization serves as an invocation of "aesthetic qualities which are widely recognisable and appreciated – a stereotype of an old language" (ibid. 65).

Maria Barring

Many of Sapkowski's stylistic features meet in the character of Maria Barring, or Milva, as she is usually called by others. Although she accompanies Geralt (the title character) on his search for Ciri (the lost princess of Cintra and Geralt's ward), she is not a primary character. Uneducated and raised in the woods, she is very direct, one might even say blunt. Her language contains archaic and vulgar expressions, which often creates comical effects. She speaks in an easily recognisable manner, and the parts of free indirect speech focusing on her are characteristic of her voice as well.

Milva's manner of speaking is the primary reason why this particular character had been selected for analysis. Another reason, closely connected with the first one, is the fact that she is neither one of the protagonists, who tend to use fewer role language expressions, nor one of the episodic characters, who tend to be stereotypical and therefore use appropriate *yakuwarigo* (if they speak at all) (Kinsui 2017 as cited in: Bun 2018: 34). Milva can be classified as a "class 2" (*kurasu 2* クラス２) character, defined by Kinsui as follows:

> [They] can be described as individualistic, but their psychological depiction is less evolved than that of the class 1 characters, and they manifest themselves as "others". (…) From the point of view of language, it often happens that [these characters] use typical *yakuwarigo* (including standard language), and yet on the other hand, it may also happen that their language departs from, or overlaps with the usual *yakuwarigo*, or they may even speak in such a unique way that there are no pre-existing examples [of that speech]. (ibid.)[8]

[8] Orig.; 個性的であるが、内面描写はクラス 1 の人物よりも少なく、「他者」として立ち現れる人物たちであると言える。（中略）言葉の面では、典型的な役割語（標準語を含

Milva is, indeed, an individualistic character, and although she is as much of a companion and friend to Geralt as Regis, Jaskier and, further on, Cahir, it could be argued that she is in the position of "other". She provides her own views or pieces of advice, but the story does not focus on her experiences or her psychological development.
From the point of view of *yakuwarigo* implementation analysis, it may be expected that – since she is a class 2 character – in the Japanese translation there will appear at least some expressions which would reinforce her image as depicted in the Polish original. This makes Milva a suitable choice for analysis (cf. Bun 2018: 34-35).

Model of Analysis
This article uses a similar approach to that presented in Bun (2018). Bun's model is based on Nida's concept of equivalence and Coșeriu's concept of "meaning"[9] understood as the character image (*jinbutsuzō* 人物像). In this model, the speech of a given character in the source language text is analysed, yielding this character's image. Then the speech of the same character in the target language is analysed, yielding the character image in the target language. In the final stage, both character images are compared in order to see whether the transfer of information between languages (images) took place, and if so, to what extent (ibid. 33-35).
Bun's analysis is quantitative. However, due to the lack of the *yakuwarigo* concept in Polish, this paper puts more emphasis on a qualitative analysis, comparing the overall image of Milva as presented in the dialogues, not the number of stylized expressions to the number of *yakuwarigo*. However, the number of stylized expressions does influence the intensity with which character features are presented, therefore the quantitative approach will not be altogether dismissed.
The analysis of the original Polish version focuses primarily on archaisms, vulgarisms and the comic quality of language.

Milva vs *Miruva*
Below there are analyses and comparisons of Milva's character image in selected passages containing her dialogue from the Polish original, *Chrzest*

む）が用いられる場合が多いが、一方で、通常の役割語からずらしたり、重ねたり、あるいはまったくそれまでに例のないユニークな話し方をさせる場合もある。
[9] In Bun, *igi* 意義 is defined as "the content which is particularly included in the text by intention" (テクストに特別に意図してこめられた内容) (2018: 29).

Ognia (further abbreviated to *CO*), with corresponding passages from the Japanese translation, *Honō-no Senrei* 炎の洗礼 (further abbreviated to *HS*) by Yasuko Kawano.

The first passage comes from the scene where the dryad healer Aglaïs asks Milva to gather for Geralt some information concerning Ciri after the rebellion on Thanedd Island:

(1a): – Wieści ze świata? Chybaś rozum **straciła**[10], dziwożono! Czy ty wiesz, co teraz dzieje się na świecie, za granicami twojego spokojnego lasu? W Aedirn trwa wojna! W Brugge, w Temerii i w Redanii zamęt, piekło, wielkie łowy! Za tymi, co rebelię wszczęli na Thanedd, gonią wszędy! Wszędy pełno szpiegów i an'givare, jedno słowo nieraz wystarczy **uronić**, usta **skrzywić**, gdy nie trza, i już kat ci w lochu czerwonym żelazem **zaświeci**! A ja na przeszpiegi mam **chodzić**, dopytywać się, wieści **zbierać**? Karku **nadstawiać**? I dla kogo? Dla jakiegoś półżywego wiedźmina? A co to on mi, brat albo swat? Iście rozumu **zbyłaś**, Aglaïs! (*CO*: 8)[11]

All underlined expressions are examples of archaisms (cf. Kaczerzewska 2016). Moreover, there are eight examples of archaic word order, in which the verb (in bold) comes after the object (SOV), as opposed to the unmarked SVO word order. The archaic SOV word order may be considered a characteristic feature of Milva's speech, since she uses it on numerous occasions. As mentioned above, archaization is a feature of the common, uneducated people, so from Milva's very first conversation it is implied in her speech that she is not educated. She also seems to be very direct in expressing her views. In this particular passage Milva is agitated and angry.

Below is the corresponding passage in Japanese:

(1b): 「世界の動向？頭がどうかしたんじゃない**の**？いま世界で、この静かな森の向こうで何が起こってるか知ってる？エイダーンは戦のまっただなかだ！ブルッゲ、テメリア、レダニアは大混乱で、人が山ほど殺されてる！サ

[10] All underlined (also underlined) fragments and bolded expressions in the quoted passages are marked by the Author.

[11] The English translation of this passage is on page 74-75.

ネッド島で反乱を起こした者たちがしらみつぶしに追われてる！密偵とアン＝ギヴァレ―密告者―がうようよしてて、ひとことでも口をすべらせたり顔をしかめる時機を間違えたりしたら、死刑執行人が赤く焼けた鉄ごてを持って待ち構える地下牢に入れられるかもしれない！そんなときにあたりを嗅ぎまわって、人にたずねまわって情報を集めるっていう**の**？この首を賭けて？それも誰のために？どこかの死にかけのウィッチャーのため？あいつが**あたし**の何だっていうの？**あたし**の血と肉体にとって？完全にどうかしてる**よ**、アグレイ」(*HS*: 16)

What immediately draws attention is the lack of archaization – Milva here speaks like a modern woman. What is emphasized in the role language of Milva in Japanese translation is her gender (bolded here). She uses the first-person pronoun *atashi* あたし, used by women, therefore clearly an instance of *onna kotoba* 女ことば, and sentence-ending particles: *yo* よ and *no* の. The particles themselves seem slightly feminine/neutral, and the lack of particles after numerous instances of sentence-ending plain form give a neutral impression. The pronoun may be an expression of not only gender identity, but also the type of distance between her and Aglaïs – or, in fact, everyone, as Milva always uses it to refer to herself. Interestingly, throughout the novel she does not change her register depending on who she talks to. Even when she talks to Lady Eithné, the ruler of Brokilon, Milva speaks in plain form, shortening the distance between her and her interlocutor, which emphasizes her directness.

The underlined contracted forms, although a characteristic feature of plain, casual language, do not imply Milva's social background, as they are not an element of speech characteristic for peasants or uneducated people in the Japanese translation of the saga. It is usually the dwarves, bawdy and direct, who tend to use contracted forms. Therefore, it may be said that, similarly to the plain form, contractions imply Milva's directness and add some roughness to her image.

What is more, in the Polish original Milva addresses Aglaïs in the vocative case of the noun *dziwożona*. Sapkowski seems to put the word in his characters' mouths as a synonym to the word *driada* 'dryad', but often with some negative connotations, because *dziwożona* means 'a wild wife/woman' and it is a name for a malicious creature from Slavic

mythology (Dźwigoł 2004: 173). Therefore, Milva may sound insulting to her listener. However, there is no similar expression in the Japanese translation.

Comparing the two passages, it is clear that an important characteristic feature of Milva is missing from the Japanese translation, namely her social background. However, the Polish original does not imply her slightly bawdy side yet, and it may be said that the Japanese text does so by means of association with other characters. In both passages Milva is direct, rough, and sounds angry.

Another passage is a short dialogue between Milva and Geralt after she helps him and Jaskier[12] to escape from a life-threatening situation:

(2a): – Kto on zacz? (…) Druh twój, wiedźminie?
– Tak. Nazywa się Jaskier. Jest poetą.
– Poeta (…) Kiedy tak, tedy pojmuję. Jeśli czego nie pojmuję, to czemu on tu rzyga, miast gdzie w cichości rymy pisać. Nie moja zresztą rzecz. (*CO*: 58)[13]

This short passage also contains archaic forms, such as *tedy* 'then', or *miast* 'instead', and an instance of the SOV word order (indicated by the position of the verb *pisać*). There are two interesting places underlined. One of them is a question about Jaskier's identity: *Kto on zacz?* It is, indeed, archaic, but to the modern Polish reader it may also seem "bookish", because it sometimes appears in literary texts, often in humorous situations. As such, this expression emphasizes the comical quality of the first meeting between Milva and Jaskier. The other underlined place does this, too. The humour stems from the contrast between reality (Jaskier throwing up beside dead bodies) and Milva's stereotypical expectations of what a poet does or should be doing. The comical quality is further highlighted by the use of archaisms and the expression *w cichości* 'in silence' – which, similarly to *kto on zacz*, nowadays appears in the literary style only – and is contrasted with the colloquial *rzyga* 'throw up'.

There appears a new feature in Milva's character image, namely humour. Here, however, it is not an intended joke on Milva's side – she remains serious, though her words may amuse the reader.

Below is the Japanese translation of this dialogue:

[12] In the English translations Jaskier's name is translated into Dandelion.
[13] The English translation of this passage is on page 75.

(2b): 「誰？ (…) **あんた**の連れ、ウィッチャー？」
「ああ。名前はダンディリオン。詩人だ。」
「詩人か (…) それはわかる。わからないのは、なんで詩人がどこか静かな場所で詩を書かずにこんなところで吐いてるかだ。ま、**あたし**には関係ないけど」(*HS*: 94)

Bolded here are two personal pronouns: *atashi* あたし, which also appears in the passage (1b), and the second-person pronoun *anata* あなた in its colloquial form *anta* あんた. Similarly to *atashi* あたし and plain forms, *anta* あんた implies the direct attitude that Milva takes towards others, as she usually uses this pronoun to address her interlocutors.
The element of humour analysed in the passage (2a) appears in the translation as well, because it is based on the contrast between reality and expectation. The use of the underlined negation *kakazu-ni* 書かずに, which is characteristic of the formal, written style (thus functioning in a similar manner as Pol. *w cichości*) adds to the comic quality of Milva's utterance. However, it can be argued that due to the lack of archaic expressions the humour is not as strongly emphasized (therefore, may not be as amusing) as in the Polish original. Nevertheless, Milva's character image created in the Japanese translation is also enriched by another feature, which is humour.
The third passage is a conversation between Jaskier and Milva in which the poet praises the archeress's skills:

(3a): – O mnie gadasz, poeto? Czego się we mnie wpatrujesz, ledwie się odwrócę? Ptak mi na plecy **nasrał**?
– Wciąż nie możemy się nadziwić twemu łuczniczemu kunsztowi (…) Na zawodach strzeleckich mało znalazłabyś konkurentów.
– Baju, baju.
– Czytałem (…) że najlepsze łuczniczki spotkać można wśród Zerrikanek, w stepowych klanach. Niektóre podobno obcinają sobie lewe piersi, by nie wadziły im w napinaniu łuków. Biust, powiadają, wchodzi w paradę cięciwie.
– Musiał to jakiś poeta wydumać (…) Siada taki i wypisuje osielstwa, pióro w nocniku maczając, a głupie ludzie wierzą. Co to, cyckami się strzela, czy jak? Do gęby się cięciwę dociąga, bokiem stojąc, o, tak. Nic cięciwie nie zawadza. O tym obcinaniu

> to durnota, wymysł głowy próżniaczej, której wiecznie aby babskie cycki na myśli. (*CO*: 66-67)[14]

As expected, this passage also contains archaisms, e.g. *dumać* ‘to think’, *osielstwa* ‘stupid things’; and the SOV word order, which are characteristic of Milva’s speech. There is also an additional humorous element when Milva uses the ungrammatical form *głupie ludzie* ‘stupid people’ instead of *głupi ludzie*, treating the masculine plural personal noun *ludzie* as non-masculine plural, such as *wiśnie* ‘cherries’, *grodzie* ‘bulkheads’, *łodzie* ‘boats’ etc. The grammatical error implies Milva’s uneducated background as well.

Moreover, there appear colloquial expressions (underlined): *gadać* ‘to talk’, *gęba* ‘gob, kisser’, *cycek* ‘tit’, *babski* ‘that of a woman’, all of which have more or less derogatory meaning; to some readers, *cycek* may even sound vulgar[15]. There is also the bolded vulgarism *nasrać* ‘to shit’. All these expressions convey Milva’s rather simple nature (as opposed to Jaskier’s fancier one) and bluntness, maybe even crudeness. She may be perceived as rough and even a little masculine due to the use of derogatory colloquialisms and vulgarisms. This is not to say that Sapkowski’s female characters do not usually use such words – they do – but all in all, they come across as more feminine than Milva.

It is important to notice that Milva, although serious and slightly indignant, may be perceived as amusing in her speech, particularly due to the contrast with learned Jaskier, who uses more or less sophisticated expressions in this dialogue, and does not use archaisms or dialects unless he portrays or mimics somebody.

The Japanese translation of this dialogue is as follows:

(3b): 「あたしの話、詩人さん？あたしが背を向けたとたん何をじっと見てんの？鳥が**糞**でも落とした？」
「きみの弓の腕には驚いた (…) 弓術大会では敵なしだろうね」
「はい、はい。そんな話は前にも聞いた」
「最高の女射手はゼリカニア草原の種族にいると前にどこかで読んだことがある (…) 弓を引くときの邪魔にならなよ

[14] The English translation of this passage is on page 75-76.

[15] However, Doroszewski’s online version of *Słownik języka polskiego PWN* (http://doroszewski.pwn.pl/haslo/cycek/) dictionary does not categorize it as a vulgarism.

う、左胸を切除する者もいるそうだ。聞くところによると胸は弦の邪魔になるとか」
「そんなのどっかの詩人の妄想だ (…) 椅子に座って、おまるに羽根ペンを浸してそんなたわごとを書いて、どこかのバカがそれを信じる。あたしが矢を射るのに胸を使うと思う？矢を射るときは、こんなふうに顔の横に当てて弦を口もとまで引くんだ。弦を邪魔するものは何もない。片胸を切るなんて話は女の裸のことしか頭にない、どこかのバカが考えついたほら話だ」(*HS*: 106)

Here are underlined and bolded the expressions which correspond to the ones marked in the Polish text. Among the underlined words there is one which might be perceived as derogatory, namely *onna no hadaka* 女の裸 'naked woman'. The remaining words are neutral in meaning; moreover, *mune* 胸 'breast, chest' seems to be a somewhat "roundabout" expression in comparison with the Polish *cycki*. As a result, in Japanese translation of dialogues blunt Milva loses some of her roughness and crudeness. Yet, she does use a vulgarism. What is more, the use of *da* だ and *n da* んだ (underlined), which are characteristic of *otoko kotoba* 男ことば 'men language', creates an image of a slightly more masculine Milva, which corresponds to her image in the Polish text. However, there is hardly any difference in this passage between her style and Jaskier's.
The last passage analysed here comes from the later part of the book. Geralt and his companions: Milva, Jaskier, Regis and Cahir, have a lengthy – and learned – discussion about the numerous myths and superstitions surrounding vampires. After Regis, a vampire, explains the reasons why humans perceive vampires' incredible regeneration skills as a horrifying aberration, Milva replies:

(4a): – **Gówno** z tego wszystkiego rozumiem (…)Wżdy pojmuję, że o bajkach gadacie, a bajki przecie i ja znam, chociażem głupia dziewka z lasu. Wielce mnie dziwuje, że ty się wcale słońca nie lękasz, Regis. W bajkach słońce wampira na popiół pali. Mam li i to między bajki włożyć? (*CO*: 289-290)[16]

[16] The English translation of this passage is on page 76.

In this short utterance there are numerous examples of features characteristic of Milva's speech: a vulgarism (bolded) *gówno* 'shit'; archaisms (underlined), e.g. *wżdy* 'after all', *przecie* 'surely, indeed', *chociażem* 'although [I am]', the SOV word order (not marked), etc.; colloquialisms (underlined): *gadać* 'to talk', and a derogatory *dziewka* 'girl'. Here Milva directly states that she is an uneducated girl who was brought up in the woods (*głupia dziewka z lasu*, lit. 'a stupid lass from the woods'), although this is not the first time she says so.

The example (4a) is a good summary of how Milva talks; one can say that it conveys a comprehensive character image of the archeress: a blunt, direct, uneducated young woman who is not afraid to say what is on her mind or admit that she does not understand something; someone who, due to the use of archaisms, can be easily contrasted with her interlocutors, which often results in humorous situations. This humour may not be a part of the plot itself (her way of speaking is not necessarily amusing to other characters, although the content of her utterances, e.g. her jokes, may be); it is often a rhetorical device used by the writer to entertain his readers rather than the characters in his novels.

Below is the corresponding passage in Japanese:

(4b): 「なんの話かてんでわかんないけど (…) **あんた**がおとぎ話のことを話してるのはわかる。森育ちのバカ女でもおとぎ話くらい知ってる。だから、**あんた**が太陽を恐れないのが不思議だ、レジス。おとぎ話では、吸血鬼は太陽に当たると灰になる。これもやっぱりただの作り話？」(*HS*: 452)

Bolded here is the second-person pronoun *anta* あんた, which has been analysed in the previous passage (2b). Underlined are instances of contracted forms, characteristic of Milva's speech in Japanese: *wakannai* わかんない 'to not understand', *hanashiteru* 話してる 'to be talking', *shitteru* 知ってる 'to know'; there is also an instance of a plain copula *da* だ more typical for male speech (underlined). Similarly to the Polish passage, (4b) is a good summary example of Milva's speaking style – she is presented as direct, open and slightly masculine, which describes her well as a character.

It is important to point out that there are fewer examples of marked elements in (4b) than in (4a). This, however, is consistent with the other Japanese examples analysed in this paper. From the quantitative point of

view, the Japanese translation has fewer instances of what may function as role language in comparison with the number of stylistic and rhetorical devices implemented by Sapkowski to make his characters recognizable and memorable. It may be said that this weakens the character image of Milva in the Japanese text – she does not use as many vulgarisms or derogatory expressions – but it does not change it to such an extent that she is difficult to recognize among other speakers. Still, one can say that there are no unmistakeable markers of her background, as there are no functional equivalents to Polish archaisms in the Japanese text. This further influences the comical quality that her speech may have from the perspective of the reader. Since there is not much of a contrast between her and other characters, Milva does not stand out as significantly, which does not produce as strong a humorous effect as in the Polish original.

Since role language plays an important role in building character image, one might expect that the speech of a character as vivid as Milva would be substantially marked in the Japanese text. However, one can argue that it is the opposite – she seems to be more neutral.

The reason behind Milva's weaker character image may lay in the fact that the translator, Yasuko Kawano, specializes in translating English literature. Therefore, although it is not explicitly stated by the publisher, it is highly probable that the Japanese translation is based not on the Polish original, but on its English translation.

English Milva

Below is a brief analysis of the English passages corresponding to the ones discussed above. All examples come from *Baptism of Fire* (further abbreviated to *BF*) translated by David French.

The first passage is as follows:

(1c): 'Tidings from the world? Have you lost your mind, dryad? Do you know what is happening in the world now, beyond the borders of your tranquil forest? A war is raging in Aedirn! Brugge, Temeria and Redania are reduced to havoc, hell, and much slaughter! Those who instigated the rebellion on Thanedd are being hunted high and low! There are spies and an'givare – informers – everywhere; it's sometimes sufficient to let slip a single word, make a face at the wrong moment, and you'll meet the hangman's red-hot iron in the dungeon! And you want me to creep around spying, asking questions, gathering information?

> Risking my neck? And for whom? For some half-dead witcher? And who is he to me? My own flesh and blood? You've truly taken leave of your senses, Aglaïs.' (*BF*)

Milva presented here does sound angry. She also uses an addressative expression towards Aglaïs (underlined), but calling her a dryad is not as derogatory as calling someone a "wild woman" (orig. *dziwożona*). Other than that there are no expressions which would help create a character image more complex than "angry" and "direct" (which is a feature stemming from the content of Milva's utterance rather than from any linguistic features, as it is the case in Japanese and, to some extent, in Polish).
The second passage is similar to (1c) in lacking any significant markers which would inform the reader about Milva's background:

(2c): 'Who's that? (…) A comrade of yours, Witcher?'
> 'Yes. His name's Dandelion. He's a poet.'
> 'A poet, (…) That I can understand. But I don't quite understand why he's puking here, instead of writing rhymes in a quiet spot somewhere. But I suppose that's none of my business.' (*BF*)

The situational humour is present in this passage as well; it is also emphasized by the informal word *puke* (underlined). However, there is no contrast between this colloquial word and literary expressions, as it is the case in (2a) and (2b), because there are no such expressions. So far, Milva is a rather bland character who is difficult to recognize by speech alone.
Below is the third passage:

(3c): 'Are you talking about me, poet? What are you staring at as soon as my back's turned? Has a bird **shat** on me?'
> 'We are amazed by your archery skills. (…) You wouldn't find much competition at an archery tournament.'
> 'Yes, yes, I've heard it all before, and the rest.'
> 'I've read (…) that the best archeresses can be found among the Zerrikanian steppe clans. I gather that some even cut off their left breast, so it won't interfere when they draw the bow. Their breast, they say, gets in the way of the bowstring.'
> 'Some poet must have dreamed that up (…) He sits down and writes twaddle like that, dipping his quill in a chamber pot, and

> foolish people believe it. Think I use my **tits** to shoot with, do you? You pull the bowstring back to your kisser, standing side on, like this. Nothing snags on the bowstring. All that talk of cutting off a **tit** is hogwash, thought up by some layabout with nothing but women's bodies on the brain.' (*BF*)

This passage shines more light on Milva's character image. There appear vulgarisms (bolded) and an old-fashioned *kisser* (underlined). Slightly contrasted with Jaskier, Milva does sound more blunt, perhaps even crude. However, compared to the information included in the Polish or Japanese versions, Milva is still not a very vivid character in terms of speech, but she is not as bland as in the previous examples. Humour is also included, although it stems more from the content of the dialogue itself rather than stylistic features.

Examples (4a) and (4b) included numerous expressions portraying Milva's character image. In comparison, the corresponding English passage is not as rich, but still serves as a good summary of Milva's features as presented in David French's translation:

(4c): 'I don't understand **fuck** all (…) I hear you're talking about fairy-tales, and even I know fairy-tales, though I'm a foolish wench from the forest. So it astonishes me that you aren't afraid of the sun, Regis. In fairy-tales sunlight burns a vampire to ash. Should I lump it together with the other fairy-tales?' (*BF*)

The bolded vulgarism *fuck* and underlined old-fashioned expression *wench* imply an all in all blunt, crude Milva with a not-very-strong tendency to use old expressions. It can be said that her character image in the English translation is the weakest of the three presented here.

If the English translation was, indeed, the source text for the Japanese one, the relatively low number of stylized expressions is not surprising. On the contrary, it seems that Milva's character image was strengthened in the Japanese version; however, both translations lack a crucial feature of Milva's speech, namely archaisms.

Conclusions

It is not surprising that the most complex and accurate character image of Milva based on speech only is presented in the Polish original. Sapkowski implemented archaisms, vulgarisms, and colloquialisms in order to create a

convincing character of a blunt, uneducated archeress raised in the woods, who directly expresses her opinions. Milva's characteristic speech, particularly when contrasted with how other characters talk, may sound amusing to the reader, thus increasing comical quality in a given scene.

The character image presented in the Japanese translation is not as strong as the Polish one, although it includes most of Milva's features. However, her speech lacks a crucial piece of information, namely Milva's background. The implementation of role language, although not as frequent as one might expect, does help create a convincing and quite accurate image of Milva.

It should also be noted that the English translation of the saga may be the source text for the Japanese translation. This might explain the relatively low implementation of role language, because, among the three texts, David French's version presents the weakest character image of Milva. This is not to say that the translator omitted role language elements on purpose or due to his insufficient competence; scarcity of *yakuwarigo* may also result from systemic differences between languages.

The analysis presented in this paper was limited to one book in the saga only; moreover, the Author chose passages which can be perceived as highly representative of Milva's speech in Polish and then compared them with corresponding passages in Japanese and English. Therefore, the questions concerning character image accuracy and role language implementation in the Japanese translation of *The Witcher* saga still remain open, although with some preliminary answers concerning Milva. Much more extensive research can also be conducted on the character image of other characters, especially those who can be categorized as class 2, e.g. Regis, Jaskier, or Zoltan Chivay, as they seem to be of particular interest in terms of research on language stylization in dialogue and its translation.

Abbreviations

CO – Chrzest Ognia
HS – Honō-no Senrei
BF – Baptism of Fire

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The Importance of Style in Sōseki's *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru*

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the mosaic of styles in Natsume Sōseki's *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru* (*I Am a Cat*, 1905-1906). It focuses on the meaning and connotations of the first-person pronoun in the title, analyses the characteristics of the narrator's expression and its development in the novel, and traces the elements of parody in the manner other cat characters echo human speech. It suggests that in discussing the complex linguistic structure of Sōseki's novel it may be more effective to use the concept of style and stylization rather than that of *yakuwarigo*.

KEYWORDS: *Wagahai-wa neko de aru*, Sōseki, stylization, parody, humour

Introduction: On Style in Fiction

The language of fictional characters is one means of showing what the fictional world is about and readers usually build up their expectations with regards to who speaks how in a novel, although it cannot be measured against any real-life situation. In fictional speech, the creative and the mimetic are thus blended together but hardly ever do we, readers, expect the language to be a one-to-one reflection of reality. Nor is it the first wish of novelists to make the characters in their novels repeat the exact words which are expected in a given situation outside of the fictional world. Even realistic novels are creative in their use of language and "often a considered judgment on distinguished literary renderings of the spoken word (e.g. in the work of great nineteenth-century novelists) is that they aspire not so much to realism as to a superior expressiveness of the kind which we do not ordinarily achieve in real life" (Leech and Short 2007: 134). Hence the expressiveness even in the nineteenth-century realistic novels mentioned in the quotation remains tenable, or at least admissible.

The fictional speech may be appealing precisely because it is more vivid and memorable than reality while remaining relatable for its readers. It may "aspire to a special kind of realism, a special kind of authenticity, in representing the kind of language which a reader can recognise, by observation, as being characteristic of a particular situation." (ibid. 129) Often writers resort to stylisation when exploring the characteristics of

languages and variants commonly associated with a certain period in history, a given region, social or ethnic community, a literary movement, or another writer's style (mostly in the form of a pastiche). They do not refrain from creating idiolects for their characters either.

The stylisation may, to a certain degree, be associated with what has been termed as "role languages" or *yakuwarigo*, i.e. assortments of linguistic characteristics on the levels of phonetics, prosody, vocabulary or grammar that can be linked with a certain type of stereotypical linguistic behaviour or role (Kinsui 2003: 105). The interest of *yakuwarigo*, however, lies primarily in associating particular linguistic features of a character's speech with stereotypical social roles. The most distinctive features of *yakuwarigo* include: first-person pronoun (*washi*, *atashi*, *ore*), aspect form (*te oru*, *te iru*, *teru*), and final particle (i.e. *zo*, *wa*, *ze*) (Kinsui and Yamakido 2015: 30). Contrary to the main focus of *yakuwarigo*, stylisation explores its inherent dialogism which consists in different types of speech contrasted with and reinterpreting one another (Głowiński et al. 1976: 427-428). Therefore, although Natsume Sōseki's much-debated *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru* 吾輩は猫である (*I Am a Cat*, 1905-1906) may be read in the context of *yakuwarigo*, in this paper, it is suggested that the notions of style (as defined in the previously mentioned work by Głowiński et al.) and genres give more justice to the creativity, interrelatedness and parodic quality of the languages used by the characters in the novel.

Mosaic of Styles in *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru*

Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) was well aware of the existence of various traditions in fiction writing, both in and outside Japan. His novel – *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru* (*I Am a Cat*, 1905-1906) – which is said to have triggered his literary career[1] – was first published in instalments in "Hototogisu" ホトトギス ('The Cuckoo'), a literary journal associated with *haiku* and *shasei* sketching. Before the novel appeared Sōseki also wrote poetry and sketches in Chinese and Japanese. He also published in "Hototogisu" his observations and sketches revolving around his two-year stay in England from 1900 till 1902: *Rondon Shōsoku* 倫敦消息 (*Letters from London*, 1901) – originally addressed to Masaoka Shiki, Sōseki's friend, haiku poet and editor (together with Takahama Kyoshi) of "Hototogisu", and *Jitensha Nikki* 自転車日記 (*Bicycle Diary*, 1903), the

[1] It is even claimed that with the very first sentence of the novel Sōseki – the writer was born. See: Izu 1988: 57.

humorous account of Sōseki's attempt to learn how to ride a bicycle. *I Am a Cat* was written after Kyoshi had asked Sōseki to present something similar in style.

Sōseki, a graduate of English literature studies at Imperial University in Tokyo and an avid reader throughout his lifetime, was extremely well-read in Chinese, Japanese and English literatures, and very well acquainted with the Victorian novel. In his *Bungakuron* 文学論 ('Theory of Literature', 1907), he referred to William Makepeace Thackeray, Charles Dickens and George Eliot, among others. He appreciated Jane Austen, and he also discussed in lectures and essays the eighteenth-century novels by Daniel Defoe and Laurence Sterne. All of this proves his avid interest in the genre. In *I Am a Cat* Sōseki explores the techniques of *shaseibun* 写生文 depiction and of *rakugo* 落語, the popular art of comic storytelling performed on stage. It is commonly known that originally the text was meant as a short humorous sketch, but the readers' positive response triggered a much longer narration consisting of eleven long chapters. Sōseki's novel, while reflecting the Japanese narrative traditions, also echoes the tradition of the English satire, with Jonathan Swift as its prominent representative, and the voice of the cat narrator brings associations with E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*. Just like Katt Murr, the nameless cat in Sōseki's novel observes the world of people and describes it in human language. The first title suggested by Sōseki to Kyoshi was *Neko Den* 猫伝 *A Cat's Story*, but it was later changed and became a simple sentence: *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru*, which is also the opening sentence of the novel (Nakano 2007: 71).

I Am a Cat

Sōseki began his novel with two simple sentences, of which the first became the famous title:

> *Wagahai-wa neko de aru. Namae-wa mada nai.*
> 吾輩は猫である。名前はまだ無い。(Sōseki 2006: 7)
> I am a cat. As yet I have no name. (Sōseki 2002: 15)

The juxtaposition of a common animal with a rather unexpected first-person singular pronoun attracts the readers' attention from the beginning[2]. Yoko Matsuoka McClain emphasises that it was usually politicians, bureaucrats or scholars who referred to themselves as "wagahai" and the pronoun combined arrogance "with a certain affectation" (Matsuoka McClain 2006: 19). The pronoun appears in Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Tōsei Shosei Katagi* 当世書生気質 (*The Character of Today's Students*, 1885-1886), where it is used by students who view themselves as representatives of the country's intellectual elite, as well as in Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* 浮雲 (*Drifting Clouds*, 1887), where it is also used by the characters who think highly of themselves. Mikołaj Melanowicz indicates that the pronoun was also used as plural "by men from the haikai poetry circles" (Melanowicz 2006: 22).
Interestingly, Sōseki also used the pronoun with reference to himself in *Rondon Shōsoku*:

> 吾輩は日本におっても交際はいだ。まして西洋へ来て無弁舌なる英語でもって窮窟(きゅうくつ)な交際をやるのはもっとも厭(きら)いだ。(Sōseki 2011b: 654)

> I am someone who does not like socializing even when in Japan. Coming to the West and attempting to socialize awkwardly in broken English is something I positively loathe. (Sōseki 2005: 57)

In *Jitensha Nikki* a similarly self-ironic use of "wagahai" may be found:

> かようなとっさの際には命が大事だから退却にしようか落車にしようかなどの分別は、さすがの吾輩にも出なかったと見えて、おやと思ったら身体はもう落ちておった (Sōseki 2011a: 694)

> At such instant preserving one's life is the main thing and, without contemplating whether to retreat of fall off, my body has already let out an 'eek!' and fallen. (Sōseki 2005: 87)

[2] Many writers imitated Sōseki's formula, including Hosaka Kiichi in *Wagahai-no Mitaru Amerika* (*The America the Cat Saw*, 1918) and Uchida Hyakken's *Gansaku Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru* (*Counterfeit: I Am a Cat*, 1949). See: Nagayama 1998: 212; Kawana 2010:1.

In the case of *Jitensha Nikki*, the use of "wagahai" is without doubt stylistically motivated as these are the only instances where this pronoun appears. Throughout the text, Sōseki uses more common *yo* 余:

> 忘月忘日　例の自転車を抱いて坂の上に控えたる余は徐(おもむ)ろに眼(め)を放(ほう)って遥(はる)かあなたの下を見廻す (Sōseki 2011a: 686)
>
> A certifiable day in a certifiable month. Holding my bicycle, I wait at the top of the slope and slowly let my eyes roam around a far distance below. (Sōseki 2005: 80)

In *I Am a Cat*, the use of "wagahai" also has a comic effect. Self-applied by a little nameless cat, it highlights the discrepancy between the nature of the first-person narrator and the language he uses, which is not only human but also tinged with a sense of aloofness. Matsuoka McClain summarises his situation as follows: "And here's a cat, abandoned by his original owner, exhausted and starving but finally adopted because of his persistence, still referring to himself as »wagahai«" (Matsuoka McClain 2006: 19). The distance of superiority towards the depicted reality, which is thus expressed by the cat-narrator, helps the readers find even the most rigid criticism laughable.

The proud and distanced character of cat's narration is additionally strengthened by the fact that his master uses in his diaries *yo* 余 – the first-person pronoun which is still rather formal, used traditionally by men, but is definitely less haughty: 余は年来の胃弱を直すために出来得る限りの方法を講じて見たがすべて駄目である, Sōseki 2006: 36 ('I have tried every possible means to cure my ancient ailment, but all of them are useless' Sōseki 2002: 40). The narrator's first-person pronoun is also used to distinguish him from the other cats in the neighbourhood.

The frequently self-ironic use of "wagahai" in Sōseki's sketches published before his famous novel encourages a connection between his own voice and the voice of the cat he created. Izu also emphasises this correspondence:

> If one changes the perspective, the sentence "Wagahai-wa neko de aru" may refer also to the author who wears a high-collar shirt

> and a frock-coat, grows his moustache and proudly calls himself a high-school teacher or a university lecturer, but if one digs deep down, it is possible to read it is as Sōseki's saying that there is no difference between the wretched stray cat and himself, that he is the cat. (Izu 1988: 57)

Melanowicz (2006) also notices that "the narrator often seems not to be sure, whether he speaks as The Cat, the author or maybe as one of the participants of the party, such as Meitei" (26). The perspective of an eavesdropper or that of an observer is often enriched and enlarged by additional knowledge, accessible only to particular characters in the novel. Moreover, the cat is frequently very emotional in reporting what he hears and sees, which may lead to a conclusion that "[i]n no other novel has Sōseki been so frank and so critical in his statements on family, individualism and on the society in general, as he was in *Wagahai-wa neko de aru*" (ibid.). This illustrates how closely related the perspectives of the author and that of a fictional narrator are. Izu even claims that it is the author who imitates a cat's voice, and as a consequence, what the readers are presented with is neither a cat's perspective nor an entirely human one: "The narrator is neither a cat nor a man – it is a strange surreal creation caught between the two worlds" (Izu 1988: 59).

The Cat's Language and Perspective

The cat who stays with the family of Mr. Sneeze (Kushami 苦沙弥), a teacher of English and an amateur composer of *haiku* and *shintaishi*, has the opportunity to listen to diverse conversations his master has with a number of his guests: Waverhouse (Meitei 迷亭), Beauchamp (Tōfū 東風), Coldmoon (Kangetsu 寒月). Each of them has a different personality, which is reflected in the manner they speak and in the themes they touch upon. The manner in which those conversations are rendered illustrates what Leech and Short call the "ear for conversation", that is the "ability to render in writing the characteristics of spoken conversational language," which, however, "if it is well tuned for literary purposes, will tend to distance itself from the raw realities of spoken discourse" (Leech and Short 2007: 130).

The cat's perspective created by Sōseki in his novel is one of the factors which make it remarkable and memorable. This is a first-person narrative from the fictional point of view which, as has frequently been pointed out, often corresponds with Sōseki's worldview. Of course, there are numerous

fairy tales in which animals are equipped with the capacity of speaking human language. More often than not, however, their stories are told by humans. Here, the situation is quite the reverse. It is the cat who describes the human world. Even if the anonymous animal uses human language and his reasoning is understandable and relatable to the readers, he cannot communicate with human characters in the novel. Izu illustrates this inability by referring to the episode in which the cat observes the thief but cannot find any way to wake up his master (1988: 59). "I tried miaowing at them. – the cat says – Indeed I tried. At least twice, but somehow my throat just failed to function and no sound emerged. When at long last, and by enormous self-discipline I did manage to emit a single feeble mew, I was quickly shocked back into silence" (Sōseki 2002: 167). All these attempts are unsuccessful, which makes the cat comment: "Contrary even to their own idea of themselves, human beings are a careless and unwary lot. I myself feel quite worn out by the night's excitements" (ibid. 176).
As Inukai notices, the story of *I Am a Cat* is told in human language by an anonymous subject who renounces human nature (2001: 172). The first paragraph displays the narrative voice Sōseki chose for his novel:

> 吾輩は猫である。名前はまだ無い。どこで生れたかとんと見当がつかぬ。何でも薄暗いじめじめした所でニャーニャー泣いていた事だけは記憶している。吾輩はここで始めて人間というものを見た。しかもあとで聞くとそれは書生という人間中で一番獰悪な種族であったそうだ。この書生というのは時々我々を捕えて煮て食うという話である。しかしその当時は何という考もなかったから別段恐しいとも思わなかった。(Sōseki 2006: 7)

> I am a cat. As yet I have no name. I've no idea where I was born. All I remember is that I was miaowing in a dampish dark place when, for the first time, I saw a human being. This human being, I heard afterwards, was a member of the most ferocious human species; a shosei, one of those students who, in return for board and lodging, perform small chores about the house. I hear that, on occasion, this species catches, boils, and eats us. However, as at

> that time I lacked all knowledge of such creatures, I did not feel particularly frightened. (Sōseki 2002: 3)

The opening sentence sounds like a carefree invitation to what may be termed as "kaigyaku shōsetsu" 諧謔小説 (a humorous novel) full of incredible adventures (Izu 1988: 58). This nameless cat of unknown origin describes the world while relying on his senses – sight (薄暗い), touch and smell (じめじめした), and hearing (ニャーニャー). Interestingly, he describes his own miaowing in human terms (ニャーニャー泣いていた). The cat's story is told in retrospect, which – to some extent – explains why he is able to name properly various elements of human reality. Although assertive, in formulating his opinions he very much depends on hearsay or rumours, which is evidenced both in the grammar and lexis he uses. Throughout the narrative, the cat becomes the readers' ears, introducing them to stories he hears in his master's house. When speaking about Sōseki's cat-narrator, Yoshimoto Takaaki even uses the expression "moving ears and eyes" (*idō suru mimi-to me* 移動する耳と眼) (Yoshimoto 2017: 9). Mikołaj Melanowicz (2006) explores this metaphor, agreeing with Yoshimoto that the narrator changes around the sixth chapter from "ears" to "eyes," becoming an observer rather than an eavesdropper, and sometimes even disappearing altogether as a mediator (22-29).
The discrepancy between the feline and the human worlds is a most frequent theme in the cat's musings. Some of his comments reach a high level of generalisation:

> 世の中を冷笑しているのか、世の中へ交りたいのだか、くだらぬ事(こと)に肝癪(かんしゃく)を起(おこ)しているのか、物外(ぶつがい)に超然(ちょうぜん)としているのだかさっぱり見当(けんとう)が付(つ)かぬ。猫などはそこへ行くと単純なものだ。(Sōseki 2006: 34)

> One just can't tell whether he's mocking the world or yearning to be accepted into its frivolous company; whether he is getting furious over some piddling little matter or holding himself aloof from worldly things. Compared with such complexities, cats are truly simple. (Sōseki 2002: 37)

The narrator ridicules the inconclusive actions of his master and attributes them to the ambiguity of his motives, which is juxtaposed with the purported simplicity of cats. The verboseness of the cat, however, frequently undermines his self-professed clarity. It is to some extent explained by the pride he takes in his growing popularity: 吾輩は新年来多少有名になったので、猫ながらちょっと鼻が高く感ぜらるるのはありがたい (Sōseki 2006: 25)[3]. The language and the perspective used here are a creative projection of what a man in a cat's position might have heard, seen, felt and spoke.

The cat's language is altogether created, "colloquially based", in "an orational style – a hybrid language inscribed with conventions of orality and scripted form" (Fujii 1993: 111). It echoes what the cat hears in his master's house, and often it is a mosaic of the styles of other characters, which James A. Fujii summarises as follows: "The playful pedantry of Meitei, the lively Edokko bluster of Kuro the cat, Mikeko the female cat's refined *yamanote* elocutions interlaced with affectations of young girls' speech, Kaneda's duplicitous language of the coarse *nouveau riche*, snatches of popular songs and rhymes, and many other distinctive voices" (ibid. 113). This is also noted by Matsuoka McClain (2006): "Each cat reflects his or her owner. An uneducated, rough, and ill-mannered gigantic black cat resides at a rickshaman's household; a white cat living across from Wagahai's house belongs to a military family who are heartless enough to throw away all the four newborn kitties; an argumentative cat that lives next door is owned by an attorney, and a gentle tortoiseshell cat is tenderly cared for by a koto teacher" (19). The mosaic of styles and registers reflects the complexity of the swirling times to which *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru* provides a vivid commentary (Yoshimoto 2017: 33).

Here is one example of how the cat's language is influenced by various styles he encounters in his master's house:

> この餅も主人と同じようにどうしても割り切れない。噛んでも噛んでも、三で十を割るごとく尽未来際方のつくはあるまいと思われた。この煩悶(はんもん)の際吾輩(さいわがはい)は覚(おぼ)えず第二(だいに)の真理(しんり)に逢着(ほうちゃく)した。「すべての動物(どうぶつ)は直覚的(ちょっかくてき)に事物の適不適(てきふてき)を

[3] 'Since New Year's Day I have acquired a certain modest celebrity: so that, though only a cat, I am feeling quietly proud of myself. Which is not unpleasing.' (Sōseki 2002: 31)

予知す」真理はすでに二つまで発明したが、餅がくっ付いているので毫も愉快を感じない。(Sōseki 2006: 39)

> This rice-cake too, like my master, is aliquant. It looked to me that, however much I continued biting, nothing could ever result: the process could go on and on eternally like the division of ten by three. In the middle of this anguish I found my second truth: that all animals can tell by instinct what is or is not good for them. Although I have now discovered two great truths, I remain unhappy by reason of the adherent rice-cake. (Sōseki 2002: 44)

In this episode, the cat choked on a rice cake from a *zōni* soup, and his great struggle is witnessed by many people, including the wife, the children and the maid, who do not even try to help him. He hardly comments on the human cruelty but rather describes his struggle in pseudo-scientific terms, nearly treating himself as a subject of an experiment. Even when he tries to escape the dire situation by moving his tail and ears, the instinctive reaction is followed by logical reasoning, as if he were an observer rather than someone involved in the struggle: "Come to think of it, my ears and tail have nothing to do with the rice-cake. In short, I had indulged in a waste of wagging, a waste of ear-erection, and a waste of ear-flattening" (Sōseki 2002: 44). As Itahana points out, there are echoes of the styles of Meitei and Kangetsu in how the cat presents his reasoning (Itahana 1982: 6). Kangetsu's manner of speaking may be represented by the passage below:

> 御承知の通りをかむ時は、是非鼻を抓みます、鼻を抓んで、ことにこの局部だけに刺激を与えますと、進化論の大原則によって、この局部はこの刺激に応ずるがため他に比例して不相当な発達を致します。皮も自然堅くなります、肉も次第に硬くなります。ついに凝って骨となります (Sōseki 2006: 127)

> As you will know, the act of blowing the nose involves the coarctation of that organ. Such stenosis of the nose, such astrictive and, one might even venture to say, pleonastic

> stimulation of so localized an area results, by response to that stimulus and in accordance with the well-established principles of Lamarckian evolutionary theory, in the development of that specific area to a degree disproportionate to the development of other areas. The epidermis of the affected area inevitably indurates and the subcutaneous material so coagulates as eventually to ossify. (Sōseki 2002: 123)

The cat speaks about discovering his "second truth" (*dai ni-no shinri* 第二の真理) in the way Kangetsu discusses "the act of nose-blowing" (the characters 鼻汁 indicate more specifically liquid nasal mucus) within the context of "the well-established principles of evolutionary theory" (*shinka ron-no daigensoku* 進化論の大原則). Incorporating other characters' styles into the cat's speech makes it polyphonic, and, as a consequence, the readers encounter the "intratextual oppositions of elements with different stylistic and semantic quality, which – due to the juxtaposition – acquire particular distinctiveness and gain new hues of meaning" (Głowiński et al. 1976: 427-428).

The Parody of Human Language

The cat's perspective presented in *Wagahai-wa neko de aru* invites the readers' laughter, even if they laugh at their own vices and foolishness. It is partly because the cat remains serious in the face of all absurdities he vividly describes, thus creating what might be termed as "mock reality" with various elements which "arrange themselves into patterns or structures representative of human experience in an abstract, archetypal way" (Leech and Short 2007: 139).

The narrative voice is so important in sustaining the humour in the novel that Izu (1988) even declares: "If the story had not been told by the »cat«, the story would not be the least bit funny. Precisely because it is the »cat's« story even the boring episodes are comical" (58). However, although the narrative perspective is crucial, the humour in *Wagahai-wa neko de aru* is far more complex a phenomenon. Itahana indicates three levels of humour in Sōseki's novel, all stemming from juxtapositions and incongruity: the juxtaposition of life attitudes, the juxtaposition of ideologies, the juxtaposition of styles (Itahana 1982: 2-3). The array of loosely connected episodes with characters not limited to humans only and strings of self-references in the novel bring associations with *rakugo*

storytelling. As in *rakugo*, in *Wagahai-wa neko de aru* there is also an attempt at distinguishing between the characters' styles. As has been indicated earlier, the cat combines some of the stylistic characteristics of his master's guests, which gives rise to the parodic effect of the novel.
Interestingly, the language and manners of other cat characters also reflect the social backgrounds of their masters. Here is the beginning of the conversation between the anonymous narrator and Kuro, the Rickshaw Blacky, included in the first chapter:

> 彼は大に軽蔑せる調子で「何、猫だ？猫が聞いてあきれらあ。全てえ何こに住んでるんだ」随分傍若無人である。「吾輩はここの教師の家にいるのだ」「どうせそんな事だろうと思つた。いやに瘠せてるじやねえか」と大王だけに気焔を吹きかける。(Sōseki 2006: 16)

> In a tone of enormous scorn, the Emperor observed, "You. . . a cat? Well, I'm damned. Anyway, where the devil do you hang out?" I thought this cat excessively blunt-spoken. "I live here, in the teacher's house." "Huh, I thought as much. 'Orrible scrawny, aren't you." Like a true Emperor, he spoke with great vehemence. (Sōseki 2002: 23)

The language of Kuro echoes how men would speak in the downtown area of Tokyo (previously Edo). This Edokko style, with its characteristic intonation, was often used onstage in *rakugo* performances. The use of "akireraa" (呆れらあ) instead of „akireru-yo" (呆れるよ), "ja nē-ka" (じやねえか) instead of „ja nai-ka" (じゃないか), as well as the appearance of "zentē" (全てえ), the abbreviated form of "ittai zentai" (一体全体), may be considered the stylistic markers of the Edokko speech in the text. The anonymous narrator uses, as always, the first-person pronoun "wagahai", which becomes his idiosyncratic marker, but although his answer echoes the grammatical pattern of the question: "Doko-ni sunde iru-n da" (何こに住んでいるんだ), he uses more formal "no" (の) instead of colloquial "n" (ん). This proves Yoko McClain's statement that "»Wagahai«, himself lives at an English teacher's house, and is therefore quite sophisticated" (Matsuoka McClain 2006: 19).
As the conversation develops, the stylistic markers (underlined below) of Kuro's speech become even more visible.

「一体車屋と教師とはどっちがえらいだろう」
「車屋の方が強いに極っていらあな。御めえのうちの主人を見ねえ、まるで骨と皮ばかりだぜ」
「君も車屋の猫だけに大分強そうだ。車屋にいると御馳走が食えると見えるね」
「におれなんざ、どこの国へ行ったって食い物に不自由はしねえつもりだ。御めえなんかも茶畠ばかりぐるぐる廻っていねえで、ちっと己の後へくっ付いて来て見ねえ。一と月とたたねえうちに見違えるように太れるぜ」
「追ってそう願う事にしよう。しかし家は教師の方が車屋より大きいのに住んでいるように思われる」
「箆棒め、うちなんかいくら大きくたって腹の足しになるもんか」(Sōseki 2006: 17)

"Which do you think is superior, a rickshaw-owner or a teacher?"
"Why, a rickshaw-owner, of course. He's the stronger. Just look at your master, almost skin and bones."
"You, being the cat of a rickshaw-owner, naturally look very tough. I can see that one eats well at your establishment."
"Ah well, as far as I'm concerned, I never want for decent grub wherever I go. You too, instead of creeping around in a tea-plantation, why not follow along with me? Within a month, you'd get so fat nobody'd recognize you."
"In due course I might come and ask to join you. But it seems that the teacher's house is larger than your boss's."
"You dimwit! A house, however big it is, won't help fill an empty belly." (Sōseki 2002: 24)

Apart from the phenomena indicated before, there use of postpositional "ze" (ぜ) and the choice of derogatory words such as "berabōme" (箆棒め) enrich Kuro's expression stylistically. The narrator's style is contrasted with this splendid example of the dialect of Edo's downtown ("Edo kotoba") – it remains neutral and polite, possibly echoing the language of

the narrator's master. The contrast is vividly rendered also in the English translation in which Kuro uses the abbreviated, simple forms and adequately disdainful expressions ("berabōme" as "dimwit"). The derogatory comments Kuro makes, however, are not left altogether unanswered. The narrator's speech is polite, it is true, but his comments expose Kuro's rudeness by highlighting the discrepancy between "the enormous scorn" of Kuro's attitude and his tile of the Emperor. As Itahana aptly indicates, Kuro ridicules the "Cat", but the "Cat" also treats Kuro with scorn (Itahana 1982: 2). The pompous title and the lack of content to justify it become one of the sources of humour in *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru*.

Conclusion: The Cat's Perspective and Varieties of Laughter

The style of conversations in *Wagahai-wa neko de aru*, as has been mentioned before, resembles *rakugo* dramatized monologues, and explores the colloquial style of Japanese at the time. The perspective of a cat seems to encourage such explorations, as is aptly put by Fujii: "A persona with no history and nameless to the end, this narrator deviates from both the effaced narration characteristic of *genbun'itchi* prose and the Japanese traditional storyteller, who even while commenting did not insert himself in the narrative" (Fujii 1993: 113).

As the narration progresses, however, the perspective of the cat comes closer and closer to the style of subjective confession, and the humour takes the shape of self-derision and severe criticism of civilisation (Melanowicz 2006: 27). The convention of *rakugo* thus gives way to the style of satirical writings, such as *Gulliver's Travells* by Jonathan Swift, of which Sōseki was an avid and perceptive reader. The cat's linguistic idiosyncrasies also tend to become less visible, as he frequently adopts the points of views of other characters. With time the irony turns grimmer as the cat experiences insurmountable loneliness and an inability to communicate not only with humans but also with other cats. This intricate process can hardly be depicted if one decides to only focus on role languages. The readers of *Wagahai-wa Neko de Aru* are drawn into a comical world only to find out that they themselves become the target of a satire, which may at times be rather biting. This change in humour is also reflected in the style of the cat – a nameless narrator whose idiosyncrasies gradually dissolve in his narration. The references to various styles of expression in the novel help create a world that is attractive to readers because it transcends stereotypes in language and perception, thus evading

any one-dimensional reading. It is a world where styles rather than "role languages" are blended to form an ingenious work of fiction.

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REVIEWS

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Vovin, Alexander 2020. *Descriptive and comparative grammar of Western Old Japanese*. Handbook of Oriental Studies | Handbuch Der Orientalistik, section five: Japan, vols 16/1 and 16/2, edited by R. Kersten. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Alexander Vovin's two-part *Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese* (henceforth GWOJ), first released respectively in 2005 (Vovin 2005a) and 2009 (Vovin 2009) under the auspices of Global Oriental, for well over a decade now, has been the primary reference source for the study of Old Japanese in Western linguistics. Not only is it the only monograph in English devoted in its entirety to the subject of pre-Heian period Japanese, but it is also one of the very few English-language reference materials dedicated to *any* historical variety of Japanese, among which one can count Martin 1987, Bentley 2001, Frellesvig 2010, and individual chapters in Tranter 2012.

The first edition of GWOJ was impressive in volume – close to 1,400 pages – and scope, covering data from all available phonographic Old Japanese corpora, while also, suitably to its title, conducting systematic comparisons of specific Western Old Japanese morphemes and structures with their counterparts in other Japonic languages: Eastern Old Japanese, Old/Classical Ryukyuan, and modern Ryukyuan. In so doing, GWOJ became a pioneering publication in comparative Japonic linguistics, placing the linguistic data offered by the non-Central Mainland Japonic varieties in a welcome and overdue spotlight.

At the same time, as expected from a work of this size and scale, the initial publication left some room for improvement. This led to last year's release of the second edition – *Revised, Updated and Enlarged*, as announced by the subtitle of the said edition – this time as volume 16 of the *Handbook of Oriental Studies* series by Brill.

Content-wise, the most meaningful updates, as pointed out by Vovin himself in the *Preface to the Second Edition* (Vovin 2020: XXI–XXII), concern the parts devoted to comparisons of Western Old Japanese with Eastern Old Japanese, a welcome result of Vovin's recent extensive studies on Eastern Old Japanese in preparation of the upcoming *Corpus and Dictionary of Eastern Old Japanese* (Vovin and Ishisaki-Vovin 2021). The

second edition also has a brand new chapter on interjections (Chapter 11) and extensions to chapters on adverbs (Chapter 7, added sections 17 on *sika* and 18 on *kɛ^{n}dasi ~ kɛ^{n}dasiku*), conjunctions (Chapter 8, added section 4 on *mənəyuwe*), particles (Chapter 9) and postpositions (Chapter 10).

By contrast, the voluminous parts of the first edition devoted to "external comparisons", i.e. parallels between morphemes and structures of Western Old Japanese and the languages of East and Northeast Asia, have been visibly trimmed. This decision was motivated by the shift in the focus of the second edition, which reflects the almost twenty-year gap between the two releases. The non-Japonic comparative content of the first edition was motivated by the necessity observed by Vovin to use the platform of an Old Japanese grammar to argue against the longstanding theories of a genetic relationship between Japonic and the so-called Altaic (currently more often referred to as Transeurasian, cf. Robbeets and Savelyev 2020) languages (Vovin 2020: XXI), of which Vovin himself had been a proponent until early 2000s. Since then, says Vovin, ample evidence has been provided against the Altaic theory and its alleged relationship with Japonic languages[1], which means there is little reason to devote extra space to the debate in a monograph dedicated to Old Japanese. This is a commendable decision regardless of the reader's personal view on the Altaic/Transeurasian matter. It allows the content of GWOJ to stay focused and concise without diverging to speculations on topics only loosely related to the questions at hand. The result is a coherent description of Western Old Japanese within a broader Japonic context, with occasional comparisons with Korean, Chinese and Ainu from the perspective of language contact.

Another important update concerns romanization. Other than unifying the occasional inconsistencies in conventions observed between Vovin 2005-a and 2009, the second edition sees the change from a variant of the Yale transcription of Old Japanese (Frellesvig and Whitman 2008: 4) to a predominantly phonetic system. Vocalic distinctions are now shown using an approximation of their putative sound values, and digraphs such as <yi>, <iy>, <ye>, <ey> and <wo> have been eliminated altogether . The so-called *kō-rui* series of vowels <i> or i1, <e> or e1 and <o> or o1 are now written respectively as plain monograph <i>, <e> and <o>, while the contrasting *otsu-rui* series of i2, e2 and o2 have also become monograph

[1] Indeed, Vovin himself has presented his refutal of "Altaicism" in numerous papers, most famously perhaps in Vovin 2005b, as well as in a contra-Japono-Korean monograph, Vovin 2010.

<ï>, <ɛ> and <ə> . By the same token, voiced obstruent phonemes are now written as prenasalized and voiced with a superscript indication of prenasalization (cf. the notation of the conditional converb *-a^{m}ba*, Vovin 2020: 655), compared to the earlier configuration of a nasal segment and a voiced obstruent (*-aNpa*, Vovin 2009: 726). The author mentions (Vovin 2020: XXII) that his concern about the accessibility of GWOJ to the readers outside the field of historical Japonic linguistics was the factor behind this change of romanization; and the indirect point that he makes about the obscurity of Yale and other Old Japanese romanization conventions is difficult to contest. Nevertheless, even though adjusting to these phonetic conventions may initially take time, it is not only readers from a non-Japonic background, but also specialists in the subject matter that should be able to appreciate the refreshing unambiguity of the transcript conventions employed in GWOJ's second edition. These conventions leave no room for obscurity, neither in terms of the interpretation of the applied symbols nor the author's descriptive stance on the phonological inventory of Western Old Japanese.

The structure of GWOJ follows the first edition's division into two composites, although this time, the labels are simply "Volume I" (chapters 1–5) and "Volume II" (chapters 6–11). By contrast, the composites of the first edition were titled "parts" rather than "volumes", and each had an elaborate subtitle summarizing their content. In spite of these superficial alternations, the second edition volumes are an essentially faithful reflection of their predecessors both in terms of structure and content. The major exception is the first edition's "Additions to Part One" chapter, which, unsurprisingly, has been moved from the beginning of Part Two to the appropriate sections of the second edition's Volume I.

One of the retained editorial characteristics is the consecutive numeration of pages in both volumes. Ultimately, this decision is quite user-friendly since it facilitates citation and referencing of the source and allows for utilizing it as a complete, whole monograph while keeping both books at a reasonable physical volume that still allows for a comfortable read.

The navigation between volumes is aided by a functional table of contents, which displays additional improvements over the first edition. The table of contents comprising the entire eleven chapters is repeated at the beginning of each volume, which allows the reader a quick first-glance synthesis of the content and contributes to the impression of the two books constituting a coherent two-part whole. At the same time, these volume-initial tables of contents only reveal the most general structure of the monograph, listing

no further than the second-order division of chapters. The more detailed lists of contents are reserved for the pages directly preceding specific chapters. Far from redundant, such an introduction of two kinds of content lists can be evaluated as significantly increasing the searchability of both, as well as the legibility of the main table of contents – especially considering that most chapters contain numerous subchapters divided into multiple subunits, with the record-holders having up to seven units of division.

Also worth mentioning are GWOJ's comprehensive indexes, even though their number and categories have not changed, remaining at the following four: personal names, terms, forms and constructions, and examples from the texts. All indexes have been adequately updated and reorganized, and they are an essential aid to anyone interested in using GWOJ as a reference source. The four index types seem to cover all of the essential query areas. From my personal experience with the new GWOJ over the past few months – and it needs to be emphasized that in my area of expertise GWOJ is, indeed, a primary source – I can testify that a successful search for any kind of information usually does not take longer than around ten seconds, a feat which cannot be overestimated in a publication of roughly 1,300-page range size. If there is anything left to ask for in the index department, it would be a separate index devoted to forms and constructions in languages other than Western Old Japanese.

Concerning more significant downsides of GWOJ's second edition, a particularly evident one is the lack of bibliographic updates concerning Ryukyuan linguistics. Since the first edition of GWOJ, the Ryukyuan branch of Japonic linguistics has seen a surge of published research results, including dictionaries (Kiku and Takahashi 2005, Maeara et al. 2011, Tomihama 2013, Shimoji 2017), synchronic monographs (Heinrich et al. 2015, Shimoji 2018), diachronic/comparative monographs (Bentley 2008, Tawata 2010), open-access research reports by the National Institute of Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL), numerous M.A. and Ph. D. dissertations, and countless academic papers. Regrettably, the second edition of GWOJ reflects none of this. The consequences are not limited to an outdated reference list only, but also to content errors in comparisons, such as incorrect claims that Ryukyuan has no cognates of the passive-potential suffix -(*a*)*ye* (Vovin 2020: 755; cf. Jarosz 2019, and the elaboration on the topic in Jarosz 2022) or causative -*(a)simɛ* (Vovin 2020: 755; cf. Jarosz 2015: 276, Shimoji 2018: 194).

Considering that GWOJ is first and foremost a monograph on Western Old Japanese, these Ryukyuan imperfections are arguably a minor flaw. Nevertheless, for a source that has the "comparative" component in its title, a more accurate picture of the Ryukyuan side of Japonic would have been expected – and more than welcome.

These bibliographic and content imperfections notwithstanding, the second edition of GWOJ is a useful tool of primary importance to anyone interested in the study of pre-Heian period Japanese language and literature, not to mention specialists in diachronic or comparative Japonic and/or East Asian linguistics. It retains all of its predecessor's valuable characteristics while throwing in several worthwhile additions and updates. It will be indispensable in the library of any Japanologist working on pre-modern Japanese philology and a welcome addition to the booklists of otherwise oriented Japanologists and linguists.

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