# De-Feminising Translation:
## Making Women Visible in Japanese Translation

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# ABSTRACT

When feminist translation is discussed, it tends to be proposing a feminising translation strategy to give women their own voice. My thesis, however, presents a de-feminising translation. This results from the over-feminising convention in Japanese literature, both original and translated. Female characters' speech has been over-feminised despite the dissonance with real Japanese women's language use, and the convention has reinforced and maintained gender ideology in Japanese society.

My study offers theoretical description and a prescriptive approach. In the theoretical description, I offer empirical and statistical analyses to describe the over-feminising convention, which is a new contribution in this research area. I also investigate the history of the convention and its function in society from an ideological perspective, and then explore translation problems of the convention. The systematic explanation of the translation problems in relation to the over-feminising convention is also a new area of research in translation studies. The prescriptive approach is an attempt to integrate theories into practical translation by presenting an empirical de-feminising translation.

Through my project, I have become aware that when western feminist theory is used in the Japanese context, we should adjust the idea to the recipient culture. Feminism, in the western sense, has not been widely accepted in Japanese culture and there is a danger in presenting a radical feminist translation. Having worked as a book editor in Tokyo, Japan, I am aware that most of the publishers cannot ignore the commercial side of the book business. Thus, if I translated a text with a radical feminist approach, it might not be accepted by the intended readership and this is not my aim. Therefore, the proposed strategy searches for the best balance between an academic approach and commercial acceptance.

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# Abbreviations

BJD: Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* (by Kamei Yoshiko, 1998)

EM: *Emma* (by Jane Austen, 1816)

EM1: Japanese translation of *Emma*, *Ema* (by Shoko Harding, 1997)

EM2: Japanese translation of *Emma*, *Ema* (by Kudo Masashi, 2000)

EM3: Japanese translation of *Emma*, *Ema* (by Nakano Koji, 2005)

EW: *The Edible Women* (by Margaret Atwood, 1969)

EWJ: Japanese translation of *The Edible Woman*, *Taberareru Onna*
(by Ōura Akio, 1996)

MD: *Mrs Dalloway* (by Virginia Woolf, 1925)

MD1: Japanese translation of *Mrs Dalloway*, *Darouei Fujin* (by Tomita Akira, 1955)

MD2: Japanese translation of *Mrs Dalloway*, *Darouei Fujin* (by Kondo Ineko, 1976)

MD3: Japanese translation of *Mrs Dalloway*, *Darouei Fujin* (by Tanji Ai, 1998)

PP: *Pride and Prejudice* (by Jane Austen, 1813)

PP1: Japanese translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Koman to Henken*
(by Tomita Akira, 1950)

PP2: Japanese translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Jifu to Henken*
(by Nakano Yoshio, 1963)

PP3: Japanese translation of *Pride and Prejudice*, *Koman to Henken*
(by Nakano Koji, 2003)

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<u>Note on Japanese Names</u>
<u>and the Romanisation of Japanese Language</u>

In this thesis, Japanese proper names are denoted with the family preceding the given name. The modified Hepburn system (Hebon-shiki) is used to romanise the Japanese language, and long vowels are marked with macrons (ā, ī, ū, ē, ō).

# Chapter 1   Introduction

## 1.1 Introductory Remarks

The argument of this thesis can be summarised under these four statements:

(1) Women are over-feminised in Japanese literature.
(2) This fact reinforces gender ideology.
(3) This situation is problematic for translation.
(4) Consequently, I am proposing a de-feminising translation strategy.

A number of studies suggest that female characters are over-feminised in Japanese literature, whether original or translated (esp. see Inoue 2003, 2004; Nakamura 2007b). Indeed, this has been a long-standing convention in the Japanese literary world since the late 19th century (Inoue 2003, 2004; Ueno 2003; Levy 2006; Nakamura 2007a, 2007b). I argue here that this convention has played an important role in reinforcing gender ideology in Japanese society. In addition, due to the over-feminising tendency, there is potential for a significant gap in terms of the level of femininity of a character, as they are likely to be perceived by the reader, both in the original novel and its translation. In order to modify the contradiction between the presentation of a character in the original and in the translation, and to challenge the ideological function of feminine language in society, I therefore present an experimental re-translation which offers new theoretical and practical guidelines to publishers and translators.

Overall, this study is devoted to two issues: first, a critical review of the literary situation in Japan with respect to the way women are represented; and second a new approach to Japanese translation and

translation studies. The former is a theoretical description to support **statements (1)-(3)** above. The latter aims to explore the way theories can be used in the practical world of translation. The ultimate aim of this thesis, as indicated in **statement (4)**, is to offer de-feminising translation as a new model for Japanese translation.

With respect to the over-feminisation of women in Japanese literature (**statement 1**), research shows the tendency is generally seen not only in literature but also in media more broadly, including TV programmes, magazines and cartoons (Inoue 2003, 2004; Mizumoto 2005; Chinami 2007; Nakamura 2007b). Scholars such as Nakamura (2007a) have also investigated the link between gender ideology and 'women's language' (Inoue 2006: 1) (**statement 2**). However, there has so far been no empirical analysis of these matters. My study therefore provides a statistical analysis of **statement (1)** and I present an argument in support of **statement (2)**. To do this, as explained in Sections 1.2 and 1.3, this thesis provides a quantitative analysis of some literary texts—a Japanese novel and some Japanese translations of English novels.

The central research question in my thesis, meanwhile, is based on **statement (3)**: what kinds of problems are caused by the over-feminising convention? Although the gap between the language female characters use in Japanese literature, both original and translated, and real Japanese women's language use, is discussed by the scholars indicated above, the problems caused by the gap have not been systematically explored. Hence, this study offers a systematic explanation of the problems caused by this particular literary convention, and this represents a new area of research in translation studies linked to Japanese language and culture.

In addition, as shown in **statement (4)**, I explore what practical solutions can be offered to translators of Japanese. Translation studies in

Japan tends to be regarded as practical training, and the area has not been developed sufficiently as an academic discipline (Hung and Wakabayashi 2005: 2). Consequently, this study's attempt to offer guidelines resulting from an academic perspective is an innovation in this field.

The integration of theory into practice is crucial in translation studies. Lefevere declared the importance of providing guidelines to publishers and translators more than three decades ago: 'The goal of the discipline is to produce a comprehensive theory which can be used as a guideline for the production of translations' (Lefevere 1978: 234). However, as Kuhiwczak and Littau (2007:6) also note, Wagner (2006: 480) offers the following view of the relationship between theories and practice:

> I suggest that we treat the two activities—academic translation studies and professional translation practice—as two separate industries, each with its own priorities and constrains, each with its own production line and targets.

Indeed, we should be careful not to confuse what we know and what we do in practical situations of translation (Boase-Beier 2006a: 2). Theoretical approaches to translations are 'theories of what we know' (Boase-Beier 2006a: 2), but this does not mean translators can apply such knowledge in any given situation. Even if a translator has the knowledge, it is not always possible to use it for her or his translation. The translator's strategy should be flexible, depending on the context, the target culture, or the characteristic features of the target language. In addition, it is highly unlikely that a translator alone distributes a translated text as a commercial product in the book market. A publisher (or several) and an editor (or several) are always involved. Thus, the decision-making is rarely at the translator's discretion. Even if she or he has the knowledge to

direct her or his translation strategy, what the translator does is decided not only by the translator but also by the other actors whose decisions, meanwhile, can be influenced by the socio-cultural or -political factors of the time in the source or the target society.

There can also be other participants in the process of translation decision-making who may have conflicting loyalties and political or social ideologies. Jones (2009a: 6) lists these as 'the source writer and his/her enthusiasts and detractors in the source culture, the translator's helpers and informants, target-culture publishers, readers and critics'. Indeed, Jones (2009b) argues that translators are often less influential than a journal editor or a living source writer in the process of translation. Nevertheless, as will be explored in Section 1.5, theories can be used as 'tools to aid practice' (Boase-Beier 2006a: 2) in the practical world of translation. Therefore, this study intends to provide a model of how this approach might be utilised in practice, with my re-translation offered as evidence.

My approach to this re-translation is influenced by feminist theory. However, it is not my intention simply to apply feminist theory to my re-translation. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, radical feminist translation tends to be a highly intellectual experiment, and consequently the target audience for such a product is likely to be small. Secondly, Japanese society is arguably not yet ready to accept such radical translations as those published in North America or Europe, where feminist movements are firmly established (see Section 4.1 of Chapter 4). There is a danger that my re-translation and thus my overall approach would not be accepted by the intended readership were I to present a radical feminist idea in this re-translation without consideration of the

target culture. Having gained experience as a book editor in a Tokyo publishing house, I am aware that although publishers pay serious attention to a lofty ideal of publication, they cannot ignore the commercial side of their business. Thus, the proposed strategy seeks the best balance between an academic approach and commercial acceptance with the aim of gaining a wider readership without compromising on quality.

When translating a foreign text, the translation needs to overcome the conflict between 'adequate' (source-oriented) translations versus 'acceptable' (target-oriented) translations (Toury 1995: 28) and to find an 'acceptable but adequate' balance between the two. Moreover, careful consideration must be given as to whether the translation balances 'quality' from both an evaluation perspective, and a commercial point of view. In this thesis, quality of translation from an evaluation perspective is considered in terms of gender issues, as this is my specific focus. I shall therefore refer to this quality of translation as conforming to an 'academic feminist ethic' to differentiate it from commercially-driven judgements of translation quality, and hereafter refer to the former using the term 'academic'. The experimental re-translation that this thesis offers should not be too alien and far-removed from the norms in the Japanese literary world while nevertheless not reinforcing gender stereotyping in female representation in the mass media. Thus this approach aims to fulfil two aims of translation: adequacy in terms of academic quality, and acceptability in terms of commerciality. The purpose of this re-translation is to explore the balance between what we might call 'academic adequacy' and 'commercial acceptability'.

## 1.2 Over-Feminising in Japanese Literature

As stated at the start, representations of women tend to be over-feminised in Japanese literature, both original and translated. This can be shown by a comparison of the language used by women in literary works and their real, day-to-day language use. Before discussing this issue, however, it is necessary to explain briefly the characteristics of the Japanese language.

Japanese speech and writing is characterised by the explicit marking of femininity and masculinity. The most remarkable feature is the use of sentence-final particles, with the speaker's femininity or masculinity level indicated by such particles as '*wa*' or '*no*' (Inoue 2006: 2). For example, a simple utterance 'I will go' can be expressed in at least five different ways: '行くわ *Iku-wa*' (I'll go + particle '*wa*', very feminine); '行くの *Iku-no*' (I'll go + particle '*no*', moderately feminine); '行く *Iku*' (I'll go, neutral); '行くよ *Iku-yo*' (I'll go + particle '*yo*', moderately masculine); or '行くぜ *Iku-ze*' (I'll go + particle '*ze*', strongly masculine). That is, a female character in a novel can be constructed as strongly or moderately feminine, or strongly or moderately masculine, by a sentence-final particle which mostly comprises a single syllable.

The English sentence 'I will go' does not indicate the level of the speaker's femininity or masculinity in the written style, although this may be reflected in her or his tone or intonation when the sentence is spoken. In Japanese, however, it is inevitable that a reader perceives the speaker's level of femininity or masculinity in the written style due to clear gender-marking characteristics. These include not only sentence-final particles, but also the choice of pronoun, the choice of certain words, or conjugated forms of verbs which function as gender-markers as well as being

indicators of class, age, region, occupation or education (Nakamura 2007a: 32). Hence, from a text written in Japanese a character's gender, social or regional background and age can all be inferred. For instance, when reading the Japanese statement 'Yes, I know', it is possible to infer whether the speaker is a girl or boy, from the country, a young lady of good family, a learned old man, a man from the East of Japan or a samurai, all simply from language choice and grammatical features (Kinsui 2003: v-vi; Section 3.5 of Chapter 3 and Section 4.4 of Chapter 4 elaborate on this).

Therefore, when translating a literary text into Japanese, one of the most significant transformation tasks for translators is to decide how feminine or masculine to make a specific character in the text. That is to say, the translator's choice of language largely affects the image of the characters, who tend to be more clearly feminised or masculinised in Japanese translation than in the original because of the linguistic features outlined above. In addition, a female character's level of femininity may differ in each Japanese version if the same novel is translated by several different translators (see Section 2.3 of Chapter 2).

Present-day Japanese women do not use the feminine language found in Japanese translation and original novels, while the language use of both Japanese women and men has been shifting to become more neutral. Thus, women's speech has become more masculinised while that of men more feminised. As an example of the change in language use, a growing number of young Japanese women do not actually recognise certain moderately masculine forms as being in a masculine category, often using them in their conversations. Nevertheless, Japanese women understand what kind of language is regarded as women's language. When reading a novel with female characters, they accept that women's language is something they are supposed to know even though they do

not use it themselves. This artificial feminine language has been used in literature for a long time (Okamoto 1995: 318-319; Inoue 2003; Nakamura 2007b; see Section 2.1 of Chapter 2).

The question, therefore, is what is women's language? In this sense it is neither simply a linguistic construct, nor a real Japanese women's language, but a type of 'culturally salient category and knowledge' (Inoue 2006: 13) that women are supposed to possess. To characterise feminine language as women's language is therefore not realistic (See Section 2.2 of Chapter 2). Rather, women's language is constructed culturally and ideologically (Okamoto 1995: 317), with the belief about how women should speak shaped politically and socially through history (Inoue 2006: 15). Indeed, the contemporary Japanese language which includes women's language was established in the Meiji era (1868-1912) for political reasons when Japan was modernised and needed to classify gender roles in society.

In the following sections, I illustrate how women's language is a product of political and social needs, and is firmly linked to the nation-building process. Section 1.2.1 investigates the history of gendered language from the 3rd century and sets out the origin of the gender-marking aspects of Japanese. Following this, Section 1.2.2 explores the history of the Japanese language in the Meiji period when contemporary language use, including women's language, was established and promoted for political and social reasons.

## 1.2.1 The History of Gendered Language in Literature

Gender-marking is a particularly characteristic feature of Japanese with a long history. For instance, there are chiefly two different writing systems in Japanese: Chinese characters and ひらがな *hiragana* characters.

Chinese characters (also called 漢字 *Kanji*) are ideograms originally used to express Chinese, and introduced into Japan from China in the 3rd century[1]. Meanwhile, *Hiragana* characters were coined from the sound of Chinese characters with their origins in the 9th century (*New Encyclopædia Britannica* 2002: 501, 708; *Shinmeikai Japanese Dictionary* 2005: 310, 1274). For example, 'story' is expressed either as 物語 (*monogatari*) in Chinese characters, or もの がたり (*monogatari*) in *hiragana* characters. 'Literature' is either 文学 (*bungaku*) in Chinese characters, or ぶんがく (*bungaku*) in *hiragana* characters. Some theorists believe that *hiragana* characters were created by a woman, while others claim the inventor was a man. In the academic world of the Japanese language, the former idea is the mainstream (Endo 1997: 18)[2].

Chinese characters used to be exclusively used by men for public and official documents, and women were not supposed to learn them. On the other hand, *hiragana* characters were for private and unofficial documents, and were mainly used by women. Japanese people spoke in Japanese at that time, but when men wrote official documents, they translated into Chinese and used Chinese characters. Chinese characters were called '真名 *mana*' (literally 'true names') while *hiragana* characters were '仮名 *kana*' ('temporary names'), clearly implying their function in society. Symbolically enough, Chinese characters were also called '男手 *otoko-de*' (literally 'men's hand') and *hiragana* characters were '女手 *onna-de*' ('women's hand'). Moreover, if women were able to read Chinese characters, they were regarded as unfeminine (Endo 1997: 16-26; Chino 2003: 22-25).

For example, in the acclaimed Japanese literary work *Genji*

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[1] Several thousand Chinese characters are in daily use.
[2] The number of *hiragana* characters is forty eight.

*Monogatari* [*The Tale of Genji*] (Murasaki Shikibu, early 11<sup>th</sup> century), there is a scene in which men are scorning women with knowledge of Chinese characters, reflecting the social norms of that time. The author was a noble woman and wrote this story in *hiragana* characters:

> In women as in men, there is no one worse than the one who tries to display her scanty knowledge in full […] The very worst are the ones who scribble off Chinese characters at such a rate that they fill a good half of letters where they are most out of place, letters to other women […] She cannot of course intend it to be so, but the words read aloud seem muscular and unyielding, and in the end hopelessly mannered (trans. Seidensticker 1976: 36).

Ironically, however, men of the Heian era (794-1185) could only express the private with the feminine *hiragana* characters. In addition, writing with *hiragana* characters was more natural for men as they felt freer than when using Chinese characters, seen as being primarily from a foreign country. In other words, Heian men's identity could be expressed only when they used the feminine language (Jugaku 1979: 59; Endo 1997: 26; Chino 2003: 26-27). In fact, an aristocratic male poet, Kino Tsurayuki (868-945), wrote a travel diary, *Tosa Nikki* [*The Tosa Diary*] (ca.935), disguising himself as a woman following his journey. *Tosa Nikki* is about his 55-day journey from Tosa to Kyoto between 934 and 935, and contains 57 *waka* poems (Japanese traditional poetry). The diary opens with the famous line, '[d]iaries, I am told, are things written by men, but I am trying my hand to see what a woman can accomplish' (Kato 1979: 113).[3] Diaries by men at that time, such as Ennin's (794-864) *Nitto Guho Junrei Koki*, tended to show their official responsibilities. However, by contrast Tsurayuki's interest was more in 'the world of everyday experience, its private characteristics and its unstructured temporal progression' (Kato

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[3] '男もすなる日記といふものを、女もしてみむとてするなり'(Kino Tsurayuki ca.935).

1979: 120) such as his fear of pirates, or his attachment to his late daughter. His book is considered a forerunner of diary literature, the so-called female culture in Japan, from the 10th to 12th centuries (Kato 1979: 118-120).

The clear differentiation in writing style between the sexes was clear even in the early 19th century. An American scholar, Bacon (2001: 33-34), the first western woman to live in a Japanese household, indicated that women were not supposed to learn Chinese characters. The Chinese language was an essential part of a boy's education and every boy read Chinese literature. However, girls were expected to read in *hiragana*, learning only a very limited number of Chinese characters that were the most common in letter writing.

The separation in written styles gradually reduced after the Meiji era through the *genbun-itchi* movement (see Section 3.2 of Chapter 3) and was hardly seen after the Second World War (Kindaichi 1988: 40). Nowadays, Japanese people of both genders usually combine these two types of characters and another, カタカナ *katakana* characters, which are mainly used for loan words or telegrams, and there is no significant discrepancy in the written choice of characters in terms of gender.

## 1.2.2 Women's Language as a Political Product

Although there is no difference in written style between the sexes in contemporary Japanese, speaking style today is clearly distinguished. There was no remarkable difference between women's and men's spoken language before the 12th century, with the distinction clearly defined in the Edo period (1603-1868), especially in urban areas. During this period, Chinese Confucian ideas spread among the ruling class in the *samurai*[4]

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[4] *Samurai* is 'the military class among the Japanese—a class intermediate between the

society, and these ideas had a major influence on *samurai* thinking which strictly controlled the *samurai* wives. As a result, many text books taught women to use feminine and sophisticated language (Endo 1997: 71; Tanaka 2004: 25-26). Modern use of women's language was promoted politically during the Meiji period, with its typical usage, such as the series of sentence-final particles, important for gender-marked language as noted above, established then (Kindaichi 1988: 39; Tanaka 2004: 26).

The Meiji period is linked to Japanese modernisation given that as it was during this time that Japan became an industrialised society, with capitalist development and state centralisation mutually-related and simultaneous (Inoue 1994: 324). They also involved the construction of a gender ideology through the new education system, and the notion of women's language can thus be seen largely as a consequence of political motivation (Nakamura 2001: 216), with the construction of women's language and its strong connection to gender ideology playing a fundamental role in the society of the time (McConnell-Ginet 2003: 281). Gender ideology is defined and explored in detail in Section 3.1 of Chapter 3.

The role of women in this modernising society was clarified in accordance with the compulsory education system at that time (Endo 1997: 113-124). In 1878, coeducation was prohibited by law and feminine training started (Nakamura 2007a: 139). Girls' education was to teach 'the culturally standardized code of propriety' (Lebra 1984: 42) to create domesticated wives who supported their husbands, the industrialised nation's main bread-winners. Inoue (1994: 324), meanwhile, indicates that compulsory education emphasised 'efficient homemaking and

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Emperor and his nobles and the great mass of the common people who were engaged in agriculture, mechanical arts, or trade' (Bacon 2001:163).

consumption, a demeanour of modesty and obedience to one's father and husband, high morality and chastity, and frugality and thrift'.

For example, the phrase '良妻賢母 (*ryosai kenbo*) [good wife and wise mother]', derived from Chinese Confucian ideas, illustrates women's role in Japanese society at this time. The idea that women should be good wives and wise mothers was state propaganda popularised by the Education Ministry through compulsory education, and '*ryosai kenbo*' became the aphorism for the government policy (Nolte and Hastings 1991: 152, 158). It is clearly significant that this phrase was used for the first time during the Meiji period and the educational policy was based on the idea of *ryosai kenbo* (Inoue 1994: 324). By contrast, there is no Japanese word for 'good husband and wise father', indicating that such an expectation was placed on women only. Thus, while in the late Meiji period, the elementary school moral book (published by the Ministry of Education in 1903) denied women's inferiority to men for the first time in an educational government publication, it still clearly instructed that there were different roles determined by gender. It declared that you should not forget that men's duty and women's duty were different and each should fulfil her or his own duty (Endo 1997: 124).

Such feminine training, which included speech training, was designed to ensure that women expressed their femininity and learned that modesty demanded overall reticence, a soft voice, a polite and feminine style of speech, and the avoidance of exposing the oral cavity (the wide-open mouth should be covered with a hand) (Endo 1997: 42). Through such training, the Meiji government supported the 'genderization' (Tanaka 2004: 26) of the Japanese language. In other words, Japanese women's language has been shaped by male-dominant authorities and politically determined throughout history.

Japanese women's language also reflected the radical class reconstruction underway in this industrialising society. Women's language was constructed based on the speech style of middle- and upper-middle class women in Tokyo's hillside area—*yamanote*. The home of the bureaucrat, the professional and the white-collar employee of elite companies, this area has a sophisticated image in contrast to the more vulgar reputation of *shitamachi,* the home of the merchant, the artisan and the small family business.  Although during the Meiji era the class system[5] as defined by the Edo Shogunate was abolished, the merchant and artisan were still defined as inferior, whereas the bureaucrat, the professional, and the white-collar worker were regarded as a new class. *Shitamachi kotoba,* the language of the former, is thus considered rough, direct and vulgar, while *yamanote kotoba*, that of the latter, regarded as soft-spoken, indirect and refined, implying the feminine ideal. This ideal feminine language—*yamanote kotoba*—is consequently labelled as Japanese women's language (Kondo 1990: 57-66; Inoue 1994: 329; Okamoto 1995: 308-309). Moreover, as the history of its construction implies, the distinct characteristics of women's language are still associated with the wife of a white-collar worker, or with an educated, middle-class, urban woman. It must be noted that they are hardly to be found in agricultural and fishing villages (Kindaichi 1988: 38; Sunaoshi 2004: 187). In fact, the pronouns 'おれ *ore* [I]' or 'わし *washi* [I]', which are categorised as men's language, are used by both sexes in rural areas (Ueno 2003: 15; Kobayashi 2007: 136).

As noted, women's language indexes not only femininity, but also the speaker's region, occupation, education, or class (Nakamura 2007a: 32). For example, Inoue (2006: 266-277) interviewed a woman who formed her

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[5] This system based on Confucianism divided people into four: the bureaucrats, the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant,

gender identity in order to transform herself to achieve regional and economic superiority. A 28 years old, she works in a pharmaceutical company and was born in the north of Japan where people speak with a strong dialect. When entering university, she moved to Tokyo. The experience of migrating from a culturally and economically marginalised area to the centre of Japan drove her to acquire the standard language and women's language. As she moved to Tokyo to have access to a better life, she adopted a feminine speech style. In this sense, the establishment of standard language and women's language segmented the nation (see Section 3.2 of Chapter 3). Thus, for women, adopting and acquiring a feminine speech style means moving up to a better social level.

As de Beauvoir (1949) writes in her epoch-making book *The Second Sex*, a man is the One, a woman is the Other, and her logic is applicable to Japanese society. The role of women was rigidly defined through the nation-building process, and both language and behaviour remain highly gendered in society. Some data reflect an iron ceiling with a few holes in it rather than the glass ceiling: for example, the percentage of Japanese female chief executives is 0.8 % (10% in Britain and 23% in Sweden). In addition, only 30% of Japanese women are reinstated into their former post after giving birth to their first child (*The Independent online*, 7 March 2008).

Spender (1998), meanwhile, explores women's language in English and indicates that men's language is the standard, while women's language is marginal. In Japanese, there are distinctive disparities between how men and women speak. When standard Japanese was established, the concept of the language was as 'men's' standard language, with the Japanese government adopting the language of educated middle-class

males in Tokyo as the standard language at the start of the 20th century (Nakamura 2007b: 43-45). Women's language, though, is a version of standard Japanese which emphasises femininity (Nakamura 2007b: 35). Meanwhile, because the establishment of standard Japanese was closely related to nation-building (McConnell-Ginet 2003: 278), standard Japanese is for men, while women's language is considered marginal. The characteristics associated with women's language—being polite, formal, sympathetic, soft-spoken, indirect, hesitant and non-assertive (Okamoto 1995: 307; Inoue 2006: 2)—thus create 'an image of powerlessness, social sensitivity, and femininity' (Okamoto 1995: 307). Men, however, have the option to use both the standard language, and men's language, a masculinised version of standard Japanese that is mainly used in informal situations. This language identifies masculinity with characteristics such as offensiveness, roughness and violence.

Whilst men are rarely taught to use men's language, especially in formal situations, women are still repeatedly taught to speak like women through their upbringing (Tanaka 2004: 26), and there are many books available that educate women in how to speak correctly. In one bestselling book a female writer Tanaka points out that if women do not speak properly, they will be considered ill-mannered and inappropriately brought up. The book, titled *Kashikoi Hito ni Narinasai: Utsukushiku Ikitai Anata ni* [*Be a Wise Woman: To You Who Want to Live Beautifully*] (Tanaka 1986), was reprinted 73 times between 1986 and 1995, demonstrating the popularity of 'how-to-speak' books for women (Okamoto 2004: 42).

Smith argues that even women in positions of authority or power are influenced by childhood training (1992a: 61-62). In Ohara's linguistic analysis (2004: 224), bilingual women used a higher voice pitch when speaking in Japanese than when using English. The high voice pitch is

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regarded as an aspect of Japanese women's language, and Ohara's findings demonstrate that female Japanese speakers face cultural constraints based on expectations of femininity in Japanese society. While the existence of a clear definition of women's language might affect women's behaviour or way of thinking, however, the differences have not been discussed enough in Japan (Reynolds 1993: 4).

Despite the improvement in the status of women in society, it is very rare that people see the link between using men's language and the liberation of women. If women speak men's language to demonstrate gender equality, they are likely to be criticised for an improper upbringing and lack of education. The response would be similar if men used women's language (Tanaka 2004: 26)—indeed, the men would even be considered homosexual. Women are aware of the social expectations and tend to use women's language in certain contexts, such as in an office, to establish good relationships with people in society (Mizumoto 2005; see Section 3.7). Indeed, female speech style is instilled deeply in women's minds, and more importantly, women themselves play a part in constructing 'a soft and gentle image of the female' (Tanaka 2004: 26).

In the Meiji period, gendered language use was promoted by a literary movement known as *genbun-itchi* (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2) which spread the idea that women and men should use different language (Ueno 2003: 24). The purpose of this movement was to realise 'the reconciliation of speech and writing' (Levy 2006: 2). However, in reality, this reconciliation was an illusion and there remained an obvious difference between speech and writing (Doi and Aoyagi 2001: 88). Indeed, considering the neutralising or masculinising tendency of Japanese women's speech (Mizumoto 2005), the gap between literary language and

actual speech can be even more significant in terms of the way femininity or masculinity are represented.

Ultimately, it is not necessarily important to use men's language instead of women's and I am not arguing that women should use masculine instead of feminine forms. It is essential, though, for women to be aware of the development of women's language and to have an option *not* to use the given language. Women have the standard language available for both sexes, and they can also use neutral forms, which do not specifically index either femininity or masculinity. However, the unyielding nature of the social pressure on women restricts their use of language and means they have not yet managed to break the mould.

## 1.2.3 Statistical Analysis of Over-Feminising Translation

To analyse the over-feminising representation of women in Japanese literature, I employ a quantitative method of study. Some scholars have analysed the fabricated language use in literature (Inoue 2003; Mizumoto 2005; Chinami 2007; Nakamura 2007b); however, there has so far been no empirical study on the gap between female characters' speech patterns in Japanese translation and fiction, and Japanese women's contemporary language practice. This study therefore intends to offer statistical analysis by using numerical data on women's language as objective evidence. I have collected data focusing on sentence-final forms, which are viewed as the clearest distinguishing characteristics of women's language, in a Japanese novel and the Japanese translation of an English novel, and compared them with Japanese women's actual conversation.

The novels chosen for this study are:

  1) Japanese novel: *Kicchin* [*Kitchen*] (1988) by Yoshimoto Banana

2) Japanese translation: *Burigtto Jōnzu no Nikki* (*BJD*[6], 1998),
the translation of Helen Fielding's English novel *Bridget Jones's Diary*
(1997) by Kamei Yoshiko

3) English novel: *Bridget Jones's Diary* (1997) by Helen Fielding

My reasons for this selection are that both of these novels are contemporary with modern young female protagonists—Mikage and Bridget Jones—and their conversations are informal. Hence, it is appropriate to compare the two female characters' dialogues with real language practice. Meanwhile, both texts show a remarkably over-feminising tendency and **statement (1)** (see above) is confirmed by this empirical study. I therefore aim to place these two novels within a broader context where gender-marking in literature serves a distinctly ideological agenda. Section 2.1 of Chapter 2 analyses the emphasised femininity of the female characters in *Kicchin* and the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary*, while Sections 2.2 and 2.3 present the arguments for this over-feminising tendency in detail.

## 1.3 Gender Ideology Reinforced by Over-Feminising

As stated above in **statement (2)**, the over-feminising tendency in Japanese literature functions to reinforce gender ideology in society. As explored above, women's language was established as a form based on the language used by middle- or upper-middle-class women in a certain area in Tokyo during the Meiji era. Japan experienced rapid and dramatic industrialisation during this period, and needed the support of the nation's bread-winners to promote the modernisation of society. To create such supporters, the female role in society was defined clearly and

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[6] The abbreviation *BJD* is used for the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* (by Kamei Yoshiko 1998) in this thesis.

deliberately. Thus, compulsory education was segregated by gender and training was introduced to discipline women to become good wives and mothers. Girls were instructed about how women should behave and speak. In this way, the feminine ideal was closely related to the establishment of women's language. The over-feminised female figure can thus be seen as a representation of the feminine ideal in society. As a consequence of its repeated use in Japanese literature, whether original or translated, over-feminisation became a convention in the Japanese literary world, and has helped to instil women's language in readers' minds, and arguably reinforced the subordinate role of women in Japanese society.

As outlined in Chapter 3, Sections 3.2 and 3.3, the first appearance of women's language in Japanese literature was in the speech of western girls in the translations of Russian novels such as Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* (1862) in the Meiji period (Nakamura 2007a: 144). During this time, Japanese society was seeking to catch up with western countries which were out-pacing it in terms of industrialisation and modernisation, and the Japanese viewed western people as modern and sophisticated. Hence, by applying women's language to a western girl's speech, women's language itself gained a modern and sophisticated image. To Japanese women, moreover, the impression was powerful and attractive enough to encourage imitation of the speech style. Because of its growing image as classy, modern and western, women's language was used for the advertisement of feminine products such as cosmetics, targeted at upper- or upper-middle-class Japanese women, and the idea that women's language meant 'modern' and 'sophisticated' prevailed, ensuring it became a norm in Japanese society (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2).

As a consequence, women's language gained a great deal of power. Norms are social expectations that the members of society consider

appropriate, constraining people's thinking about how they should behave in a given situation. Members of a society learn such norms through their growth processes and they form the basis by which the society evaluates their behaviour. Women's language was accepted as proper in Japanese society, and this newly established norm meant that it had to be taught as the norm and be maintained in society. For this purpose, 'a range of cultural agents (writers, teachers, scholars—and, of course, reflexive, norm-conscious readers, speakers, and listeners)' (Inoue 2006: 164) played a crucial role. Scholarly commentaries or debates authorised the norm, and advocated the use of women's language as a respectable aspect of Japanese culture and tradition which, furthermore, was linked to Japanese womanhood.

Inoue (2006: 2) indicates that some prominent scholars of the Japanese language reinforced the ideological aspect of women's language. One of the founders of modern Japanese linguistics, Kindaichi Kyosuke noted:

> Japanese womanhood is now being recognized as beautiful and excellent beyond comparison with the other womanhoods of the world. Likewise, Japanese women's language is so fine that it seems to me that it is, along with Japanese womanhood, unique in the world (1942, in Inoue 2006: 2).

Meanwhile, one of the first modern Japanese linguists, Kikuzawa Sueo, states:

> Women's speech is characterized by elegance, that is, gentleness and beauty. Moreover, such characteristics correspond with our unique national language (1929, in Inoue 2006: 2).

The authorisation as seen above was efficiently exploited for the establishment of the government's national language policy which supported the 'genderization' (Tanaka 2004: 26) of the Japanese language.

Consequently, the idea of an appropriate way for women to speak advanced quickly and widely. Meanwhile, the nation-building process of Japan was closely related to the establishment of gender roles in society, and this accelerated the spread of gender ideology (Inoue 2006: 2, 164-165).

The acts of translation and creative writing are also restricted by norms (Toury 1005: 53; see Section 1.5.1 below), and involve a transformation of norm-systems from the source culture into the target culture. Hence it can be said that translation is an act of adaptation to the target norm-systems of a text that arose within the source norm-systems. In the case of Japanese translation, there is a norm that female characters should use women's language, and non-translated literature has also been constrained by this norm, using women's language for a long time because it is regarded as appropriate in society. The recurrent performance of female characters is thus a subliminal advertisement for gender ideology.

This transformation process to adapt female speech to socially-expected and accepted norms can be explained as 'intracultural translation' by developing Roman Jakobson's classification (2006: 139). Jakobson defines three categories of translation:

i) <u>Intralingual translation</u> or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.

ii) <u>Interlingual translation</u> or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.

iii) <u>Intersemiotic translation</u> or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems.

(italics in original; underlining mine)

To perform intralingual translation is to interpret a word or expression, or piece of text, and rephrase it into the same language. The English words 'a door' can, for example, be translated as 'a wooden object with a knob between a corridor and a room to let people into the room'. 'Water' can be 'transparent liquid to moisturise our throats'. Or, 'a boy' can be referred to as 'a lad'. Interlingual translation is to interpret a text from a language into another language, and is commonly regarded as translation proper. Finally, an interpretation from verbal signs into nonverbal sign systems such as film, music or painting is categorised as intersemiotic translation.

Jakobson's argument concerns only the linguistic aspect of translation. Considering translation as an act of mediation between two cultures, however, the act of translation is not only a strictly linguistic matter, but also one mediated by cultural issues. The term 'culture' is used in a broad sense here. Culture is defined as '*ideas, knowledge* (correct, wrong, or unverifiable belief) *and recipes* for doing things' (Hall and Neitz 1993: 4, italics in original). Culture is the way of a people's life—their thought and behaviour—which is influenced by the political, economical and social circumstances (Hatch 1985: 178). Although each group in society can have their own culture within the realm from this definition, I mean 'culture' as the whole Japanese culture in this thesis.

As Bhabha (1994: 37) points out, the act of interpretation is itself cultural translation: 'even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew'. Texts are read through a culturally-bounded filter possessed by the readers. Thus the act of translation inevitably involves cultural translation which occurs in the translators' minds. In addition, texts themselves are created in the interaction with culture; 'aspects of culture *shape* aspects of texts, are *reflected* in aspects of texts and are also in turn *affected* by texts'(Malmkjær 2005: 36, italics in

original). For instance, interlingual translation involves an interpretation in the target culture of the culture represented in the source text. This means interlingual translation is at the same time intercultural translation. Furthermore, intralingual translation also involves an interpretation in the target culture of the culture represented in the text. That is, intralingual translation is also always intracultural.

When we think about the situation where a female character's speech in a foreign novel is translated into Japanese, the cultural aspect appears more clearly. A female character's speech in a foreign novel is interpreted by the translator. Through the act of interpreting, the speech is transformed under the influence of the norm of the feminine ideal. The speech is then represented in the Japanese translations with women's language which is supposed to be used by the feminine ideal. The female speech is transformed to adapt it to a mould that the target culture shares although the style is not used either by real Japanese women or by the character in the original novel (as Section 2.1 examines). In this sense, it could be argued that this transformation is a twofold process: inter- and intracultural translation as well as inter- and intralingual translation. In the case of Japanese translation, especially, intracultural translation is clearly of importance.

Translators translate speech from a source language into a target language (interlingual translation), transform the text from the source culture into the target culture (intercultural translation), and then transform the speech into the target cultural norms (intracultural translation). Through this process of intracultural translation in Japanese translation, gender ideology is further reproduced in society. According to the constructionist view, gender is an acquisition dependent upon social circumstances (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3). Furthermore, Butler (2006: 191)

emphasises the importance of perfomability to define our gender. We learn how to perform through nurture and thus 'do gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987: 125) in our daily lives. Although performance is done by individuals, how to perform is largely influenced by social situations. In the process of gender acquisition, we are inevitably affected by norms existent in the society to which we belong. Through Japanese novels or Japanese translations of foreign novels, readers repeatedly see how women perform and learn how to 'do gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987: 125). Thus, over-feminised female representations in literature, constructed by the intracultural translation mentioned above, potentially mediate the feminine ideal to perpetuate the gender ideology.

When exploring the ideological aspect of women's language, men are more likely than women to approve of women's language, and the older they are, the more they tend to want women to use it (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7 and Appendix 2). This male preference can be also seen in Japanese translation when exploring how male and female translators interpret female speech in a foreign novel. To analyse the differences by gender, I have chosen these Japanese translations of *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice* by Jane Austen:

*Emma*

4) Japanese translation 1 (*EM1*): *Ema* (1997), the translation of Jane Austen's English novel *Emma* (*EM*, 1816)[7] by Shoko Harding

5) Japanese translation 2 (*EM2*): *Ema* (2000), the translation of Jane Austen's English novel *Emma* by Kudo Masashi

6) Japanese translation 3 (*EM3*): *Ema* (2005), the translation of Jane Austen's English novel *Emma* by Nakano Koji

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[7] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *EM* for *Emma, EM1* for the first Japanese translation of *EM* by Shoko Harding (1997), *EM2* for the second version by Kudo Masashi (2000) and *EM3* for the latest version by Nakano Koji (2005).

*Pride and Prejudice*

7)  Japanese translation 1 (*PP1*): *Koman to Henken* (1950), the translation of Jane Austen's English novel *Pride and Prejudice* (*PP*, 1813)[8] by Tomita Akira

8)  Japanese translation 2 (*PP2*): *Jifu to Henken* (1963), the translation of Jane Austen's English novel *Pride and Prejudice* by Nakano Yoshio

9)  Japanese translation 3 (*PP3*): *Koman to Henken* (2003), the translation of Jane Austen's English novel *Pride and Prejudice* by Nakano Koji

Written in 1815 and 1813 respectively, both *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice* have a female protagonist. Each has three Japanese translations and one of the translators of *Emma*, Shoko Harding is female. It is therefore appropriate to compare the male and female interpretations of female speech in the case of *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice*. I employ the same methodology as the study on *Kicchin* and the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary*—sentence-final particles are collected, identified by their levels of femininity or masculinity, and then compared to these in other translations. The data from these six translations are also compared to real Japanese women's discourse (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4).

Overall, the study shows that the male interpretations are more likely to be feminised than the female, which result exemplifies that male translators tend to be more affected by a stereotypical image of women's speech style than their female counterparts. Thus, the image is constructed by norms in Japanese society, and these norms constrain the activity of translators. Furthermore, this study highlights another important aspect of the translation of classics. In Japan, these tend to be translated by

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[8] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *PP* for *Pride and Prejudice, PP1*for the first Japanese translation by Tomita Akira (1950), *PP2* for the second version by Nakano Yoshio (1963) and *PP3* for the latest version by Nakano Koji (2003).

academics; for instance, most English classic novels are translated by professors of English literature who tend also to be established scholars, and to be older. This is significant given the point noted above that older men show greater preference for feminine language use—a tendency clearly displayed in the data.

Interestingly, however, even the female translator over-feminises when she translates Emma's speech (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5). A female translator actually confessed that it is unavoidable to be affected by social expectations regarding female speech style: 'although I do not intend to be regulated by "the Japanese women's language", I regulate myself to choose words by being subconsciously affected by deeply-rooted rules on "femininity"' (my translation, Ōshima in Nakamura 2007b: 52; see also Chapter 2, Section 2.2).[9]

As Fairclough (2001: 71) points out, ideologies reinforce most efficiently when they work invisibly. Thus, when people are unconscious of the ideological aspect of women's language, and women's language is a production of the subordinate position of women in society, the ideology prevails most effectively. As a result, it is possible to say that the invisible ideology works as a shaper of gender ideology and of gender inequality. Female representations constructed by their language use are a reflection of the gender ideology of what women should be like. As shown in Ōshima's statement, a translator is subconsciously restricted by norms but the influence of these norms is neglected. The link between gender ideology and women's language is explored in Chapter 3, Section 3.7. As suggested above, the premises in **statement (1)** are thus supported more

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[9]'いわゆる女ことばに縛られているつもりはなくとも、身にしみついた「女らしさ」の約束ごとに無意識に引きずられて、自分の言葉の選び方を自分で規制している' (Ōshima in Nakamura 2007b: 52).

objectively by some evidence provided, and **statement (2)** is argued for in my study.

## 1.4 Translation Problems

As **statement (3)** indicates, the over-feminising tendency creates problems in translation. When a female character's speech is translated from English into Japanese, the character's level of femininity as it is likely to be perceived by the reader can be very different, with the character in the Japanese translation sometimes far more feminine than her counterpart in the original. For instance, Bridget Jones in the Japanese translation uses far more feminine language although she often swears in the original. Indeed, in the translation, most swear words are deleted and replaced with words more acceptable in the standard language. An important factor in the construction of Bridget's character is thus lost in the translated text. As a result, the drastic change of Bridget's language use has made a significant difference in her image in the minds of the original readers and those of the Japanese translation.

Margaret Atwood's 1969 novel *The Edible Woman* (*EW*)[10] also provides an appropriate example of the remarkable gap in the female protagonist's speech between the original and the Japanese translation (*EWJ*). The novel's theme is the identity of women in society. The main character, Marian, is a university graduate who works in a marketing research company in a big city in Canada, and searches for her identity and role in society. Despite the explicitly described feminist theme of the novel and the protagonist's role as a feminist, in the Japanese translation Marian speaks with the same impeccable feminine language used by

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[10] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *EW* for *The Edible Woman*. *EWJ* for the Japanese translation of *The Edible Woman*.

upper-class women between the 19ᵗʰ century and the middle of the 20ᵗʰ century. For the reader there is therefore a considerable mismatch between this independent, contemporary, working woman and her speech style.

## 1.4.1 Problems from a Reader-Response Theory Perspective

When exploring translation problems and strategies of Japanese feminist translation, reader-response theory (also called reception theory) based on works by Iser (1974, 1978, 2006) helps us to understand how translations are accepted by the Japanese audience. While other literary theories pay attention mainly to the authors or to the literary texts themselves, reader-response theory highlights the role of the readers. Texts are regarded as 'a carrier of meaning' (Iser 2006: 58) and the readers have to uncover the meaning by their interpretation. From this perspective, therefore, interpretation is a process of understanding what the text is supposed to mean. However, in reader-response theory the meanings lie not in the literary texts, but instead are discovered and defined by the reader, referred to as the 'implied reader' (Iser 1974). Thus, this theory concerns the 'triadic relationship between author, text, and reader' (Iser 2006: 60). Iser thus defines an 'implied reader' as 'a textual structure anticipating the presence of a recipient without necessarily defining him' (Iser 1978: 34). The 'implied reader' is, therefore, not necessarily a real reader.

According to Iser (1974: 274), there are two poles in the literary text: the artistic and the aesthetic. The artistic is the text created by the author while the aesthetic lies in the perceptions of the text; that is, how the readers receive the text. Reader-response theory thus shifts the focus of literary analysis from the artistic to the aesthetic—from 'what the text

means to what it does' to readers, and highlights the analysis of 'what happens in text processing' (Iser 2006: 60-63). Thus it is central to a consideration of how the literary text is received by the readers and how it affects them.

Reader-response theory is also concerned with the crossing-point between text and context. The world which is represented in a literary text is not a copy of the actual because it is already transformed from the author's perspective. Literary texts represent some aspects of social, historical and literary systems of the real world but may have been changed or rearranged, and may have no relation to the systems of the real world. Fictional texts are thus a combination of the real world and an altered version of reality, though the degree of the mixture varies. Hence, the world is no longer familiar to the possible readers and it needs to be actualised (Iser 1978: 35, 2006: 60). In addition, no story can be told completely and there are usually blanks and gaps that should be filled in by the readers. For example, when a reader starts a novel, she or he will seek to visualise the setting. When a new character appears, the reader will try to flesh them out through the act of reading (Iser 2006: 64).

Furthermore, social and historical norms are applied to a particular environment by introducing a new context into a novel, and the functions are changed. *EW* is a good example to see the functional shift of norms. In this novel, social norms of female roles, measured as important by a male-orientated society, are treated as the subject to be discussed. This novel challenges the priorities of male-orientated societies 'forcefully, dramatically, and even radically' (Keith 1989: 14). Hence this novel prompts the readers to question the valid norms in the real world, as Iser indicates:

> If the literary work arises out of the reader's own social and cultural
> background, it will serve to detach prevailing norms from their
> functional context, enabling the reader to observe how such social
> regulations function, and what effect they may have on people
> subject to them. Readers are thus placed in a position from which
> they can take a fresh look at the forces which guide and orient them,
> and which may have hitherto been accepted without question (2006:
> 63).

In reader-response theory, literary texts are not completed products. Instead, the final products are produced in interaction between the texts and the readers. The act of reading is thus not passive, but actively participated in by the readers to create meaning. Through the process, therefore, readers are expected to construct contexts from elements such as words, images or rhythms in the texts. In other words, the reception of the text creates meaning, and the structure and language of the text are therefore essential (Díaz-Diocaretz 1985:13-14). Iser (1974: 274) defines this process as the action of '[*k*]*onkretisation* [concretisation]'. Each reader participates actively in the act of reading and each text is concretised by them. This means that every reader can read the text in a different way because the act of concretising varies depending on their social and cultural background (Iser 2006: 63). Thus, the readers' different levels of knowledge or experience can create different interpretations of the text, and so the same text can mean 'different things to different people at different times' (Iser 2006: 68).

*EW* was written in 1969 and translated into Japanese in 1996. Thus, we would expect the reception of the text in the 1960s and the 1990s to be different. Moreover, the novel may be received differently in western countries and in Japan. For example, many of the reviews of *EW* on *Amazon.com* and *Amazon.co.uk* show that readers enjoyed this novel as a social-historical snapshot of Canada in the 1960s, a novel of its time when

the idea of marriage was more conservative and women were more socially oppressed in society, even though they see some similarities to contemporary society. In fact, one reviewer describes the book as 'nostalgic' (Animalnation 2007). These reviews were largely written in the late 1990s or in the early 21st century.

In contrast, the reviews of the Japanese translation, which can be found on the website *Amazon.co.jp*, indicate that the readers mainly read *EWJ* as a contemporary working woman's story. This difference in reception is significant because it implies that Japanese society has not seen the same dramatic advance that occurred in the West. The Japanese readers seem to feel more sympathy with the women who lived in the 1960s than their western counterparts. This means there are fewer gaps between the social contexts in contemporary Japanese society and in 1960s' Canada, than between the latter and contemporary western society. One of the reviews categorised this novel as 'chick lit' (Mazza and DeShell 1995) such as *Bridget Jones's Diary* (Erica 2002). This is a genre targeted at young women. It generally deals with aspects of single women's lives such as love, sex, work or marriage and is mostly for light reading. This comment implies that the reviewer did not discover Atwood's political intention (see Section 4.5), a tendency resulting from the differences in experience of the feminist movement in western countries and in Japan. Readers with experience or knowledge of the feminist movement in the 1960s or 1970s could read this story as a depiction of the year; without such experience, readers could hardly imagine the situation that occurred during this period.

Considering a translated text from the perspective of reader-response theory, the translator is the first reader who concretises the

textual meaning. What the author means to say can never be definitely decided, but the meanings are weakly implied in the text by the descriptions and the style. Hence the translator needs to infer the implied meanings and construct them from what is described and how it is expressed (Boase-Beier 2006a: 39-40).

In Japanese translation, the essential factor which helps to concretise the impression created by female characters is the more detailed and classified femininity level of a female character's speech in the translation than occurs in the original. In the case of the Japanese translations of *Bridget Jones's Diary* and *The Edible Woman*, the characters' speech conveys information to the readers not only in the content, but also in the way they utter it. There are thus double-layered factors in female speech in Japanese literary texts: the femininity in their speech content and another construction of femininity in their speech style. These two different essences of femininity create the characters' impression on the Japanese audience. Even if the content of a female character's speech is not necessarily feminine in the original novel, if a translator uses a feminine speech style for her words, her image in the Japanese translation can be constructed as feminine. A translator can also accentuate the femininity of her speech content by employing even more feminine language. That is, the femininity of the character can be differentiated considerably not only by what she says but also by how she says it. Hence, translators play a key role in constructing female characters' speech by their language choice.

## 1.4.2 Problems from a Relevance Theory Perspective

Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 1995), another reader-oriented view, takes a similar position on the interpretation process. Gutt

(2000: 22) applied Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory to translation on the premise that translation is part of inferential communication. Sperber and Wilson, who place their focus on the interpretation of spontaneous speech, emphasise the role of the hearer when an utterance is interpreted. They intend to explain how a hearer infers the intention of the speaker, that is, how the intended relevance is interpreted and identified by the hearer (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 9-17). Sperber and Wilson argue that semantic representations of sentences are not enough to convey the thoughts of a speaker, and the hearer needs to infer the speaker's intention with contextual clues when the utterance has occurred. Thus successful communication is achieved 'not when hearers recognise the linguistic meaning of the utterance, but when they infer the speaker's "meaning" from it' (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 23).

They originally defined the principle of relevance as an achievement of optimal relevance:

> **Principle of relevance**
> Every act of ostensive communication communicates the presumption of its own optimal relevance.  (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 158)

By the time the 2nd edition of their work was produced in 1995, Sperber and Wilson's (1995: 260ff.) had shifted their focus from optimal relevance to maximal relevance:

> **Not one but two Principles of Relevance**
> (1) Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance.
> (2) Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance.  (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260)

The meanings of utterances are not definitive, but vary depending on the contexts which hearers have internalised. 'Relevance' is therefore defined

as maximum effect for minimum effort (Gutt 2000: 32; MacKenzie 2002: 20), and communication is always geared towards maximum relevance.

Sperber and Wilson classified contextual assumptions and drew a distinction between semantically expressed meanings and implied meanings in utterances. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995: 17-21, 108-117, 142-151), contextual assumptions are background knowledge that is shared between the speaker and the hearer. When the hearer receives the information which is semantically expressed and tries to interpret the meanings, she or he uses the shared background (contextual assumptions). This interaction of the semantically expressed information and contextual assumptions produces 'contextual effects' (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 108) to the hearer. The more the utterance is indirect, the more the contextual assumption is needed.

Semantically expressed meaning is called an explicature, while implied meaning that is assumed to be intentional is an implicature. Explicatures are 'an explicitly communicated assumption' (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182) while implicatures are 'implicitly communicated' (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182). A reader or hearer has to assume what the author or speaker is saying (explicatures) and what the author or speaker is implying (implicatures), and reconstruct the meanings based on evidence (Pilkington 2000: 71; Sperber and Wilson 1995: 182-183).

Let us see an example conversation below (Blakemore 2002: 73-74):

A: Are you going away this summer?
B: I have to finish my book.

What the speaker is explicitly saying is not a direct answer to the question of the speaker A. It is ambiguous what kind of book B is mentioning; a book to read or a book to write, a book which is bought, which is borrowed from the library, or which is presented by someone else,

or a book which B is intending to write. None of these options are encoded explicitly in B's utterance, and we need to identify what is implying there. If 'my book' is interpreted as 'my own book', 'to finish' will be interpreted as 'to finish writing'. By using contextual assumptions, it is possible to interpret B's utterance as 'I am not going away this summer because I have to finish writing my book'. For example, when someone says 'it's a quarter past twelve', looking at her or his watch in a classroom, linguistically, it means the time is 12.15. There is no doubt about the interpretation in terms of the linguistically expressed meaning. However, we could imagine the possibility that she or he is bored by a tedious lecture, is looking forward to the end at 12.30. Or, she or he may be annoyed that the lecturer is still talking although the lecture was supposed to finish at 12.00. The utterance is therefore ambiguous and it is important to interpret the implied as well as the linguistically expressed meanings in the utterance.

Sperber and Wilson assume that spoken communication is similar to written texts; that is, that the process of interpretation of a hearer is close to that of a reader. There is, however, a clear difference between the two processes, especially when regarding written texts such as literary texts (Pilkington 2000: 82). When reading a literary text, it is very likely that we miss some factors of ordinary speech, such as pragmatic contexts, gestures, facial expressions or tones of voices. These features of real-life utterance help the hearer to grasp implied meaning (MacKenzie 2002: 30). In addition, the language in spoken communication is directed clearly at hearers, whilst language in literary texts is directed at those who are unknown; in literary-theory terms, implied readers (Pilkington 2000: 82). For the former, the contextual assumptions are shared, or accessible to the addressees. In the latter, on the other hand, real readers of a literary text

may not have the contextual assumptions which are expected to be shared by implied readers, and therefore have to assume what the author means in the text (Pilkington 2000: 63). Furthermore, some types of literature, such as canonical literature, are likely to be distant from the actual readers in terms of time and place. In this case, the reader's interpretation of an implicature can be far removed from what the author actually intended (MacKenzie 2002: 30), and 'mutual knowledge as a pre-requisite for communication makes no sense at all' (Pilkington 2000: 62).

When an addressee simply decodes the semantic representations of utterances, she or he cannot reconstruct the implicatures, and hence, she or he has to infer the speaker's or author's intention under the assumption of maximal relevance (MacKenzie 2002: 23). Going back to the example sentence 'it's a quarter past twelve', we cannot grasp the actual meaning the speaker intends to convey, but may be able to infer the intended meaning from the speaker's tone or intonation. The explicatures of this sentence are stable, but the implicatures are context-dependent (Gutt 2000: 46).

If implicatures in a text are shared by the addressees, it is easy for them to understand the intended meaning. But when implicatures are not pre-given or mutually known, they require a great effort to be interpreted correctly. That is, the weaker the implicature, the more effort the addressee needs to make (Pilkington 2000: 61-62). For example:

> A: Would you like to see *Macbeth* Friday evening?
> B: Shakespeare's plays are not my scene.

In utterance A, the implicature is strong because the knowledge that *Macbeth* is a play written by Shakespeare, and about what kind of story the audience can expect, is shared between the speakers of A and B. Therefore, the interpretation of the implicature in utterance B is not very difficult. In

this case, the context is pre-given or mutually known.

> C: Would you like to go to the concert?
> D: I'm not going as it's not my style of music.

The interpretation of utterance D is more difficult than utterance B since the addressee needs to infer which concert the speaker of C is referring to, what kind of music the concert is, or what type of music the speaker of D prefers. From utterance D, the hearer receives less information and therefore needs to reconstruct the meaning of the utterance with more effort than that in utterance B.

In the case that the same sentence 'it's a quarter past twelve' is uttered in Japanese, another factor should be considered. Because of the use of sentence-final particles, the sentence inevitably indicates the speaker's femininity or masculinity level in the written style, such as literature, magazines, or TV drama scripts. If the utterance is delivered by a female character in a literary text, and is translated into Japanese from a language which does not have any gender-markers in the written style, it can be over-feminised even though the original sentence is neutral in terms of gender-marking. If the over-feminising of the character's speech makes a big difference to her image in the Japanese translation, as compared with the original, this will create an incorrect impression among the readers.

If a hearer has a mismatching image of the speaker from the speaker's utterance, the hearer can correct or modify the image from the person's voice tone, facial expression or behaviour. Or, the hearer will imagine that the impression is made as an implicature. However, it is difficult firstly to recognise that the image is actually wrongly conveyed in the Japanese translation because most Japanese readers will not read the original to check it; and secondly, to modify the mismatch of the image or

to recognise it as an implicature, because the readers do not have any clues to determine whether or not it is correct.

In *EW*, for example, the female characters sometimes use rude words. Even Clara, who is depicted as stereotypically feminine, swears when talking with her friends. Their swear words can generate implicatures for the readers and indicate a certain freedom for women in 1960s Canadian society, when women were struggling for emancipation from gender roles imposed by male-dominant authorities. In *EWJ*, however, the swear words are deleted and the women speak instead using rather feminine and sophisticated language. The effects are lost completely and the Japanese readers are actually left with the opposite impression from their language use.

Gutt's (2000) inferential model makes clear the difference between the linguistically expressed meaning and the intended meaning in translation. In the inferential model, the aim of translation is not simply to reproduce 'words, linguistic constructions, or textual features' (2000: 233) of the source text into the target language, but to decode the intended meaning of the original and also draw the inferences relevant to the contextual conditions that the target audience share (Gutt 2000: 227). Therefore, simply replacing words into another language is not translation, and translators need to interpret not only what is actually said linguistically, but also what is assumed to be intentionally implied, and what is only weakly implied. Thus, the weaker the implicatures in a text, the harder the translator's work is to reconstruct them.

The contextual assumptions contain communicative clues (Gutt 2000: 134) to give the reader access to the author's intention. These communicative clues have contextual effects on the reader. Thus the

effects vary depending on the hearer's or reader's knowledge, cultural background, or the context that they are in. As shown by the two dialogues above, mutual knowledge ensures the interpretation of implicatures and leads to successful communication.

Although Gutt is concerned mainly with non-literary texts, this process is more important when translating literary texts since it is likely that there are more implicatures in literary than in non-literary texts (Boase-Beier 2006a: 40). Translators have to infer 'what does this sentence *do*?' as well as 'what does this sentence *mean*?' (Fish 1980: 25), and reconstruct the same effect in the translation.

In literary texts, particularly poetry, stylistic devices such as repetition, rhyme, assonance, alliteration or metre have 'rich poetic effect, leading to an unpredictable and diversified expansion of the context' (MacKenzie 2002: 23). According to Pilkington (2000), poetic effect is a type of contextual effect. In poetry, some effects such as ambiguity, irony or metaphor are often purposely made problematic and require greater effort by the readers to interpret them (Pilkington 2000: 77; Boase-Beier 2004: 282). Sperber and Wilson regard poetic effects as weak implicatures: 'Let us give the name *poetic effect* to the peculiar effect of an utterance which achieves most of its relevance through a wide array of weak implicatures' (1995: 222, italics in original). The more poetic or creative the poetic effects are, the less accessible are the implicatures. Hence it is more difficult to assume the potential implicatures in literary texts than those in spontaneous utterances, and the addressees have to take a greater responsibility to reconstruct them in their reading (MacKenzie 2002: 24). In this sense, responsibility for interpretation is thus on the reader's side rather than the author's.

This view is shared by reader-response theorists. As explained in

Section 1.4.1 above, literary texts do not define meanings, they simply carry them. Rather, it is the readers who interpret, discover and define the meanings they contain. Relevance theory also emphasises the role of the addressees in the process of interpretation, with implicatures in utterances or texts to be interpreted by the addressees. However, it should be noted that the notion of 'implications' in reader-response theory has become 'implicatures' here for relevance theory. An implicature is not the same as an implication. 'Implication is in the text, but an implicature is attributed to a speaker: it is taken to involve an intention to suggest something' (Boase-Beier 2006a: 40). In relevance theory, therefore, it is assumed that there is a speaker or a writer who intends to say something to the hearer or the reader, whereas reader-response theory downplays the role of the author.

In both reader-response theory and relevance theory, the task of a translator should be separated from that of a reader. When a reader is reading a literary text, it is not a major problem if the reader does not understand the author's intention correctly. The author's intention is not accessible, hence it is not fixed. Moreover, in reader-response theory, the meanings in a text are open and to be decided by the readers, not by the author, while the effects of the implicatures in the text on readers are variable (Boase-Beier 2004: 280). Even though a reader supplies contextual assumptions to interpret what the author means to say, if it is weakly implicated in the text the effects on readers can change depending on each reader's knowledge, experience or cultural background. However, when the reader is reading to translate the text, the inaccessible intention becomes important because she or he needs to reconstruct the author's intention in her or his translation. It therefore becomes of crucial

importance to make assumptions about 'what the other "has in mind"' (Pilkington 2000: 63).

Gutt is the first person to clarify the distinction between interpretive use in communication from descriptive use in the context of translation (Boase-Beier 2004: 276). Descriptive use is to say 'what you believe is true' (Boase-Beier 2004: 276) while interpretive use is to say 'what you believe resembles what someone else thinks is true' (Boase-Beier 2004: 276). The author's intention is unknowable and the translator can only assume what she or he implies in the text (Gutt 2000: 136). Taking Gutt's assumption that translation is an act of communication, and the task of a translator as a communicator is to find '*the way the target text is intended to achieve relevance*' (Gutt 2000: 210, italics in original), the translator has to reconstruct the author's intention and create similar effects on readers as closely as possible. In this process, it is essential to search the contextual conditions that the readers can relate to, to find out the appropriate expressions in the target language (Gutt 2000: 233):

> […] s/he [a translator] needs to construct a target language utterance, selecting for it properties of the target language that will lead to an interpretation that resembles the original interpretation closely enough to make it consistent with the principle of relevance for the target audience (Gutt 2000: 233).

There are two types of translation: indirect and direct translation. The former constructs only the content, and the latter aims to reconstruct both what is said and how it is expressed. Non-literary translation is satisfied with indirect translation but literary translation requires direct translation (Gutt 2000: 68ff.). In literary translation, the style is as crucial as the content, thus translators have to consider how it is said as well as what is originally said, because the style is the result of the author's choice (Boase-Beier 2004: 277-278, 2006a: 40). It can therefore be said that the

linguistic representations are reflections of the author's world view (Fowler 1977: 103).

With this in mind, to construct the intended meanings of the source text in the target text, it is essential for a literary translator to be conscious of not only what is said in the original, but also how it is expressed. In the process of translating, style has a central role in reconstructing the intended meaning of the text (Boase-Beier 2006a: 40). The task of translator is therefore to 'preserve both meaning content and style' (Gutt 2000: 198). If we define literary texts as those which are concerned with style as well as content, they are likely to include legal documents, advertisements, songs or jokes as well as poetry or novels when the style of these texts are considered as important as the meanings (Boase-Beier 1998: 33).

Relevance theory cannot help judge a translation as correct or incorrect, as it is the translator who decides the equivalence to what is implied in the text, and the inaccessibility of the author's intention means the reconstruction is never a perfect equivalent. The reconstruction remains just that: a reconstruction of the author's intention. Moreover, if the same translator translates the same text later the new translation may be different from the previous one, while another translator may reconstruct the implications differently. But the awareness that translation as a form of communication is subject to relevance theory can have an effect on translation strategies (Boase-Beier 2006a: 41-42, 2006b: 51).

In the case of *EWJ*, Marian's speech is conveyed with an inappropriate style. Despite the explicit feminist theme of the novel and the protagonist's role as a feminist, in the Japanese translation Marian speaks with impeccably feminine language such as that used by upper-class women in the early 19th century, and is supposed to be used by the feminine ideal. For the reader there is thus a mismatch between the

independent contemporary working woman and her speech style. However, this translation could have been done differently if the translator was aware of the relevance of translation.

In polysystem theory, which is explained in the next section, the priority is placed on target texts and source texts have only a marginal role (Toury 1985, 1995, 2006; Even-Zohar 2006). In this view, the norms of the target culture govern the decisions of translators. Therefore, in a target culture which contains an over-feminising translation tradition, translators will tend to obey these conventions when translating a text. According to relevance theory, however, the focus is on the recreation of the features of the source text in the target text. Relevance theory thus considers translation as a type of interactive communication, and hence, equally involves both source and target texts. As discussed above, it is hard to judge a translation as right or wrong. However, from a relevance theory point of view it could be argued in *EW* that the translation is not successful in achieving a reconstruction of what is implicated in as relevant a way as possible in the Japanese translation. This issue is discussed in detail Chapter 4, especially Sections 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6. More generally, my thesis seeks to establish the best balance between a relevance theory point of view and a polysystem point of view.

## 1.5 De-Feminising Translation

As shown above, some translation problems are caused by the over-feminising tendency. To address the problems, as expressed in **statement (4)** above, this thesis proposes a de-feminising translation strategy to challenge the feminising convention in the Japanese literary world.

In von Flotow's view (1997: 8-12, 14), a radical approach to feminist translation aims to make the feminine visible through the experimental use of language in such a way that both the narrator's voice and, often, the voice of individual characters, are feminised. Radical feminist writing aims thus to undermine conventional language which women are forced to use by male-dominant authorities. Therefore, to make women visible in language is the way to give them their own voice instead of their being resigned to a subordinate position in society, whether western or otherwise (Godard 1990: 90; von Flotow 1997: 28). My approach concerns the overly-represented feminine in the speech of female characters (and not narrators) in Japanese literature, both original and translated. Therefore, the strategy I present here intends to neutralise excessive femininity, and to make female characters relevant to the original character in the translation. As indicated above, the strategy seeks the best balance between an academic translation, in other words, a radical or experimental translation, and a marketable one.

To experiment with the de-feminising strategy, the texts I have chosen are as follows:

10) English novel: *The Edible Woman* (*EW*, 1969) by Margaret Atwood

11) Japanese translation: *Taberareru Onna* (*EWJ*, 1996) translated by Ōura Akio

As indicated above, in *EW*, despite the fact that the female protagonist Marian is a feminist, the over-feminised representation of her speech style is striking. Therefore, the aim of my re-translation is to make Marian's speech as close as possible to her image in the original novel. Furthermore, her language use is made as close as possible to the real language use of Japanese women.

In Ōura's translation, Marian and the other female characters hardly swear although their counterparts sometimes use rude words in the original novel. Not only do the female characters in the Japanese translation avoid swear words, but they also use feminine and sophisticated language in terms of the lexical and grammatical choices mentioned above. This results in a very striking difference in their images in the original novel and the Japanese translation. I therefore intend to preserve their language as far as possible to recreate their figures in my re-translation. This strategy can be regarded as foreignisation in Venuti's (2008: 125) sense; by making visible the otherness to the target readers, it lets them realise that the text is originally written in a foreign language. Moreover, to the readers who are used to over-feminised representation, the de-feminising strategy will provide a new perspective in allowing them to see that the over-feminising translation conflicts with the characters' representation in the original novel (see Section 4.3).

The Japanese translation of *EW* was published in 1996 and so it may not be feasible to try to publish a new translation since publishers usually do not publish re-translations so soon after the first. Thus, the purpose of my re-translation is to present a new model for Japanese translation which can be applied to other texts. More broadly, my aims are to break the over-feminising convention of translation, and to call Japanese women's attention to the ideological aspect of women's language, and the female representation constructed by women's language, in literary originals and translated texts.

In order to apply the de-feminising strategy to my re-translation, some theories, such as reader-response theory and relevance theory, discussed above, and polysystem theory (see Section 1.5.1 below), are pertinent. In polysystem theory, Even-Zohar (2006: 204) defines translation

activity as a part of a socio-cultural system, and accordingly female representation in literature should be seen within the socio-cultural context of Japanese society. That is, the represented figure of women in literature is inevitably influenced by norms in the target system. In addition, readers already have expectations about how a translation should be (Chesterman 1997: 64). Thus, it is crucial to find a fine balance in the extent to which the re-translation can challenge the norms.

In seeking this balance, reader-response theory (see Section 1.4.1) can be used to investigate how the re-translation might be received. To present an alternative translation which can be accepted by Japanese women, we should be conscious of the target audience and how they accept feminist theory. Relevance theory (see Section 1.4.2) also helps translators to find what the text is likely to mean to readers, rather than just what linguistic decoding suggests. When female characters speak in a novel, it is especially important to be conscious of how they speak. If the text over-feminises a female character's speech and creates a mismatch between the character's figure and her speech style, it will interrupt readers' efforts at interpreting the meaning of the text.

## 1.5.1 What Can Polysystem Theory Explain?

Even-Zohar views translated literature as a part of a set of systems of the target culture, which are tightly linked to the social, literary and historical context (Munday 2001: 108): 'translation is no longer a phenomenon whose nature and borders are given once and for all, but an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system' (Even-Zohar 2006: 204). By paying attention to the sociological context, translation studies gained a broader perspective and shifted from

individual text analysis to a literary study involving cultural, historical and literary systems (Gentzler 2001: 120; Munday 2001: 111). According to Even-Zohar (2006: 200-201), translations have a larger impact on the literary system in a country when that country is under one of these conditions:

> (a) […] when a literature is 'young,' in the process of being established;
> (b) when a literature is either 'peripheral' […] or 'weak,' or both;
> (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature                                         (Even-Zohar 2006: 200-201)

When translated literature is peripheral in the target culture, translation strategies are to find the 'best ready-made secondary models for the foreign text' (Even-Zohar 2006: 204); that is, to obey the literary convention that already exists. As a result, translated texts tend to follow the writing styles which can be seen in originally written literature. On the other hand, when translation has a more central role in the target culture, translators try to break conventions. In these circumstances, translated texts have mainly two functions in the society. The first is to work as mediation that introduces new ideas to the readers. The second is to work as a model of writing to the native writers. In this case, the writers in the target culture are very likely to imitate the form of writing in the source culture (Gentzler 2001: 114, 117). The situation of Japanese translation is the former case though the proportion of translation is bigger than in the UK and the US. Japanese translators, therefore, follow the dominant roles of the literary system.

In the former case, translators' strategies are restricted by the recurrent performance of norms in society (Hermans 1999: 75). Translation is an activity involving not only two languages, but also two cultural traditions or norm-systems. Translators, therefore, transform the text from

one norm-system to another. According to Toury, norms can be defined as 'performance instructions' (1995: 55) which constrain how an individual behaves in society (Hermans 1999: 75, 2002: no page *this is a web article without page numbers). Members of a society learn the norms through socialisation, with the process involving sanctions whether actual or potential, negative or positive.

Hence, the decision maker of a translation strategy is the 'recipient culture' (Toury 1985: 18) and a translator needs to operate according to the norms in the target culture rather than to those in the source culture. However, even in the same target culture, there is sometimes a clash between the norms of authorities and non-authorities. Readers have 'the expectations of readers of a translation (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like' (Chesterman 1997: 64). Thus, translators should find the best balance that meets the criteria of the target culture, and make the text acceptable or appropriate to the society in general (Chesterman 1997: 65-66).

There are some criticisms of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (Gentzler 2001: 121-123; Munday 2001: 111). Firstly, this theory is based on little evidence and over-generalises the laws of translation. Secondly, although the texts that he analyses were translated in 1970, he relies on a 1920's Formalist model. Thirdly, he tends to focus on the abstract model and it is doubtful whether this can be applied to actual situations. Lastly, it is questionable if the supposed scientific model is objective enough. Nevertheless, polysystem theory is helpful to elucidate the situation of Japanese translation not only in the Japanese literary system but also in the socio-historical context. The relevance of these theories to my translation strategies is discussed next.

## 1.5.2. How Can Theories Help Translators?

The theories outlined above do not provide direct guidelines for practical translation. However, knowledge of them allows us to take a new approach to translation (Boase-Beier 2006b: 48). For example, polysystem theory draws attention to the fact that Japanese translation is part of the Japanese cultural, social and political context, and that the presentation of women in Japanese translation is to be seen within a broader context rather than just as representation of a character in a book. Such awareness has motivated me to address the over-feminised representation in the re-translation I present here.

Scholars who work on polysystem theory, such as Toury (1985, 1995, 2006) or Even-Zohar (2006) have focused mostly on descriptive studies of translation and the literary system—'the ways in which (usually literary) translations have been received in the target culture, what effects these translations have had, and why they have been received in this way' (Chesterman and Wagner 2001: 22). This study, however, aims to apply the theory to practice as far as possible. Thus, knowledge of polysystem theory influences my attitude to the re-translation, and makes my translation different. In this sense, this is an application of the theory, and is what theories can contribute to the practice of translation. Meanwhile, if I were not aware of the cultural, social and political context behind women's speech in a Japanese translation, I would not have a critical view on female representation in literature, and I would not attempt a de-feminising translation.

The same can be said of both reader-response and relevance theory. The awareness of the reader's role in interpreting a text has made me avoid a radical translation because this would not be welcomed in

Japanese society. I would rather choose a more modest approach to neutralise the ideologically fabricated figure of female speech in Japanese translation. In relevance theory, as indicated above, style is crucial to carry the inferential meaning in the source text to the readers. The consciousness of style will make translation different. In this sense, knowledge of theories leads me to translate in a new way.

As stated in **statement (4)**, a new translation in Chapter 5 proposes the solution to the main questions in my thesis, based on the translation problems indicated in **statement (3)**. The discussion of the problems in Japanese literature and translation, and the guidelines that this thesis presents are completely new areas and thus constitute the main, original contribution of my study.

## 1.6 Limitations of this Thesis

I use various theories such as feminist theory, polysystem theory, reader-response theory and relevance theory as descriptive tools to make the de-feminising strategy clearer. Therefore, it is not my intention to argue for these theories themselves in this thesis. As explained above, when we have knowledge of these theories, we can consider alternatives when translating a text. This is what is presented in Chapter 5, 'De-Feminising Translation'.

In addition, as listed above, I use various novels in this thesis. However, the purpose of their use is to collect as wide a body of evidence as possible to show the current literary situation in Japan, discuss the problems within it and offer solutions. These different texts are used as the main object of study and comparison; I do not offer literary criticism of these novels or their translations. These texts are appropriate examples to

show the contrast between real women's language and literary language, or between translators' language choice which indexes female characters' femininity. Although these novels are written in a different period and come from a variety of genres—some contemporary, others classic—this thesis focuses on the situation of contemporary Japanese translation. Therefore, it deals with translations which are currently on the market and use contemporary Japanese language.

According to Williams and Chesterman (2002: 8), there are three general approaches to translation studies:

1) <u>Source-oriented</u>: based on the relation between the translation and its source texts.
2) <u>Target-language-oriented</u>: equivalence is not a central concept here. This approach uses text analysis [...] in order to assess the differences between the translation in question and other comparable text in the target language.
3) <u>Translation effects</u>: on clients, teachers, critics, and readers.

(underlining mine)

Within this tripartite categorisation, the focus of my study is mainly on a target-language-oriented approach to translation. Thus, I focus less on the source-oriented views on translation, although the notion of 'academic' quality mentioned above does include consideration of the relation between original texts and the translations, and equivalent representations in both texts. Translation effects, the third approach, are also considered in seeking the best translation strategy to accommodate the target culture.

Furthermore, as explained above (see also Chapter 4, Section 4.2), my focus is on a feminist translation in which female representations are constructed by language use, not sexist expressions in language; to remove the excessive feminine language use influenced and filtered by social expectations for ideal femininity; and to make the female characters as close as possible to the original in my retranslation.

## 1.7 Brief Synopsis of Chapters

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces and summarises briefly my thesis. Chapters 2 and 3 provide an overview of the Japanese literary world. Chapter 2 offers a critical analysis of over-feminising in contemporary Japanese novels and translations, and shows how and to what extent female characters' speech patterns do not reflect Japanese women's contemporary language practice. Section 2.1 analyses language use in the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* and the Japanese novel *Kicchin*. Based on these analyses, Sections 2.2 and 2.3 investigate the function of Japanese literature, whether original or translated, as a display of 'doing gender' (West & Zimmerman 1987: 125). As explained in Section 2.2, and as briefly touched upon in this introduction, there are two chief features of women's language in translation and original fiction: the remarkable gap between literary and real-life language; and that Japanese readers are not only used to this but feel no discomfort with it. Indeed, the readers' subconscious acceptance of over-feminised language use in literature is, arguably to a great extent, a factor in the spread of gender ideology among Japanese people. Section 2.3 investigates the gender ideology in Japanese society and how it is received by Japanese women. More broadly, Chapter 2 also provides evidence for the over-feminising tendency of Japanese literature and translation, and hypothesises that Japanese literature and translation are shapers of gender ideology.

The ideological aspect of Japanese women's language is more thoroughly explored in Chapter 3. Section 3.1 defines the three essential terms: ideology, language ideology and gender ideology. Section 3.2 considers how the politically established women's language was installed

in literature, highlighting the crucial role played by the literary movement *genbun-itchi* and the Japanese translation of a Russian novel in its implantation. Here, polysystem theory helps to explain the position of translation in the movement *genbun-itchi* and also elaborates how women's language became a new linguistic norm in Japanese society. Section 3.3 deals with a Japanese writer of the Meiji period, Futabatei Shimei, and his challenge to gendered linguistic norms by seeking to de-feminise female speech in his translation of a Russian novel against the newly-established over-feminising convention. In relation to linguistic norms, Section 3.4 investigates the influence of a male interpretation of female speech. From the study of the Japanese translations of *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice*, it can be said that the male translators are likely to use more feminine forms for female speech than the female translator and actual women's language use. In other words, male translators tend to rely on stereotypes of women's speech. Section 3.5 shows how femininity is stereotypically represented in Japanese fiction and translation, also noting how even a female translator cannot be free from the constraint of social expectation, with stereotypes of female speech deeply rooted in Japanese society. Thus, Section 3.6 investigates how stereotypes are created and how they reinforce gender ideology, while Section 3.7 examines the social expectations of how women should speak, how actual Japanese men and women perceive such expectations, and how Japanese women deal with them in their daily lives.

Chapter 4 explores the translation problems are caused by over-feminisation, and presents a de-feminising strategy as a new approach to Japanese translation. Section 4.1 examines the relationships between feminist movements in western countries and translation studies, and indicates how unpopular feminist movements are in Japanese society.

Section 4.2 narrows down feminist movements to a movement which mainly concerns gender and language issues, and draws on von Flotow's (1997) classification to describe feminist translation strategies. Section 4.3 proposes a de-feminising strategy which is presented here as a counter to conventional over-feminising translation. The reasons for my re-translations are also stated here. Section 4.4 illustrates how the same utterance of a female character can be translated in three different ways because of the characteristic features of the Japanese language, using the three Japanese translations of *Mrs Dalloway* (1925, by Virginia Woolf) for illustrations. Sections 4.5 and 4.6 discuss the problem of over-feminising translation and show the Japanese translation of *The Edible Woman* as an example in which the protagonist's language use appears strangely synchronised with the language use of the early 20th century woman, Mrs Dalloway. Section 4.7 is an investigation of feminism in Japan which, as indicated above, is particularly unpopular in Japanese society. To display this tendency, I have collected Japanese women's voices here. In order to find the best balance between an academic translation and a widely acceptable translation, it is crucial to know the target culture and audience, and I thus apply reader-response theory to this examination.

Chapter 5 is a proposal for the de-feminising translation and here I re-translate some passages of *The Edible Woman* under the influence of several theories including feminist theory, polysystem theory, reader-response theory, and relevance theory. Section 5.1 provides guidelines for how de-feminising can be used in Japanese translation. Section 5.2 is a concrete presentation of de-feminising translation. Finally, Section 5.3 is a presentation of how de-feminising and over-feminising can be combined in a translation. In this section, de-feminising and over-feminising are

used to draw a clear contrast between Marian's character and that of her two female friends.

Chapter 6 summarises my thesis, evaluating the findings from my research and demonstrating the contributions of this study. I further discuss here the future directions to develop this research.

# Chapter 2   Over-Feminising in Japanese Literature

## 2.1 Emphasised Femininity in Japanese Translation and Fiction

The language found in Japanese translation and original fiction is very different from that used by Japanese women in their real lives. Women's language in fiction is fabricated. Present-day Japanese women do not use literary language in everyday conversations. They do, however, read it as used by female characters, particularly those in non-Japanese novels and stories. As will be explored in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of Chapter 3, translators have persistently used such gender-marked women's language for a long time. Thus, no matter what their gender, readers take it for granted that female characters will use stereotypical women's language in translation. While reading, they bridge the gap between the two languages, literary language and real-life language, in their minds. This is a convention of Japanese translation (Inoue 2003; Nakamura 2007b).

When exploring contemporary Japanese translation, it is especially important to consider how different literary language and real-life language are. However, while there are some analyses of the artificial use of women's language in literature, there have been no empirical studies. Therefore, this section explores how female characters' speech patterns in Japanese fiction, both original and translated, do not reflect Japanese women's contemporary language practice.

In order to explore this point, I compare the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* (*BJD*,[1] by Kamei Yoshiko 1998) and a Japanese novel キッチン *Kicchin* [*Kitchen*] (by Yoshimoto Banana 1988) with a linguistic

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[1] The abbreviation *BJD* is used for the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* (by Kamei Yoshiko 1998) in this thesis.

analysis of Japanese women's conversation. Both *BJD* and *Kicchin* are contemporary novels and the characters' conversations occur mostly in informal situations. They are therefore appropriate texts to compare with real Japanese women's dialogues. For this analysis, I focus on the sentence-final forms because they are regarded as the clearest distinguishing characteristics of women's language.

*BJD*'s eponymous protagonist is a single, working woman in London, in her thirties, and her speech style is modern and colloquial in the original. This novel was a worldwide bestseller with sales of over two million copies, garnered the 1998 British Book of the Year award, and was adapted into a film in 2001 (Memmott 2006). *Kicchin*, meanwhile, is the first work of the best-selling Japanese writer, Yoshimoto Banana. The main character, Mikage, is a Japanese university student in her twenties, who, after losing her only relation, her grandmother, starts living with a young man and his male-to-female transsexual mother. Written when Yoshimoto was 24 years old, this story is narrated in 'an upbeat, colloquial style' (Harker 1999: 36) with a young person's dialect, supposedly influenced by comics for teenage girls (Amitrano 1996: 35). Because the narrative parts are written as chats between young girls, the style has been described by some Japanese reviewers as 'bubble-gum' Japanese (Harker 1999: 37). This novel has so far been translated into more than 25 languages around the world since its publication in 1988. It has sold over six million copies in Japan alone,[2] and has won Japanese and Italian prizes (Treat 1995: 276; Gaouette 1998: 13).

Firstly, I compare the Japanese translation of *BJD* with the results of an analysis of Japanese women's conversations (Okamoto and Sato 1992).

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[2] The first translation of *Kitchen* is the Italian version and sold 90,000 copies, while in Germany, 20,000 copies were sold immediately (Treat 1995: 278-279).

While Okamoto and Sato's study was conducted in 1992, given the years when *Kicchin* and *BJD* were published—1988 and 1997 respectively—it can be said that the linguistic analysis is acceptable as a benchmark for this study. As explained in Chapter 1, Section 1.2, Japanese is a gender-marked language, i.e. characterised by the explicit marking of femininity and masculinity. Thus, the speaker's femininity or masculinity level rather than that of the referent is indicated through different sentence-final particles, such as *wa* or *no*. Therefore, when rendering a foreign character's speech, the translator has to choose from a wide variety of options depending on the speaker's perceived level of femininity or masculinity. Thus, the translator's choice of language largely affects the image of the characters who tend to be more clearly defined in terms of gender in the Japanese translation than they are in the original. Moreover, a female character's femininity level may be different in each Japanese translation if the same novel is translated by several different translators.

In this analysis, both the fictional and actual conversations chosen occur in the context of close friendships. 115 sentences in *BJD* and 390 instances of actual conversations were selected for study. I focus on sentence-final forms divided into five classifications: strongly feminine; moderately feminine; strongly masculine; moderately masculine; and neutral (see Appendix 1 for the list exemplifying the classification) (Okamoto and Sato 1992: 480-482). Sentence-final forms with no remarkable gender indexing are categorised as neutral forms. This methodology is also used in other comparisons in this thesis.

In the case of *BJD*, the protagonist Bridget Jones's conversations with three close friends, Tom, Jude and Sharon, are studied, while Okamoto and Sato's survey (1992) is examined for the actual

conversations. This survey is based on nine tape-recorded informal two-person conversations between three female homemakers aged 27-34, who are all close friends. All of the subjects are from middle- or upper-middle-class backgrounds, were born in Tokyo and residing there at the time, and speak standard Japanese. Given the similarity with Bridget's age—a thirty-something—these data are comparable (see *Table 1* below).

*Table 1*
**Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms (*BJD* and Real Language Practices)**

| Sentence-final Forms | Total Tokens Used (%) | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | Okamoto and Sato (1992) | *BJD* (1998) |
| **Feminine forms** | **24%** | **45.22%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 12% | 28.70% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 12% | 16.52% |
| **Masculine forms** | **14%** | **0.87%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 0% | 0.87% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 14% | 0.00% |
| **Neutral forms** | **62%** | **53.91%** |

Note (1): Total number of tokens = 390 (130 instances for each subject, Okamoto and Sato 1992) and 115 (*BJD* 1998).
Note (2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated for the first time.
Note (3): Each subject in Okamoto and Sato's survey is aged between 27-34.
Note (4): All figures are rounded off to two decimal places.
Source of the data 'Okamoto and Sato':
Okamoto, Shigeko and Shie Sato (1992), 'Less Feminine Speech among Young Japanese Females', in eds. Hall, Kira, Mary Bucholtz and Birch Moonwomon, *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference, April 4 and 5, 1992, Vol.1*, Berkeley and Calif: Berkeley Women and Language Group: 483

From the results compiled by Okamoto and Sato, we can see that Japanese women's language is mostly composed of neutral forms (62%). They sometimes use feminine forms (24%), and at times masculine forms appear in their conversations (14%). In the translation, meanwhile, Bridget

uses mostly neutral (53.91 %) or feminine forms (45.22%), and it is extremely rare that she speaks with masculine forms (0.87%).

Two key differences emerge from the analysis of these two sets of data between the use of feminine forms and masculine forms. Firstly, for feminine forms, *BJD* uses nearly twice as many as found by Okamoto and Sato: 45.22% in *BJD* versus 24% in Okamoto and Sato. The difference is more remarkable when considering the balance between strongly feminine forms and moderately feminine forms in Okamoto and Sato, and *BJD*. While strongly feminine and moderately feminine forms have the same percentage—12%—in Okamoto and Sato, there is a remarkable discrepancy between the two forms in *BJD*: 28.70% and 16.52% respectively. This indicates the translator's inclination toward strongly feminine forms, as not only does she use feminine forms much more than in real women's discourse, but she also heightens Bridget's femininity with strong feminine forms. The translator's language choice thus constructs Bridget's personality as being much more feminine than that of real Japanese women.

Regarding masculine forms, meanwhile, *BJD* seems to intentionally avoid these. While instances of masculine form usage were 14% in Okamoto and Sato, there is only one masculine form in *BJD* (or 0.87%). For instance, although Bridget uses swear words such as 'Bastard!' (Fielding 1997: 126, 168), 'Bastards' (1997: 127), '[…] the bloody bastard' (1997: 127), and 'Bloody bastard' (1997: 127), most of them were modified: 'ろくでなし! (*Rokudenashi*!) [A good-for-nothing]' (Kamei 1998: 166), 'ろくでなしども! (*rokudenashidomo*!) [Good-for-nothings]' (1998: 167), or 'うすらとんかちのろくでなし(*Usuratonkachi no rokudenashi*) [A foolish good-for-nothing]' (1998: 167). Only once does the translator use a masculine particle '*ga*' to emphasize Bridget's anger to 'fuckwittage' by men (Fielding 1997: 188): 'ろ

くでなしどもが! (*Rokudenashidomo ga*!) [Loser!]' (Kamei 1998: 245). Here, the particle '*ga*' indicates Bridget's abusive language use (*Shinmeikai Japanese Dictionary* 2005: 214). In general, the language use of Japanese women has become less feminised, and nowadays there are few female sentence-final forms actually used by women (Endo 1997; Mizumoto 2005). Notwithstanding this tendency, Bridget shows a strong inclination towards feminine forms, and the enormous gap between Bridget's language and real life language is noteworthy.

This over-feminising tendency is also seen in the Japanese subtitles of the film *Bridget Jones's Diary* (translated by Toda Natsuko, 1998) (see Furukawa 2009: no page, *this is an online article and has no page numbers). The proportion of feminine forms in the subtitles is 45.0%, while the frequency of neutral forms is 55.50%. It thus appears that the subtitles show more use of artificial language, as in the film subtitles Bridget only uses strongly feminine or neutral forms, while there are no moderately feminine or masculine forms of either type. As for the deletion or modification of swear words, the subtitles show a similar tendency (Chapter 5, Section 5.3 discusses this issue in detail).

When we compare Bridget's language with that of her two close female friends, it becomes clear that the novel's central character is not supposed to be particularly womanly. In *Table 2*, I analyse Sharon and Jude's conversations with Bridget. Both are independent working women in London of a similar age to Bridget. Their characters are described as more decisive than Bridget's in the novel, with Sharon strongly influenced by feminist theory, while Jude has a successful career and hires a personal shopper.

*Table 2*
 **Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms (Bridget, Sharon and Jude in BJD)**

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| Sentence-final Forms | Total Tokens Used (%) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Bridget | Sharon | Jude |
| **Feminine forms** | **45.218%** | **45.883%** | **47.692%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 28.696% | 31.765% | 36.923% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 16.522% | 14.118% | 10.769% |
| **Masculine forms** | **0.870%** | **0.00%** | **0.00%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 0.870% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 0.000% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| **Neutral forms** | **53.913%** | **54.118%** | **52.308%** |

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Note (1): Total number of tokens = 115 (Bridget), 85 (Sharon), and 65 (Jude).
Note (2): As all figures are rounded off to three decimal places, there is a systematic error when
they are totalled.

Although some differences can be seen in the use of strongly feminine and moderately feminine forms, there is no more than a 2.5 % difference in between any categories: feminine forms, masculine forms, and neutral forms. Surprisingly, Bridget's use is less feminine than her friends', with the frequency of strongly feminine forms more than 8 % less than Jude's. The three sets of data clearly illustrate that the language use of each is surprisingly close to the others', no matter how feminine they are.

Clearly, fictional characters are not necessarily supposed to represent real people, and women in a novel might represent exceptionally feminine figures. However, what I am arguing here is that female characters tend to be over-feminised by women's language in Japanese translation no matter how the characters' femininity is represented in the original text. As noted previously, I have also analysed three different translations of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (first

published in 1813), which are currently on the market in Japan—Tomita Akira's 1950 version; Nakano Yoshio's 1963 version; and Nakano Koji's 2003 version; and three translations of Austen's *Emma* (first published in 1815): Shoko Harding's 1997 version; Kudo Masashi's 2000 version; and Nakano Koji's 2005 version. Surprisingly, all of these texts show a tendency to over-feminisation. Thus, Japanese readers of these translations perceive a double-layered femininity constructed by the descriptions in the novel and the translator's language choice (see *Tables 5* and *6* in Chapter 3, Sections 3.4 and 3.5 for more details).

The above analysis demonstrates that a foreign female character uses fabricated Japanese women's language, which is rarely used by actual Japanese women today. So, if the translators' use of women's language is considerably different from Japanese women's real language practices, what happens in fiction originally written in Japanese? I consider, firstly, whether novelists, like translators, choose conventional feminine forms, and secondly, I compare the language in a contemporary Japanese novel— Yoshimoto Banana's *Kicchin*—with *BJD* under the same conditions as the previous analyses.

In the case of *Kicchin*, conversations between the protagonist Mikage and her close friend Yuichi are studied, with 200 instances collected and analysed. Again, the focus is on sentence-final forms, with the five main categories: strongly feminine, moderately feminine, strongly masculine, moderately masculine, or neutral in accordance with Okamoto and Sato (1992: 480-482; see Appendix 1). Considering feminine forms first, (see *Table 3*), *Kicchin* uses 1.5% more strongly feminine forms than *BJD*. The result suggests strongly that language in Japanese translation and fiction is not obviously different in the case of *BJD* and *Kicchin*, and both

the translator and the novelist use markedly feminine language when creating female characters in their works. Furthermore, it should be noted that both the novelist and translator are female, and therefore it is women themselves who are constructing the extensively feminine personalities in these works. Indeed, it is interesting to see how close the translator and the novelist's choices of femininity level are to each other even though no similarities can be observed between the two main characters, Bridget and Mikage.

*Table 3*
**Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms (*BJD* and *Kicchin*)**

| Sentence-final Forms | Total Tokens Used (%) | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | *BJD* (1998) | *Kicchin* (1988) |
| **Feminine forms** | **45.2%** | **46.5%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 28.7% | 25.0% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 16.5% | 21.5% |
| **Masculine forms** | **0.9%** | **1.0%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 0.9% | 0.5% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 0.0% | 0.5% |
| **Neutral forms** | **53.9%** | **52.5%** |

Note (1): Total number of tokens = 115 (*BJD* 1998) and 200 (*Kicchin* 1988).
Note (2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated or published
        for the first time.
Note (3): All figures are rounded off to one decimal place.

These data from *Kicchin* and *BJD* can be compared with the real language practices studied by Okamoto and Sato (1992). The data are for students aged 18-23 and of home-makers aged 27-34. Because of the similarity between the age groups—Mikage is a university student in her twenties, and Bridget is in her thirties—Okamoto and Sato's data can thus serve to some extent as a benchmark, although the occupations are different from Bridget's.

The frequency of feminine forms in *Kicchin* is more than three times that found in the real conversations (see *Table 4*). *BJD* also shows a high frequency of feminine forms; more than twice as many as those in the same age bracket in Okamoto and Sato. Moreover, it should be noted that the percentages of masculine forms in both *Kicchin* and *BJD* are considerably lower: 1.0% in *Kicchin* and 0.9% in *BJD*. From these results, it is obvious that female characters in Japanese novels and translations are far more feminine than real Japanese women in terms of their use of language. Although the younger group shows a lower percentage of feminine forms in the analysis of real discourse, Mikage and Bridget show similar femininity in their language.

At first glance the two main characters in *Kicchin*, Mikage (female) and Yuichi (her male friend), do not seem to use such gendered language. In terms of the impression of their speech, femininity and masculinity seem to be absent in this novel (Endo 1997: 191). Nonetheless, this study clearly shows that Mikage's speech style is significantly more feminine than that of real Japanese women. Doi and Aoyagi (2001: 88-89) point out that all language in fiction is constructed artificially and there can be a discrepancy between book prose and real language discourse. Indeed, literary language does not necessarily the same as real language discourse. Nevertheless, the gap indicated in *Table 4* is too significant to be ignored.

*Table 4*
**Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms**
**(*Kicchin*, *BJD* and Real Language Practices)**

| Sentence-final Forms | Total Tokens Used (%) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | aged 18-23 | *Kicchin* (1988) | aged 27-34 | *BJD* (1998) |
| **Feminine forms** | **14%** | **46.5%** | **24%** | **45.2%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 4% | 25.0% | 12% | 28.7% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 10% | 21.5% | 12% | 16.5% |
| **Masculine forms** | **29%** | **1.0%** | **14%** | **0.9%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 5% | 0.5% | 0% | 0.9% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 24% | 0.5% | 14% | 0.0% |
| **Neutral forms** | **57%** | **52.5%** | **62%** | **53.9%** |

Note (1): Total number of tokens = 1300 (130 instances for each subject, Okamoto and Sato 1992), 115 (*BJD* 1998), and 200 (*Kicchin* 1988).
Note (2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated or published for the first time.
Note (3): All figures in *Kicchin* and *BJD* are rounded off to one decimal place.
Source of the data 'aged 18-23' and 'aged 27-34'
> Okamoto, Shigeko and Shie Sato (1992), 'Less Feminine Speech among Young Japanese Females', in eds. Hall, Kira, Mary Bucholtz and Birch Moonwomon, *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference, April 4 and 5, 1992, Vol.1*, Berkeley and Calif: Berkeley Women and Language Group: 483

## 2.2 Two Chief Features of Women's Language in Translation and Fiction

There are two central aspects of Japanese women's language which are of importance to literary translation studies. The first, as demonstrated in the previous section, is the considerable gap between real-life language and literary language in terms of women's speech style. The language in Japanese translations and novels is very different from that used by Japanese women in their real lives. The second is the way in which Japanese readers take this gap for granted because it has become so prominent a convention.

Regarding the first point, Japanese readers hear the most authentic Japanese women's language from foreign female characters or women such as Scarlett O'Hara, Queen Elizabeth II or even Minnie Mouse, in translated novels, magazines, newspapers or film subtitles and dubbing (Inoue 2003: 314-315). Women's language in these media is thus very different from actual lived experience. As indicated above (Mizumoto 2005), the typical features of Japanese women's language which indicate speakers' femininity are almost dead among Japanese women under thirty. And yet, female characters in translation continue using such gender-marked language (Nakamura 2007b).

The study by Nakamura (2007b: 49, 60-61, 81-82) analyses representations of female speech in translation, and translated speech in newspapers and advertisements. In the Japanese translation of J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1999), 11 year-old Hermione Granger speaks with conventional women's language, giving an impression of a sophisticated, middle-to-upper-middle class adult to the readers. Meanwhile, in a newspaper interview about the crackdown on illegal immigration in Mexico, a female teacher's comment was translated with a stereotypical female sentence-final particle 'わ(*wa*)' (*Asahi Shinbun* [national newspaper] 12 April 2006). Meanwhile, in a newspaper advertisement for the Japan committee for UNICEF, Audrey Hepburn's phrase 'Children—is there anything more important than a child?' was translated with a quintessential feminine sentence-final particle 'かしら (*kashira*)' (*Asahi Shinbun* 17 December 2006). Both these particles are considered stereotypical features of women's language but in fact are already passé among contemporary Japanese women (Mizumoto 2005). Furthermore, Yabe (2001) analysed athletes' speech at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics in three Japanese national newspapers and found that foreign

athletes tend to be translated with casual forms and with feminine or masculine sentence-final forms in their speech, although Japanese athletes are likely to use formal and neutral forms. Yabe (2001: 176-179) concludes that foreign athletes' remarks are filtered by translators with stereotypes of feminine or masculine speech. Meanwhile, according to Chinami (2007), in translations of comics, especially male-targeted publications, female characters tend to use excessive feminine forms and the language use functions to index the speakers' youth, good upbringing, good manners and sexual attractiveness.

Interestingly, however, strong-spirited women's remarks tend not to be translated with women's language. For instance, the comments of former United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice were translated without women's language, but with assertive sentence-final forms (*Asahi.com* 09 January 2009). In this newspaper article, Condoleezza Rice is subtyped to exclude her from a category of ideal femininity (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6 for detailed explanation).

When applying Venuti's concepts of foreignisation and domestication, the phenomenon of the most impeccable women's language being uttered by foreign characters is particularly interesting. According to Venuti (2008: 13-20),  domestication strategies tend to strive for readability whereby linguistic and stylistic characteristics, metaphors and images, are changed to adjust to the system of the target language, or cultural values are deleted or altered to be seen as natural in the target culture. On the other hand, foreignising strategies make the target text 'strange and estranging in the receiving culture' (Venuti 2008: 263) by emphasising linguistic, stylistic and cultural difference in the source text.

Women's language was originally an example of foreignisation in translations of foreign novels. As indicated in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, women's language appeared as a young girl's speech in the Japanese translations of Russian novels in the Meiji period (1868-1912) (Nakamura 2007a: 144). For Japanese readers who were not used to women's language, the female speech must have sounded strange and estranging. The association of 'foreignness' with a modern and sophisticated image helped women's language to spread widely among Japanese women, and it achieved the status of a linguistic norm in the Japanese literary system (see Sections 1.3 and 3.2 for detailed discussion of this). The writers of the Meiji period *Genbun-itchi* movement started using and promoting the newly-constructed women's language, and it influenced schoolgirls and middle-, upper-middle, and upper-class women's speech style. Thus, women's language was not a reflection of real women's language from the start, but a fabrication of novelists and translators during the period (Nakamura 2007a: 143-144). This fact indicates that the western girls' speech in the novel, using women's language, was not produced from the target cultural norm.

However, the hundred years' of history of women's language in Japanese literature have made women's language an essential factor in the domestication of the process of translation. As the status of women's language in society rose, the foreignness of female speech with impeccable female language weakened. Women's language now has the stable status of a linguistic norm in the Japanese literary system and in Japanese society. As a result (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3), Japanese translation involves intracultural translation which converts female speech into the feminine ideal. This means, from the point of view of Venuti's theory (2008: 13-20),

translating with women's language is essentially about domesticating a foreign text.

According to Venuti (2008: 16), domestication involves 'ethnocentric violence' (Venuti 2008: 16); translators should therefore retain the difference for the target audience in their translations so that the readers realise the text is written in a foreign language. In the case of Japanese translation, which tends to over-feminise female speech and, as a part of the over-feminising convention, to delete or modify swear words, domestication thus entails male-chauvinism. Japanese translation is adapted to male-orientated norms (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3). What makes this worse is that female translators become mediators of this violence by using typical female forms for characters in their translations. For example, the female translator of Michael Ende's *Momo*, Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing*, and Adrienne Rich's *On Lies, Secrets, and Silence: Selected Prose* has confessed that she tends to be affected by social expectations for women's speech style, and uses feminine forms when she renders women's voices (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3 above):

> Even if characters use the same words, I sometimes translate them differently depending on the speaker's gender. Although I do not intend to be regulated by 'the Japanese women's language', I regulate myself to choose words by being subconsciously affected by deeply-rooted rules of 'femininity'. This regulation works even more strongly when I render a text which is written by a female writer. In most cases, I try to restrain myself and make the strong words ambiguous. That means that I avoid harsh or provocative words and make them obscure (my translation, Ōshima in Nakamura 2007b: 52).[3]

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[3]'同じ言葉であっても、男が言っているときと女が言っているときでは、訳し分けることがある。いわゆる女ことばに縛られているつもりはなくとも、身にしみついた「女らしさ」の約束ごとに無意識に引きずられて、自分の言葉の選び方を自分で規制している。この規制は、女が書いたものを訳すときには明らかにいっそう強く働く。たいていの場合、それは抑制を加え、曖昧にするというかたちを取る。耳ざわりなことばや刺激のつよい言葉を避けて、やんわりとぼかすのだ'(Ōshima in Nakamura 2007b: 52).

Her observation is supported by data in Chapter 3, Section 3.5, which signify that both male and female translators are prone to overuse the most stereotypical feminine forms in their translations.

The second key point noted above is the attitude of Japanese readers towards the fabricated language. Despite the huge gap between literary language and real life language, Japanese readers readily accept the fabricated fictional language and excessive use of feminine forms in Japanese literature, whether original or translated. This is because women's language has been repeatedly used in texts such as novels, TV dramas, films, advertisements, comics and animations, and Japanese people learn from them (Nakamura 2007b: 28). Since the Meiji-era *genbun-itchi* literary movement, stereotypical femininity has been constructed through media discourse. As a result, the norms continually reinforce the same ideological ideas. Therefore, it can be said that ideal feminine speech has been constructed through various discourses in literature, and the accepted norms pressure women into obeying—or at least understanding—the social expectations (Bohn 2008: 18). Women's language shapes gender ideology in Japanese society and the literary convention helps to spread, maintain and reinforce the linguistic norms of how women should speak.

This is not only seen in Japanese literature, including translations of foreign novels. Mizumoto (2005) investigated female characters' speech in 16 Japanese TV dramas from January 2003 to May 2004. Those surveyed ranged from late teens to mid-thirties in age, and consisted of 18 housewives, 10 career women, 7 office assistants, 4 teachers, 5 women in night clubs, and 6 high school or university students. The percentages of feminine forms used were 96.1 % by the early thirties, 76.3 % by the

twenties, and 70 % by the teens. By occupation, career women show the highest frequency of usage of feminine forms at 90 %, while among women who work at night clubs, the percentage was the least at 60 %.

Moreover, that is not the case only in Japan. In American classrooms, the Japanese language has been taught as a highly-gendered language to students learning it as a foreign language (Bohn 2008: 247). Textbooks instruct 'stereotypical gender norms, by emphasising the use of gendered language, including female/male differential uses of sentence-final particles, honorifics, and referential terms' (Bohn 2008: 247). Eighty seven percent of the students surveyed by Bohn (2008: 216-217) responded that they learnt gendered use from the media such as TV programmes, magazines or cartoons.

## 2.3 'Doing Gender' in Japanese Translation

Translation is not only a matter of language: when rendering a text, translators transfer the text between two cultures. Thus, translation is, in a sense, a transmutation of a source text into the context of the target language because the audience is inevitably influenced by the culture which they are in and into which the text is translated for them (Godard 1990: 93; Nakamura 2007b). Through this process of interpretation, it seems impossible to avoid completely the intervention of the dominant ideology of the target society, literary norms or translators' bias. This is especially the case in Japanese translation because it has become a kind of convention that translators use fictional (or fabricated) language rather than real-life language (see Section 2.1). This fictional language tends to be gender-marked, and as discussed previously (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2), this was politically determined and motivated.

If translation is regarded as mediation of the context between the source language and culture and target language and culture, one of the most significant transformations is the more detailed classification of characters' femininity or masculinity in the translated text, as analysed in Section 2.1. That is, in Japanese translations the characters must explicitly 'do gender' (West & Zimmerman 1987: 125) even if their speech patterns in the English text are not clearly differentiated.

As argued in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, there are two major perspectives on gender: the essentialist view and the constructionist view. Essentialists consider the construction of genders to be determined by biological criteria, whereas constructionists believe that gender is acquired and social circumstances impinge upon the process (West & Zimmerman 1987: 127, 140).[4] From the constructionist point of view, we create our gender identities through a 'stylized repetition of acts' (Butler 2006: 191) such as gestures, behaviours and clothing. Butler (2006: 191) clearly states that performability is the key to gender acquisition, while according to West and Zimmerman, gender is 'a routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment' (1987: 126)— i.e. something developed through nurture.

From the essentialist perspective, a woman is born as a woman. This is biologically divined. Thus, when she is born, she naturally starts using women's language, which is a biologically installed gendering process. However, in Japanese society women's language is an accomplishment.  Through education and upbringing, women are repeatedly taught how they are supposed to speak. Norms, according to

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[4] Sex is 'a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males' (West and Zimmerman 1987: 127), but gender is acquired like human beings acquire 'the requisite categorical apparatus' (ibid) through their upbringings.

Toury (1995: 55), are regularity of behaviour in recurrent situations where members of a society share what is appropriate or inappropriate. Individuals acquire norms through socialisation, and in this sense, women's language is acquired and used to construct gender identity because women are aware of the social expectations placed upon them.

If gender is something created by social situations, then social situation and education could affect the construction of femininity and masculinity. As West and Zimmerman (1987: 125-126) discuss, even if 'doing gender' is the activity of an individual, social situations make people 'do' it:

> [I]t is individuals who 'do' gender. But it is a situated doing, carried out in the virtual or real presence of others who are presumed to be oriented to its production. Rather than as a property of individuals, we conceive of gender as an emergent feature of social situations […] (1987: 126).

If 'doing gender' is a skill which individuals acquire, the gap between the source texts and the target texts in translation may therefore serve as a mediator of feminine ideology. Gender is 'done' by individuals, and an exemplar of this can be seen in Japanese translation. In this thesis, therefore, I take a constructionist view and consider translation as mediation which reproduces ideologies of feminine speech style.

A number of linguists have considered this notion of ideology. Inoue (2003) explores reported speech in some texts such as a Japanese translation of *Gone with the Wind* (Margaret Mitchell 1936). Nakamura (2007b; see Section 2.2.) also investigates a Japanese translation of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997), indicating that the dissimilarities between the source and target texts of foreign characters' femininity or masculinity. Both conclude that interlingual translation mediates the reproduction of women's language as an ideology. In these translations,

Japanese readers see how female characters perform as women in Japanese translation. This convention can also be seen in newspapers, magazines and television programmes as explained above (Mizumoto 2005; Inoue 2006; Chinami 2007; Nakamura 2007b). The representation of females in the media and popular culture is thus constructed in accordance with the social norms in the Japanese literary system, and the dominant models encourage Japanese women to acquire women's language.

Translation has a bigger impact on the book market in Japan than in the UK or America. The percentage of translated titles published in Japan was 13.8 % in 1971 and 9.8 % in 1991, whereas it was only 2.4 % in 1990 and 1.4 % in 2001 in the UK, and 2.96 % in 1990 and 2.85 % in 2005 in the US. Also, the popularity of translations in Japanese publication is noteworthy. The proportion of translations in a top-10 yearly bestseller list was 24% in 1945-1954, 2% in 1955-1964, 4% in 1965-1974, 10% in 1975-1984, 16% in 1985-1994, and 20% in 1995-2004 (*Nihonzasshikyokai* 2007: 294-295; Venuti 1995: 12, 2008: 11). Hence, it can be said that translation plays an important role in the realms where women's language is being represented. From a polysystem perspective, the relatively higher proportion of translation indicates the peripheral position of Japanese literature. After the Second World War, the United States was central to Japan's international relationships in terms of politics, economics or culture (Matsunaga-Watson: 2005: 171), and the historical context of this period may have influenced the popularity of translated literature in the Japanese book market.

If Japanese translation is affected by social expectations, as indicated above (Ōshima in Nakamura 2007b: 52; see Section 2.2), it

reinforces the spread of Japanese women's language as ideology. This is because when Japanese women's language is repeatedly used in translations, readers are likely to have the illusion that the majority of females use that kind of feminine language (Nakamura 2007b: 36). If that is putting it too strongly, the repetition at least functions to show readers how women are supposed to speak. According to Frank (1989), stereotypically feminine expressions reflect gender bias, and help such bias to continue and be justified: 'It is clear that language not only reflects social structures but, more important, sometimes serves to perpetuate existing differences in power; thus a serious concern with linguistic usage is fully warranted' (1989:109). The repetitive use of feminine speech in translations as well as in fiction may induce women to seek to fit into a socially-mandated mould, not necessarily in regard to speech itself, but certainly in terms of general behaviour and aspiration.

To explore how women are restricted by social expectations, Nakamura (2007b: 102-103) writes about her own experience, recalling when she came across her friend's masculine vulgar language. It happened when Nakamura was at university at her early twenties. She was on a train with other female friends, and one of the friends was molested. At the beginning the friend ignored the molester, but because the man was so persistent, the friend seized the man by his collar and shouted, '*Nanda, temee, situkoindayo. Monku ga arunara soto he dero!*' (Fuck you. Get out of my hair. If you want to say something, get out of here!) (Nakamura 2007b: 102).[5] Those around her including Nakamura and her friends, were astonished by her vulgar phrases and kept quiet. The

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[5] 'なんだ、てめえ、しつこいんだよ。文句があるなら、外へ出ろ！' (Nakamura 2007b: 102).

molester ran away at the next station, but soon after, a rumor that she was having a relationship with *yakuza* (a gangster) spread among the friends.

The friend's feminine and sophisticated image had collapsed. Even her personality was doubted only because of the use of rude language. And while it was a false rumor and Nakamura and other friends became closer to the woman than before, had there not been a strong friendship with the woman, their friendship may have been destroyed by the misinterpretation. The reaction of the audience shows that the woman lost their compassion because of her vulgar language, instead of appealing to their sympathy.

Nakamura's anecdote indicates clearly how people react when a woman uses masculine language. When Nakamura holds workshops on gender issues, she asks women to use vulgar words similar to those used by her friend. The first reaction is mostly 'I have never used such rude language, so I cannot do it'. Thus, the convention about how women should speak is still widespread and women hesitate to use bad language. However, after saying the kind of words with Nakamura's encouragement, women tend to comment 'I feel refreshed. It was comfortable' or 'I thought I had changed myself'. These comments suggest that women are restricted by their image that is constructed by their language use, and the new use of language constructs another image of and for them.

Japanese norms of behavior have been remarkably gendered compared to North American and European countries (Okamoto 1995: 298). This circumstance can be explained by a female graduate office worker's view of feminism. She thinks that it is unreasonable to try to reduce gender differences in Japanese society (Inoue 2006: 229. n13):

It [Feminism] might work in America, but not in Japan. […] rather than competing with men, women should cherish their own innately given abilities, and men should also cherish their own innately given abilities, and that's how men and women can complement each other. That's what society is about. It is a division of labor. […] Gender essentialism in contemporary Japan, whether understood as an effect of social structure or as innate difference, in feminist or nonfeminist terms, is a markedly *Japanese* one, and thus inseparably upholds the essentialism of the Japanese race, nation and culture as against 'the West' (Inoue 2006: 229.n13, italics in original).

The phrase 'a division of labor' that the woman described is symbolic because approximately 40% of women in their twenties agree with the idea that women should keep house and look after their husbands and children (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1). It could be said that norms of gendered behaviour or language use are stricter in Japanese society than in North American and European countries. Women have constructed their gender identity through their language use, and in the case of Japanese women, they 'do gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987: 125) by using appropriate women's language. As indicated here, some women regulate themselves to speak with an ideal feminine speaking style because they know that if they do not obey the expected norm, they will be regarded as 'un-ladylike' (Reynolds 1993: 20). According to Irigaray, femininity is 'a role, an image, a value, imposed upon women by male systems of representation' (1985: 84), while Reynolds (1993: 20) argues that if women had been encouraged to express themselves as men usually do, they would have done it without any restrictions. Japanese readers are very used to stereotypical feminine speech in fiction and translation, and the influence of stereotypes on women's speech, and on their own view of themselves, has not been discussed enough in Japan.

In this chapter, I have analysed the over-feminising tendency in both original and translated Japanese literature. Section 2.1 offered numerical evidence of the tendency by analysing sentence-final particles in the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones Diary* and the Japanese novel *Kicchin*. I then provided an overview of other scholars' arguments in Section 2.2 before exploring the background of the over-feminising convention in Japanese literature in Section 2.3. Building on this, the next chapter investigates the ideological aspect of women's language, and its function of shaping gender ideology in Japanese society.

# Chapter 3
# Gender Ideology Reinforced by Over-Feminising

## 3.1 Ideology, Language Ideology and Gender Ideology

### 3.1.1 Ideology

Ideology is defined as 'a set of ideas' (Eagleton 1985: 114). This is a common view or 'the sum of the meanings of codes' (Fowler 1996: 42) which community members share. Thompson (1990: 5) defines ideology as follows:

> Ideology is the thought of the *other*, the though of someone other than oneself. To characterize a view as 'ideological' is, it seems, already implicitly to criticize it, for the concept of ideology seems to convey a negative, critical sense.

Ideology can also be described as a 'world-view' (Fowler 1977: 17) because people see the world by categorising their thoughts in ideological terms. Categorisation is the most basic human act as Lakoff (1987: 5) points out: 'There is nothing more basic than categorization to our thought, perception, action, and speech. Every time we see something as a *kind* of thing, for example, a tree, we are categorizing' (Lakoff 1987:5, italics in original). If people did not have any categorisation, unclassifiable and incomprehensible individual impressions would create confusion and make communication difficult.

Van Dijk defines ideology as 'the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group', and ideologies lead the group members to categorise what is good or bad '*for them*' (1998: 8, italics in original). Ideologies, however, are strongly related to power, and often serve to reinforce 'false or distorted theories of reality' (Fowler 1996: 26) because ideologies are not reflections of reality, but rather interpretations or

representations of it. Neither interpretations nor representations can entirely avoid bias. Therefore, 'unexamined, unselfcritical, routinized' (Fowler 1996: 26) representations of the world can be distorted.

Ideologies function most efficiently when people are not aware that they are reinforcing power inequalities (Fairclough 2001: 71), and such invisibility of function is a key to establishing prejudice in society. When ideologies work least visibly, they can impinge upon people's way of thinking without them realising it. In addition, ideologies vary depending on societies, or periods in history (Fairclough 2001: 72-73). Therefore, an idea may work ideologically in one society, but not in another. For example, while an ideological system of thought such as Nazism achieved power at a certain period in history, it will not work after people realise the danger of its ideas.

In addition, ideologies have a strong link with language because using language is 'the commonest form of social behaviour' (Fairclough 2001: 2). Language plays a crucial role in categorising ideas in society since what is expressed is 'the community's store of established knowledge' (Fowler 1996: 30). Therefore, it can be said that children learn the values in the culture through the process of learning their language. Thus, language is a useful tool to convey both the knowledge and preoccupations of the society. In this sense, language is essential to the socialisation of children.

Although ideologies are often used by political power, it should be noted that they do not always reproduce a dominant power or distort reality (Fowler 1996: 114-115). According to Eagleton (1985: 114), for example, radical ideologies such as that of the Diggers—who claimed abolition of private ownership of land under the leadership of the English Puritan Gerrard Winstanley (1649-1650)—are not properties of power. As Eagleton writes, '[n]ot all ideological statements are false, just as not all

false statements are ideological' (1985: 114). What is crucial about ideology is that it is 'performative: it *achieves* something' (Eagleton 1985: 115, italics in original).

### 3.1.2 Language Ideology

Language ideology is defined as 'the cultural system of ideals about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine 1989: 255), while according to Silverstein, they are 'any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (1979: 193). Language ideologies are therefore ideals about language and discourse that members of society believe, and how they perceive various social phenomena, with the ideas based on the members' sociocultural experience (Kroskrity 2000: 5, 21). For example, it is a language ideology that a standard language is regarded as superior to dialects. The prestige of the standard is supported by a belief that the language is both established and used by national elites. Hence, standard language is a symbol of the nation and people find a sense of national identity in it (Downes 1998: 36).

Standardisation of a language is also an ideology. According to Milroy and Milroy (1999: 19), there is no absolute standardisation of spoken language though the use of the writing system can be standardised. A standard language is, therefore, an 'idea in the mind rather than a reality—a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent' (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 19). Considering Milroy and Milroy's notion of a standard language, the politically constructed and promoted language, Japanese women's language, can be regarded as

a set of abstract norms in the mind (Nakamura 2001: 202). Women's language was not widely used in actual conversations (Kindaichi 1988: 38; Sunaoshi 2004: 187; see Chapter 1, Section 1.2), but appeared repeatedly in literature. It started being used in literature through the *genbun-itchi* movement and this usage became a convention in the Japanese literary world. The Meiji government (1868-1912) imposed women's language on Japanese women through the compulsory education system. In addition, as is explored in the next section, literature functioned as a mediator to spread, reinforce and maintain the social norms.

Downes points out that a standard language tends to be used as 'the vehicle of a literary canon and tradition' (1992: 37) because it is the most representative language in a society. The language is, in a sense, virtual: people do not actually use it, but understand and regard it as theirs. Standard language is also a symbol of the nation, functioning as 'an instrument of power in the society' (Downes 1992: 36). Women's language is a version of standard language, and has been used in literature as the best example of Japanese for women. Thus, it is more important to focus on the ideological interpretation of women's language than its actual use because language use does not simply construct social groups, identities or relations. These are also the result of ideological interpretations of language use:

> [S]imply using language in particular ways is not what forms social groups, identities, or relations (nor does the group relation automatically give rise to linguistic distinction); rather, ideological interpretations of such uses of language always mediate these effects (Woolard 1998: 18).

A text is already the author's interpretation of the world, thus reading it is the interpretation of an interpretation. In this process, women's language is used as the vehicle of the author's interpretation of the world:

> The producer of the text constructs the text as an interpretation of the world, or of the facets of the world which are then in focus; formal features of the text are *traces* of that interpretation. The traces constitute *cues* for the text interpreter, who draws upon her assumptions and expectations (incorporated in frames) to construct her interpretation of the text. Thus text interpretation is *the interpretation of an interpretation* (Fairclough 2001: 67, italics in original).

Therefore, in the case of Japanese literature and Japanese translations of foreign literature, reading a text is an interpretation of the author's interpretation of the world, which is done with an ideologically-based women's language.

Women's language is powerfully related to an ideal feminine image. Japanese women's language has been prized as a part of Japanese culture, and women's language in the education system and in literature has been interpreted as ideal feminine speech through history. Consequently, the image influenced the establishment of gender ideology in society (Nakamura 2007a). Even today, for example, the first lesson in a Japanese text for first year elementary school children is to learn 'ぼくとわたし *boku to watashi* [I and I]' (Ueno 2003: 15). There are a great variety of pronouns for 'I' in Japanese and these two are the most commonly used by young people. Teachers instruct boys to use *boku* when indicating themselves, and girls to use *watashi*. Thus at the very first stage of Japanese education, children are taught to be conscious of gender ideology. Thus women's behaviour and thinking are inevitably affected not only by the existence of rigidly gendered language but also by the instruction received through education.

### 3.1.3 Gender ideology

Through compulsory education, children grow up learning how to play a gender role in society. Gender ideology is a belief, knowledge or common view of how women or men should be. The ideal female figure symbolised by the phrase *ryosai kenbo* (Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2) was the result of gender ideology supported and reinforced during the Meiji period whereby women were supposed to stay at home to look after their children and husbands. The different gender roles are still widespread in Japanese society today, with not only language, such as women's and men's language, but also behaviour clearly gendered (see Section 1.2.2).

For instance, women's sense of satisfaction at being *sengyo shufu* results from the government's principle which promotes the feminine ideal for modernisation and industrialisation. *Sengyo shufu* is a homemaker who does not have any form of income-earning occupation. Moreover, the higher the education and income of the husband, the more the wife tends to become *sengyo shufu* in Japan. If a woman is allowed to be *sengyo shufu*, it means the household is in a higher income bracket. Therefore many young Japanese women aspire to become *sengyo shufu* (Sugino and Yonemura 2000: 185).

Along with high economic growth between the 1960s and 1980s, the number of workers engaged in small family businesses, agriculture or self-employment declined and conversely, that of office workers increased considerably. A large number of people moved into urban areas for jobs in companies, and most households were nuclear families: the husband an employee, the wife a home-maker, and children. Their roles were clearly defined: the husband worked in a company while his wife dedicated herself to housework and child-rearing. The increase in the number of

nuclear families accelerated the increase of *sengyo shufu* and the government supported this trend by offering some advantageous social security systems for *sengyo shufu*. For example, in 1961 the government introduced income tax exemptions for those earning less than 1,030,000 yen (approximately £7,500) per annum, and in 1985, exemption from paying for pensions was also introduced. The percentage of households with an employed husband and a *sengyo shufu* wife was 74.9 % in 1955. By the 1990s, although the percentage of two-income families exceeded that of a one-income family to a certain extent, it has since levelled off. Almost half of wives with an employee husband are *sengyo shufu* and the tendency indicates the popularity of being *sengyo shufu* (Sugino and Yonemura 2000: 182; Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2002; Nakamura Kazuyuki 2007).

A 2004 survey supports the popularity of *sengyo shufu*, showing that the happiest people in Japan are homemakers in their thirties who live in large cities. This survey called '*Kurashi no Konomi to Manzokudo Nitsuiteno Anketo* [*Questionnaires on one's life and sense of well-being*]' is the first research that shows a sense of well-being in numerical terms in Japan, conducted by Tsutsui on 6000 people (both sexes aged 20 to 65). According to Ogura and Ueno (2005: 52-53), women around thirty years old who graduated from a junior college are eager to become *sengyo shufu*, and search for men who are white collar workers with high salaries who let them live out this ideal.

Even among women in their twenties, the percentage of those who want to become *sengyo shuju* is growing. In fact, a survey of public opinion shows that more than 40% of women aged 20-29 agreed with the division of labour in the household and approved of being *sengyo shuhu*. This survey, conducted in 2007 by the Japanese Government's Cabinet Office,

asked 3118 Japanese[1] whether they approved of the divided gender roles (husbands working outside and wives at home). The results of those who approved were: 40.2% of females aged 20-29; 35.0% aged 30-39; 31.7% aged 40-49; 34.3% aged 50-59; 43.1% aged 60-69; and 54.8% aged 70+. As for men's perceptions, the percentages were 42.9% for those aged 20-29; 43.6% aged 30-39; 44.4% aged 40-49; 47.9% aged 50-59; 57.5% aged 60-69; and 59.3% aged 70+. Surprisingly, the percentage of women aged 20-29 was higher than those for women aged 30-39, 40-49, and 50-59. This data set indicates a backlash against working women, although men's expectations of gendered roles remain generally higher than women's. However, the discrepancies of each age bracket are not particularly large in this survey.

Women's language has been crucial in reinforcing gender ideologies in Japanese society. As indicated above, there are many books that instruct women how to speak proper women's language, and if a woman uses 'masculine' men's language, she will be considered unusual or an outsider. What is important here is that both Japanese women and men are uncritical about the ideological function of the language. In addition, Japanese men are strong supporters of women's language (see Section 3.7 below). As indicated above, ideologies function the most effectively when they are invisible (Fairclough 2001: 71), and women's language has worked covertly to construct gender ideologies in Japanese society, and is closely linked to power through government policy. Compulsory education lets community members perceive themselves 'as participants

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[1] This survey was conducted with 3118 Japanese: 1706 females and 1412 males. The breakdown of the numbers is as follows; Female: 132 (aged 20-29), 260 (aged 30-39), 284 (aged 40-49), 379 (aged 50-59), 350 (aged 60-69), and 301 (aged 70+). Male: 112 (aged 20-29), 204 (aged 30-39), 223 (aged 40-49), 280 (aged 50-59), 318 (aged 60-69), and 275 (aged 70+).

in an imagined community' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 278), with the members feeling a sense of belonging by taking compulsory education. Such an identification in the society helps maintain, perpetuate and reinforce the obeying of gender ideologies.

## 3.2 The Implantation of Gendered Linguistic Norms in Literature: *Genbun-itchi*

As explored in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.2), women's language has been constructed by male-dominant authorities throughout history. In particular, the modern use of women's language was promoted politically during the Meiji period, when Japan was modernised and rapidly became an industrialised society. The role of women was clarified by compulsory education. Based on the feminine ideas, this included women's speech training, and women were taught to have domestic interests and to support their husbands who were considered the nation's main bread-winners.

At the same time, as discussed above, the *genbun-itchi* literary movement in the Meiji period was central to the implantation of women's language in literature, and this promotion of gendered language was crucial in spreading the belief that women and men should speak differently (Ueno 2003: 24). Thus the linguistic norms of gendered language use in literature were established. That is, literature functioned as a mediator of the norms.

*Genbun-itchi* aimed to realise 'the reconciliation of speech and writing' (Levy 2006: 2). The dissociation between the inherited literary language, which was well established in the Heian era (794-1185), and spoken language had grown to a remarkable extent since the 12th century. Furthermore, there was a disjunction between the inherited literary

language and contemporary society. A rapid and massive influx of foreign culture had influenced Japanese writers since Commander Perry had forced Japan to open trade with the West in 1853. Since then, modern Japanese writers had received an impetus from foreign, especially western literature. These factors made modern writers search for 'an appropriate literary style' (Inoue 2004: 61) such as they found in western realist novels, and this led to *genbun-itchi*.

A progenitor of this movement, Futabatei Shimei, suggested a progressive style modelled on western writing in his novel *Ukigumo* [*The Drifting Clouds*] (1887-89)[2], which became the 'fountainhead of modern vernacular Japanese fiction' (Levy 2006: 73). Another pioneer, Yamada Bimyo, explained his motivation for the literary reform in 1906, '[t]o begin with what motivated my conversion, first I realised that western writing was *genbun-itchi* [the reconciliation of speech and writing] […]' (in Levy 2006: 38). As a result of these writers' attempts, a new style which was closer to vernacular speech was established and many writers followed it. Thus, this movement is also called 'vernacularization' (Levy 2006: 24). Through this process, the separation in written style, that is Chinese characters for official documents and *hiragana* characters for the public, has gradually been reduced (Levy 2006: 23-39).[3]

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[2] This story was about an intellectual who is dismissed from a government office, and is hopeful and despairing by turns about his female cousin. It was published in instalments: Part One in June, 1887, Part Two in February, 1888, and Part Three (Unfinished) between July and August, 1889 (Cockerill 2006: 266).

[3] Dutch scholars' remark also motivated the movement; 'The seeds of the *genbun-itchi* movement were first planted by Dutch scholars of the Edo period, who commented that the use of colloquial language in Dutch writing greatly contributed to the spread of education in the Netherlands' (Levy 2006: 38). Since the early 17th century, Japan had a closed-door policy and had an exclusive trade relationship with the Netherlands, China and Portugal.

By creating a new literary style, *genbun-itchi* functioned as a mediator of the new linguistic norms in society, which was apparent in the way the new literary language was established. It is symbolic that many of the *genbun-itchi* ideologists were promoters of an ideology of *ryosai kenbo* (Nakamura 2007a: 102). That is, *genbun-itchi* ideologists believed in different gender roles in society whereby women were supposed to be good wives and wise mothers (*ryosai kenbo*) and keep their house and their children for their husbands.

The initial purpose of *genbun-itchi* was to establish standard Japanese (Kinsui 2003: 74-78; Nakamura 2007b: 55-57). Before the Meiji era, Japan was divided into feudal domains and consequently there were a number of different spoken languages as well as the inherited literary language used by intellectuals. People were not able to communicate with those from other domains, and therefore the new language was needed to unite the nation, and spread knowledge and information to modernise society. The government tried to invent a new written language based on spoken language so that most Japanese speakers could use it easily. Consequently, the language of educated men in Tokyo was selected as the basis for standard Japanese. The establishment of standard Japanese also meant the exclusion of others, and other spoken languages used outside of Tokyo, or those of un-educated people, started to be considered inferior. The idea spread to the literary world, and the selection of language and differentiation of characters became common in literature.

Meanwhile, the political, economic and cultural modernisation of Japan led to the development of the mass media in the Meiji period, which was crucial to the spread of standard Japanese throughout the nation (Kinsui 2003: 78-80). With the introduction of typography in the 1870s, it was possible to publish books, newspapers, magazines and textbooks, and

distribute them nationwide. Modern literature was developed along with the written media and new genres such as modern prose and new-style poetry were born, while novels and comics were published in periodicals such as newspapers and magazines. Futabatei's novel *Ukigumo*, published in a magazine in instalments, is a good example. Thus, the mass media promoted the establishment and spread of standard Japanese among the general public.

In *genbun-itchi* novels, novelists attempted to make their characters' personalities clearer by differentiating their use of language, thereby linking language use with particular groups, such as women, children, or working class people. Sentence-final particles were usable to index the differences, and they started employing them in their work (Nakamura 2007a: 143-144). Thus, the language use in these literary works was artificially created, and the speech of female characters was not an actual representation of women's speech of the time, but an invention. Indeed, the writers themselves had overheard middle or upper-middle-class schoolgirls' conversations in the street and invented a feminine speech style from them (Inoue 2004: 66). A *genbun-itchi* writer, Sato Haruo, remembering the early stage of the *genbun-itchi* movement, wrote in 1941: 'In those days, women's speech in daily conversation was invented by certain writer(s) (though I do not remember who he or she was) and came to be of general use' (in Inoue 2004: 66). He also pointed out that readers started mimicking conversations in those novels and the language use spread widely (in Nakamura 2007a: 143). His statement indicates that the new writing represented new linguistic norms in society, not actual conversations.

Why, then, was the new style so striking, and how did it function to reinforce the new linguistic norms? An exploration of Futabatei Shimei's

*Ukigumo* offers some answers to these questions. Futabatei was the progenitor of *genbun-itchi* and *Ukigumo* an epoch-making novel in terms of its style. Written when Futabatei was just 21, it was the first instance of *genbun-itchi* and had a huge impact on other modern Japanese writers (Powell 1983: 14). Futabatei's writing was remarkable in several respects: the new use of punctuation; separation between descriptive parts and conversational passages by using quotation marks; and a clear distinction in the language use by gender. As for this gendered language use, Futabatei used sentence-final particles such as '*wa*' for female speech, and the female characters use polite forms and honorifics in conversations with the male protagonists.

Compared with pre-*genbun-itchi* novels, the novelty is striking in a number of respects. For example, in the pre-*genbun-itchi* novel *Tousei Shosei Katagi* [*The Spirit of Today's Students*] (Tsubouchi Shoyo, 1885-1886), conversations were included in descriptive passages and the distinction was obscure, the inherited literary language was used throughout the story, and no apparent different use of gendered language was obvious (Ueno 2003: 17-19). Meanwhile, the differentiation of speech by gender in *Ukigumo* indicates the social norms of the time which dictated that women use feminine forms such as '*wa*', one of the quintessential sentence final particles in contemporary women's language, and show their respect to men.

In addition, Futabatei's language in *Ukigumo* reflected 'the complex polyglossia of Chinese, western, and Japanese letters that constituted the original impetus for and the essential challenges to the vernacularization movement' (Levy 2006: 89). In addition to Chinese and *hiragana* characters that the Japanese already used, people started using western letters in their writing. These were expressed by the third writing system in

Japanese: *katakana* characters. The influx of western letters since the opening of the country also stimulated the movement, and the compound use of letters illustrates the heterogeneity of Japanese at that time.

It should be noted that there was a register change in women's language in the late Meiji period. A set of distinctive final particles, such as '*teyo*', '*dawa*', '*noyo*', which was identified as stereotypes of women's language, had been considered vulgar and low-class by intellectuals, because these had been used by daughters of low-rank *samurai* families in the Edo period (1603-1867). During the Meiji period, however, novelists started using them for their female characters' speech, then schoolgirls from middle or upper-middle-class families started mimicking the speech style. In fact, the schoolgirls' use first appeared as a speech by a young western girl in translation and as a result, the usage became positively identified with a young, feminine, western and modern image (Nakamura 2007a: 142-144). This speech style with these final particles became common in novels targeted at a middle- to upper-middle-class women readership by the early 20th century, and consequently the image that ultimately developed was very different: that is, it came to be seen as the speech of sophisticated, urban women with a good upbringing, and thus the middle class and elites adopted this style in their conversations (Inoue 2004: 66-68).

It is also important to make it clear that the use in translation and fiction influenced the use of schoolgirls. This process highlights two crucial points: firstly, the novelists' works did not represent actual language use; and secondly, the language used in literature affected the speech style of real Japanese women (Nakamura 2007a: 143-144). The distinctive feminine sentence-final particles, such as '*teyo*', '*dawa*', '*noyo*' were first used as a western girl's language. Then, because of the western

and modern image, the use had a significant impact on Japanese schoolgirls and middle-to-upper-middle-class women.


Translation was the pivot of *genbun-itchi*. As Levy points out, it is not an exaggeration to say that 'modern Japanese literature began with translation' (2006: 33). Indeed, Futabatei's invention of modern writing was achieved through the process of his translation of modern Russian literature. In other words, the convention of gendering language in literature started from translation.

When Futabatei was translating Turgenev's *The Rendezvous* (Japanese title: *Aibiki*) in 1888,[4] he realised the immense gap between the inherited Japanese literary language and western vernacular style, and this encouraged him to create a new target language (Levy 2006: 89). Discussing his translation strategy and the challenge of developing the vernacular in 1906, Futabatei shows his consciousness of style:

> Well, in the translation of foreign literature, if you think only of the meaning and place all the weight on it, there is a danger of destroying the original. I believe that you must imbibe the rhythm of the original and then convey it, so I never disposed of a single comma or period arbitrarily—if there were three commas and one period in the original, then I would also use three commas and one period in the translation in my effort to convey the rhythm of the original (in Levy 2006: 34).

It is not a coincidence that he wrote *Ukigumo* (1887-1889) and translated *Aibiki* (1888) concurrently. After a long struggle with the style, Futabatei succeeded in creating a new target language in *Aibiki*, and crystallised it in the novel *Ukigumo* (Doi and Aoyagi 2001: 88; Levy 2006: 35-37). Furthermore, Futabatei confessed that he mimicked the Russian writer

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[4] This story is from *A Sportsman's Sketches* (also, *The Hunting Sketches* or *Sketches from a Hunter's Album*), originally entitled *Scidanie*. This translation was revised in 1896.

Gogol's style to create a narrator's speech style like a professional comic storyteller, along with his blatantly critical views of the characters (in Komori 1998: 20-21). The Japanese translation of *Aibiki* and his own novel *Ukigumo* were extraordinarily innovative, and consequently created a gulf between modern Japanese literature and that which preceded it (Levy 2006: 89).

Futabatei was not the example of a writer with a dual career, in that he was also a translator. Many Japanese novelists of this period not only wrote their own stories but also translated western novels, and were also well known as translators (Levy 2006: 17). For instance, another prominent writer of this era, Tsubouchi Shoyo, translated a large body of Shakespeare's work and it helped him to develop modern Japanese narrative prose. Indeed, Inoue (2004: 66) argues that modern Japanese prose benefited considerably from translation due to the conventions that were consequently developed in the Japanese literary world.

Before becoming a writer and a translator of Russian literature, Futabatei studied Russian at university. However, his aim was not to introduce Russian literature or culture into Japan but rather to achieve a position whereby he could check Russia's policy to invade Japan. His intention in mastering Russian was therefore clearly political and far from that of enlightening Japanese people by making Russian novels accessible. As stated, the modernisation of Japan was considerably behind that of the West, and since the opening of Japan to the West in 1853, it had been forced to accept unequal treaties by the world's great powers and was struggling to achieve equality in diplomatic relations. Understanding that to know the language means to know the real state of affairs in a country, Futabatei deliberately chose the language of Japan's enemy: Russia.

Ironically, nevertheless, it was Futabatei's translation of Russian literature more than anything that precipitated a cultural invasion of modern Japanese literature. By translating Turgenev, a literary star from a nation advanced in literature, Futabatei created a new literary style. In this case, translation was not transformation of a text from one already established language into another. Instead, it was an original process to create a new language in Japanese. It was an innovation. Consequently, the style had a definitive impact on the future of Japanese literature and this phenomenon indicates the power relationship between Russia and Japan at that time (Komori 1998: 27-29; Levy 2006: 34).

In the Meiji period, furthermore, translation was part of a national project to learn new political, economic, social and cultural concepts from the 'better and more advanced' (Matsunaga-Watson: 2005: 171) world outside Japan. For example, Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909), the first Prime Minister following the establishment of a modern cabinet system,[5] studied in the UK when he was 22 years old. Later, at the age of 40, he went to Europe to learn how politics operated in advanced countries prior to the establishment of the Meiji constitution. Thus, the opening of Japan brought various benefits in terms of Japanese modernisation.

The significance of Futabatei's new writing, which was stimulated by translating Turgenev, can be explained by using polysystem theory (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5.1). As Even-Zohar (2006: 200) indicates, leading writers tend to produce influential or highly-appreciated translations when their society is in a process of establishing a new literary model, and translation is likely to play an important role in this. Futabatei was a

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[5] Ito's term of office as the first Prime Minister was from December 1885 to December 1888. Subsequently, he was elected three times as Prime Minister: August 1892-August 1896; January 1898-June 1898; and October 1900-May 1901.

prominent writer in the Meiji period, and his translation of Russian literature was crucial to the creation of a new writing style which then led to the literary movement *genbun-itchi*.

It is noteworthy that Turgenev, who influenced Futabatei, was himself influenced by French literature which was in a stronger position in the literary polysystem at that time. When Turgenev started writing a draft of a short story, which was published as a part of *A Sportsman's Sketches* in 1852, he was staying in France. During this time, meanwhile, French literature was strongly influenced in turn by Gustave Flaubert's (1821-1880) new form of writing. In *Madame Bovary*, Flaubert's description of the characters focused on their consciousness or perceptions, something which had a significant impact on Turgenev. A poet rather than a novelist, Turgenev rarely wrote prose, and so he used French prose as a model, writing the draft in French first before translating it into Russian. Thus, Turgenev's short story *The Rendezvous* in *A Sportsman's Sketches*, which influenced Futabatei, was itself influenced by French literature (Komori 1998: 33-34).

*Genbun-itchi* also established language ideology. This movement was, in a sense, an attempt to define an exclusive language as the national language. For a nation that was in the process of modernisation, it was crucial to establish a national language that the citizenry could share. The Meiji government therefore aimed to establish a new written language suitable for such a modernised society, basing this new language on the spoken language used exclusively in the *Yamanote* area in Tokyo, where the governing class lived (Komori 1998: 23). Through this movement, the newly established standard and women's languages, based on middle- or upper-middle-class men's and women's speech, were implanted in

literature and translated literature. Moreover, as indicated above, this movement made a new classification of language. The standard language and women's language started being considered superior, and other spoken language used by the non-educated or those living outside the area was regarded as inferior (Nakamura 2007b: 55-57). Meanwhile, the establishment of women's language was closely related to the feminine ideal and as a result, gender ideology was also developed.

An example of this can be seen in the image of women's language that was employed in advertisements for women. Inoue (2006:134-148) explores two women's magazines that were published between 1901 and 1933. The feminine forms were seen in advertisements for products such as cosmetics aimed at the middle-classes. Inoue indicates that feminine language was used as a representation of middle-class women's lifestyles because of the middle-to-upper-middle class, modern, western and sexual images evoked. As a result, the use of women's language prevailed in literature both original and translated, and it became a new norm in Japanese society.

It should be noted at this point that norms and conventions are clearly different. A convention (or tendency)[6] is about probability—what people simply expect to happen.  On the other hand, a norm is about regularity—people's expectations of how individuals 'ought to', 'should' or 'would better' behave in a given situation (Lewis 1969: 97-100; Hermans 2002: no page). In Japanese society, women's language is an expectation about how women have to speak. This is a norm. As has been shown, Futabatei was a pioneer of the *genbun-itchi* style and prominent in

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[6] I have not differentiated between tendencies and conventions in this thesis: the over-feminising tendency and the over-feminising convention are regarded as the same.

installing the norm in society. He was, also aware, however, of the notion of 'adequacy' of translation (Toury 1995: 57)—i.e. to match the norms in the source culture. He therefore sought to produce a source-oriented translation. Thus, when translating a Russian novel, Futabatei tried to recreate the equal relationship of a couple in his translation by not using women's language since this inevitably implies women's subordinate position in society.

However, the readers had another norm: that women should use women's language and the middle-class should use certain languages, i.e. the newly established standard and women's languages. To use Toury's term (1995: 57), this is the 'acceptability' of translation, or what is described as target-oriented translation. In the case of Japanese translation, by borrowing Jakobson's notion, this target-oriented translation involves not only interlingual and intercultural translation, but also intracultural translation (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3). The readers had a particular expectation of the translated novel, and his translation strategy clashed with their expectation. Thus, the failure of his attempt proves how strongly women's language as a norm was rooted in the Japanese literary system. The next section explores Futabatei's challenge to gendered linguistic norms.

## 3.3 Futabatei's Challenge to Gendered Linguistic Norms

Before establishing the influential *genbun-itchi* style in *Ukigumo* (1887-1887), Futabatei made an important attempt to challenge the social norms of gendered language use in his translation of Gogol's short story (unidentified work) in 1886 (Cockerill 2006: 266; Levy 2006: 49). However, the translation was harshly criticised (Cockerill 2006: 10). While Futabatei

had attempted to reproduce the gender equality of the Russian conversations in his Japanese translation by not using women's language, he remained especially aware of language as a gender marker and the newly established women's language as a norm (Levy 2006: 49). Indeed, he used sentence-final particles, polite forms and honorifics, which index femininity for female characters' speech, in *Ukigumo*. However, because of his consciousness of the problems of highly gendered women's language, he sought to confront the social norms as an experiment. The 'reconciliation of speech and writing' was selective and classified people depending on their gender, class and region. Futabatei thus challenged the selected norms (Levy 2006: 39, 49-51), translating the couple's conversations without honorifics and feminine sentence-final particles, and using casual forms such as '*omai*', '*ore*', '*sōkai*' and '*sōshina*'. However, Tsubouchi criticised the translated conversations for making the couple seem lower instead of middle-class:

> His style for translating that piece by Gogol was a crude manner for speaking that might be likened to the parlance of the back alleys (proletarian style). When I said 'I cannot see this as middle-class,' he said, 'But husbands and wives abroad are equals, so if I don't translate it this way, I think it will diverge from the actually,' [...] You know, no one will be able to see this as anything but a back-alley couple [...] Being the meticulous, self-reflective and sceptical person he was, he spent sleepless nights working on many different forms of vernacular style (Levy 2006: 49-50).

Although Futabatei was praised for *Aibiki*, his translations of Gogol and Gorky were strongly criticised for 'an excessive use of words originating in Edo light literature and of Japanese dialect' (Cockerill 2006: 10). His vocabulary choice, which was later characterised as 'Futabatei's own tone' (Cockerill 2006: 10), was described as frivolity. Indeed, the words Futabatei chose such as '*omai*', '*ore*', '*sōkai*', and '*sōshina*' are from

the Edo period, which immediately preceded the Meiji, and sound casual. However, the frivolous tone was suitable to reproduce Gogol's style and humour (Cockerill 2006: 10-11). If Futabatei had used the middle- or upper-middle-class educated city dwellers' language—i.e. standard language and women's language—in this translation, the characteristic style and humour would have been lost.  Nevertheless, his experimental translation was not accepted by the audience.

Indeed, his radical vocabulary choice in Gogol's translations might be a factor in his rather ephemeral professional career. Despite his contribution to modern Japanese literature, Futabatei's career as a professional writer lasted only three years, from 1885 to 1888. His ideas, based on Russian idealism, were too progressive and revolutionary for a literary world that was academic-dominated and essentially conservative and exclusive (Powell 1983: 14-15) and thus resulted in his isolation. As Nakamura indicates, '[h]is point of view was far too advanced to be accepted generally at the time, and it was this unhappy circumstance that caused him to give up his literary activities later' (Powell 1983: 14).

Moreover, the failure of his attempt serves to demonstrate how strongly the linguistic norms in society influenced the Japanese literary world. Although Futabatei later became well-known as the progenitor of the *genbun-itchi* movement, it was not easy for him to demolish the accepted notions of gendered language. The 'selective reconciliation of speech and writing' (Levy 2006: 39) was classified by gender, social class and regional biases, and Meiji *genbun-itchi* writers slavishly followed the linguistic norms of how women should speak. This case shows that the movement not only created a new writing style but also led to a new language ideology (see Section 3.1).

More than a century after the *genbun-itchi* movement, women's speech in literature is still artificially represented (Ueno 2003: 24), a point supported empirically by the analyses in Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Furthermore, as explored in this and the previous sections, translators have used such gender-marked women's language persistently for a long time, and the language ideology has continued to spread, reinforce and maintain social norms.

## 3.4 The Influence of Male Interpretation of Female Speech

As indicated in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, considering over-feminising as ideologically encouraged intracultural translation, it is interesting to see gender differences in interpretations of female speech in novels. There is a hypothesis that a male translator tends to use Japanese women's language too much when rendering female characters' speech in novels and this tendency makes the characters' speaking style unnatural (Yamamoto 2000). One might expect that this is because the male translator has a stereotypical image of women's speech patterns. However, there has been no empirical analysis to support this hypothesis so far. As a result, this section tests this hypothesis by using data from texts translated by translators of both genders. This study shows that there is a clear difference in the degree and extent of over-feminising by gender.

The analysis is conducted through a comparison of three translations of Jane Austen's *Emma* (*EM*, first published in 1815),[7] chosen precisely because it as been translated by a woman as well as two men: *EM1* (by the female translator Shoko Harding in 1997); *EM2* (by the male

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[7] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *EM* for *Emma, EM1* for the first Japanese translation of *EM* by Shoko Harding (1997), *EM2* for the second version by Kudo Masashi (2000) and *EM3* for the latest version by Nakano Koji (2005).

translator Kudo Masashi in 2000); and *EM3* (by the male translator Nakano Koji in 2005).[8] The three translations are analysed according to the usage of feminine sentence-final forms. In this analysis, the protagonist Emma's conversations with Miss Taylor have been selected because she had been Emma's governess for sixteen years, but was 'less a governess than a friend' (*Emma* 2005: 3) and they were 'living together as friend and friend very mutually attached' (*Emma* 2005: 3).

Comparing *EM1*, *EM2* and *EM3* (see *Table 5 below*), it is apparent that *EM1* uses the fewest feminine sentence-final forms, only 60.68%. In contrast, the frequency in use of feminine sentence-final forms in *EM2* is remarkable: 79.28%. According to Endo (1997: 171), Japanese women's language has become less feminised in the post-war period in proportion to the improvement in women's positions in society, and women sometimes use men's language and vice versa. Considering the time they were translated, it could be expected that the earliest version *EM1* might be the most feminised translation. However, the results show the contrary: the percentage in *EM1* is the lowest. This fact demonstrates that the male translators had a tendency to create Emma's femininity more strongly than their female counterpart through the frequent use of feminine forms. This finding supports Yamamoto's statement that male translators have a tendency towards high frequency in the use of feminine forms.

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[8] There is another Japanese translation of *EM* currently on the market in Japan. This version was translated in 1974 by a male translator Tomoji Abe, so is excluded in this study because of the time difference in the date of publication.

*Table 5*
**Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms (*EM1*, *EM2* and *EM3*)**

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| Sentence-final Forms | Total Instances Used (%) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *EM1* | *EM2* | *EM3* |
| | (F 1997) | (M 2000) | (M 2005) |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Feminine forms** | **60. 68%** | **79.28%** | **64.29%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 46.07% | 62.14% | 43.41% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 14.61% | 17.14% | 20.88% |
| **Masculine forms** | **0.00%** | **0.00%** | **0.00%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| **Neutral forms** | **39.33%** | **20.71%** | **35.71%** |

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Note (1): Total number of instances = 178 (*EM1* 1997), 140 (*EM2* 2000), and 182 (*EM3* 2005).[9]

Note (2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated for the first time.

Note (3): M and F in brackets indicates that the gender of the translator: M = Male; F = Female.

Note (4): As all figures are rounded off to two decimal places, there is a systematic error when they are totalled.

To make the argument even stronger, these data are further compared with the latest Japanese translation of another of Austen's works, *Pride and Prejudice* (*PP*)[10] translated by the male translator Nakano Yoshio in 2003. Originally published in 1813, *PP* is a love story originally whose central concern is Elizabeth Bennett's marriage to Mr Darcy, who is tall, handsome and rich. There are three Japanese translations currently on the market, but despite the dominance of female characters and the target audience, all of the translators have been male: Tomita Akira (*PP1*, first published in 1950), Nakano Yoshio (*PP2*, first published in 1963) and Nakano Koji (*PP3*, first published in 2003). Moreover, *PP* was published

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[9] Although the total instance numbers in *EM1* and *EM3* are almost the same, the number in *EM2* is approximately forty less. This is because *EM1* and *EM3* sometimes divide one sentence into two when the English sentence is a compound which uses a semicolon or a dash.

[10] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *PP* for *Pride and Prejudice, PP1*for the first Japanese translation by Tomita Akira (1950), *PP2* for the second version by Nakano Yoshio (1963) and *PP3* for the latest version by Nakano Koji (2003).

only three years prior to *EM*, meaning the usage of language in these novels can be considered similar. Furthermore, given the times in which they were translated—*PP3* in 2003, *EM1* in 1997, *EM2* in 2000 and *EM3* in 2005—it could be said that women's language has not changed significantly. Overall, the latest version *PP3* uses the least feminine speech style for Elizabeth when considering three remarkable features in Japanese women's language: the highest degree of politeness, strong femininity and indirectness (see Furukawa 2010: 185-189 for a detailed analysis).

In this analysis, fictional conversations with close friends are chosen. In the case of Elizabeth, conversations with Jane who is both her sister and best friend are studied under the same conditions as in the previous survey. *Table 6* shows that *EM1* still uses the least feminine sentence forms and the frequency in use of feminine sentence-final forms in *PP3* and *EM2* is remarkable: 75.52% and 79.28%, respectively. *PP3* is the least feminised translation of *PP* as indicated above. Hence it can be inferred that two other Japanese translations, *PP1* and *PP2*, use feminine forms more extensively.

*Table 6*
**Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms (*PP3*, *EM1*, *EM2* and *EM3*)**

| Sentence-final Forms | Total Instances Used (%) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *PP3* (M 2003) | *EM1* (F 1997) | *EM2* (M 2000) | *EM3* (M2005) |
| **Feminine forms** | **75.52%** | **60. 68%** | **79.28%** | **64.29%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 52.70% | 46.07% | 62.14% | 43.41% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 22.82% | 14.61% | 17.14% | 20.88% |
| **Masculine forms** | **0.00%** | **0.00%** | **0.00%** | **0.00%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| **Neutral forms** | **28.48%** | **39.33%** | **20.71%** | **35.71%** |

Note (1): Total number of instances = 241 (*PP3* 2003), 178 (*EM1* 1997), 140 (*EM2* 2000) and 182 (*EM3* 2005).[11]

Note (2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated for the first time.

Note (3): M and F in brackets indicates that the gender of the translator: M = Male; F = Female.

Note (4): As all figures are rounded off to two decimal places, there is a systematic error when they are totalled.

These results give further support to Yamamoto's hypothesis (2000) that male translators are prone to overusing women's language for female characters' speech in novels. *PP3* is the least feminised version of the three—i.e. *PP1* and *PP2* have a higher frequency in the use of feminine forms. Thus, it is evident that male translators are likely to use feminine forms more than female translators. Although female translators are influenced by the socially expected image (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2), it can be said that male translators are more influenced by expectations of how women should speak. Alternatively, it could be argued that because woman's language is alien to men, they have to rely on a certain image of feminine speech. (While other literary texts are not analysed in this thesis, further studies of such multiple translated texts may provide further support for the hypothesis.)

There is an additional point which needs to be emphasised here. As indicated in Section 1.3 of Chapter 1, classics tend to be translated by male academics who are relatively older than translators of contemporary novels. For instance, *EM2*, *EM3*, *PP1*, *PP2*, and *PP3* are translated by male Japanese university professors of English literature, whose respective ages when they translated these novels were: 69, 59, 53, 60, and 57.[12] As will be

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[11] As with previous table, although the total instance numbers in *EM1* and *EM3* are almost the same, the number in *EM2* is approximately forty less than the others. That is because *EM1* and *EM3* sometimes divide one sentence into two when the English sentence is a compound which uses a semicolon or a dash.

[12] The translators' years of birth are as follows: Kudo Masashi (*EM2*) was born in 1931, Nakano Koji (*EM3* and *PP3*) in 1946, Tomita Akira (*PP1*) in 1897, and Nakano Yoshio

shown in Section 3.7 below, older men are likely to prefer women to use feminine language. Therefore, the over-feminising translation tendency can not only be influenced by gender difference but also by the age of the translator.

## 3.5 Stereotypical Femininity in Translation

In a 1995 linguistic study of Japanese women's conversations, the feminine forms '*wa*' and '*kashira*', which are regarded as representative of strongly feminine forms, rarely appeared in Japanese women's real conversations at that time (Okamoto 1995: 304). However, they are frequently used in *PP3* and the translations of *EM*. According to Okamoto and Sato, strongly feminine sentence-final forms in Japanese can be divided into eight categories and each has several variations as illustrated below. In the categories, there are twenty forms of strongly feminine sentence-final particles in Japanese, as follows:

1. The sentence-final particle *wa* for mild emphasis: '***wa***'
2. The particle *wa* followed by *ne*, *yo*, or *yo ne*: '*wane*', '*wa yo*' and '*wa yo ne*'
3. The particle *wa* preceded by *da* or *datta*: '*da wa*' and '*datta wa*'
4. The particle *wa* preceded by *da* or *datta* and followed by *ne*, *yo*, or *yo ne*: '*da wa ne*', '*datta wa ne*', '*da wa yo*', '*datta wa yo*', '*da wa yo ne*', and '*datta wa yo ne*'
5. The particle *yo* attached after a noun or adjective that finishes with *na*: '*yo*' and '*-na yo*'
6. The particle *no* after a noun or adjective that finishes with *na* in a statement: '*no*' and '*-na no*'
7. The particle *no* followed by *ne*, *yo* or *yo ne*: '*no ne*', '*no yo*' and '*no yo ne*'
8. The form *kashira* 'I wonder': '***kashira***'

(Okamoto and Sato 1992: 480-481; see Appendix 1)

The frequent use of the particles '*wa*' and '*kashira*' implies that *PP3*'s choice of strongly feminine forms inclines towards excessive stereotyping.

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(*PP2*) in 1903.

Nevertheless there is a wide variety of strongly sentence-final particles. This section, therefore, investigates how translators tend to use the stereotypical expressions in the target texts.

*Table 7* below shows the proportions of the particles '*wa*' and '*kashira*' in strongly feminine forms in *PP3*, *EM1*, *EM2* and *EM3*. With the exception of *PP3*, more than half of the strongly feminine forms are composed of the two typical sentence-final particles '*wa*' and '*kashira*', with *EM2* showing the highest percentage, 67.81. According to these results, there are no remarkable differences by gender. The data show that the translators are prone to overuse the most typical feminine forms '*wa*' and '*kashira*', suggesting that  both male and female translators incline excessively to these stereotypes. This inclination becomes clearer when the data in Okamoto's 1995 survey are converted into percentages. In Okamoto's survey, 4.5 % of 1500 instances were strongly feminine forms, and three of these were the typical '*wa*' and '*kashira*' forms. That is, the percentage of these typical forms in strongly feminine forms was 4.4 % and that of the others was 95.6 %. The percentages of these typical forms in *PP3*, *EM1*, *EM2* and *EM3* were more than eleven times higher than in Okamoto, showing that both male and female translators have accepted a stereotype of women's speech style and used it to construct Elizabeth or Emma's personality.

*Table 7*

**Percentage of Typical Feminine Forms *'wa'* and *'kashira'* in Strongly Feminine Forms (*PP3*, *EM1*, *EM2* and *EM3*)**

| Sentence-final Forms | Total Instances Used (%) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *PP3* (M 2003) | *EM1* (F 1997) | *EM2* (M 2000) | *EM3* (M2005) | Okamoto (1995) |
| **in Strongly Feminine forms** | | | | | |
| -*'wa'* and *'kashira'* | 45.67% | 65.85% | 67.81% | 59.50% | 4.4% |
| -others | 54.33% | 34.14% | 32.19% | 40.50% | 95.6% |
| **Total** | **100.00%** | **100.00%** | **100.00%** | **100.00%** | **100.0%** |

Note (1): Total number of instances = 241 (*PP3* 2003), 178 (*EM1* 1997), 140 (*EM2* 2000), and 182 (*EM3* 2005).

Note (2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated for the first time.

Note (3): M in brackets indicates the translator is male; F that the translator is female.

Note (4): As all figures are rounded off to two decimal places, there is a systematic error when they are totalled.

Source of the data 'Okamoto (1995)':

Okamoto, Shigeko (1995), '"Tasteless" Japanese: Less "Feminine" Speech among Young Japanese Women', in eds. Kira Hall and Mary Bucholtz, *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*, New York and London: Routledge: 303

In relation to these stereotypical expressions, Japanese linguist Kinsui poses an interesting question (2003: v-vi): there are seven Japanese utterances that all mean 'Yes, I know' in English, and the readers are challenged to match a speaker with an utterance. He assumes that almost 100% of Japanese speakers brought up in Japan can easily answer this question:

[Question] Answer who is the speaker (a) ~ (g).

(a) そうよ、　あたし　　が　　知ってるわ
　　*Souyo,*　*atashi*　*ga*　　*shitteruwa.*
　　[Yes,　　　I　　particle　know]

(b) そうじゃ、　わし　　が　　知っておる
　　*Souja,*　　*washi*　*ga*　　*shitteoru*
　　[Yes,　　　　I　　particle　know]

(c) そや、　わて　　が　　　知っとるでえ
   *Soya,　　wate　　ga　　　sittorudee.*
   [Yes,　　I　　particle　　know]

(d) そうじゃ、　拙者　　が　　存じておる
   *Souja,　　sessha　ga　　zonjiteoru.*
   [Yes,　　　　I　　particle　　know]

(e) そうですわよ、　わたくし　　が　　存じておりますわ
   *Soudesuwayo,　watakushi　ga　　zonjiteorimasuwa.*
   [Yes,　　　　　　I　　particle　　know]

(f) そうだよ、　ぼく　が　　　知ってるのさ
   *Soudayo,　boku　ga　　　shitterunosa.*
   [Yes,　　　I　particle　　know]

(g) んだ、　おら　　知ってるだ
   *Nda,　　ora　　sitteruda.*
   [Yes,　　I　　　know]

Speakers
i.　　　a samurai
ii.　　　an old learrned man
iii.　　a girl
iv.　　a countryman
v.　　　a boy
vi.　　a young lady of a good family
vii.　　a man from the Kansai region (*East area of Japan)

[Answer] (a)―iii, (b)―ii, (c)―vii, (d)―i, (e)―vi, (f)―v, (g)―iv

(Kinsui 2003: v-vi)

There are three important factors in these sentences that indicate the speaker's characteristics: 'yes', 'I' and 'know'. Each word has a great variety of choices depending on the speaker's features such as femininity, masculinity, social status, or background. In this example, six different words are used to express the meaning 'yes': 'そうよ(*souyo*) [a girl]', 'そうじゃ(*souja*) [an old learned man or a samurai]', 'そや(*soya*) [a man from the Kansai region]', 'そうですわよ(*soudesuwayo*) [a young lady of a good family]', 'そうだよ(*soudayo*) [a boy]' and 'んだ(*nda*) [a countryman]'. There are seven

variations for the pronoun: 'あたし(*atashi*) [a girl]', 'わし(*washi*) [an old learned man]', 'わて(*wate*) [a man from the Kansai region]', '拙者(*sessha*) [a samurai]', 'わたくし(*watakushi*) [a young lady of a good family]', 'ぼく(*boku*) [a boy]' and 'おら(*ora*) [a countryman]'. Also, seven different conjugated forms of the verb 知っている(*shitteiru*) know: '知ってるわ(*shitteruwa*) [a girl]', '知っておる(*shitteoru*) [an old learned man]', '知っとるでえ(*sittorudee*) [a man from the Kansai region]', '存じておる(*zonjiteoru*) [a samurai]', '存じております わ(*zonjiteorimasuwa*) [a young lady of a good family]', '知ってるのさ (*shitterunosa*) [a boy]' and '知ってるだ(*shitteruda*) [a countryman]'.

As a native Japanese speaker born and brought up in Japan, I found this question very easy to answer. It seemed one of general knowledge because the Japanese language has characteristic uses of words, pronouns, and conjugated forms of verbs which include inflected verb endings. Each use creates different images of a character. In the example above, a simple utterance is expressed in seven different ways, with each phrase showing a particular image of the speaker, such as an old learned man, a girl or a boy. For those working with Japanese, this can be challenging. For example, when an American poet started learning Japanese, he was unable to decide which word to use to name himself, because there are more than twenty choices: '*watashi*', '*watakushi*', '*atashi*', '*atai*', '*uchi*', '*washi*', '*ware*', '*wagahai*', '*shousei*', '*gusei*', '*boku*', '*onore*', '*ore*', '*ora*', '*oresama*', '*soregashi*' and so on (Binard 2005).

Japanese speakers who are brought up in Japan learn the different uses through their education and cultural influences, the main sources being children's stories, comics, TV programmes, TV animation programmes, or TV dramas. Kinsui (2003: 45) notes that children acquire the uses as common knowledge, and he named the language uses

'*yakuwarigo* [role language]' since each use has a role in creating a particular image of the speaker. Women's language can be included in this concept of *yakuwarigo*.

However, *yakuwarigo* does not correspond to the language that people actually use in their conversations—indeed, it is totally different from real language. The question therefore arises: why do people need to learn *yakuwarigo*? As explored in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, the language used in literature and that in real life is remarkably different in Japanese, and the fabricated literary language which includes women's language has been used in both original and translated fiction for a long time. As discussed, the differentiation of language use among characters started to be seen in literature after the *genbun-itchi* literary movement. Novelists linked the language use to a particular group such as gender, age or social status, and the convention has developed stereotypes for how people are supposed to speak in fiction (Nakamura 2007a: 143-144; see Section 3.2 above). Indeed, one Japanese writer admits that *yakuwarigo* makes it easier for writers to convey to the readers a certain image of the characters because they do not need to depict characters in detail (Shimizu 2003: 35-36). Although he points out that a novel full of *yakuwarigo* cannot be of high quality, he also confesses the impossibility of avoiding *yakuwarigo* entirely (Shimizu 2003: 37).

Given the history of Japanese literature, the writing of novels with a stereotypical image of women's speech patterns is not unusual. The prominent female writer Higuchi Ichiyo became popular in the 19th century because she wrote with the perfect women's language. She used to write with a brusque style but changed this on the advice of a male writer, Nakarai Tousui, that it was not enough for women to write

naturally, they should also write with a woman's stereotypical literary style. Consequently, her novel *Takekurabe* [*Growing Up*] (1885) enjoyed great success, and Higuchi became the first woman writer in Japan to support herself fully by her pen. Her classic and elegant style reflects an ideal model of feminine speech style, which was created from a male perspective, and was striking within a male-dominated Japanese literary world. Her female writing style was highly praised and she later wrote a book on letter writing for women (Urushida 2001: 84; Ueno 2003: 21-22).

For the translator, the choice of language is made in accordance with social norms and expectations, and the translation process inevitably works through and reflects the translator's ideology (Simon 1996: 8). In this sense, it depends on the translator's ideology as to how female characters express themselves, or how they use women's language in their translation. As indicated in *Table 7* above, even the female translator's language use is controlled by social expectations to a considerable extent. This can be regarded as a result of the lack of a critical view of women's language within Japanese literature.

## 3.6 Stereotypes

The literary expectation of the representation of women is a stereotype that prevails widely in Japanese society. Stereotypes are what people believe about 'the characteristics of groups of individuals', which result from 'social categorization' (Stangor 2000: 1-2). This involves considering a person to be a member of a group of people, and is a natural process of perception which we often perform subconsciously as we categorise inanimate objects. For example, when we watch a TV programme, we categorise it as a documentary, soap opera, and so on

(Stangor 2000: 2). Lippmann introduced the psychological concept of a stereotype in his 1922 work, *Public Opinion*. In this, he defines stereotypes as 'pictures in our heads' (1922: 3) for perceiving the world. When we see a person, we classify him or her into a certain category—for instance, women tend to be categorised as compassionate, and men as assertive. These are stereotypes.

The process of categorisation has three components. Firstly, we categorise the person by a specific characteristic, such as nationality, religion, ethnicity, gender or age. Secondly, additional characteristics suggesting membership in the group are counted, such as the English as tradition-loving, or the elderly as grey-haired. Lastly, we attribute the additional characteristics to the identification of the person. For instance, the person is English; therefore he or she must be tradition-loving like all English people (Hinton 2000: 7-8). In the case of Japanese speakers or foreign characters translated into Japanese in literature, another characteristic is added: *yakuwarigo*, as explained above. For example, a woman is identified as a young lady of a good family. She is probably viewed as well-bred, sophisticated, and feminine. Consequently, her language use is expected to be like that in the Kinsui's question (p.110-111).

As discussed above, stereotyping is the generalising of people (Hinton 2000: 8). Generalisation itself is not a problem, but it becomes problematic when it ignores the differences between members of a group. A stereotype disregards individual differences because it treats 'a large number of distinguishable persons as equivalent' (Brown 1965: 176). As Lakoff points out (1987: 5; see Section 3.5), categorisation is the starting point of perceptions. Without categorising, or getting a picture of the world in Lippman's sense, we would be confused by the real environment which is 'too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance'

(Lippmann 1922: 16). Stereotypes are not always based on direct experience. In fact, he goes on, people have particular stereotypes even of nationalities they have never actually met (1922: 18).

Stereotypes are constructed not only by individuals, but also given by cultures (Hinton 2000: 151). This is because our culture defines the 'pictures in our heads' and members of the culture tend to perceive the world through these pictures. Stereotypes also reflect a view that members of a group hold in common, with a stereotype shared in a particular culture called a cultural stereotype (Hinton 2000: 151, 163, 176). Since stereotypes are a facet of the culture, children learn them as they learn the culture (Stangor 2000: 139), and although cultural stereotypes can be amended to a certain extent by individual experiences as children grow up, they persist in the mind, however. Seen from this perspective, *yakuwarigo* is very much a cultural stereotype that Japanese-speaking people share in Japanese culture (Kinsui 2003: 44-45, 123). The stereotypes were developed through *genbun-itchi* novels as Nakamura indicated (2007a: 143-144; see Section 3.2 above), and although the stereotype in language use is not correct, the cultural stereotype remains deeply rooted in the culture.

Even if a stereotype is inaccurate, it maintains its function because once it has developed it is resistant to change (Stangor 2000: 209). When we encounter an example that cannot be categorised within a certain stereotype, we subtype it instead of altering the stereotype. For instance, when Margaret Thatcher became the first female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 1979, people did not change their stereotypes that women are not competent to be involved in politics. Instead, Margaret Thatcher was considered to be an outsider, an exception who differed from others in the category. She was subtyped and given nicknames such

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as iron lady by the press (Hinton 2000: 100-101). Meanwhile, as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2, when former United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's comments appeared in a newspaper, her speech was translated with assertive sentence-final forms, not with women's language. In this translation, Condoleezza Rice is subtyped. Female speech in the media tends to be translated with women's language, but she was categorised as a certain kind of feminine figure totally different from the subordinate and weak feminine image, and represented in a particular way.

The impression of Condoleezza Rice is similar to that of a prominent Japanese female politician, Doi Takako, who served as Speaker of the House of Representatives in the National Diet, and was also the first female leader of a political party, the Japan Social Party. Her speech style is a subtype that conflicts with the feminine ideal in some respects:

> Takako Doi, who recently resigned as head of the Socialist Party and is one of the most visible women in Japan, succeeds in breaking many of these rules [for Japanese women's speech]. Her voice is always low, even when she is passionately pressing a point. She uses honorifics much less often than most women, and she employs the masculine form, *de arimasu*, instead of the more polite, and thus feminine, *de gozaimasu*, meaning 'to be.' Most noticeable is a bit of unusual body language: she always looks the listener straight in the face when speaking (in Okamoto 1995: 314, Ellen Rudolph, New York Times, 1st September 1991).

Although it is crucial for professional women to state their opinions assertively, female language use is an obstacle to this kind of communication. Hence, there is a conflict between social expectations of female speech and the practical needs of their business interests (Okamoto 1995: 314). Women who resist women's language, such as Doi Takako, are therefore subtyped, and the subtyping of Condoleezza Rice follows this convention.

To some extent, categorisation can be regarded as a positive simplification of the huge amount of information we receive in our everyday life, helping us to avoid 'cognitive overload' (Hinton 2000: 55). However, 'oversimplified, automatic interpretations—inhibit understanding' (Fowler 1996: 26) and can become prejudicial because stereotyping means excluding objects that cannot be categorised in the stereotype, just as Margaret Thatcher and Condoleezza Rice are subtyped as 'others'.

In this sense, stereotyping is a type of interpretation. People view the world how they want to see it, as 'people may remember what they expected to see rather than what they actually saw' (Cohen 2008: 199). This can be equally applied when we read a text. The following poem 'Hair Today, No Her Tomorrow' by Brian Patten (1988) serves as an example. It has 67 lines which are composed of two people's conversations. It begins as follows:

> 'I've been upstairs,' she said.
> 'Oh yes?' I said.
> 'I found a hair,' she said.
> 'A hair?' I said.
> 'In the bed,' she said.
> 'From a head?' I said.
> 'It's not mine,' she said.
> 'Was it black?' I said.
> 'It was,' she said.
> 'I'll explain,' I said.
> 'You swine,' she said.
> 'Not quite,' I said.
> 'I'm going,' she said.
> 'Please don't,' I said.
> 'I hate you!' She said.
> 'You do?' I said.
> 'Of course,' she said.
> 'But why?' I said.
> 'That black hair,' she said.
> 'A pity,' I said.  (Patten 1988: 55)

Most of the readers would expect that 'I' is a man and the boyfriend or husband of 'she', although there is a possibility that 'she' is a lesbian and 'I' is her girlfriend. To a greater or lesser degree, we are fettered by prior knowledge—that is, stereotypes. At the same time, the concept of lesbian or gay is subtyped. Stereotyping is therefore a process done by in-group members to out-group members, involving in-group favouritism which identifies similarities within a group (Stangor 2000: 4). When we subconsciously assume this couple to be heterosexual, we are excluding lesbian and gay people. When stereotypes influence our judgement of people or their behaviour, stereotypes are therefore problematic:

> Stereotypes and prejudice would not create a social problem if we did not use them so frequently in our interactions with others. But these beliefs are problematic exactly because they do influence our judgements of and our behaviour toward members of out-groups. And our beliefs often influence our responses to others such that we treat them negatively, or do not treat them as individuals (Stangor 2000: 251).

It can be argued that stereotypes are related to cultural norms that people regard as correct, or appropriate in the culture (Hinton 2000: 13). Stereotypes also work as a device to maintain ideological beliefs rather than as a simple categorisation because people use them to prejudice people (Hinton 2000: 25). Because social groups, identities or relations result from ideological interpretations of language use (Woolard 1998: 18; see Section 3.1 above), the interpretation of stereotypes can cause segmentation of people. The ideological interpretation is therefore more important than the use of stereotypes.

As stereotyping is a simplification of information, translation with stereotypes is an act of simplification of characters. In Japanese original

and translated fiction, it can be said that female characters tend to become a homogenous group in terms of their language use. As *Table 2* (p. 63) illustrates, Bridget, Sharon and Jude's language uses are similar to one another despite the variations of their personalities, a tendency also demonstrated in *Table 3* (p. 65). Indeed, the female protagonists in *Bridget Jones's Diary* and *Kicchin* demonstrate similar language use even though the former is a translated text, and the latter is the original text. This is the result of the use of *yakuwarigo*.

Because stereotypes tend to ignore the variations of people in a certain category, this tendency obscures female characterisations and gives little room for variety and depth of character. For example, considering Elizabeth's character in *PP*, Elizabeth does not follow the pattern which is labelled as the ideal feminine; instead, she is rather a radical woman and depicted as an 'articulate and independent-minded heroine' despite the situation in which '[w]omen's class status is traditionally determined by their father or husband' (Jones 2003: xii-xvii). In fact, her father refers to the fact that she has 'something more of quickness than her sisters' (Jane Austen 2003: 7). Therefore, overuse of stereotypical feminine forms is not appropriate to construct a suitable personality for Elizabeth.

*Yakuwarigo* is a virtual language that is not used by actual Japanese-speaking people. However, they learn it through cultural exchange and understand it passively. It is thus a cultural stereotype, and because it is shared by Japanese-speaking people, writers and translators are likely to use this stereotype in their novels or translations. Consequently, the function of the cultural stereotype *yakuwarigo* is strengthened and repeatedly imparted to children in Japanese society (Kinsui 2003: 172-173).

## 3.7 Women's Language as Language Ideology

As explained in Section 1.2.2 of Chapter 1, Japanese women's language was defined and promoted politically in the Meiji era, in accordance with the clarification of the role of women in Japanese society. This section therefore investigates the ideological function of women's language in modern Japanese society and its influence on the Japanese people.

Endo's questionnaires (1997: 173-177; see Appendix 2) demonstrate how profoundly Japanese people accept the differences between men's and women's language. Indeed, perceptions about women's language have not shifted significantly since the post-war period. In 1955, 11% answered that women's language and men's language should differ more, while 56% accepted the current differences. That is, a total of 67% approved of the differences between women's and men's language (see [1] in Appendix 2). The 1986 questionnaire shows that almost half of working women, 46%, thought women's language should be preserved (see [2] in Appendix 2), while in 1995, four decades after the first questionnaire, 44.1% still considered it better that women's and men's language is different. Only 9.8% expressed disapproval of language difference based on gender (see [3] in Appendix 2).

Regarding the classification of the 1995 questionnaire by age, we can see two main factors (see [4] in Appendix 2). The first feature is that older people are likely to favour the differences. The other is that the top two categories of people who prefer to preserve the differences are male. This result illustrates that not only do almost half of Japanese people still approve of the different language use by gender, but also that older men are more conservative in their attitude to gender-marked language.

In her investigation of women's language in Japanese TV dramas, Mizumoto (2005) concludes that drama scripts also artificially overuse women's language, and her survey also reinforces the clear preference of men for women's language. Conducted with 30 female subjects (10 in their 20s, 10 in their 30s, and 10 in their 40s) and 18 males (6 in their 20s, 9 in their 30s, and 3 in their 40s), 61% of the men questioned regarded women's language as feminine, romantic and sexy. By contrast, only 15% of women wanted to use women's language to give a feminine impression to men. Rather, they regarded women's language as a tool to help establish good relations with other (mainly older) people in society, and 47% of the women considered women's language a polite form of language.

In general, men have a stereotypical image of women's language, whereas women use it as a tool to develop a better response from people. In the Japanese language, women are considered to be under-privileged. Therefore, women are supposed to use polite forms to men, but not vice versa, indicating that women are constrained to the use of polite forms. This linguistic superior-inferior relationship is related to women's social powerlessness in society (Smith 1992a: 540, 1992b: 59). Furthermore, indirect expressions are used to avoid indicating the object straightforwardly, a usage that is part of politeness, as well as non-assertiveness and hesitation (Okamoto 1995: 307; Inoue 2006: 2). Some women try to fit into a socially-mandated mould of the ideal feminine speaking style because they understand that this is what society expects. They are careful about others' expectations and how they are seen in society: 'Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at' (Berger 1977: 47). This social regulation can explain why even a female

translator cannot break out of literary conventions and uses feminine forms extensively for female characters' speech in her translation.

Ethnographic research on Japanese women's language use, meanwhile, shows how female workers switch language codes swiftly in an office depending on the audience (Inoue 2006: 252-261). The study of two 25 year-old female workers was conducted in a pharmaceutical company from April 1991 to August 1993. The two spoke with a gender-neutral and informal speech style when with colleagues of equal status and of both sexes. They were the first university graduates to be employed in the Synthetic Material Unit, which was the most conservative section in the company. However, their speech style indicated their level of equality with their male counterparts in the work-place. While 'How-to-speak' books instruct women to use feminine and polite forms to male colleagues, these female workers rejected the feminine ideal. Moreover, they sometimes used sentence-final particles such as '*dayo*' or '*yo*', which are categorised as masculine forms (Okamoto and Sato 1992: 481).

Interestingly, however, when it came to answering phone calls from their customers, they showed 'skilful, and even thrilling, swift and perfect *code-switching*' (Inoue 2006: 255, italics in original) from the gender-neutral and informal speech to 'an elaborate and flawless use of honorifics' (Inoue 2006: 255). Inoue (2006: 255) considers their feminine language use or feminine behaviour as perfect in the office for three reasons. Firstly, their speech style perfectly matches the idea that women should speak politely. Secondly, it displays their good upbringing by proving they can speak appropriately. Finally, it is supposed to be a woman's job to answer business calls since it is a part of the clerical work in the office.

This research shows that these female workers were aware of the social expectations of language use and they 'do gender' (West and

Zimmerman 1987: 125) in certain situations. If they had used informal and gender-neutral or even masculine forms consistently, they would have been identified as ill-mannered. This reader's comment on contemporary Japanese women's language use clearly demonstrates the point:

> […] Young women have even started using men's language […], which makes me wonder how in the world their parents and teachers are raising them. But then, their mothers are also actively using men's language. On TV, I even saw a female professor using men's language proudly; I felt it was deplorable and questioned her educational level. It is difficult to judge whether they are trying to be like men even in language because men and women have equal rights or whether it is a fad influenced by the mass media. In either case, for men it seems as tasteless as eating sand or grafting bamboo on a tree. It sets my teeth on edge like eating a sour apple. In Japan there is an attractive and adorable women's language. If we teach men's language to female foreigners, we will inevitably end up teaching the wrong Japanese culture (in Okamoto 1995: 297, Letter from a 59-year-old man to the readers' columns, Asahi Shinbun, 2 November 1992, trans. Okamoto).

This 59-year-old man says that the inappropriate language use makes him doubt the women's upbringing and educational level. This notion that women's language is a beautiful aspect of Japanese culture and women have to preserve it is underlined in the questionnaires as indicated above (Endo 1997: 173-177; see Appendix 2).

Here is another example of women's adjustment to the social expectations: a career woman with a Harvard MBA at Bank of America (Tokyo office) was told by her friend that she was very aggressive when talking in English, but she tried to be lady-like when using her native Japanese (Condon 1986: 189). This is because she knows how men feel if she speaks like a man though she does not feel comfortable with women's language:

> If I talk like a man, I know the men will feel resistance; they will tighten up and feel uncomfortable. But the disadvantage of speaking women's Japanese is that I have to humble myself constantly. So I'm

better off speaking English. Then I can talk at the same level (Condon 1986: 189).

Although this is an interview from more than two decades ago, Mizumoto's 2005 study demonstrates that women still have these tendencies.

According to Minamoto (2008), gender is just a consensus of a majority group, and gendered behaviour has changed depending on the place or the times. For example, men would put on makeup when they went into battle in the Kamakura era (1185-1333).[13] If Minamino's theory is correct, owing to the convention of Japanese translation and fiction, which have repeatedly used a fabricated women's language that is rarely used in real-life, Japanese women see how to 'do gender' through literary texts, both original and translated. Therefore, it can be considered that translators and novelists are both creating and reinforcing the consensus as to how women should speak, and their translations and novels mediate the reproduction of women's language as an ideology.

Having defined the concepts of ideology in both language and gender (Section 3.1), this chapter has explored the history of the Japanese language as a gender marker (Sections 3.2 and 3.3). It has shown that gendered use, especially of women's language, really began in literature during the Meiji era under the auspices of the *genbun-itchi* literary movement. As discussed in the previous chapter, this gendered language is still used in Japanese translation, fiction and other domains more than a hundred years after the movement. Moreover, there is a significant difference between real language use and literary language in fiction, both original and translated. This discrepancy has huge implications for the

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[13] 'ジェンダーは場所・時代によって変わる。たとえば鎌倉時代には、男が化粧をして戦にいった。(…) 結局、ジェンダーはその時代や地域の多数派の意見でしかない' (Minamino 2008).

ideological function of women's language in society. Although male translators tend to rely on stereotypical feminine language (Section 3.4), as the translator Ōshima Kaori confesses (in Nakamura 2007b: 52; see Chapter 2, Section 2.2), and as the data in *Tables 1*, *2* and *3* of Chapter 2 indicate, even female translators and writers tend to use extensive feminine language for female characters' speech because of social expectations. The reason for this is that women's language is language ideology in Japanese society. The next chapter investigates the dissonant figures between original and translated texts, and further explores gender differences in their interpretations in Japanese translation with respect to the way women are represented.

# Chapter 4   Translation Problems

## 4.1 Feminism

In the late 1960s, the second wave of feminism was promoted and 'the era of feminism' (von Flotow 1997: 1) started in earnest. The first feminist wave is usually assumed to have occurred between the 18th and early 20th centuries, when the aim was to achieve legal sexual equality such as the right to vote, to work and to own property. The feminist movement advanced and the second wave intended to acquire women's rights such as equality of opportunity in the workplace and the legalisation of abortion. This second wave had a great impact on academics as well as popular culture, and academic attention was turned to gender studies especially in North America (von Flotow 1997: 1). The second feminist wave covers activism between the early 1960s and the late 1980s, and the agenda was to achieve 'political, legal, or economic rights equal to those granted to men' (Offen 1988: 123). Equality in this sense means that women gain various options that they are able to choose by themselves, rather than receiving these from a male-dominated society:

> Feminism's agenda is basic: It asks that women not to be forced to 'choose' between public justice and private happiness. It asks that women be free to define themselves—instead of having their identity defined for them, time and again, by their culture and their men (Faludi 2006: 15).

Feminist theory became a central concern for many western theorists in translation studies in the 1990s. The movement was particularly strong in Canada, where scholars started to see translation studies from the perspective of gender studies. This reflects the importance of translation in academic disciplines there. Having two

official languages—English and French—translation plays a crucial role in Canadian society, whereas it is regarded to some extent as a more minor discipline in the US (von Flotow 1997: 1).

When considering translation studies in Japan, due to the gender-marking aspect of Japanese (Chapter 1, Section 1.2), gender issues are inevitable. However, thus far relatively little has been written about the links between gender issues and Japanese translation compared to European countries or North America. There are two reasons for this silence. Firstly, there is a general lack of awareness within Japan of feminist theory, and very few Japanese translations of feminist theories. For instance, translations of prominent books on gender and language such as Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (1975), or Spender's *Man Made Language* (1980) have long been out of print. Also, Simone de Beauvoir's epoch-making *Le Deuxième Sexe* [*The Second Sex*] (1949) is not available in Japanese.[1] Secondly, translation is usually regarded as a practical task and translation studies as an academic discipline has not attained the same status in Asian countries as it has elsewhere (Hung and Wakabayashi 2005: 2). As a result, there are limited numbers of scholars in Japan who explore the intersection of gender and translation. This academic tendency stands in the way of developing people's awareness of translation as a shaper of gender ideology.

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[1] There used to be two different Japanese translations for *Le Deuxième Sexe*; the first version was by a male translator in 1953, and then a feminist group re-translated it in 1997 because of the previous translator's biased interpretation and some mistakes: the change of structure, the mistranslation of some important words such as 'feminine', strong focus on experiences but less on theories, etc. However, both versions are currently out of print in Japan.

## 4.2 Gender and Translation

A number of feminists started considering that language had been made by men and was used to answer men's purposes in the late 20th century. In particular, Spender's *Man Made Language* (1980) awakened feminists' awareness of the relationship between language and feminism. Spender writes, 'the English language has been literally man made and […] it is still primarily under male control' (1998: 12). As a result, man-made language rules women's ways of thinking and recognition of reality. This fact sets limits on women's rights:

> Language helps form the limits of our reality. It is our means of ordering, classifying and manipulating the world. It is through language that we become members of a human community, that the world becomes comprehensible and meaningful, that we bring into existence the world in which we live (Spender 1998: 3).

This notion is grounded in the linguistic relativity of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that points out a close correlation between language and the recognition of reality. In this hypothesis, Sapir and Whorf insist that the way we recognise reality partly depends on the language we use. If we follow this hypothesis, language, thought and culture are tightly engaged with each other. Linguistic categories differ between languages and decide aspects of the thinking of individuals (Gumperz and Levinson 1996: 2, 24).

Sapir and Whorf proposed two key principles: linguistic determinism and linguistic relativity. Linguistic determinism is the view that language decides how we perceive the world. Thus, if we speak different languages, we have different ways of thinking. In linguistic determinism, for example, if a person speaks a language which does not have any differentiation between two and three dimensions, the person has no ability to perceive the dimensional differences:

> […] users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their

grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world (Whorf 1956: 221).

Linguistic determinism is not commonly accepted, however, because it clearly declares that language determines the way of perception and imposes limits on regarding other functions of perception. However, what is sometimes considered the weaker version of this principle, linguistic relativity, is generally considered more plausible. In this view, a language affects the speaker's way of thinking to a certain extent. For instance, it is easier for people to remember things when they can relate them to words or phrases. Also, people perceive a conceptual distinction more easily when they have words that explain it in their languages (Crystal 1997: 15).

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis influenced feminism, making feminists aware of sexist representations of the ways women are referred to in language. Having accepted the hypothesis that linguistic categories influence perceptions seriously, feminists started considering language not only as a communication tool but also 'a manipulative tool' (von Flotow 1997: 8). That is, it is assumed that if women use man-made language, they cannot help but see the world from a male perspective. For Fowler (1996: 29), meanwhile, language is a 'highly efficient medium in the coding of social categorization', functioning not only to express words for prejudiced concepts that already exist, but also to crystalliz[ing] and stabiliz[ing] ideas. To change the attitude towards language use is, therefore, crucial for women's liberation (Cameron 1992: 1). Thus, the aim of feminist translation practice is to eliminate sexual discrimination in language. A key element of this is to raise awareness of the links between social stereotypes and linguistic forms on the premise that language

categories ultimately influence perception and, therefore, language creates sexist representations of women (von Flotow 1997: 14).

While there are many examples of the sexist representation of women in Japanese society in the language used to talk about them (e.g. some husbands calling their wives '愚妻 *gusai* [stupid wife]' when introducing them to others), this thesis deals only with how female characters are constructed by language use in literature, whether original or translated, rather than sexist expressions outside literature. The former is a reflection of social expectations of what women should be like, established and reinforced by gender ideology. The latter are linguistic categories resulting from social circumstances which uphold sexist ideas. Although the linguistic categories also have a correlation with people's perceptions, this study is limited to examining the way women are represented by their language use in Japanese literature.

## 4.2.1 Feminist Translation Strategies

*Gender in Translation* (Simon 1996) and *Translation and Gender* (von Flotow 1997) are the first attempts to link feminist politics and translation visibly. In *Translation and Gender* (1997: 8-12), von Flotow identifies two ways to approach the issue of women and language: the reformist approach and the radical approach. The reformist approach deems conventional language a '*symptom*' (von Flotow 1997: 8, italics in original) of society, with those subscribing to this approach regarding conventional language as reformable 'if good intentions prevailed' (von Flotow 1997: 8). This belief is grounded in linguistic relativity which considers that language affects perceptions of individuals to a certain extent. On the other hand, the radical approach regards conventional language as an

essential *'cause'* (von Flotow 1997: 8, italics in original) of the imbalanced power relationship of genders in society. This is based on linguistic determinism which contends that users of a language or of a certain type of language inevitably have a certain perspective on the world. Therefore reformists aim to liberate women from the conventional sexist language by producing handbooks of non-sexist use and other social reforms including education, whilst in the radical approach, feminists think that using conventional language means reinforcing the subordinate status of women in society. Hence, by making the feminine visible in language, the radical aims to make the social subordination of women visible, as well as to make women resident in society (Godard 1990: 90; von Flotow 1997: 28).

However, von Flotow's explanation lacks clarity. If conventional language is a symptom as reformists think, even if feminist translation changes language, this will not change the subordination of women in society. To alleviate the symptom is different from correcting the cause, and it is not a cure. Hence, the reformist approach is not effective in changing the situation of women's oppression. This thesis therefore adopts the radical approach, even though my translation strategy is, in a sense, the opposite of what von Flotow suggests. In von Flotow's radical approach, feminist translators aim to make the feminine noticeable in language. In my approach, however, I suggest making the feminine less visible to modify the over-feminising tendency in Japanese literature. This issue is elaborated in the next section.

In the late 20th century, radical feminist writers presented new ideas of language for women by coining new words, new spellings and new grammatical structures. For example, a Quebec writer Nicole Brossard entitled her book *L'Amèr*. *L'Amèr* is a made-up French word which comprises *mère* (mother), *mer* (sea) and *amer* (bitter). This is a metaphor

which implies that motherhood is a bitter experience, as well as making the link between mothers and the sea (von Flotow 1997: 15). These kinds of experimental approaches flourished in Western Europe and North America, and influenced the application of feminist theory to the practice of translation.

According to von Flotow (1997: 14-34), radical feminist translation practice can be categorised into three techniques: supplementing, prefacing and footnoting, and hijacking. The first technique, supplementing, aims to recreate the same effect in the translation that is implied in the original text. For example, in an English translation of the French lesbian writer Michèle Causse, de Lotbinière-Harwood emboldens '**e**' to make the foregrounding of Causse's writing visible. In the French original, Causse feminises some words by using new spellings such as 'nulle' ('nul'). In the English translation, the author's grammatical construction is recreated by the emboldened '**e**' to foreground the gender aspect in French: for instance, '[n]o on**e** ignores [is ignorant of] the fact that everything is language' (Simon 1996: 21).

Secondly, prefacing and footnoting is a strategy to explain the author's intention, deliberately presenting and calling the readers' attention to the translation strategy. For instance, de Lotbinière-Harwood declares her political intention and explains her translation strategy in her preface to Lise Gauvin's *Letters d'une autre*:

> Dear reader,
> Just a few words to let you know that this translation is a rewriting in the feminine of what I originally read in French. I don't mean content. Lise Gauvin is a feminist, and so am I. But I am not her. She wrote in the generic masculine. My translation practice is a political activity aimed at making language speak for women. So my signature on a translation means: this translation has used every possible feminist translation strategy to make the feminine visible in language. Because making the feminine visible in language means making women seen

and heard in the real world. Which is what feminism is all about (in
von Flotow 1997: 29).

Here it is the translator herself, rather than the author, who is talking to
the reader. This is a case where feminist translation makes the translator as
well as the feminine visible in language. The translator is given authority
as well as the real author (Simon 1996:15).

Lastly, hijacking is the appropriating of the text to make the
feminist message explicit. De Lotbinière-Harwood's translation of Lise
Gauvin's *Letters d'une autre* is a case of this technique. Some translators
hijack non-feminist writing and rewrite it to make it overtly feminist.
Translation generally tends to be considered an 'act of reproduction'
(Simon 1996: 12). However, in contrast to this view Godard defines
feminist translation as 'production, not reproduction' (1990: 90). Her
statement explains radical feminist translators' ideas clearly: they produce
feminist texts based on feminist ideology through their translation process.
This hijacking technique, however, involves a risky aspect of translation
practice in terms of the text's authorship because a non-feminist text can be
hijacked and reproduced as an overtly feminist text with no attempt to
reconstruct the author's intention. Such a radical re-writing can be seen as
violence on the part of the translator (Simon 1996: 15, 28).

The drastic re-writing of a text requires careful consideration by the
translator. One particular case is worthy of mention. When a feminist
translator encounters an oppressive expression in a text, should she or he
leave it out or translate it, and if so, how? Should she or he be loyal to the
source text? If she or he translates a sexist expression to be loyal to the
source text, can the act be a conspiracy with the author to discriminate
against women? A female translator, Suzanne Jill Levine, faced difficulties
when translating the Cuban writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante's *Tres Tristes*

*Tigres* [*Three Trapped Tigers*] (1967), because of his extremely oppressive views on women, and frequent use of metaphors to suggest negative images of them. Levine asks: 'Where does this leave a woman as translator of such a book? Is she not a double betrayer […]?' (Levine 1992: 83) As an answer to this question, she takes a risk and replaces an expression which was a patriarchal notion with a less oppressive one to avoid becoming a 'double betrayer' (Levine 1992: 83) to female readers. Levine translated his statement 'no one man can rape a woman' as 'no wee man can rape a woman'. The implication that women are willing to become victims in the former sentence is thus limited in her translation. Also, as von Flotow argues, the alliteration of 'one' and 'wee' emphasises Levine's risk-taking strategy and adds an ironical aspect (1997: 27). However, it should be noted that this ironical aspect does not work in this case. Though von Flotow regards the use of 'wee' as alliteration with 'one', it works only when the two words, 'one' and 'wee', are used close together in the same text. In Levine's translation, only 'wee' is used and readers would not notice that it is alliterated with 'one'.

Levine is not the only translator who has a strong bias against the writer's prejudiced view. Levine could have rejected translating such phrases as von Flotow suggests censorship as an option (1997: 27). However, it is questionable whether Levine and von Flotow's strategies are reasonable. Due to her effort to conceal the Latin American writer's biased view, readers remain unaware of his prejudice. Considering this issue from the reader's perspective, it might be better to notice the perception of the writer, or perhaps for the society to become more conscious of it. It may lead to action to change the social situation and promote equality of the sexes. By concealing men's oppressive perceptions of women, the reader might miss an opportunity to advocate eliminating

the social bias.

With reference to Bible translation, meanwhile, Simon (1996: 124-133) argues that such a strategy can be harmful. Feminist scholars aim to use 'inclusive or non-sexist language' (Simon 1996: 124) for male-dominated expressions in biblical texts. For example, '*ashre ha'is* [blessed]' is translated as 'Blessed are those' not as 'Blessed is the man', or '*Brethren* [brother]' is 'Sisters and Brothers' instead of 'Brothers'. However, covering up the underlying sexist expressions in the Bible is potentially more harmful than reader-friendly because the sexist nature must be recognised by the readers rather than missed. By using male-dominated language as much as possible, the translation can portray the male-bias in the Bible.

Feminist translation has received some criticism (von Flotow 1997: 77-88), and feminist translation practice should arguably vary depending on the intended readership. In countries which have less established women's movements than North America or Europe, radical feminist translation experiments will probably be less accepted by the audience. Feminist scholars can be marginalised and underestimated. Consequently, feminist translators' intentions may be weakened to a certain extent. In addition, particularly in the case of French feminist translation, it overvalues the political power of their wordplay. Moreover, feminist translation is mostly practised by highly educated women as a response to the need for intellectual experiments, and the readership is likely to be small (von Flotow 1997: 81). Furthermore, translation is not only between languages, but also between cultures, and possibly between different historical periods. Therefore, feminist translation needs to find the best balance between the reconstructed author's intention, the domain of the target culture at a certain time, and the translator's intention.

## 4.3 Over-Feminising in Japanese Translation

As shown in the previous section, western feminist translation generally aims to make the feminine visible in language in order to draw attention to women's oppression in society. In other words, western feminist translation is feminising translation. In Japanese translation, however, feminising translation connotes women's underprivileged position in Japanese society. As indicated and analysed in Chapter 2, Section 2.1, Japanese fiction, both original and translated, has an over-feminising tendency which entails gender ideology in society. Even in contemporary novels and translations of foreign contemporary novels, the female characters' speech is far more feminised than that of real contemporary Japanese women. Women's language is now only seen in literature, and in other cultural materials such as newspapers, magazines, TV programmes and comics. The representation of women in the media and in popular culture is strongly influenced by social norms, and the sensitivity to gender difference and social roles continues to have a significant impact on the representation of women.

For this reason, I wish to present a de-feminising strategy as a form of feminist translation in the Japanese context. My purpose in this thesis is to argue that a feminist approach to translation in Japan is one that removes over-feminised representation of women in language. As argued in Chapter 1, Section 1.4, traditionally the process of translation transforms a female character's speech in a foreign novel to adapt it to an ideal feminine speech style. This intracultural translation impinges upon social norms of how women are supposed to speak. Hence, it could be said that the over-feminised representation has functioned as a shaper of gender ideology in the Japanese literary world. Thus, de-feminising is crucial to

change not only female representations in Japanese literature, translated and original, but also social expectations of women in society.

This search for an appropriate version of female speech in translation is illustrated with a re-translation of some passages of *The Edible Woman* (*EW*)[2]. As explained in Section 1.5.1 of Chapter 1, translation activity should be considered within a socio-cultural system (Even-Zohar 2006: 204), and re-creating an appropriate female voice challenges the social norms of female representations. Hence, this challenge to conventional translation strategies will lead to raised awareness of the social expectations of ideal femininity including speech style and behaviour. As a result, this experimental translation will allow readers to recognise the gender division of social roles, and arguably, move liberation of women in society in the future. Therefore, several passages from *EW* are re-translated with the aim of de-feminising the original translation in Chapter 5.

As a part of over-feminising, and as a part of intracultural translation more broadly, swear words tend to be omitted or modified in Japanese translation (see Chapter 2, Section 2.1). Such omissions or modifications to create these over-feminised images of women are also a form of domestication that is challenged here. This re-translation therefore applies a foreignising strategy. According to Venuti (1995, 2008), translation should provide conflicts for readers so that they can realise that the text is written in a foreign language. Foreignisation is a strategy which conveys the otherness in the original text—in other words, the strangeness for the target readers:

> Foreignizing translation is a dissident cultural practice, maintaining a refusal of the dominant by developing affiliations with marginal

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[2] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *EW* for *The Edible Woman*.

linguistic and cultural values in the receiving situation, including foreign cultures that have been excluded because their differences effectively constitute a resistance to dominant values (Venuti 2008: 125).

Although the female characters swear in *EW*, their speech is translated without any rude words in the Japanese translation (*EWJ*).[3] Even Marian's friend Clara, who is described as a feminine ideal from the male-dominated view, sometimes uses swear words. However, her occasionally vulgar language use is changed to a sophisticated and feminine use in the Japanese translation. From Venuti's perspective, this change is a domestication strategy to adjust the female character to the norms in Japanese society, which is that the ideal female should not swear on any occasion. Clara's rude language use is thus transformed and appropriated by the dominant norms in the target culture. It seems likely that this kind of transformation in translation happens where dominant norms in the target culture are strong. This re-translation preserves these swear words intending to show their coarse language use to the readers. These expressions will be seen as being foregrounded by the readers who are used to over-feminising translation, startling and making them realise that this story is a translation of foreign fiction. The intention is to make the readers think about why the characters speak in such ways to encourage them to recognise the conventional view of female speech style in literature and thus to be more able to break away from it.

## 4.4 Three Different Images of the Same Character

Before analysing the over-feminising tendency of Japanese translation in more detail, it is necessary to demonstrate how differently

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[3] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *EWJ* for the Japanese translation of *The Edible Woman*.

the same character can appear to the readers of a translation. The three translations of Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* (*MD*)[4] provide an example. Published in 1925, *Mrs Dalloway* was Virginia Woolf's fourth novel. Technically and stylistically, 'it is among the most brilliant of Virginia's works' (Tomalin 1992: xxvii). The story is about a day in June in London, narrated through the eyes of the protagonist, Mrs Dalloway. She is giving a formal evening party in her house in Westminster, and thinking of going out to buy flowers for it.

Here is the first sentence from *Mrs Dalloway*, followed by the three Japanese translations of 1955 (*MD1*), 1976 (*MD*2) and 1998 (*MD*3). The three versions present the different levels of femininity of Mrs Dalloway:

(4.1) *MD*:
Mrs Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself.  (Virginia Woolf 1925: 1)

(4.2) *MD1*:
ダロウェイ夫人は、<u>お花は自分で買いに行こう</u>、と言った。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Tomita Akira 1955: 5)
　Mrs Dalloway,　　　I will go to buy the flowers,　　　said

(4.3) *MD2*:
ダロウェイ夫人は、<u>自分で花を買ってくる</u>　　　と言った。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Kondo Ineko 1976: 3)
　Mrs Dalloway,　　　I will go to buy the flowers　　said

(4.4) *MD3*:
ミセス・ダロウェイは、<u>お花はわたしが買ってくるわ</u>、と言った。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Tanji Ai 1998: 10)
　Mrs Dalloway,　　　　　I will go to buy the flowers,　　said

There is no remarkable difference in the renditions of 'Mrs Dalloway' and 'said'. 'Mrs Dalloway' has been translated as 'ダロウェイ夫人は、(*darouei*

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[4] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *MD* for *Mrs Dalloway*, *MD1*for the first Japanese translation of *MD*, by Tomita Akira (1955), *MD2* for the second version by Kondo Ineko (1976) and *MD3* for the latest version by Tanji Ai (1998).

*fujin* + particle)' in *MD1* (4.2) and *MD2* (4.3), and as 'ミセス・ダロウェイは、 (*misesu darouei*)' in *MD3* (4.4). 'ダロウェイ(*darouei*)' means Dalloway, and both '夫人(*hujin*)' in *MD1* (4.2) and *MD2* (4.3), and 'ミセス (*misesu*)' in *MD3* (4.4) mean Mrs. The word '夫人(*hujin*)' is a Japanese translation of Mrs, and 'ミセス(*misesui*)' is a Japanese pronunciation of the English title which is used as a loan word. Also, the verb 'said' has been translated in exactly the same way in all translations: 'と言った(*to itta*)'. As a trivial difference, *MD2* (4.3) does not use a comma before 'と言った'. The commas in *MD1* (4.2) and *MD3* (4.4) make the distinction clearer between Mrs Dalloway's remark and the narrative parts than *MD2* (4.3), but they do not make a significant difference in terms of the meanings. Hence, the translations of 'she would buy the flowers herself' are the key to the readers' different impressions of Mrs Dalloway. The translations are as follows:

(4.5) *MD*:
    […] she would buy the flowers herself.        (Virginia Woolf 1925: 1)

(4.6) *MD1*:

| お花 | は | 自分 | で | 買いに行こう |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (polite and refined form) | | | | (shows her intention) |
| *o-hana* | *ha* | *jibun* | *de* | *kainiikou* |
| flowers | particle | myself | by | will go to buy |

                     (trans. Tomita Akira 1955: 5)

(4.7) *MD2*:

| 自分 | で | 花 | を | 買ってくる |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | (plain form) | | (shows her strong intention) |
| *Jibun* | *de* | *hana* | *wo* | *kattekuru* |
| myself | by | flowers | particle | will come to buy |

                     (trans. Kondo Ineko 1976: 3)

(4.8) *MD3*:

| お花 | は | わたし | が | 買ってくるわ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (polite and refined form) | | (shows her intention with strong femininity) | | |
| *o-hana* | *ha* | *watashi* | *ga* | *kattekuru-wa* |
| flowers | particle | I | particle | will go to buy |

                     (trans. Tanji Ai 1998: 10)

There are two remarkable features which determine Mrs Dalloway's femininity in the renditions. The first feature can be seen in the Japanese words for 'flowers': 'お花(*o-hana*)' in *MD1* (4.6) and *MD3* (4.8), and '花 (*hana*)' in *MD2* (4.7). 'お花' is a polite and refined form and the word can be divided into 'お (*o*)' and '花 (*hana*)'. 'お' is a prefix to show respect to the word '花'. The prefix is used for some other words as well such as 'おいも (*o-imo*) [potato(es)]', 'お湯 (*o-yu*) [hot water]' or 'お魚 (*o-sakana*) [fish]'. The speaker avoids uttering the word directly by adding the honorific 'お', a so-called 'beatification prefix, *o-*' (Shibatani 1990: 374). Thus, by using this prefix, the use shows the speaker's genteelness and politeness.

This prefix originated in language use by women who served at the Imperial Court in the 14th century. In front of the nobility at the Imperial Court, those women needed sophisticated language as well as polished manners. They started using exclusive words to avoid indicating the object directly and to differentiate their speech from that of the commoners. That was the start of indirect expressions and they were related to people's privileged social status, and women's language specifically needed to be elegant, sophisticated and indirect (Endo 1997: 53-64; Kobayashi 2007: 170). As seen from the history of women's language, this is a class as well as gender related issue, and using women's language indicates not only their femininity but also their superior position in society.

This use is one of the elements of difference, such as non-assertiveness and hesitation (Okamoto 1995: 307; Inoue 2006: 2). Difference is one of the features of women's language which creates the impression of them being powerless, sensitive, and feminine (Okamoto 1995: 307). In Japanese, women are considered to be inferior to men, and are supposed to use polite forms to men, but not vice versa. This linguistic superior-

inferior relationship is related to women's social powerlessness in society (Smith 1992a: 540, 1992b: 59). Therefore, *MD1* (4.6) and *MD3* (4.8) construct Mrs Dalloway's image as more sophisticated and polite than *MD2* (4.7) does. In this sense, it can be concluded that *MD1* (4.6) and *MD3* (4.8) strongly suggest Mrs Dalloway's femininity by the honorific 'お'.

The second characteristic involves the various ways to express Mrs Dalloway's intention to buy flowers. The rendition '買いに行こう(*kainiikou*) [will go to buy]' in *MD1* (4.6) demonstrates that she is looking forward to buying the flowers or to having the party at which the flowers are going to be displayed, as well as her intention. On the other hand, '買ってくる (*kattekuru*) [will come to buy]' in *MD2* (4.7) shows more determined intention. Mrs Dalloway has a clear purpose to go out and she is determined to do it by herself. *MD3* (4.8) uses the same phrase '買ってくる (*kattekuru*) [will come to buy]' but adds a sentence-final particle 'わ(*wa*)' at the end. The particle 'わ' is one of the quintessential features of women's language and indicates the speaker's strong femininity. Hence, *MD3* (4.8) not only illustrates Mrs Dalloway's intention but also her speech style as strongly feminine.

These features lead to the conclusion that *MD3* is the most feminised translation of the three, and *MD2* the least. The readers may see her in *MD1* as a soft and sophisticated woman because of the use of the honorific 'お'. They would also see her in a cheerful mood looking forward to preparing for the party by the translation '買いに行こう'. In contrast, Mrs Dalloway in *MD2* gives the impression of being a strong-willed woman. *MD3*'s Mrs Dalloway expresses her sophisticated, polite and strongly feminine character by her language use. As these three Mrs Dalloways illustrate, one sentence can express the complex mix of her character. As a result, Mrs Dalloway's impression on audiences can vary considerably

depending on the translator's language choices for her utterances. When translating a novel into Japanese, a translator's language use undoubtedly constructs the characters' detailed femininity and masculinity. This means that the femininity and masculinity constructed by language has an enormous influence on the impression of the novel itself.

In addition, it is worthy of mention that the least feminised version, *MD2*, was translated by a female translator, whilst the other two are translated by men. This issue has already been discussed in the analysis of the translations of *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice*, (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4) and the three translations of the first passage from *MD* could provide further evidence to support Yamamoto's hypothesis on male preference for feminine language use. As explained in Section 2.2 of Chapter 2, women's actual language use has gradually become less feminine. However, this decrease in the feminising tendency cannot be seen in the three versions above because the most feminine Mrs Dalloway is shown in the latest translation in 1998, 43 years after the first.

## 4.5 A Contradictory Figure in the Translation of a Feminist Novel

This section explores differences in the female protagonist's character in Margaret Atwood's *EW* and her counterpart in *EWJ*. There is a specific reason that the discrepancy is problematic in this case. The novel deals with an independent woman trying to assert herself in society. Nevertheless, the female protagonist seems to be happy to use women's language given and promoted by male authority (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2). Thus, although the protagonist is depicted as a feminist, she is willing to use impeccable women's language. This contradiction can be an

obstacle to conveying the author's message to the readers who read the novel in Japanese and the author's intention can thus be lost in the translation. Even if the content of the novel has not been changed, the readers would perceive the wrong sort of character. In the Japanese translation, Marian seems to be obedient to the male-dominated idea because of her language use, and this fact interferes with the novel's feminist purpose.

The acclaimed Canadian novelist Margaret Atwood's *EW* was published in 1969, just at the beginning of the second wave of feminism when the modern feminist movement arose and feminism was becoming influential in North America. Margaret Atwood is a novelist, poet and critic born in 1939 in Ottawa, Canada. Before her first novel *EW* was published, she was well-known as a poet, having received the prestigious Governor General's Award in 1966 for *The Circle Game* (1964). She won the Booker Prize in 2000 for *The Blind Assassin*, and has been shortlisted for the prize for *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), *Cat's Eye* (1988), *Alias Grace* (1996), and *Oryx and Crake* (2003). She also publishes children books, non-fiction, poetry and drawings.

Atwood's writing is political (Thomas 2007:18). Indeed, it can be inferred that her writing attempts to tell her readers what is happening in society: 'If writing novels—and reading them—have any redeeming social value, it's probably that they force you to imagine what it's like to be somebody else' (Atwood 1982: 430). Through her works, Atwood suggests 'how political dynamics tend historically to work against the dignity and freedom of humans' (Thomas 2007: 18). In *EW*, we can hear women's voices clearly struggling against social models as Keith indicates:

> Sometimes again (and here *The Edible Woman* fits in), artists can
> produce a portrait of our society that disturbs us because it makes us

realize that aspects of it which we have accepted as natural or inevitable or 'normal' (to use a recurrent and essential word in the novel) may in fact be recognized as unnatural, challengeable, and abnormal. Such a work (if sufficiently well written) can be 'important' in jolting us out of our lazy and inert assumptions (Keith 1989: 14-15).

Actually, Atwood is conscious of the meaning of the word 'political':

By 'political' I mean having to do with power: who's got it, who wants it, how it operates; in a word, who's allowed to do what to whom, who gets what from whom, who gets away with it and how (Atwood 1982: 353).

In spite of her clear social and political views directed at society, Atwood considers western society's cultural ideology destructive and does not trust politics. Instead, she seeks solutions by depicting personal stories in her novels (Stein 1999: 6).

This novel was actually written four years prior to publication in 1969. Atwood defines it as a proto-feminist novel (Atwood 2007: introduction; added for the Virago version in 1979), as, when she wrote the story in 1965, feminism was not an active force. For example, in Canada, where this story is set, even educated young women had only two choices: 'a career going nowhere, or marriage as an exit from it' (Atwood 2007: introduction). Atwood resisted *EW* being labelled as a feminist novel in an interview in 1975: 'I don't consider it feminism; I just consider it social realism, and that's what things were like' (Keith 1989: 69), but the issue argued in this story is clearly feminist (Keith 1989: 22; Stein 1999: 6). In fact, looking back to 1971, a few years after the publication of *EW*, Atwood thought it looked more contemporary in 1979. She states her feminist intention clearly in her introduction:

It would be a mistake to assume that everything has changed. In fact, the tone of the book seems more contemporary now than it did in, say, 1971, when it was believed that society could change itself a good deal faster than presently appears likely. The goals of the feminist

movement have not been achieved, and those who claim we're living in a post-feminist era are either sadly mistaken or tired of thinking about the whole subject (Atwood 2007: Introduction).

In North American society, a dependant feminine role was still dominant in the 1950s and 1960s (Howells 1996: 42), and the main theme of *EW* is the young protagonist Marian's rejection of stereotypical gender roles. In this novel, her boyfriend Peter has a conservative view of the female role in the household. His remark 'Why can't you *ever* cook anything?' (Atwood 2007: 63) indicates his ideal that women are supposed to be good cooks. Peter is a young, handsome and promising lawyer, and expects Marian to become a domestic wife. Metaphorically, the name Peter suggests a certain stability since it has an implication of 'the rock' in the Bible. The name thus refers to his ideal of a respectable and stable middle-class life (Cooke 2004: 44). Marian cannot adjust to Peter's ideal of femininity, however. She feels that she has been 'assimilated and exploited as a female object' (Lecker 1981: 179). She struggles against Peter's ideal. When he proposes to her, it triggers Marian's mental imbalance. She starts suffering from an eating disorder. However, Peter and Marian's house-mate Ainsley say to her, 'The trouble with *you* is […] you're just rejecting your femininity' (Atwood 2007: 80, italics in original). Marian is not simply rejecting femininity, but Peter and society's 'male-influenced idea of femininity' (Keith 1989: 39), and her struggle is not only against Peter's illusion, but also against the meaning of her existence, her identity. She starts being attracted to a nihilistic literature postgraduate student Duncan and says; '[…] you [Duncan] need me more than he [Peter] does' (Atwood 2007: 247). The novel thus traces a process whereby she regains her identity.

Although the main character has a radical feminist voice, *EW* was translated by a male translator Ōura Akio in 1996 (*EWJ*), and his language choice for the protagonist is remarkably and stereotypically feminine. Marian's rejection of gender roles would be in accordance with a rejection of the socially-expected ideal female speaking style. Nevertheless, in *EWJ*, readers are likely to find a contradictory figure in Marian: a young modern woman, longing to break out of the conventional female image, yet still using perfectly feminine Japanese women's language. Considering Marian's language use in the Japanese translation, she seems to obey a socially-mandated mould because this is what the readers would infer from her speaking style. In fact, a reader comments on the *Amazon.co.jp* website that although the story is fascinating, Marian's speech style is not at all suitable for a modern young woman (Yhamee 2005). The reader found it unconvincing that a modern, independent young woman would speak in such an excessively feminine way. The translation is thus made to conform to dominant norms in Japanese society.

The inconsistency between the content in the story and the language usage in the translation is worthy of investigation. I therefore examine how the male translator Ōura interprets the female voice in *EW* and recreates it in *EWJ*. Marian in *EW* is in her early twenties, is a university graduate, and has worked for a market research company Seymour Surveys for four months. Her job is to mediate between the executives, the psychologists and the interviewers who conduct marketing research. She rewrites the psychologists' complicated questionnaires to make them readable for the interviewers and respondents. She has an independent income and lives in an apartment with another working woman in a big Canadian city. As a general characteristic of Marian's language use in this Japanese translation, it tends to be polite and formal

when she talks to her landlady, her older colleagues in her office, and other work-related people. By contrast, her language use becomes casual with her friends, colleagues her own age, and her fiancé Peter. Both in formal and in casual situations, her language use is consistently feminine, and the impression from her speech style is of a polite, formal, soft-spoken, and non-assertive woman. The features of her speech create Marian's image as powerless, socially sensitive, and feminine (Okamoto 1995: 307).

To investigate the extent to which Marian's femininity is emphasised, I compare *EWJ* with the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* (*BJD*)[5] and *Kicchin* under the same conditions and using the same methodology as that employed for the studies outlined in Section 2.1 of Chapter 2. In the case of *EWJ*, Marian's conversations with her close friend, her flat-mate Ainsley, are studied, involving 143 instances of Marian's speech.

The mismatch noted by the reader above is demonstrated quantitatively in this analysis. From the results shown in *Table 8*, it is apparent that Marian in *EWJ* shows stronger femininity than *BJD* and *Kicchin* in terms of the use of gendered sentence-final forms. The frequency in feminine forms in *EWJ* is about 10.50% higher than in *BJD* at 55.94% and 45.22% respectively. The gap is remarkable when considering the fact that the discrepancy in feminine forms between *BJD* and *Kicchin* is only approximately 1.30%.

When analysing the data in detail, it can be seen that the difference between the three texts in the use of strongly feminine forms is not so significant: 26.57% in *EWJ*, 28.70% in *BJD*, and 25.00% in *Kicchin*. The difference is more remarkable in moderately feminine forms: 29.37% in

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[5] The abbreviation *BJD* is used for the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* (by Kamei Yoshiko 1998) in this thesis.

*EWJ*, 16.52% in *BJD*, and 21.50% in *Kicchin*; and in neutral forms: 42.66% in *EWJ*, 53.91% in *BJD*, and 52.50% in *Kicchin*. On the whole, it can be said that neutral forms are about 10.50% less frequent in *EWJ* than in *BJD* and *Kicchin*. Instead, *EWJ* uses 10% more feminine forms than *BJD* and *Kicchin*.

*Table 8*
**Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms (*EWJ*, *BJD* and *Kicchin*)**

| Sentence-final Forms | Total Tokens Used (%) | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | *EWJ* (1997) | *BJD* (1998) | *Kicchin* (1988) |
| **Feminine forms** | **55.94%** | **45.22%** | **46.50%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 26.57% | 28.70% | 25.00% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 29.37% | 16.52% | 21.50% |
| **Masculine forms** | **1.40%** | **0.87%** | **1.00%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 0.00% | 0.87% | 0.50% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 1.40% | 0.00% | 0.50% |
| **Neutral forms** | **42.66%** | **53.91%** | **52.50%** |

Note (1): Total number of tokens = 143 (*EWJ* 1997), 115 (*BJD* 1998) and 200 (*Kicchin* 1988).
Note (2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated or published for the first time.
Note (3): All figures are rounded off to two decimal places.

Although *EW* was written in 1969, it was translated into Japanese in 1997 as a contemporary novel. The Japanese translation of *BJD* appeared only a year later, in 1998, so the language use in both novels is not likely to be very different. In addition, if we follow the linguistic analysis shown in *Table 4* (Chapter 2, Section 2.1), it could be expected that Marian's language use would be less feminine than Bridget's because of their age: Marian is in her early twenties, and Bridget in her thirties.

In addition, Marian shows stronger resistance to the social expectations of the ideal femininity. Although Bridget searches for Mr. Right and tries to lose weight to attract men, Marian's struggle over being an ideal woman is obvious, and her emotional conflict appears as anorexia nervosa. If she is against the gender ideology which has been forced upon

society, it is likely that Marian would also reject feminine language use. Nonetheless, Marian uses feminine forms persistently in her speech throughout the novel. Thus her style makes her struggle unconvincing. Therefore, as shown in *Table 8*, the higher frequency of approximately 10.50% in *EWJ* is noteworthy.

Comparing *EWJ* to one of the Japanese translations of *Emma*, it is surprising to note that the frequency in feminine forms in *EWJ* is closer to the classic *Emma* than to *BJD* (see *Table 9*). The difference between *EWJ* and *Emma* is less than 5%; whilst the gap between *EWJ* and *BJD* is approximately 10.5%. Classics generally tend to use more feminine forms for female characters' speech than contemporary novels to recreate a certain feminine image. Although *EW* is a contemporary novel, however, Marian's femininity level perceived by the sentence-final forms is closer to characters in classics than to those in contemporary novels.

*Table 9*
**Use of Gendered Sentence-final Forms (*EWJ*, *Emma* and *BJD*)**

| Sentence-final Forms | Total Tokens Used (%) | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | *EWJ* (1998) | *Emma* (1997) | *BJD* (1997) |
| **Feminine forms** | **55.94%** | **60.68%** | **45.22%** |
| -Strongly feminine forms | 26.57% | 46.07% | 28.70% |
| -Moderately feminine forms | 29.37% | 14.61% | 16.52% |
| **Masculine forms** | **1.40%** | **0.00%** | **0.87%** |
| -Strongly masculine forms | 0.00% | 0.00% | 0.87% |
| -Moderately masculine forms | 1.40% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| **Neutral forms** | **42.66%** | **39.33%** | **53.91%** |

Note (1): Total number of tokens = 143 (*EWJ* 1997), 115 (*BJD* 1998), and 178 (*Emma* 1997).
Note(2): The year of publication employed is the date that the novel was translated for the first time.
Note (3): All figures are rounded off to two decimal places.

In fact, Marian sometimes speaks with the impeccably feminine language which was used between the late 19th century and the middle of

the 20th century in Japan—a language called 'young lady's language' (Kobayashi 2007: 277) because of its use by young women from good families. In some novels such as Dazai Osamu's *Shayou* [*A Setting Sun*] (1947), women with upper-class backgrounds spoke this language. Nowadays, this particularly polite and refined language is obsolete, and if girls use it in conversations nowadays, it will be considered that they are playing with words or making fun of the language (Kobayashi 2007: 216, 277). Thus, the use seems archaic to contemporary readers when they find it in novels, and it would be inappropriate to use for a modern woman's speech in the 1990s. Although Marian does not fit a feminine model, therefore, her language use perfectly fits the ideal. Moreover, the speech style has a close resemblance to young lady's language that was used more than five decades ago.

When discussing the gap between Marian in *EW* and her counterpart in the Japanese translation, relevance theory helps to explain that readers' impressions of the text are influenced not only by linguistic decoding but also by the ways the decoded meanings are expressed. As indicated in Section 1.4.2 of Chapter 1, Gutt (2000: 22) maintains that issues of translation can be seen as issues of communication. Semantic representations are insufficient to express the actual meanings of sentences, and there is a gap between the semantically-represented meanings and the thoughts actually intended by speakers (MacKenzie 2002: 16). Hearers or readers thus need to fill the gap to make the communication successful by inferring the speaker's or author's intention.

For example, a sentence 'this tea is hot' means, semantically, that the temperature of the tea is high. However, when the speaker utters this sentence with a frown, this sentence can also mean that this tea is too hot

to drink. The speaker may be complaining about the temperature of the tea. By the speaker's gesture, facial expressions, or tone of voice, it is possible for the same sentence to have totally different meanings. Hence the hearer needs to interpret what is actually implicated in the sentence. In other words, the meaning of a message is not merely decoded from the semantic meanings by a hearer, but additional inferences are made. In this latter process of inferring, style is central because 'it tends to carry the attitude of the speaker to what is said' (Boase-Beier 2006a: 40).

Examining a case in which a reader reads a translated Japanese text, it can be taken for granted that the coded message in the Japanese translation is decoded by the reader, and the way the meaning is conveyed is another source of information additional to the decoding activity. The Japanese sentence 'this tea is hot' inevitably indexes the speaker's femininity or masculinity level clearly because of the characteristic of the language, though it is not indicated in the written English sentence 'this tea is hot'. If there is any gap in the character's image between the original and the Japanese translation, this gap will interfere with the readers' interpretation and could lead to a mismatching image of the character as indicated above. As Fowler (1977: 22) argues, meaning 'always comes to us processed by the form in which it is expressed', and in the case of Japanese translation, the form which unavoidably recreates the character's femininity or masculinity level intervenes in the reader's interpretation. Consequently, a translator needs to reconstruct carefully not only clearly stated meanings but also implied meanings in the target language (Boase-Beier 2006a: 40).

Speech style for Marian is wrongly used in *EWJ* and this factor makes what is implied in *EW* inaccessible to the readers. As indicated in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1, in addition, Japanese readers are not familiar with

the feminist movement in the 1960s or 1970s. Thus, it can be argued that there are two significant aspects that obstruct Japanese readers in their reconstruction of what is implied as a theme in *EW*.

## 4.6 A Feminist Woman with a Given Feminine Language

The most observable feature in Marian's speech is the use of 'polite forms + strongly feminine sentence-final forms such as 'の (*no*)', 'のよ (*noyo*)', 'わね (*wane*)' or 'わ(*wa*)'. This point is worth elaborating on in some detail. This is a conversation between Marian and a participant in a marketing survey. Marian says:

(4.9) *EW*:
You're only supposed to listen once, [……]　　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 52)

(4.10) *EWJ*:

| 一度 | 聞く | だけ | で | よろしいのよ | (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 66) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ichido* | *kiku* | *dake* | *de* | *yoroshii-noyo* | |
| Once | listen to | only | particle | be fine | |
| | | | | (young lady's language) | |

The verb in this sentence is 'よろしいのよ (*yoroshii-noyo*)'. This is a combination of 'よろしい(*yoroshii*) [be fine]' and 'のよ(*noyo*)' [sentence-final particle]'. The sentence-final particle 'のよ(*noyo*)' indicates Marian's strong femininity. The verb 'よろしい(*yoroshii*)' [be fine] is a polite form of 'よい (*yoi*) [be fine]'. As in Section 1.2.2 of Chapter 1, politeness and femininity are the two main factors of women's language, and Marian uses them in one sentence at the same time. There are several other examples:

(4.11) *EW*:
Where are we going to sit then?　　　　　　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)

(4.12) *EWJ*:

| では | わたしたち、 | どこに | すわりますの? | (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dewa* | *watashitachi,* | *dokoni* | *suwari-masu-no?* | |
| Then | we | where | are going to sit? | |
| | | | (polite form + 'の(*no*)') | |

(4.13) *EW*:
I don't think there is room in the kitchen            (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)


(4.14) *EWJ*:
キッチン　には　場所　　が　　　　ないよう<u>ですわね</u> (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)
*Kicchin    niwa    basho    ga        naiyou-desu-wane*
Kitchen    in    room    particle    I don't think there is
                            (polite form + 'わね (*wane*)')


(4.15)  *EW*:
You're doing fine, […….]                    (Margaret Atwood 1969: 53)

(4.16) *EWJ*:
充分　　たすかって<u>ますわ</u>                    (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 68)
*Jubun    tasukatte-masu-wa*
 Enough   you've been helpful
            (polite form + 'わ(*wa*)')


In fact, the use bears a strong resemblance to Mrs Dalloway's speech style. Mrs Dalloway is a wife of a Conservative Member of Parliament, living in Westminster, London. She is 'fortunate, upper-class, sociable, party-giving, middle-aged' (Tomalin 1992: xxx). Coincidently, despite the different dates that they were translated, the three Japanese translations of *Mrs Dalloway* use the particular linguistic structure explained above. These are extracts from the novel:


(4.17) *MD*:
I had meant to have dancing, […....]                (Virginia Woolf 1925: 180)

(4.18) *MD1*:
ダンス　を　　　いたす　つもりだったん<u>ですのよ</u>　 (trans. Tomita Akira 1955: 284)
*dansu    wo      itasu      tsumoridattan-desu-noyo*
dance    particle    do        had to mean
            (polite form )    (polite form + 'のよ(*noyo*)')
 (4.19) *MD2*:
ダンス　を　　　する　つもり<u>でしたのよ</u>        (trans. Kondo Ineko 1976: 227)
*dansu    wo      suru    tsumori-deshita-noyo*
dance    particle    do        had to mean
                    (polite form + 'のよ(*noyo*)')

(4.20) *MD3*:
みなさん　に　　ダンス　を　　　していただく つもり<u>でしたのよ</u>
(trans. Tanji Ai 1998: 243)
*Minasan    ni     dansu    wo     shiteitadaku     tsumori-deshita-noyo*
People    particle  dance  particle  let (them) do     had meant to
(polite form )    (polite form + 'のよ(*noyo*)')

Another example of the mix of a polite form and a strongly feminine sentence-final form is as follows:

(4.21) *MD*:
[……] what a nuisance [……]                    (Virginia Woolf 1925: 4)

(4.22) *MD1*:
大変　　ですわね                    (trans. Tomita Akira 1955: 10)
*Taihen    desu-wane*
Terrible    be
(polite form + 'わね(*wane*)')

(4.23) *MD2*:
困り　　　ましたわね                    (trans. Kondo Ineko 1976: 7)
*Komari        mashita-wane.*
in a difficulty    be
(polite form + 'わね(*wane*)')

(4.24) *MD3*:
でも　困ったこと　ですわね                    (trans. Tanji Ai 1998: 14)
*Demo komattakoto desu-wane*
 But    nuisance        be
(polite form + 'わね (*wane*)')

The feature shown in the Japanese translations of *Mrs Dalloway* is typical of the young lady's speech described above, and this language is used to create the protagonist Mrs Dalloway's sophisticated, refined, polite, formal and feminine image. It is, therefore, very strange that Marian in *EWJ* has the same speech style. Marian is a modern, independent, working woman in Canada. However, she speaks like an upper-class woman from the early 19th century, the speech style in *EWJ* an adoption of young lady's

language used more than a hundred years ago in Japan. Hence, for Japanese readers, Marian does not seem a contemporary of them. This mismatch between Marian's speech style and her actual character confuses the audience. As a result, the novel's theme might be unpersuasive. In other words, Atwood's feminist message is weakened by the over-feminising translation.

*Table 8* shows that Marian in *EWJ* has an excessive inclination toward feminine forms compared to the use by the protagonists in *BJD* and *Kicchin*. Regarding the gender of the translator or author, both the translator of *BJD* and the author of *Kicchin* are female. On the other hand, *EWJ* was translated by a male. The translation may therefore be influenced by the male's interpretation of *EWJ*'s feminine speech style as analysed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.

According to Iser's reader-response theory (1974, 1978, 2006; see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1), literary texts do not determine meaning and instead entrust the task to the readers. Thus, they are simply a 'carrier of meaning' (Iser 2006: 58), and the meaning has to be interpreted, discovered and defined by the readers. Hence, the interpretation varies depending on the readers' social, cultural or political background. In the process of reading, therefore, the way the meaning is carried by the text is crucial for concretisation of what is implied in the text.

By developing Iser's approach to apply it to translation practice, a translator can be regarded as 'producer and interpreter of literary texts' (Díaz-Diocaretz 1985: 15). When referring to literary texts, the texts generally include original and translated fiction. When the text is a translation, the translator seems to be ignored or hidden behind the author (Díaz-Diocaretz 1985: 18-19). However, the translator has a meaningful

dual function in the reading and writing of the text. The role of the translator shifts from reader to writer—in Iser's terms, from the aesthetic pole to the artistic pole. In this case, the translator concretises the text from two different perspectives: as reader and as writer. The artistic pole can also be divided into two: the text produced by the author and that by translator (Díaz-Diocaretz 1985: 15). That is, the translator is a 'co-producer' (Díaz-Diocaretz 1985: 1) of the text.

Regarding the dual functions of translators—as reader and writer—it is more important for them to consider reading strategies than writing strategies because errors in their translations tend to occur from inaccurate reading, rather than from inaccurate writing (de Beaugrande 1978: 25-37). The act of translation is not based on the original text, but on the mental representation of the text that is constructed by the translator's perception. Therefore, the ability needed for translators is more a reading skill (de Beaugrande 1978: 25-26). Moreover, De Beaugrande (1978: 26) points out that translators can avoid errors by comparing the translation to their mental representation rather than comparing it to the original. If they refer to the original, the interpretation is interfered with by the mental representation which is already different from the original text.

As pointed out in Section 1.4.2 of Chapter 1, the task of the translator as reader must be different from that of the other readers. According to reader-response theory, readers are supposed to fill in the blanks and gaps in the text, discover the meaning, and concretise the text. On the other hand, if the author intends ambiguity in the text, translators should respect this intention and leave the ambiguous point undefined and keep the potential meanings in their translation (de Beaugrande 1978: 30-31). Translators can therefore mediate the text between the author and the foreign reader or between the foreign author and the reader in the

receptor oriented approach. They can also interfere with the act of reading by altering or modifying the meaning (Díaz-Diocaretz 1985: 2).

In the case of *EWJ*, as indicated in Sections 4.5 and 4.6, a prominent aspect in creating the character's image is added. The feminist protagonist Marian speaks with a very feminine speech style, similar to that used for *Emma*. The contradictory figure gives an incorrect impression of Marian for the readers (Yhamee 2005). In de Beaugrande's sense, the translator's mental representation intervenes with the original text and consequently, it interferes with the concretising process of the readers.

## 4.7 Japanese Readers' Response to Feminism

This chapter has explored feminist translation strategies, and the problems of Japanese translations with respect to female characters in novels. Before presenting a new strategy that attempts a de-feminising translation, the receiving culture needs to be investigated. According to Toury, a translation strategy is highly influenced by the recipient culture (Toury 1985: 18; see Chapter 1, Section 1.5) because readers in the recipient culture already have expectations of what a translation should be like (Chesterman 1997: 64). If the translation strategy is widely separated from the readers' expectations, it will be difficult for the translation to be accepted by them. This section investigates, therefore, how feminism is accepted in Japanese society.

Feminism in Japan is regarded as at least 'a half step behind' the West (Gelb 2003: 3). This Japanese working woman's comment that Japanese women are unaware of sexual inequality in Japanese society is typical:

> I understand the idea of feminism, but I think there are few women
> who actually think 'more options to women!' Japanese women's

perceptions have not reached the level that Western women expect from feminist movements (my translation, Fuku in Aoki 2006: no page, *this is an online article and has no page numbers).

There are three main reasons for this backwardness. Firstly, the reform of the political system has been slow compared to the West (Gelb 2003: 3). Secondly, the idea of feminism is very different from Japanese social systems which are based on the division of labour (Condon 1986: 72). And lastly, the mass media has created the image of feminists as ugly, unloved and desperate women. Most of the time, they are viewed as scary old feminist woman (Condon 1986: 72-73; Aoki 2006: no page).

Taking the political system first, the legalisation of the contraceptive pill is a prime example of how legislation can impact on the situation of women in society. The pill helps women to control childbirth on their own initiative. The birth control pill was legalised in 1999 in Japan, about forty years after it was approved in the West: 1960 in the US, 1961 in West Germany and the UK, 1967 in France, and 1969 in Canada. It is believed that the Japan Medical Association lobbied to prevent its approval. In 2004, only 1.3% of the Japanese women aged 15-49, 28 million, used the pill, though the equivalent percentage is 15.6% in the US (Hayashi 2004).

Secondly, in terms of social systems, gendered roles are deeply imbued in traditional Japanese patterns. Therefore, feminism is viewed as a very dangerous thing which needs radical social reform:

> You have to understand that feminism is very different from other Japanese social patterns. Feminism is considered a very anti-traditional, destructive movement. It's like a timebomb because it would require total social change. It is not based on the traditional division of labor. Feminism wants both men and women to be open and to develop totally and equally. So it doesn't fit in with the existing social system. Hence it's regarded as very dangerous (Jansson in Condon 1986: 72).

The popularity of *sengyo shufu* [the full-time housewife] provides an example of the social patterns. As indicated in Section 3.1 of Chapter 3, more than 40% of women aged 20-29 want to become *sengyo shufu*. The full-time middle class housewife is 'the model for Japanese femininity, a representative of a unique cultural identity' (Liddle and Nakajima 2000: 322). The image is an index of economic development both for the family and for the nation, and a 'symbol of a superior civilisation' (Liddle and Nakajima 2000: 322). As Condon (1986: 290) indicates, even in the 1980s, if a wife worked the husband felt ashamed because it implied that his salary was not enough to support the household. Thus, some working women hid the fact they were working from neighbours. Though the situation has changed gradually, the high percentage of women who want to become *sengyo shufu* proves that the dominant image of a superior civilisation is still thriving. The existence of *sengyo shufu* and its ongoing and high popularity together influence gendered power relations both in households and in society. However, the well-established image prevents any attempt to change the traditional division of labour (Liddle and Nakajima 2000: 11).

There is a popular Japanese song that symbolises the conservative gendered roles in families. Called 'Declaration of Wearing the Trousers in the Family', it is surprisingly sexist but was the 4th biggest hit of 1979. The lyrics are as follows:

> Before getting married, I need to say something
> It may sound tough but listen what I really want
> Don't go to bed earlier than me
> Don't wake up later than me
> Cook well      Always be beautiful
> […]
> Don't get jealous of women
> I won't have affairs      Maybe not

> I guess I won't
> Oh well, be prepared for some
> […]                                            (my translation, Sada 1979)

Although some feminist groups resisted the sexism of this song, its popularity led to its adaptation into a film in the same year. When feminist movements were at their height in western countries in the 1970s, the idea of feminism was not accepted by the majority in Japan, as this example shows. According to a statistic from the 1970s, the sleeping hours of married, working Japanese women were half-an-hour shorter than their husbands', whilst their western counterparts slept half-an-hour longer (Jugaku 1979: 136). Equality of the sexes was not commonly accepted by Japanese households about four decades ago, and the tradition is still an obstacle to feminist movements in Japan.

Another example of the traditional perception of sexuality again relates to the contraceptive pill. Three years after it was legalised, Japan's Health Ministry conducted a poll on its use. About 70% of respondents never used it, while only about 20% were willing to. One of the advocates who emphasised the pill's safety and effectiveness, a gynaecologist and director of the Tokyo-based Japan Family Planning Association, Kunio Kitamura was surprised, declaring: 'The idea that contraception is a women's responsibility isn't widespread in Japan' (Hayashi 2004: no page, *this is an online article and has no page numbers). This failure of the spread of the pill is based on women's largely passive attitude toward birth control.

In addition, it is common for women to serve tea to male colleagues or visitors in offices or in government service, and for them to clean the office. Even a professional civil servant is likely to serve tea before starting her job. This is a symbolic division of labour. Even in the 1990s, only

female workers poured tea in almost all companies. This ritual makes women feel that men do more important work, while women do low-level subordinate jobs (Liddle and Nakajima 2000: 267-268; Gelb 2003: 20-21). In January 2007, furthermore, Japan's Health Minister Hakuo Yanagisawa's utterance gave rise to public censure (*BBC* 2007) when he called women 'birth-giving machines' in a speech concerning the ageing population in Japan: 'Because the number of birth-giving machines and devices is fixed, all we can ask for is for them to do their best per head'. Although he added 'it may not be so appropriate to call them machines', the remark revealed that men's prejudice is still inveterate.

Finally, the image of being feminist is shown as shameful, unattractive and unpalatable by the mass media as happened in most countries. An ardent feminist and a devoted mother, Yumiko Jansson, recalls the Japanese feminist movement called Women's Lib in the 1970s, and describes the media's response to it:

> Before feminism, it was called women's lib, and it was ridiculed. Men made a joke out of the women's movement. The mass media projected an image of the feminist as an ugly and unloved woman who joins the movement out of desperation. They still use this propaganda, so this image is very strong, even today (in Condon 1986: 72-73).

Due to the propaganda of the mass media, Japanese women have distanced themselves from the very word feminism (Aoki 2006: no page). Declaring oneself as feminist is against the Japanese moral education, thus many women hide their opinions even though they sympathise with the feminist idea:

> The Japanese system is patriarchal, so feminism is quite different from the behaviour we learned as children. For a woman to stand up and show she's a feminist creates an uproar. It's so final, so dangerous.

> Women think they will lose so many things; that's why there are so many closet feminists in Japan. The women worry that they will lose men's support and men's love because they aren't acting the way men want them to. Feminism is doing what you believe, and that's against the Japanese mores for women (Jansson in Condon 1986: 73).

Jansson was interviewed in 1983. More than two decades on, the situation has not changed dramatically in Japan. Feminist women are still teased terribly in the mass media. The media's projection functions to discourage women not only to be conscious of their equal rights but to demand them in society:

> There were active feminist movements in the 1970s in Japan. But the peak of the movements had already passed. Feminist women who are made much of in the mass media tend to be strong controversialists with a sharp tongue. If women see themselves being called 'ugly' and abused roundly by men, it is natural for them to perceive the disadvantages of being feminists. More women will think 'feminists are scary' or 'if I declare that I'm a feminist, I will lose something' (my translation, Aoki 2006: no page).

Consequently, women are reluctant to be, or to come out as feminist. They are not willing to challenge the backlash from other people, mainly men, as one working woman confesses as below:

> I am a feminist, but I am very careful about declaring it in public. This is because I usually become very exhausted when I come out with my feminist beliefs to people, especially to men (my translation, Rika in Aoki 2006: no page).

It can be said that this tendency is linked to individualism. Feminism, to a great extent, resulted from individualism beyond the category of sex. In Japanese society, however, individualism is not welcomed because the harmony of members of the society is the first priority and exceptions tend to be excluded. As an American assistant professor Karen Ogulnick, who stayed in Japan and learnt Japanese for some years, points out, individualism is overshadowed by 'cooperation,

community, and group harmony'(Ogulnick 1998: 13) in society. Therefore, feminism is alien to the Japanese tradition:

> 'You are individual. You are a woman. You can be as you are. You are you. You say O.K. to yourself.' That idea is not Japanese. This can be said for men, too. Many people think individualism comes from Western countries. Actually there are many individuals in Japan, but they just think they are special, that they are queer and different (Jansson in Condon 1986: 73).

'You are you'. This belief can be difficult to hold in Japanese society. If someone is different, she or he will be considered unusual instead of being labelled as special. For example, if a girl is intelligent, active or strong-willed, she is stamped as unusual or abnormal because being feminine means pretending to be stupid and weak. The word strong is never used in approval of female personalities. And education has instructed Japanese women to be self-denying rather than self-assertive (Condon 1986: 290). Hence, self-assertive girls are likely to have difficulties in finding female friends. When the feminist Yumiko Jansson was a child, she was regarded as *namaiki* [cheeky, strong-willed, show-off], and not feminine, so she could not find close female friends. She met a male Swedish student at university who was the first and only person to accept her as she was and said, 'You are OK'. She was always anguished because she was not accepted as normal by others, but the Swedish man freed her from a traditional Japanese gendered concept. Indeed, she married him some years later (Liddle and Nakajima 2000: 262-263; Condon 1986: 68-69, 74).

Such 'femininity training' (Lebra 1984: 42) which ties women to the feminine ideal is still pervasive in Japanese society. 'Speak like a woman', and 'behave like a woman' are common phrases in the process of raising girls. When Ogulnick was having a Japanese meal with some Japanese female friends at an expensive restaurant during her stay, she felt

awkward because she did not handle things as well as the Japanese women did:

> When eating the *haute cuisine*, I felt encumbered by the awareness of having to adhere to a certain form—how to lift my glass, use my chopsticks, sip my tea. My feeling inadequate in these areas made me conclude I lacked the 'femininity training' the other women around me had received, such as '*elegance* in handling things…smoothness in the motion of the body or hands and discouragement of awkward or jerky manners' (Lebra, 1984, p.42) (Ogulnick 1998: 105).

She experienced the differences not only in behaviour, but also in speaking style. After two years of having absorbed the Japanese language, Ogulnick felt that she changed the ways she 'felt, acted, and perceived' herself as a woman (Ogulnick 1998: 135). Since the Japanese language has more complex levels of politeness than English, she became more aware of the hierarchy in society. Whenever she talked Japanese, she needed to clarify where she was and to whom she was talking. This experience trained her to be conscious of 'the role of social identity in communication' (Ogulnick 1998: 135). She recalls that she did not have any resistance to being perceived as exhibiting 'submissive female behaviour' (Ogulnick 1998: 136) since it was more important for her to be recognised as a good Japanese speaker. She also thought that once she returned to the US, she would regain her independent American female character, so she played a role by speaking Japanese like a Japanese woman. Her anecdote shows that Japanese women are instructed to fit into the mould through their behaviour and speech. And it is believed that consciousness of social identity maintains the key concepts in society of 'cooperation, community, and group harmony' (Ogulnick 1998: 13).

If individualism were commonly accepted in Japanese women's minds, they would not need to be afraid of being categorised as unusual. But in reality, many Japanese women avoid being shunned by others. They

accept the male-dominated standard and try to fit into the mould (Condon 1986: 74). As a result, Japanese women are not eager to take risks if they might need to lose or give up something. Instead of taking risks, they 'go for small plusses rather than big trade-offs' (Fujiwara in Condon 1986: 296). As the founder of the first feminist group Hiratsuka Raicho mentioned, the most significant barrier is 'within ourselves' (in Condon 1986: 289).

When Condon conducted her research in 1980s, the percentage of Japanese working women who believed in the right to be paid equally for equal work was only 61%, while opposition to any sex discrimination in employment was 64%. Japanese female college students showed higher percentages; the former was 77% and the latter 78% (Condon 1986: 289-290). After more than two decades, these percentages can be estimated as being higher. However, the stereotype of feminists that the mass media managed to develop, 'ugly, unloved and desperate women', is still widespread in Japanese society. As a result, many women choose to be a closet feminist rather than raising their hands to demand social change.

'If you feel it is unfair to be paid less though you are doing the same job as male colleagues do, you are a feminist' (Koko in Aoki 2006). Feminism is not a dangerous time bomb. It is to become aware of equal rights. Thus, to become aware of women's language, which is established and given by male-dominant authorities and reinforces gender ideology, is crucial to the growth of genuine feminism in Japan.

A literary text could be a reflection of how the author interprets the world which she or he is in (Fairclough 2001: 67). Therefore the language used in it could express their perspectives of the world. A reader interprets the meaning by factors in the text, such as the language use, style and descriptions. Meanwhile, a translation could be a reflection of the

translator's ideology. Through the act of reading, she or he interprets the world depicted in the text and reflects the interpretation in the translation. Hence, the language use could be an expression of their ideological view of the world. In the case of *EWJ*, the translation reflects the translator's ideological idea of female speech style. Thus, the rendition of *EW* functions as a shaper of gender ideology. Excessive use of feminine forms in literature reinforces a feminine ideal, and the ideology is apt to spread and hold great power in society because the readers are not aware of how women's language has been constructed and promoted, its artificial use, and the dangers it poses. To raise awareness in this way, I therefore re-translate some passages in *EW* with a de-feminising strategy in the next chapter.

However, as explored earlier in this section, feminism is not readily accepted by readers. Therefore, radical feminist experiments may be considered unpalatable. Norms are also keys in translation activity because translation is, in Toury's sense (2006: 207, 1995: 56, see also Chapter 1, Section 1.5.1), a transformation from one norm-system to another. In his polysystem theory, translation strategies should be decided by the target culture, and translators have to be more conscious of the norms in the target culture than those in the source culture. Furthermore, when considering norms in the target culture, translators need to be aware of the norms in readers' minds. The readers have an idea of what a translation should be like, and it is sometimes different from what translators think. Therefore, it is crucial for translators to determine what readers expect for the translation (Chesterman 1997: 64-66).

Consequently, the re-translation proposed in Chapter 5 needs to find a balance between the author's intention, the norms of the target culture, and the translator's intention. Feminist translations are sometimes

highly academic or experimental, and too advanced to match the readers' expectations, and thus end up having only a small audience (von Flotow 1997: 81). This re-translation seeks the integration of theories into translation practice which can be accepted in the commercial book market. This is an experiment to search for the possibility of translation which does not use women's language, as a type of cultural stereotypical *yakuwarigo*, and is freed from a gender ideology constructed by women's language.

# Chapter 5   De-Feminising Translation

## 5.1 Translation Strategies to Re-create an Appropriate Female Voice

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 have explored Japanese women's language as a norm in the Japanese literary system, while Chapter 4 has discussed the translation problems caused by these norms. Women's language was established and promoted politically, and implanted as gendered linguistic norms into literature by the *genbun-itchi* literary movement. As the previous analyses of literary texts show, such norms prevail among novelists, translators and readers. As a result, there are some problems in Japanese translations. For example, different characters with different personalities speak in strangely similar ways. As analysed in Chapter 2, Section 2.1, Bridget, Sharon and Jude in *Bridget Jones's Diary* show a close resemblance to each other in terms of their language use. Bridget and Mikage in *Kicchin* are also very alike in their femininity level. Female characters' femininity represented by language use tends to be homogeneous in literature. In addition, anachronistic language use can be seen in contemporary novels such as *The Edible Woman* (*EW*)[1] because of the over-feminising tendency (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.5 and 4.6), and there is a difference between the way the characters appear in the original and the translation. More importantly, translators and novelists create and reinforce the consensus as to how women should speak, and their translations and novels mediate the reproduction of women's language as an ideology as discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

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[1] The following abbreviations will be used in this thesis: *EW* for *The Edible Woman*. *EWJ* for the Japanese translation of *The Edible Woman*.

In order to solve these problems, this chapter proposes an experimental translation as argued for in Section 4.3 of Chapter 4 to challenge these deeply-rooted norms. There are two main focuses in this re-translation. Firstly, it aims at de-feminising in an attempt to counteract the over-feminising convention. As seen in Chapter 4, over-feminising causes some problems, and *EW* is a particular case which shows the clear dissonance between the protagonist in the original and her counterpart in the Japanese translation. Hence, my translation is an experiment to discover to what extent we can de-feminise female characters' speech as opposed to the conventional over-feminised figures in Japanese translation. Secondly, women's language is used to recreate differences in female characters, a strategy I term 'de-homogenising' translation. In this case, the protagonist Marian's language use is made to contrast clearly with two friends: Ainsley, a radical feminist, and Clara, an 'ever-pregnant wife' (Keith 1989: 35).

Women's language is also used to recreate the character's transformation. This novel uses different narrative techniques to express the shift of Marian's mind in the original; she is not conscious of her identity crisis at the beginning, and then starts feeling as if she has lost sight of who she is, before finally recovering herself. The first part, when she is unaware of her identity crisis, is a first-person narrative. The second deals with her struggle after the marriage proposal. Marian was used to the restricted norms accepted by society, but now she discovers that these can be questioned. This part is narrated in the third person because she has lost her identity at this stage. In the third part, when she gains her own voice, the narrative technique returns to first-person narration. In this part, Marian will start using her own language in my re-translation instead of

women's language. When applying the de-feminising strategy, therefore, I will also examine how to recreate the transformation of the protagonist Marian by changing the femininity level of Marian's speech.

Regarding the de-feminising strategy, the Japanese readers of the Japanese translation of *EW* (*EWJ*) see the contradictory figure of Marian: a woman who rejects the ideal of femininity and gender ideology, but is still willing to use feminine language. Moreover, her language use is similar to a more archaic young lady's language. The contradiction intervenes to convey Marian's emotional conflict between social expectations which Peter shares, and what she wants to achieve. If Marian's character had been constructed through a different language use, readers would have had a different concretisation of this story, and the story itself would have been perceived more as a political novel than 'chick lit' (This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1 from a reader-response theory perspective).

From a relevance theory view point, as argued in Section 1.4.2 of Chapter 1 and Section 4.5 of Chapter 4, how the meaning is conveyed is especially influential to the decoding activity. The gap between the perception of female character in the original novel and in the Japanese translation will intervene with the readers' interpretation and can lead to a mismatching image of the character as indicated above. Therefore a translator needs to carefully reconstruct not only clearly stated meanings but also implied meanings in the target language (Boase-Beier 2006a: 40). For these reasons, my translation de-feminises *EW* on the whole, and uses women's language as little as possible.

When implementing the strategy, it is crucial to find the right

balance between an experimental and an acceptable translation. As argued in Chapter 4, Section 4.7, Japanese readers still have a conservative attitude toward feminism, and it can be dangerous to challenge their norms with a radical translation strategy. If the translation is not accepted by the reader, the purpose of the re-translation—to make the ideological function of women's language clear—will not be conveyed. Alternatively, if the readers find the translation unpalatable, it will rouse their antipathy toward the intention of the project. On the other hand, the translation should be experimental and radical to a certain extent to overthrow the idea of female representations in literature, and make readers aware of the political and ideological function of women's language. Also, my re-translation is proposed as a way of initiating reform in the literary conventions of the Japanese literary system.

In addition, Marian's consciousness of norms must be considered because this consciousness can be related to how she accepts the norms of women's language when she in effect becomes a Japanese speaker. The readers will see the ways she has adjusted to the dominant idea in society. Just after Peter has proposed to her, she is convincing herself to get married: 'Of course I'd always assumed through highschool [sic] and college that I was going to marry someone eventually and have children, everyone does'; 'life isn't run by principles but by adjustments'; and 'people who aren't married get funny in middle age' (Atwood 2007: 102). Marian does question the idea of getting married to a dominant man and becoming a tame housewife, however, and ultimately chooses to be independent by rejecting marriage. This notwithstanding, these statements indicate that Marian still feels more comfortable when she is adjusted to the social norms than when being different from others, or

being unique. In fact, her remark symbolises her desire: 'I want to be adjusted. I don't see any point in being unstable' (Atwood 2007: 263).

Although Marian seems to be happy with the current situation on the surface and does not realise the suffocation that started after Peter's proposal, her body is more honest, developing symptoms of anorexia which worsen over time. The point is that she does not recognise that the symptoms arise because of her rejection of the normalities that she thinks right (Ōtsuka 2004: 3). My re-translation intends to reflect Marian's instinctive reaction, of which she herself is totally unconscious.

Indeed, Marian's consciousness of normalities provides the key to my re-translation. When the anorexia becomes more serious, her concern is over whether she is normal or not (Keith 1989: 52-53). For her, 'being normal' equates to being within the social norms. She asks three people who know her well, Peter, Ainsley and Clara: 'do you think I'm normal?' (Atwood 2007: 204, 206). Each answers that she is not beyond the accepted norms. Ainsley reacts: 'Normal isn't the same as average, [...] Nobody is normal' (Atwood 2007: 204). Clara responds: 'you're marvellously normal, darling' (Atwood 2007: 207). And Peter's answer is: 'I'd say you're almost abnormally normal' (Atwood 2007: 206).

In addition, Marian's job requires her to use words properly to conduct market research, so, it can be assumed that she is sensitive to language use which is considered proper in society. Hence, women's language as a gendered linguistic norm will be carefully used by the character in my re-translation. Throughout the story, her questioning of what is normal will be further developed through the question of whether the society to which she belongs is normal (Keith 1989: 52-53). This will be the point at which she changes her language use from the expected norms

to her own style.

As for character transformation, the narrative shift of this story is noteworthy. The shift is used as a 'reflection of her [Marian's] changing psychological constitution' (Patterson 1982: no page *this is a web article without page numbers). Her inner-self finds the conflict between what Peter and society expect of her and what she wants to do, manifesting itself as anorexia. In the second part, the narrative voice shifts from the first- to the third-person. According to Cooke (2004: 48), this third-person narration demonstrates a separation 'between her mind and her body, between her decisions and the decisions her body makes for her, especially about what she can eat and cannot eat'. The narrative then returns to the first-person and this happens at the same time as she finds unity of mind and body (Cooke 2004: 48). Indeed, Marian actually says to Duncan: 'Now that I was thinking of myself in the first person singular again […]' (Atwood 2007: 278). Marian's process of self-discovery is thus synchronised with the change of her language use in my re-translation.

Regarding the second point, de-homogenising translation, Marian and her female friends have extremely different personalities and their characters will be recreated by different language use. Marian is a working woman in her twenties, a graduate in late 1960s Canada. Her desire is to escape from the male-dominant idea of femininity, and the theme of this story is her emancipation from it.

Marian's friend from high school, Clara, is described as an ideal feminine figure in this novel. She gave up her degree for marriage in the second year of college. Now she is a mother of three toddlers with a protective philosophy lecturer husband. Marian describes Clara at high

school as 'a tall fragile girl who was always getting exempted from Physical Education', and 'everyone's ideal of translucent perfume-advertisement femininity', though other students are 'oily potato-chip-fattened adolescents' (Atwood 2007: 36).

Ainsley, Marian's flat mate, is the antithesis of Clara. Having studied anthropology at college, she now has a temporary job as a tester of defective electric toothbrushes. Their landlady thinks that Marian is respectable, but Ainsley is not because of the way she dresses: 'Ainsley says I choose clothes as though they're a camouflage or a protective colouration, though I can't see anything wrong with that. She herself goes in for neon pink' (Atwood 2007: 13-14). Ainsley has decided to have a baby without getting married, and lures Marian's womaniser friend Leonard to fulfil this aim. The seduction is achieved by 'playing gender'. Ainsley creates an image of 'pink-gingham purity' (Atwood 2007: 119) by dressing up in a feminine way and pretending to be a naïve and passive girl. Her idea is radical and controversial, and yet, to pursue it, she uses the traditional feminine image. Her plan is astute and the way she 'does gender' should be preserved by her language use. As for the contrast between her and Marian, these conversations indicate it clearly. When Ainsley says 'I'm going to have a baby […] I'm going to get pregnant', Marian is puzzled and asks: 'You mean you're going to get married?' (Atwood 2007: 39). Ainsley thus represents a liberated view of women's life style, whilst Marian's ideas are conservative.

Clara, meanwhile, is a representation of a passive and powerless woman who has been carried away by circumstances, while Ainsley is described as a woman with her own will. The contrast between their characters is depicted strikingly in this passage:

When we lived in residence together she [Clara] used to become

hopelessly entangled in her room at intervals, unable to find matching shoes or enough clean clothes to wear, and I would have to dig her out of the junk pile she had allowed to accumulate around her. Her messiness wasn't actively creative like Ainsley's, who could devastate a room in five minutes if she was feeling chaotic; it was passive. She simply stood helpless while the tide of dirt rose round her, unable to stop it or evade it. The babies were like that too; her own body seemed somehow beyond her, going its own way without reference to any directions of hers (Margaret Atwood 2007: 37).

Since Clara does not have any practical abilities to control the 'mundane aspects of life, like money or getting to lectures on time' (Atwood 2007: 36-37), she is looked after and protected by her husband who is seven years her senior. On the other hand, Ainsley sets a trap for the womaniser to gain sperm to have a baby. The clear difference between passive Clara and active Ainsley needs to be constructed clearly in my re-translation.

As explored in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1, *EW* was mostly read as a social-historical snapshot of 1960s Canada by the readers of the original, while Japanese readers reading the translation published in 1996 consider it a contemporary novel. If my re-translation aims to be accepted as a story of its time, the language use should be differentiated from the modern use to a certain extent because of the 40-year gap since publication. However, because this thesis focuses on the striking discrepancy between the language in original and translated fiction and how both differ from the actual speech of contemporary Japanese women, I will re-translate *EW* using contemporary language.

The purpose of my re-translation, as discussed in Chapter 1, is not necessarily to publish a new translation of *EW*. However, it is my intention that this experimental translation will offer concrete strategies as well as theoretical knowledge to publishers and translators. Moreover, I hope,

subsequently, that the over-feminising translation convention will become the subject of discussion from the perspective of the ideological aspects of women's language. As a result, it could go some way towards modifying conventions so that female representations might be neutralised in Japanese literature and translations.

## 5.2 De-Feminising Translation

## 5.2.1 Neutralisation with Polite Forms

As analysed in Section 4.5 of Chapter 4, Marian's femininity level is more similar to that of Emma, the protagonist of Jane Austin's classic, than to Bridget Jones, even though *EW* is a fairly contemporary novel. Bridget's speech is clearly over-feminised when compared with real Japanese women's discourse (see Chapter 2, Section 2.1). However, as *Tables 8* and *9* in Chapter 4 demonstrate, Marian is far more over-feminised in her speech style in the Japanese translation than Bridget in *Bridget Jones's Diary*.

In addition, as examined in Chapter 4, Section 4.6, Marian's language use is particularly polite, feminine and archaic because she combines polite forms and strongly feminine sentence-final particles such as 'の (*no*)' and 'のよ (*noyo*)' in one sentence. This speech style was used by young ladies between the late 19th and mid-20th centuries. Young lady's language is seen in the Japanese translations of *Mrs Dalloway*, but it is no longer used by real Japanese women. If a young woman uses it, it sounds very funny and people assume she is mimicking someone who does not exist in the present time. Thus, this language use should be removed from Marian's speech.

The conversations below take place when she is interviewing people about Moose Beer for her marketing research. The interviewee is

the English literature postgraduate student Duncan. Marian meets him when she visits some houses in an area for the survey where Duncan lives with two other graduate students. During the research, her language use is mostly young lady's language because it is a formal situation and Marian is supposed to treat her customer politely. In addition, as indicated above, she is conscious of the social norms that dictate how society expects women to behave, and her job involves proper language use which is also related to social norms. Moreover, as explored in Chapter 3, Section 3.7, working women tend to use polite forms to establish good relationships with their colleagues, although it should be noted that men also use polite forms to show their respect to their customers in business situations. These conversations occur before Peter's proposal and Marian has not started doubting social norms. Narrative parts are omitted, and only dialogue excerpted from the scene:

(5.1) **Marian:** Do you live here alone?                     (Margaret Atwood 2007: 50)
　　　 ひとりで　お住まいですか？                     (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 64)
　　　 *Hitoride　　osumai-desu-ka?*
　　　 alone　　　do you live (polite)

(5.2) **Duncan:** It depends what you mean,                     (Margaret Atwood 2007: 50)
　　　 〈ひとりで〉という言葉　の　意味　　　によるね (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)
　　　 *(Hitoride)　　toiukotoba no　imi　　niyoru-ne*
　　　 alone　　　　the word　of　meaning  it depends on (neutral SFP 'ね(*ne*)')

(5.3) **Marian:** Oh, I see,                     (Margaret Atwood 2007: 50)
　　　 ええ、そうですわね                     (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)
　　　 *Ee　　　sou-desu-wane*
　　　 yes　　that's right (polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'わね (*wane*)')

[…]
(5.4) **Marian:** Where are we going to sit then?          (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)
　　　 それでは　わたしたち、どこに　すわりますの？
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)
　　　 *Soredewa　watashitachi　dokoni　suwari-masu-no?*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 (polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'の (*no*)')
　　　 Then　　　　we　　　　where　　are going to sit?

(5.5) **Duncan:** The floor, […] Or the kitchen, or my bedroom.

<div align="right">(Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)</div>

床の上だね。それとも キッチン か、ぼくの ベッドルームだ

<div align="right">(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)</div>

*Yukanoueda-ne. Soretomo   kicchin   ka,  bokuno beddorūmuda*
on the floor    or       the kitchen  or    my      bedroom

(neutral SFP 'ね(*ne*)')

(5.6) **Marian:** Oh, not the bedroom,            (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)

　　　　ベッドルームは　　　だめですよ            (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)

　　　　*Beddorūmuha        dame-desu-yo*
　　　　the bedroom        it's not right

(polite form + moderately feminine SFP 'よ (*yo*)')

(5.7) **Marian:** I don't think there's room in the kitchen,   (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)

　　　　キッチン には　　場所が　　ないよう<u>ですわね</u>   (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)

　　　　*Kicchin     niha    bashoga   naiyou-desu-wane*
　　　　kitchen    in      rooms   there is no

(polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'わね (*wane*)')

[…]

(5.8) **Duncan:** All right,                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)

　　　　いいよ                        (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 66)

　　　　*Ii-yo*
　　　　All right (moderately masculine SFP 'よ(*yo*)')

(5.9) **Marian:** You're only supposed to listen once,     (Margaret Atwood 2007: 52)

　　　　一度　聞くだけで　<u>よろしいのよ</u>       (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 66)

　　　　*Ichido   kikudakede  <u>yoroshii-noyo</u>*
　　　　Once     listen      that is fine

(very polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'のよ(*noyo*)')

*SFP= sentence-final particle

To de-feminise Marian's speech, the most appropriate strategy would be to use language displayed in Inoue's ethnographic research (see Section 3.7 of Chapter 3) into female workers language use in a pharmaceutical company where one of the working women shows a clear strategy in her speech. The female manager Yoshida Kiwako was in her forties when the research was conducted. Her speech struck Inoue because she did not use 'any of the utterance-ending forms associated with women's language in any context' (Inoue 2006: 217) although other female

workers sometimes used female sentence-final forms in a formal situation. And yet, her language sounds polite and shows respect for her customers and colleagues. Yoshida became conscious of her language use after she was promoted to a managerial position, and started concentrating on the polite utterance-endings 'です (*desu*)' and 'ます (*masu*)'. Whoever she is talking to, whether the person is 'a vendor or top management' (Yoshida, in Inoue 2006: 232), her rule is to speak in *desu* and *masu* in the workplace. She explains her intention not to stand out as a woman because female managers are not welcomed by male counterparts:

> You know, men really do not like a woman to stand out. If you stand out, if you are in a certain kind of position, such as being a woman and a manager at the same time, you are all the more resisted and pressured. You need to learn how to evade it. The best way is to become neither plus […] or minus […], neither the head nor the tail, just to stay in the middle, not too polite, not too rude, not to go too far ahead or too far behind, not to stand out, but not to be ignored either. This is my stance […] So I stay in the middle in the manner of speaking, too (Yoshida, in Inoue 2006 232-233).

*Desu* and *masu* are polite auxiliary verbs which are used at the end of a sentence or are affixed to verbs, adjectives or nouns and function to index politeness or deference to the hearers. When a speaker uses *desu* or *masu*, the speech sounds polite and therefore the speaker can show respect to the person addressed (Inoue 2006: 233). The distinction between *desu* and *masu* is, a morphosyntactic *masu* is joined to the adverbial inflection of a verb, and *desu* to auxiliary verbs, adverbs, adjectives or nouns (Inoue 2006: 244). For instance:

> (i)    *Daigaku  ni  iki-<u>masu</u>*
>        University   to   [I] will go
>        *the subject [I] is omitted here.

> (ii)    *Watashi no  hon        <u>desu</u>*
>        My         of   a book/books  [this] is
>        *the subject [this] is omitted here.

Japanese speakers use different sentence-final forms as different ways of classifying speech: the plain style, the polite style and honorifics, with *desu* and *masu* are in the polite style. For example, the same statement can be expressed three different ways in terms of the level of formality. The examples below demonstrate three ways of expressing 'there is a book (or books) (Inoue 2006: 244-245). The gender classification of these sentences is neutral:

(iii)   Hon            ga        *aru*   (plain form)
        A book/books   particle  there is

(iv)    Hon            ga        *ari-<u>masu</u>*   (polite form)
        A book/books   particle   there is

(v)     Hon            ga        <u>*gozaimasu*</u>   (honorifics)
        A book/books   particle   there is

The plain form is without polite forms and honorifics, and used mostly in informal situations to people who are at the same social level as the speaker, such as between friends. Polite forms are used in a more formal situation, and used to show respect to the speaker's boss, customers, or older or higher-rank colleagues. Honorifics, in this case '*gozaimasu*', are far more polite than polite forms and ordinary people rarely use them in daily conversation. Therefore, a sentence with *desu* or *masu* is neither too rude, nor too humble. *Desu* and *masu* are 'the most normative—and therefore almost unmarked—speaking style in public institutional settings, including the white-collar workplace' (Inoue 2006: 233).

Yoshida sticks to neutral forms and does not use women's language, and yet she does not go against the norm of women's language. By being polite, she avoids violating the norm. But in another sense, it is possible to see this strategy as violating the norms of women's obedience in society

(Inoue 2006: 233, 250). This is because mature Japanese speakers are expected to use honorifics when they speak to senior or higher-status people, but Yoshida continues using the middle category, the polite forms *desu* or *masu*, in every context. If she uses honorifics to male customers as the two 25-year old female workers do in Section 3.7 of Chapter 3, the act shows that she is content with her subordination. Thus it can be said that by treating everyone with equality, she refuses the subordinate position of women in society.

Finally, the use of *desu* and *masu* serves another function: it does not sound too familiar nor too distant, and the speaker can maintain a certain distance from the hearer (Inoue 2006: 239, 249). This strategy works in a business situation such as Marian's interview with the beer consumers.

For these reasons, I suggest re-translating according to Yoshida's strategy of using the polite forms *desu* or *masu*. The example below is my translation. In this experiment, the focus is simply on the verb-endings in Marian's speech, with no changes to other elements in her speech or Duncan's lines:

(5.1) **Marian:** Do you live here alone?                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 50)

       ひとりで　お住まいで<u>すか</u>？              (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 64)
       *Hitoride　osumai-desu-ka?*
       alone　　do you live (polite)
       ひとりで　お住まいで<u>すか</u>？              (my translation)
       *Hitoride　osumai-desu-ka?*
       alone　　do you live (polite)

(5.3) **Marian:** Oh, I see,                                (Margaret Atwood 2007: 50)

       ええ、　　　そうです<u>わね</u>              (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 64)
       *Ee　　　　sou-desu-wane*
       yes (polite)　that's right (polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'わね (*wane*)')
       ええ、　　　そう<u>ですね</u>              (my translation)
       *Ee　　　　sou-desu-ne*
       yes (polite)　that's right (polite form + neutral SFP 'ね (*ne*)')

[…]

(5.4) **Marian:** Where are we going to sit then?            (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)

それでは　わたしたち、どこに　すわり<u>ますの</u>？ (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)
*Soredewa  watashitachi    dokoni  suwari-masu-no?*
 Then        we         where    are going to sit?

<span style="background-color:#ccc">(polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'の (*no*)')</span>

では　　わたしたち、どこに　すわり<u>ますか</u>？      (my translation)
*Dewa    watashitachi    dokoni    suwari-masu-ka?*
 Then      we        where     are going to sit? <span style="background-color:#ccc">(polite form)</span>

(5.6) **Marian:** Oh, not the bedroom,                (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)

ベッドルームは　　だめ<u>ですよ</u>          (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)
*Beddorūmuha      dame-desu-yo*
 the bedroom       it's not right

<span style="background-color:#ccc">(polite form + moderately feminine SFP 'よ (*yo*)')</span>

ベッドルームは　　だめ<u>です</u>                (my translation)
*Beddorūmuha      dame-desu*
 the bedroom       it's not right <span style="background-color:#ccc">(polite form)</span>

(5.7) **Marian:** I don't think there's room in the kitchen,   (Margaret Atwood 2007: 51)

キッチン　には　　場所が　ないよう<u>ですわね</u>   (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 65)
*Kicchin    niha   bashoga   naiyou-desu-wane*
 kitchen    in     rooms   there is no

<span style="background-color:#ccc">(polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'わね (*wane*)')</span>

キッチン　　には　場所が　　ないよう<u>ですね</u>        (my translation)
*Kicchin    niha   bashoga    naiyou-desu-ne*
 the kitchen  in   rooms      there is no <span style="background-color:#ccc">(polite form + neutral SFP 'ね (*e*)')</span>
[…]

(5.9) **Marian:** You're only supposed to listen once,     (Margaret Atwood 2007: 52)

一度　聞くだけで　<u>よろしいのよ</u>          (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 66)
*Ichido   kikudakede   yoroshii-noyo*
 Once     listen      that is fine

<span style="background-color:#ccc">(very polite form + strongly feminine SFP 'のよ(*noyo*)')</span>
一度　聞くだけで　<u>いいんです</u>                (my translation)
*Ichido  kikudakede   iin-desu*
 Once    listen       that is fine <span style="background-color:#ccc">(polite form)</span>

*SFP= sentence-final particle

In this re-translation, Marian does not use feminine sentence-final particles at all, but uses the polite forms *desu* or *masu* constantly. Sentence-final particles do not affect the meaning of the utterances but function to attract the hearers' attention. Japanese speakers tend to conduct conversations by checking the hearer's response with the help of sentence-final particles (Morita 1999: 224-225). Thus it is natural that these sentence-final particles are used in conversations. If they are left out, the conversations will thus sound like monologues. In lines (5.3) and (5.7), therefore, the neutral sentence-final particle 'ね(*ne*)' is maintained. The sentence-final particle 'か (*ka*)' in lines (5.1) and (5.4) is added to questions and used as follows:

(vi)     *Watashi    ha     suwari-<u>masu</u>* (affirmation)
         I         particle   will sit down

(vii)    *Anata    ha     suwari-<u>masu-ka?</u>* (question)
         You     particle   will  sit down?

Marian's speech in my re-translation is de-feminised and she uses no strongly feminine sentence-final particles. However, her speaking style is polite enough to the customer and still in the category of women's language. Regarding Marian's consciousness of social expectations of how women should behave, and her fear of being labelled as an outsider with respect to social norms, this strategy matches her speech perfectly. Moreover, considering the readers' expectations as discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5.1, translation is 'a norm-governed activity' (Toury 1995: 56, 2006: 207) and the norms in the recipient culture cannot be ignored. As explored later in Chapter 4, Section 4.7, feminism has not been warmly welcomed in Japanese society as yet. Thus if Marian uses plain forms instead of polite forms, the strategy might be resisted by Japanese readers. While it is men as well as women who are supposed to show their

politeness to customers as professionals, the social expectation is stronger when it comes to female workers. For these reasons, my re-translation follows the social norms to a certain extent.


## 5.2.2 Character Transformation Constructed by De-Feminising

As the second experiment, Marian's use of women's language is made to shift in synchronisation with her identity transformation. That is, women's language is used to re-construct character transformation in *EW*. In order to reconstruct the shift, Part 1 is contrasted with Part 3 in my re-translation. In Ōura's translation, there is no difference in Marian's speaking style in terms of her femininity level. Her speech has been over-feminised throughout the story and there is no change reflecting her character transformation. Below are the beginning passages of Parts 1 and 3, both in the original and the translation:

> **[The beginning of Part 1]**
> I know I was all right on Friday when I got up; if anything I was feeling more stolid than usual. When I went out to the kitchen to get breakfast Ainsley was there, moping: she said she had been to a bad party the night before. She swore there bad been nothing but dentistry students, which depressed her so much she had consoled herself by getting drunk.
>
> 'You have no idea how soggy it is,' she said, 'having to go through twenty conversations about the insides of peoples' mouths. The most reaction I got out of them was when I described an abscess I once had. They positively drooled. And most men look at something besides your *teeth*, for god's sake.'
>
> She had a hangover, which put me in a cheerful mood—it made me feel so healthy—and I poured her a glass of tomato juice and briskly fixed her an alka-seltzer, listening and making sympathetic noises while she complained.
>
> 'As if I didn't get enough of that at work,' she said. Ainsley has a job as a tester of defective electric toothbrushes for an electric toothbrush company: a temporary job. What she is waiting for is an opening in one of those little art galleries, even though they don't pay well: she wants to meet the artists. Last year, she told me, it was actors, but then she actually met some. 'It's an absolute fixation. I expect they all carry those

bent mirrors around in their coat pockets and peer into their own mouths every time they go to the john to make sure they're still cavity-free.' She ran one hand reflectively through her hair, which is long and red, or rather auburn. 'Could you imagine kissing one? He'd say 'Open wide' beforehand. They're so bloody one-track.'

'It must have been awful,' I said, refilling her glass. 'Couldn't you have changed the topic?'

Ainsley raised her almost non-existent eyebrows, which hadn't been coloured in yet that morning. 'Of course not,' she said. 'I pretended to be terribly interested. And naturally I didn't let on what my job was: those professional men get so huffy if you know anything about their subject. You know, like Peter.'

Ainsley tends to make jabs at Peter, especially when she isn't feeling well. I was magnanimous and didn't respond. 'You'd better eat something before you go to work,' I said, 'it's better when you've got something on your stomach.'          (Margaret Atwood 2007: 11-12)

金曜日、起きたときは元気だった。しいていえば、いつもよりけだるい感じがしたくらいかしら。キッチンへ出て行くとエインズリーがいて、憂鬱な顔をしている。昨晩ひどいパーティに出たとのこと。歯医者の卵しかいないんだもの、あんまり気がめいるから酔っぱらって気をまぎらしてやった、とご剣幕だ。

「どんなに退屈か、わかる？　ひとの口の中の話を二十ぺんも聞かされる身になってみてよ。いちばん受けたのは、まえに歯槽膿漏になった話をしたときね。よだれをたらして聞くのよ、ほんと。だいたいねえ、ふつうの男なら歯のほかに見るものがあるんじゃない？」

二日酔いのエインズリーを見ていると、たのしい気分になった。わたしはこんなに元気なんだ——。トマトジュースをコップにつぎ、二日酔いにきくアルカセルツァーをすばやく作ってあげながら、相手の愚痴に耳をかし、フンフンと相槌を打つ。

「そんな話、こちらは仕事で聞きあきてるのに」エインズリーは電動歯ブラシの会社の欠陥商品検査係をしている。でも腰掛け仕事。たとえ給料が悪くても小さな画廊に口がないか、さがしている。画家と知り合いになるのがお目あてだ。去年は俳優だなんて言ってたけれど、ほんとうに何人か俳優と知り合いになった。「ああなると、もう完全にビョーキね。あの人たち、みんな先の曲がった例のミラーを上着のポケットに入れていて、トイレに行くたびに虫歯はないか口の中を見るんじゃないかしら」物思うように片手を髪に走らせた。長くて赤い、というより金褐色の髪だ。「あんな男とキスするところ想像できる？まず〈口をアーンとあけて〉なんて言うわよね。ひどいワンパターンなんだから」

「さんざんだったみたいね」トマトジュースをつぎたしながらわたしは答えた。「話題を変えることはできなかったの？」

エインズリーはあるかなしかの眉をつりあげた。けさはまだ眉をかいていない。「そんなことするもんですか。すごく興味深い、ってふりをしてやった。もちろん、こちらの仕事ももらさない。ああいうプロフェッショナルの男たちって、こちらがその分野のことを何か知ってると気を悪くするから。ピーターだってそうでしょ。」

エインズリーはなにかとピーターにつっかかる。とりわけごきげんの悪いときはそう。おうように構えてそれには答えず、「仕事にいくまえに何か食べたほ

うがいいわ。おなかに詰め込めば気分もよくなるし」

<div align="right">(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 11-12)</div>

**[The beginning of Part 3]**

I was cleaning up the apartment. It had taken me two days to gather the strength to face it, but I had finally started. I had to go about it layer by layer. First there was the surface debris. I began with Ainsley's room, stuffing everything she had left behind into cardboard cartons: the half-empty cosmetic jars and used lipsticks, the strata of old newspapers and magazines on the floor, the desiccated banana-peel I found under the bed, the clothes she had rejected. All the things of mine I wanted to throw out went into the same boxes.

When the floors and furniture had been cleared I dusted everything in sight, including the mouldings and the tops of the doors and the window sills. Then I did the floors, sweeping and then scrubbing and waxing. The amount of dirt that came off was astonishing: it was like uncovering an extra floor. Then I washed the dishes and after that the kitchen window-curtains. Then I stopped for lunch. After lunch I tackled the refrigerator. I did not examine closely the horrors that had accumulated inside it. I could see well enough from holding the little jars up to the light that they had better not be opened. The various objects within had been industriously sprouting hair, fur or feathers, each as its nature dictated, and I could guess what they would smell like. I lowered them carefully into the garbage bag. The freezing compartment I attacked with an icepick, but I discovered that the thick covering of ice, though mossy and spongelike on the outside, was hard as a rock underneath, and I left it to melt a little before attempting to chip or pry it loose.

I had just begun on the windows when the phone rang. It was Duncan. I was surprised; I had more or less forgotten about him.

'Well?' he asked. 'What happened?'

'It's all off,' I said. 'I realized that Peter was trying to destroy me. So now I'm looking for another job.'

'Oh,' said Duncan. 'Actually I didn't mean that. I was wondering more about Fischer.'

'Oh,' I said. I might have known.

'I mean, I think I know what happened but I'm not sure why. He's abandoned his responsibilities, you know.'

'His responsibilities? You mean graduate school?'

'No,' said Duncan. 'I mean me. What am I going to do?'

'I haven't the faintest idea,' I said. I was irritated with him for not wanting to discuss what I was going to do myself. Now that I was thinking of myself in the first person singular again. I found my own situation much more interesting than his.

'Now, now,' Duncan said, 'we can't both be like that. One of us has to be the sympathetic listener and the other one gets to be tortured and confused. You were tortured and confused last time.'

<u>Face it, I thought, you can't win. 'Oh all right. Why don't you come over for some tea a bit later then? The apartment's a mess,'</u> I added apologetically                                        (Margaret Atwood 2007: 277-278)

わたしは部屋を掃除している。清掃に立ち向かう勇気を奮い起こすのに二日かかったかれど、とうとう始めた。一枚一枚皮をむいてゆくように仕事しなければならない。まず、表面のガラクタ。エインズリーの部屋から初めて、置いて行ったものをすべてダンボールの箱に詰め込む。半分はいった化粧品のびんや使用ずみの口紅、床に積まれた古新聞古雑誌、ベッドの下のひからびたバナナの皮、放置された衣類など。わたしが捨てたい物も、みな同じ箱の中に入れる。

床と家具の上から物を取り払ったあと、横木の操形、ドアの上辺、窓の敷居も含めて、目に見えるものすべてのチリを払う。それから床を掃いて拭き、ワックスをかけた。出た汚れの量はびっくりするほどで、まるで別の床が現われたみたいだ。次に皿を洗い、そのあとキッチンの窓のカーテンを洗う。そして手を休めて昼食にした。昼食後は冷蔵庫に取り組む。内部に集積した恐るべき物を綿密に調べることはしない。小さなびんを光にかざしてみて、あけないほうがいいと充分にわかる。びんの中のさまざまな物が、その性質の命じるままさかんに毛やケバや羽毛を発生させていて、どんなにおいがするか予測がつく。注意深くゴミ袋の中に落とした。冷凍室はアイスピックで突いてみるけれど、厚く張った氷の層は表面がコケむしてスポンジみたいでも、中は岩のように堅い。砕いたりこじり落としたりするまえに、すこし放置して解かす。

窓をちょうど拭きはじめたとき、電話が鳴った。ダンカンだ。これは驚き。彼のことはもういくらか忘れていた。

「ねえ？」ときいてくる。「どうなった？」

「すべて終わった。ピーターがわたしを破壊しようとしているとわかったの。それでいま、別の仕事をさがしているところ」

「いや、じつはそんな意味で言ったんじゃない。フィッシュのことがもっと気になって」

「まあ！」いかにもダンカンらしい。

「つまり、何が起こったかはわかるように思うけど、なぜ起こったかが確かでない。あいつ、自分の責任を放棄してしまった」

「自分の責任？　大学院のこと？」

「ちがう。ぼくのことだよ。ぼくはどうすればいいんだ？」

「そんなこと、知るもんですか」腹立たしい。相手にはわたしがどうすればいいかを話し合う気がないのだ。いまふたたび、一人称単数で自分を考えるようになって、わたしはダンカンのことよりも自分自身の状況にずっと興味を持つようになっていた。

「おい、おい」とダンカンは言う。「二人ともこんなふうじゃいけない。一人が苦しみを混乱していると、相手が同情的な聴き役にならなきゃ。このまえはきみが苦しみ混乱していたね」

面と向かって来てごらん、勝たせませんよ、とわたしは思う。「ええ、いいわよ。じゃ、しばらくしたらお茶に来ない？　部屋はごった返しているけど」と弁解するように付け加えた。

(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 355-356)

The underlined parts above are Marian's utterances. Only these utterances are picked up below:

**[Part 1]**

(5.10) It must have been awful,           (Margaret Atwood 2007: 11)
    Couldn't you have changed the topic?

    さんざん　　だった　　みたい<u>ね</u>     (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 11)
    *Sanzan*    *datta*    *mitai-ne*
    Awful    [it] was    sounds like  (neutral SFP 'ね(*ne*)')

    話題　　を　　　変えることは　できなかった<u>の</u>？
    *Wadai*   *wo*     *kaerukotoha*   *dekinakatta-no*
    Topic   particle   change     couldn't you ? (strongly feminine SFP 'の(*no*)')

(5.11) You'd better eat something before you go to work,
    it's better when you've got something on your stomach.
                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 12)

    仕事　　に　　いく　まえに　何か　　　食べた　ほうがいい<u>わ</u>。
                    (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 12)
    *Shigoto*  *ni*  *iku*   *maeni*  *nanika*   *tabeta*   *hougaii-wa*
    Work    to   go   before   something  eat    it's better
                    (strongly feminine SFP 'わ(*wa*)')
    おなか　　に　　詰め込めば　　気分もよくなるし
    *Onaka*    *ni*   *tsumekomeba*   *kibunmo yokunarushi*
    Stomach  on    stuff       you'll feel better
    (feminine)

**[Part 3]**

(5.12) It's all off,
    I realized that Peter was trying to destroy me. So now I'm looking for
    another job.              (Margaret Atwood 2007: 277)

    すべて　終わった。          (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
    *Subete*   *owatta*
    All      it's over

    ピーターが　　わたし　を　　破壊しようとしていると　わかった<u>の</u>。
    *Pītā*   *ga*   *watashi wo*   *hakaishiyoutoshiteiruto*   *wakatta-no*
    Peter   particle  me   particle   is trying to destroy     [I] realised
                  (strongly feminine SFP 'の(*no*)')

    それで　いま、　別の　　仕事　　を　　　さがしているところ
    *Sorede*   *ima*   *betsuno*  *shigoto*   *wo*     *sagashiteirutokoro*
    So     now    another  job     particle   [I] am looking for

(5.13) Oh,                                        (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)
　　まあ！                                        (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
　　*maa*
　　Oh! (feminine)

(5.14) I haven't the finest idea,                 (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

　　そんなこと、知るもん<u>ですか</u>              (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
　　*Sonnakoto　shirumon-desu-ka*
　　Such a thing　[I] don't care (polite)

(5.15) Face it, I thought, you can't win.         (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

　　面と向かって　来てごらん、勝たせませんよ、　と　わたし　は　　思う。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
　　*mentomukatte　kitegoran　　katase-masen-yo　　to　watashi　ha　　omou*
　　Face　　　　　come　　　[I] will not let you win　particle　I　particle　think
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(polite)

(5.16) Oh all right.                              (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

　　ええ、　　　いいわよ。                        (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
　　*Ee　　　　　ii-wayo*
　　Yes (polite)　　all right (strongly feminine SFP 'わよ (*wayo*)')

(5.17) Why don't you come over for some tea a bit later then?
　　The apartment's a mess,                       (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

　　じゃ、しばらくしたら　お茶　に　来ない？　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
　　*Ja　　shibarakushitara　ocha　ni　konai*
　　Then　a bit later　　　tea　　for　why don't you come

　　部屋　　は　　　ごった返している　　けど
　　*Heya　　ha　　　gottagaeshiteiru　　kedo*
　　Rooms　particle　[it's] messed　　　though

*SFP= sentence-final particle


In the first scene of Part 1, Marian uses two strongly feminine sentence-final particles in her speech, as given above. She also uses the word 'おなか (*o-naka*)' for stomach. There are some variations to indicate the stomach and 'おなか (*o-naka*)' was formally used as a term in women's language about from the 12th to 16th centuries (*Shinmeikai Japanese*

*Dictionary* 2005: 195). Due to her language use, Marian's speech generally sounds very feminine. In Part 1, she does not realise that she is suffocated by the female ideal in society. Hence, I would maintain the feminine language use in Ōura's translation purposefully to make her identity-shift clearer later in the story. However, the use of strongly feminine sentence-final particles or feminine words should be avoided as the story develops. The very first scene is fine with feminine speech, but the more the story develops, the less the language use should be feminised. Therefore, I would suggest avoiding strongly feminine sentence-final particles as far as possible in the remainder of Part 1. The strikingly over-feminised tendency can thus be amended.

At the beginning of Part 3, Marian realises that she has regained a sense of her identity: 'Now that I was thinking of myself in the first person singular again. I found my own situation much more interesting than his' (Atwood 2007: 278). Here, Marian places priority on her happiness over other people's (Patterson 1982: no page), and she can speak with her own language, not with the language which is supposed to be used, or is given by the male authorities. Ōura's translation shows strong femininity in Marian's speech such as strongly feminine sentence-final particles, or polite forms, throughout. My experimental translation attempts to re-construct Marian's regaining of her identity. Following the previous experimental translations, it also focuses on women's language and other elements of translation are not considered here. Detailed explanations of each line are as follows:

(5.12) It's all off,

    I realized that Peter was trying to destroy me. So now I'm looking for
    another job.                              (Margaret Atwood 2007: 277)

すべて　終わった。　　　　　　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
*Subete　　owatta*
All　　it's over

ピーター が　　わたし　を　　破壊しようとしていると　わかった<u>の</u>。
*Pītā　　ga　　watashi　wo　　hakaishiyoutoshiteiruto　　wakatta-no*
Peter　particle　me　particle　is trying to destroy　　[I] realised
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(strongly feminine SFP 'の(*no*)')
ピーター が　　わたし　を　　破壊しようとしているとわかった。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(my translation)
*Pītā　　ga　　watashi wo　　hakaishiyoutoshiteiruto　　wakatta*
Peter　particle　me　particle　is trying to destroy　　[I] realised

それで　いま、　別の　　仕事　　を　　　さがしているところ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
*Sorede　　ima　　betsuno　shigoto　wo　　sagashiteirutokoro*
So　　now　　another　job　particle　[I] am looking for

The strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'の　(*no*)' is removed from the first sentence. Other parts are maintained.

(5.13) Oh,　　　　　　　　　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

まあ！　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
*maa*
Oh! (feminine)

ああ！　　　　　　　　　　　　　(my translation)
*aa*
Oh! (neutral)

(5.14) I haven't the finest idea,　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

そんなこと、知るもん<u>ですか</u>　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
*Sonnakoto　　shirumon-desu-ka*
Such a thing　　[I] don't care (polite)

そんなこと、知るもん<u>か</u>　　　　　(my translation)
*Sonnakoto　　shirumon-ka*
Such a thing　　[I] don't care

The word 'まあ(*maa*)' in the upper line is women's language and it is uttered when expressing surprise or unexpectedness (*Shinmeikai Japanese Dictionary* 2005: 1392). Because of the word choice, this sentence sounds

feminine, and so this word is replaced with a gender-neutral alternative 'あ
あ (*aa*)'. In this scene, Marian and Duncan are no longer merely
acquaintances, having spent a night together when Marian ran away from
a party to celebrate her engagement to Peter. However, she uses the polite
form '知るもんですか (*shirumon-desu-ka*) [I don't care]' and this sounds too
distant for this situation. Moreover, even though Marian censures
Duncan's selfishness, her emotion is subdued in Ōura's translation because
of her use of the polite form. The sentence-final particle 'か (*ka*)' is gender-
neutral and when this particle is used in an affirmative sentence, it serves
to censure Duncan. This is an important moment, for Marian realises that
her own concerns can take priority and she does not need to consider
Duncan or Peter anymore. Thus, this line should be emphasised. In my re-
translation, the polite form is removed and Marian's speech is made with
the plain form '知るもんか (*shirumon-ka*) [I don't care]'. The straightforward
utterance sounds much stronger than Ōura's polite phrase and it conveys
Marian's identity shift and her confidence.

The next sentence is a declaration of standing up to Duncan. This
declaration also implies that Marian has made up her mind to challenge
social norms, gender roles and the feminine ideal. Hence, this phrase
should be a declaration of her determination.

(5.15) Face it, I thought, you can't win.        (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

面と向かって 来てごらん、勝たせませんよ、　と　　わたし　は　　　思う。
                                                          (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
*mentomukatte  kitegoran    katase-masen-yo      to     watashi   ha     omou*
Face           come      [I] will not let you win   particle   I    particle   think
               (polite)        (polite)

| 向かって来い、 | 勝たせるものか、 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | (my translation) | |
| *mukattekoi* | *kataserumono-ka* | | *to* | *watashi* | *ha* | *omou* |
| come and face me | [I] will not let you win | | particle | I | particle | think |

In Ōura's translation, however, Marian nevertheless consistently uses polite forms and thus her voice is weakened drastically. In addition, this line is a monologue not heard by anyone. She does not need to be conscious of how her speech is perceived by other people, or society itself, and she does not need to 'do gender' to answer social expectations. After regaining her identity, in addition, the feminine mould that society creates does not impinge on her freedom any more. For these reasons, this statement should be highlighted more than the previous one. In my re-translation, therefore, not only are the polite forms removed, but also a commanding tone '向かって来い (*mukattekoi*) [come and face me]' is used. This re-creates Marian's voice as confident and determined.

In the utterances below, Marian also uses the polite form for yes, 'ええ (*ee*)', and the strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'わよ (*wayo*)'.

(5.16) Oh all right.                                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

| ええ、 | いいわよ。 | (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356) |
|---|---|---|
| *Ee* | *ii-wayo* | |
| Yes(polite) | all right | (strongly feminine SFP 'わよ (*wayo*)') |

| うん、 | いいよ。 | (my translation) |
|---|---|---|
| *Ee* | *ii-yo* | |
| Yes | all right | (moderately masculine SFP 'よ (*yo*)') |

(5.17) Why don't you come over for some tea a bit later then?
    The apartment's a mess,                        (Margaret Atwood 2007: 278)

| じゃ、しばらくしたら | お茶 | に | 来ない？ | (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ja* *shibarakushitara* | *o-cha* | *ni* | *konai* | |
| Then  a bit later | tea | for | why don't you come | |

| 部屋 | は | ごった返している | けど | (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356) |
|------|-----|------------------|------|------------------------------|
| *Heya* | *ha* | *gottagaeshiteiru* | *kedo* | |
| Rooms | particle | [it's] messed | though | |

The polite form for yes 'ええ (*ee*)' is changed to a plain form 'うん (*un*)', which is usually used with friends. In addition, the strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'わよ (*wayo*)' is replaced with a moderately masculine form 'よ (*yo*)'. The rest of this utterance is maintained. Marian uses a so-called 'beatification prefix, *o-*' (Shibatani 1990: 374; see Section 4.4, Chapter 4) for the word 'お茶 (*o-cha*) [tea]' in Ōura's translation. However, this use is common among both sexes. Some words have the same tendency such as 'お米 (*o-kome*) [rice]'. These foods are probably essential to all Japanese, so both sexes started adding the honorific 'お (*o*)' to these words. Thus, this use 'お茶 (*o-cha*) [tea]' is maintained in my re-translation.

The first sentences in Parts 1 and 3 are important to create an impression of Marian's speech style. Ōura's translation of the first sentence signifies the over-feminised and stereotype-dependent translation strategy:

**[Part 1]**

(5.18) I know I was all right on Friday when I got up; if anything I was feeling more  stolid than usual.

> 金曜日、起きたときは元気だった。しいていえば、いつもよりけだるい感じがしたくらい<u>かしら</u>。

> I know I was all right on Friday when I got up;
> (Margaret Atwood 2007: 11)

| 金曜日、 | 起きた | ときは | 元気だった。 | (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 11) |
|----------|--------|--------|--------------|------------------------------|
| *Kinyōbi,* | *okita* | *tokiha* | *genkidatta* | |
| On Friday | [I] got up | when | I was fine | |

> if anything I was feeling more stolid than usual.
> (Margaret Atwood 2007: 11)

しいていえば、いつも　より　けだるい　感じがしたくらい<u>かしら</u>。

(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 11)

| *Shiiteieba* | *itumo* | *yori* | *kedarui* | *kanjigashitakurai-kashira* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| If anything | usual | than | stolid | [I] was just feeling |

(strongly feminine SFP 'かしら(*kashira*)')

In this sentence, Marian uses the strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'かしら (*kashira*)'. As argued in Chapter 3, Section 3.5, this particle is representative of strongly feminine forms, but is not used in actual Japanese women's conversations, thus demonstrating that the translator relies on the stereotypes of female speech style. Marian is sensitive to social expectations and it is reasonable to make her speech feminine to a certain extent at the beginning of the story as explained above. However, firstly, this is a monologue and it is not necessary to use a sentence-final particle to see the hearer's response (Morita 1999: 224-225); secondly, she does not need to be conscious of perceptions of her utterance. Therefore, even if she feels she must 'do gender' in front of people, she does not need to do it in monologues. Thus, it is better to remove the particle 'かしら (*kashira*)'. Indeed, this particle is used several times in the rest of Part 1, and in all cases should be removed:

if anything I was feeling more stolid than usual.

(Margaret Atwood 2007: 11)

しいていえば、いつも　より　けだるい　感じがしたくらい。(my translation)

| *Shiiteieba,* | *itumo* | *yori* | *kedarui* | *kanjigashitakurai* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| If anything | usual | than | stolid | [I] was just feeling |

On the other hand, the first two sentences of Part 3 use plain forms without sentence-final particles and they sound gender-neutral:

**[Part 3]**

(5.19) I was cleaning up the apartment. It had taken me two days to gather the strength to face it, but I had finally started.

わたしは部屋を掃除している。清掃に立ち向かう勇気を奮い起こすのに二日かかっ
たかれど、とうとう始めた。

    I was cleaning up the apartment.        (Margaret Atwood 2007: 277)
    わたし    は    部屋    を    掃除している
                                        (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)

    *Watashi*    *ha*    *heya*    *wo*    *soujishiteiru*
    I        particle    room(s)    particle    [I] was cleaning

    It had taken me two days to gather the strength to face it, but I had
    finally started.                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 277)

    清掃    に    立ち向かう    勇気    を    奮い起こす    のに    二日    かかった    けれど、
                                          (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 356)
    *Seisou ni*    *tatimukau*    *yūki*    *wo*    *furuiokosu*    *noni*    *futsuka*    *kakatta*    *keredo,*
    Clean up  particle  to face  strength  particle  muster  to  two days  it took    but

    とうとう    始めた。
    *toutou*    *hajimeta*
    finally    [I] started

Other narrative sentences in the beginning passages of Part 3 follow the same strategy. These gender-neutral sentences make Marian's appear that much more independent than in Part 1. The first two passages of Part 1 create the impression that she is trying to soften her statement and is not expressing herself strongly. On the other hand, the quoted passages of Part 3 give the impression that she herself has started speaking and states what she wants to do. I would therefore maintain the translation strategy which is used in Part 3.

## 5.3 De-Homogenising Translation

### 5.3.1 Three Different Characters with Different Femininity Levels

For the strategy of de-homogenising the speech of the three female characters, Marian, Ainsley and Clara, in this section I focus first on the translation of swear words, before their use of women's language, mainly

female sentence-final particles, is considered.

The conversations below are picked up from the scenes in which Clara calls Marian at her office to invite her for dinner, and where Marian and Ainsley are visiting Clara's house. After the phone call from Clara, Marian realises that her role at the dinner table will be as listener to Clara's problems and she does not feel like obliging so decides to take Ainsley to dinner as well. The conversation between Marian and Ainsley takes place on the way to Clara's house, and then they meet Clara, her husband Joe, and their children:

(5.20) **Marian:** Clara! [...] How *are* you?

<div style="text-align:right">(Margaret Atwood, 1969: 28, italics in original)</div>

クララ！[…] お元気？    (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 35)
*Kurara!    O-genki?*
Clara      how are you (polite)

(5.21) **Clara:** <u>Shitty</u>, thanks, […]           (Margaret Atwood 2007: 28)
But I wonder if you can come to dinner. I'd really like to see an outside face.
<u>元気　じゃないのよ。</u>           (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 35)
*Genki    janai-noyo*
Well     (I) am not  (strongly feminine SFP 'のよ (*noyo*)')

でも、お食事　　に　　来てくれないかしら？
*Demo o-shokuji   ni     kitekurenai-kashira?*
but    meal(polite) for    could you come
(strongly feminine SFP 'かしら (*kashira*)')

そと　の　人　　の　顔　が　　とっても　見たくて
*Soto   no   hito   no   kao   ga      tottemo   mitakute*
Outside of  people  of  faces  particle   really   (I) like to see

(5.22) **Marian:** I'd love to, […] About what time?         (Margaret Atwood 2007: 28)
よろこんで　　行くわ。　何時　　ごろ？    (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 35)
*Yorokonde       iku-wa    nanji    goro?*
[I] would love to   go     what time   about
(strongly feminine SFP 'わ(*wa*)')

[…]

(5.23) **Ainsley:** Don't be so concerned, Marian,　　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 30)

　　　　　 […] you make me feel like an invalid.

　　　そんなに　　　心配しないで、　マリアン。　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 37)

　　　*Sonnani*　　　*shinpaisinaide,*　　　*Marian*

　　　so　　　　　don't be concerned　 Marian

　　　病人　　　みたいな　　　気になるじゃないの

　　　*Byōnin*　　*mitaina*　　*kininarujanai-no*

　　　An invalid　like　　　 you make me feel (strongly feminine SFP 'の (*no*)')

(5.24) **Ainsley:** <u>Christ,</u> it's hot,　　　　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 30)

　　　　<u>イヤねぇ、</u>　　　　暑くて　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 38)

　　　　*Iyanee,*　　　　　*atsukute*

　　　　It's uncomfotable　  it's hot

(5.25) **Marian:** Hi Joe, […] here we are.  How's Clara feeling?

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 30)

　　　ハイ、ジョー[…] 来たわよ。　クララ　は　どう？

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 38)

　　　*Hai,*　*Jō*　　　*kita-wayo*　　*Kurara*　*ha*　　*dou*

　　　Hi　 Joe　　　here we are　　Clara　particle　how is

　　　　　(strongly feminine SFP 'わよ (*wayo*)')

(5.26) **Joe:** Hi, come on through, […] Clara's out back　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 31)

　　　　やあ、奥へどうぞ　［…］　クララ　　は　　裏庭　　　　　に　いるよ

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 38)

　　　*Yaa,*　*okuhedouzo*　　　　*Kurara*　　*ha*　　*uraniwa*　　*ni*　*iru-yo*

　　　Hi　 please come through　Kurara　particle　backgarden　in　 is

　　　　　　　　　　　(moderately masculine SFP 'よ(*yo*)')

(5.27) **Clara:** Oh hi, […]

　　　　 Hello Ainsley, nice to see you again. <u>Christ </u>it's hot

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 31)

　　　いらっしゃい　　　　　　　　　 (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 39)

　　　*Irasshai*

　　　Welcome

　　　まあ、エインズリー、久しぶりだったわね。

　　　*Maa,*　*Einzurī,*　　　　*hisashiburidatta-wane*

　　　Oh　 Ainsley　　　long time no see (strongly feminine SFP 'わね (*wane*)')

　　　<u>それにしても</u>、この暑いこと

　　　*Sorenihitemo,*　　　*kono atsui-koto*

　　　Anyway　　　　　 it's hot (strongly feminine SFP 'こと (*koto*)')

[…]

(5.28) **Clara:** […] I can't drink anything else these days, it upsets my <u>bloody</u> stomach […].                                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 33)

> このごろは　ほかのもの　　が　　飲めないの。　 (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 42)
> *Konogoroha  hokanomono    ga      nomenai-no*
> These days   anything else   particle  [I] cannot drink
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(strongly feminine SFP 'の(*no*)')
> 胃　　　　の　調子　　　が　　　おかしくなるから。
> *I     no  chōshi    ga      okashikunarukara*
> Stomach  of  condition  particle    become wrong

*SFP= sentence-final particle

These conversations are informal, the characters speaking throughout with the plain style without honorifics although the 'beatification prefix, *o-*' (Shibatani 1990: 374) is used twice. All three female characters use strongly feminine sentence-final particles repeatedly in their utterances, and this tendency can also be seen throughout the rest of this section. Their speech is clearly over-feminised. Clara sometimes uses swear words such as 'Shitty, thanks' (Atwood 2007: 28), 'Christ it's hot' (Atwood 2007: 31), 'it upsets my bloody stomach' (Atwood 2007: 33). However, her rude language use is deleted completely in the Japanese translation. On the contrary, she uses sophisticated and refined women's language, and thus, the impression of Clara in the Japanese translation is far more feminine than that in the original novel, although the original portrays her as a very feminine figure:

(5.21) **Clara:** <u>Shitty</u>, thanks, […]                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 28)
> 元気　　じゃないのよ。                    (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 35)
> *Genki   janai-noyo*
> Well     (I) am not  (strongly feminine SFP 'のよ(*noyo*)')

(5.27) **Clara:** <u>Christ</u> it's hot                    (Margaret Atwood 2007: 31)
> それにしても、この暑いこと                    (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 39)
> *Sorenihitemo,    kono atsui-koto*
> Anyway          it's hot (strongly feminine SFP 'こと(*koto*) ')

(5.28) **Clara:** […] it upsets my <u>bloody </u>stomach […]        (Margaret Atwood 2007: 33)
　　　　<u>胃</u>　　の　調子　　　が　　おかしくなるから。(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 42)
　　　　*I　　no　chōshi　ga　　okashikunarukara*
　　　Stomach of  condition   particle   become wrong

*SFP= sentence-final particle

The Japanese translation of 'Shitty, thanks' is simply 'I'm not well'. Likewise, 'Christ it's hot' is translated as 'Anyway, it's hot'. Furthermore, 'my bloody stomach' has become simply 'my stomach' in Japanese. The Japanese sentence '元気じゃないのよ (*genkijanai-noyo*) [I'm not fine]' is expressed with a strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'のよ(*noyo*)' instead of the swear word 'shitty'. The final particle 'こと (*koto*)' of 'この暑いこと (*konoatsui-koto*) [it's hot]' is an archaic use. This is a feminine particle denoting admiration and was used by upper-class women between the Taisho era (1912-1926) and the middle of the Showa era (1926-1989). The use of this particle then became common among ordinary women to express fake sophistication (Kobayashi 2007: 112-113). Because of this particle 'こと (*koto*)', Clara's utterance sounds even more refined and sophisticated. As we can see in the examples above, Clara not only avoids any rude words but also repeatedly uses strongly feminine sentence-final particles in her speech in the Japanese translation. Hence, the image of Clara is strikingly feminine to the Japanese readers.

Ainsley also swears once in these dialogues. Again, however, her phrase 'Christ, it's hot' is modified as 'it's hot and uncomfortable'. Despite her character being a radical feminist and an openhearted and outspoken person, her blunt speech is deleted in the Japanese translation:

(5.24) **Ainsley:** <u>Christ,</u> it's hot,                         (Margaret Atwood 2007: 30)
　　　　<u>イヤねぇ、</u>　　　　暑くて                 (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 38)
　　　　*Iyanee,*　　　　*atsukute*
　　　It's uncomfortable     it's hot

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, Section 2.1, the modification or deletion of swear words is also seen in the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary*. As Santaemilia (2009: 230) points out, Bridget Jones is a new figure of contemporary femininity: 'Bridget is impulsive, independent and…foul-mouthed. At times she seems to have been designed to counter the traditional female stereotype'. Bridget uses swear words frequently, and her idiolect creates her character. Nevertheless, her speech in Japanese is still neatly within the feminine category.

If the subtitles of the film version of *Bridget Jones's Diary* (translated by Toda Natsuko 1998) are examined, the same tendency is seen (Furukawa 2009). In the film version, Bridget also makes liberal use of swear words such as 'Oh, shit!', 'Bollocks!', or 'Oh, bugger, bugger!' However, most were deleted in the Japanese subtitles. For example, 'Oh, bugger, bugger!' is not translated at all and has no subtitle. There are more examples. When Bridget was preparing for her birthday party and cooking for her close friends, the sauce that she was making overflowed from the mixer, messing up both her kitchen and herself. She then tried to find tuna in the refrigerator, saying: 'Where the fuck is the fucking tuna?' This sentence is simply translated as 'ツナはどこだっけ？(*Tsuna ha dokodakke?*) [Where is the tuna?]'. Although this Japanese phrase is fairly colloquial, Bridget's foul-mouthed character is lost. There is only one literal translation of 'Oh shit!' 'クソ！(*Kuso!*) [Shit!]' throughout the film. However, Bridget does not use other swear words at all in the Japanese subtitles.

As these instances show, the representations of women tend to be constructed in an artificial way and women hardly swear in Japanese

translations although Japanese women sometimes use rude words in the real world. The over-feminising tendency can be also seen in other films with Japanese subtitles. For example, an assertive female police officer keeps using the very feminine sentence-final particle *wa* in the subtitles of *Robocop* although it is hardly believable that she would actually use this kind of feminine speech style in any context in the original film. In addition, her male colleague uses the second-person pronoun *kimi*, which is only used to the speaker's subordinates, when he addresses the female officer. With the English word 'you', there is no indication whether the speaker of hearer is in a superior position. Due to his language choice for 'you', however, the audience are kept conscious of the power-balance between the female and male officers which is not clearly depicted in the original film (Nornes 2006: 450).

There was strict censorship of film subtitles in Japan in both the pre- and post-war periods, and explicit sexual expressions and acts are still required to be deleted or moderated by Eirin (the Film Classification and Rating Committee) (Nornes 2006: 468, n.8). However, there is no censorship on gendering language use. Nevertheless, the translator of the film subtitles has a tendency to rely on stereotypes of how women should speak. Such constraints make translators formulate film subtitles as 'a readily digestible package' (Nornes 2006: 450) with stereotypical gendered speech style involving ideologies as well as the mismatch between the image in the original film and that in the Japanese subtitles.

According to Hermans (1996: 30-31) norms are 'stronger, more prescriptive versions of social conventions' and they direct individuals as to how to behave in a given situation. The tendency of translators indicated above can be said to be guided and controlled by the social

norms of women's speaking style:

> The directive force of norms, their executive arm, serves among other things to delimit and secure these notions of correctness. The notion of what constitutes 'correct' behaviour, or 'correct' linguistic usage, or 'correct' translation, is a social and cultural construct (Hermans 1996: 36).

In this sense, to translate correctly means to conform to the prevailing norms—what the majority of the community consider proper. However, we never know what exactly the majority think. Therefore, translators imagine what kind of translation would be accepted by society by following the 'relevant, canonized models' (Hermans 1996: 37) and try to produce their translations as 'another "model" translation' (Hermans 1996: 37). As long as norms have a 'prescriptive force' (Chesterman and Wagner 2001: 22) to affect translators' decision-making, the translators' job is, to a certain extent, to find out the norms and accept them. This is self-censorship. This constrains their translations, and at the same time, firms up the norms. As a result, the norms constrain translators even more strongly. This vicious circle makes the bondage of self-censorship more onerous than external censorship.

As indicated in Chapter 3, Section 3.7, a 'social notion of correctness' (Chesterman and Wagner 2001: 22) about women's speech style remains strong in Japanese society, and these translations are impinged upon by such social expectations. According to Venuti (1995, 2008), however, as indicated in Chapter 4, Section 4.3, translation should maintain the otherness in the original text. This otherness sounds unnatural to the target audience, but the strangeness to the dominant values in the target culture shocks the readers, letting them realise that the text is translated into their own language from another. This is the

essential element in a foreignisation strategy. In terms of the translations of swear words in *EWJ*, on the other hand, the translator applies a domestication strategy and has adapted the female characters to a degree of femininity based on the prevailing social consensus.

The purpose of my re-translation is to demonstrate the ideological function of women's language and of translation which accelerates the uptake of gender ideology by Japanese readers. According to Nord (2003: 111), 'almost any decision [in translation] is—consciously or unconsciously—guided by ideological criteria'. In the case of Japanese translation, ideological criteria influence the translators' decisions more strongly due to the existence of women's language in Japanese (see Chapter 3). Being guided by ideological criteria, translators make decisions on their interpretation—a process that can again be described as self-censorship.

Self-censorship, however, does not always work as negative. If the translator's self-censorship is clearly influenced by ideological criteria and yet she or he is not aware of the ideological basis of her of his translation, this might be an obstacle to the aim of my thesis. On the other hand, if the translator is conscious of ideological thought and his or her self-censorship tries to work against it, the resulting translation will help to achieve the aim. Thus, ideologically influenced self-censorship in cases where the strength of the ideological influence is so pervasive that the translator is unlikely to be conscious of it should be consciously removed in my re-translation.

Censorship by the translator can, furthermore, be considered manipulation of the original text (Hermans 1985). Translators manipulate the text 'in accordance with the wishes of their client, or indeed their own

wishes' (Chesterman and Wagner 2001: 22). Translation is also seen as an act of rewriting of an original text (Bassnett and Lefevere 1992: xi) and '[a]ll rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way' (Bassnett and Lefevere 1992: xi). However, as just indicated above, censorship can function to protest against ideologies when it is used effectively.

In the act of manipulation, translators' judgements are influenced by norms which are shared by the majority of a society at a certain period, and thus encourage translators to treat them almost as instructions. However, norms are not permanent and change over the course of time. Thus, notions which conflict with norms might become dominant norms themselves in the same community over time. If a translator takes a risk to challenge the dominant norms and is prepared to be criticised by the majority, he or she could weaken or break the norms (Chesterman and Wagner 2001: 91). If a translator obeys the norms, however, it means he or she is confirming and strengthening them.

The translations below are my re-translation. According to Gutt (2000: 68ff.; see also Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2), literary translation requires direct translation. In direct translation, not only the content of the text but also the style is crucially important because the style covertly, and sometimes overtly, expresses the author's world view (Fowler 1977: 103; Boase-Beier 2004: 277-278, 2006a: 40; see also Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2).

In *EW*, the swear words used by the female characters can be taken to show the freedom of their speech in Canadian society in the 1960s. Marian and Ainsley have their own jobs and thus their own income to

maintain an independent life and their status is reflected in their speech. Clara, who is a full-time housewife, also sometimes swears freely in her speech. The author's choice for the three female characters' speech indicates overtly that although the social expectations were still classified by gender in Canadian society at that time, there was less impingement on female speech style than in Japanese society. This fact could be very striking to Japanese readers. However, the effects are lost, or even changed, to alter the characters' perceived femininity level in Ōura's translation. Thus, I preserve swear words in my re-translation.

The translation of swear words can be used to differentiate female characters' speech styles especially in the case of the language which has such detailed gender-marking classification. Therefore, the aim is not simply to translate swear words as rudely as possible as opposed to the convention that switches rude words with modest or even sophisticated words. Rather, my re-translation intends to use female characters' rude language to de-homogenise their characters as well as their speech style.

The examples below are Marian, Clara and Ainsley's lines. Because of their grammatically precise language use, Ōura's translation still sounds too formal for a conversation among close friends. My re-translation thus focuses on re-creating their conversation in a more colloquial way. When Japanese people speak in informal situations, they tend to use colloquialisms rather than formal expressions. In addition, as an important focus of this thesis is the enormous gap between real women's discourse and literary language in Japanese translation, an attempt is made to reduce this gap as much as possible and to make the translation sound realistic to a Japanese audience.

The first example is Marian's utterance to Clara:

(5.20) **Marian:** Clara! [...] How *are* you?

<div align="right">(Margaret Atwood 2007: 28, italics in original)</div>

> クララ！[…] お元気？ (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 35)
> *Kurara!    o-genki?*
> Clara    how are you (polite)
>
> クララ！[…] 元気？ (my translation)
> *Kurara!    genki?*
> Clara    how are you

Ōura's translation uses the 'beatification prefix, *o-*' (Shibatani 1990: 374) before '元気 (*genki*) [how are you]', 'お元気 (*o-genki*)' and this gives the impression that Clara's speech is polite and refined. However this is an informal conversation with her best friend Marian, and they do not need to show their politeness in the formal sense. In actual fact, 'お元気 (*o-genki*)' the beatification prefix is rarely used in real conversations between friends, and thus, I have simply translated the phrase as '元気 (*genki*)'.

The second example is Clara's speech in which she uses 'Shitty':

(5.21) **Clara:** <u>Shitty</u>, thanks, […]                 (Margaret Atwood 2007: 28)
    But I wonder if you can come to dinner. I'd really like to see an outside face.

> <u>元気</u>　じゃないのよ。                              (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 35)
> *Genki    janai-noyo*
> Well    (I) am not (strongly feminine SFP 'のよ (*noyo*)')
>
> でも、お食事　　に　　来てくれないかしら？
> *Demo o-shokuji    ni    kitekurenai-kashira?*
> But    meal    for    could you come
>    (polite)        (strongly feminine SFP 'かしら (*kashira*)')
>
> そと　の　人　　の　顔　が　とっても　見たくて
> *Soto    no    hito    no    kao    ga    tottemo    mitakute*
> Outside of  people  of  faces particle   really    (I) like to see
>
> <u>もううんざり</u>                              (my translation)
> *Mouunzari*
> [I] am disgusted

でも、食事　　に　　来てくれない?
*Demo shokuji　ni　　kitekurenai?*
but　meal　　　for　　could you come

そと　の　人　　の　顔　　が　　とっても　見たくて
*Soto　no　hito　no　kao　ga　　tottemo　mitakute*
Outside of　people　of　faces　particle　really　　(I) like to see

As for the translation of 'Shitty, thanks', the mild de-feminising strategy is also applied here. The relevant Japanese words for 'Shitty' can be 'ひでえ (*hidee*) [awful]' 'いやあな (*iyaana*) [disgusting]' 'くそのような(*kushonoyouna*) [like shit]' 'くそおもしろくない (*kusoomoshirokunai*) [bloody boring]' and so on. In my translation, Clara's phrase 'もううんざり (*mouunzari*) [am disgusted]' sounds softer than these Japanese words because it is intended to preserve the most feminine of the three female characters. Ōura's translation of the second line also uses the prefix before '食事 (*shokuji*) [meal]', 'お食事 (*o-shokuji*)' and this is removed in the new translation. In addition, the strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'かしら (*kashira*)' is deleted and her speech is made gender-neutral.

In the next example, Marian also uses a strongly feminine sentence final particle 'わ(*wa*)':

(5.22) **Marian:** I'd love to, […] About what time?　　　　(Margaret Atwood 2007: 28)

よろこんで　　　行くわ。　　何時　ごろ？　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 35)
*Yorokonde　　iku-wa　　nanji　goro?*
[I] would love to　go　　　what time　about
(strongly feminine SFP 'わ(*wa*)')

よろこんで　　　行く。　何時　ごろ？　　　(my translation)
*Yorokonde　　iku.　nanji　goro?*
[I] would love to　go　　what time　about

The strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'わ (*wa*)' is left out in the first line to make it gender-neutral. Also in the next example, even the least

feminine character Ainsley uses a strongly feminine sentence final particle 'の (*no*)':

(5.23) **Ainsley:** Don't be so concerned, Marian,          (Margaret Atwood 2007: 30)
          […] you make me feel like an invalid.

    そんなに　　心配しないで、　マリアン。　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 37)
    *Sonnani*　　*shinpaisinaide,*　*Marian*
    so　　　　　don't be concerned　Marian

    病人　　　みたいな　気になるじゃないの
    *Byōnin*　　*mitaina*　　*kininarujanai-no*
    An invalid　like　　you make me feel (strongly feminine SFP 'の (*no*)')

    そんなに　　心配するなって、　マリアン。　　(my translation)
    *Sonnani*　　*shinpaisurunatte,*　*Marian*
    so　　　　　don't be concerned　Marian

    病人　　　みたいな　気になるじゃん
    *Byōnin*　　*mitaina*　　*kininaru-jan*
    An invalid　like　　you make me feel (neutral SFP 'じゃん (*jan*)')

The translation of 'don't be concerned', '心配するなって (*shinpaisurunatte*)' is a colloquial expression corresponding to the grammatically more proper '心配しないで (*shinpaishinaide*)'. Ainsley is characterised as a kind of outsider with respect to social norms, which we can infer from her fashion sense or her idea of marriage. Hence, in order to re-create her character, the colloquial is more suitable than grammatically perfect language, which sounds rather antiquated. As for the second line, Ainsley uses the strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'の (*no*)' in Ōura's translation. This particle is replaced with a neutral sentence-final particle 'じゃん (*jan*)'. This is a widely used particle for mild assertion or seeking agreement (Okamoto and Sato 1992: 482). In this conversation, it is effectively used to talk back to Marian (Kobayashi 2007: 222-223). Grammatically, 'じゃないか (*janaika*)' is correct and 'じゃん (*jan*)' is the contracted form. A 2002 public opinion

survey on the Japanese language of 3000 Japanese people[2] shows that 79.6 % of them use 'じゃん (*jan*)' instead of 'じゃないか (*janaika*)' in conversations. A similar survey of 105 college students in 2001 illustrates that 92.4 % of them do this (Kobayashi 2007: 217-221). This use reflects contemporary young Japanese people's language use.

This example deals with Ainsley's swear words:

(5.24) **Ainsley:** <u>Christ,</u> it's hot,                       (Margaret Atwood 2007: 30)

<u>イヤねぇ、</u>      暑くて                (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 38)
*Iyanee,*      *atsukute*
It's uncomfortable   it's hot

<u>チクショウ</u>、   暑い                      (my translation)
*Chikushou,*     *atsui*
Christ (strong)   it's hot

As explained above, this line 'Christ, it's hot', is modified and translated as 'it's hot and uncomfortable'. Regarding Ainsley's unfeminine character, Oura's interpretation here is over-feminised. Thus, in my translation, Ainsley swears 'チクショウ (*Chikushou*)', which is a straightforward translation of 'Christ'. The Japanese swear word makes Ainsley seem blunter and foul-mouthed. This translation is differentiated from Clara's phrase 'Christ, it's hot' according to their character differences (see 5.27). While this rendition of Ainsley's rude language use may shock the reader, this is intended considering her character, the purpose of my re-translation, and of this thesis.

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[2] This poll was conducted nationwide on 3000 Japanese people of both sexes, all over 16 years old (Kobayashi 2007: 217).

This is a Marian's line which involves a foreignising strategy:

(5.25) **Marian:** Hi Joe, […] here we are.  How's Clara feeling?

<div align="right">(Margaret Atwood 2007: 30)</div>

ハイ、ジョー[…] 来たわよ。クララ　は　どう？(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 38)

*Hai,    Jō        kita-wayo    Kurara   ha    dou?*
Hi      Joe       here we are   Clara    particle   how is
(strongly feminine SFP 'わよ (*wayo*)')

ハイ、ジョー[…] 来たよ。　　クララ　は　　どう？　　(my translation)
*Hai,    Jō        kitawa-yo       Kurara   ha       dou?*
Hi      Joe       here we are       Clara    particle   how is
(moderately masculine SFP 'よ (*yo*)')

In Ōura's translation, Marian uses the strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'わよ (*wayo*)'. This particle 'わよ (*wayo*)' is replaced with the moderately masculine form 'よ (*yo*)' which works to attract Joe's attention as explained above (Morita 1999: 224-225). There is a foreignising element here. 'Hi' is translated as 'ハイ (*hai*)', and this is simply a representation of the English sound by the Japanese characters. The relevant Japanese word is 'こんにちは (*konnichiha*)' or the more colloquial 'やあ (*yaa*)', and 'ハイ (*hai*)' is hardly used in similar situations in Japanese conversations. Hence, this use can remind the reader that this novel is set in a foreign country. This strategy is maintained in my re-translation.

In the next example, although Clara swears in *EW*, the blunt use is replaced with sophisticated language use:

(5.27) **Clara:** Oh hi, […]                                         (Margaret Atwood 2007: 31)
      Hello Ainsley, nice to see you again. <u>Christ </u>it's hot.

いらっしゃい                                         (trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 39)
*Irasshai*
Welcome

まあ、　　　　エインズリー、久しぶりだったわね。
*Maa,        Einzurī,        hisashiburidatta-wane*
Oh (feminine)  Ainsley   long time no see (strongly feminine SFP 'わね (*wane*)')

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それにしても、この暑いこと
*Sorenihitemo,    kono atsui-koto*
Anyway        it's hot (strongly feminine SFP 'こと (*koto*)')

いらっしゃい                                             (my translation)
*Irasshai*
Welcome

まあ、エインズリー、久しぶりだったね。
*Maa,  Einzurī,        hisashiburidatta-ne*
 Oh    Ainsley         long time no see (neutral SFP 'ね(*ne*)')

やれやれ、     暑いね
*Yareyare,      kono atsui-ne*
Christ (mild)   it's hot (neutral SFP 'ね(*ne*)')

The two strongly feminine sentence-final particles 'わね (*wane*)' and 'こと (*koto*)' are changed to the neutral 'ね (*ne*)'. Ōura's translation for 'Oh', 'まあ (*maa*)' is women's language as indicated above (*Shinmeikai Japanese Dictionary* 2005: 1392). This word is maintained to express that Clara's is the most feminine of the three female characters. As for the translation of 'Christ, it's hot', this line is deliberately translated with a mild word to draw a distinct contrast with Ainsley's utterance (5.24). The word for 'Christ' in Clara's speech 'やれやれ (*yareyare*)' is a mild expression suggesting disgust. Clara uses the neutral sentence-final particle 'ね (*ne*)' instead of the archaic strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'こと (*koto*)'. Although her language is de-feminised by using a neutral sentence-final particle, the mild word 'やれやれ (*yareyare*)' ensures she remains within the feminine category.

This example of Clara's utterance also shows Clara's intracultural transformation to an extremely feminine ideal:

 (5.28) **Clara:** […] I can't drink anything else these days,
         it upsets my <u>bloody</u> stomach […].          (Margaret Atwood 2007: 33)

このごろは　　ほかのもの　　　が　　　飲めないの。　(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 42)
*Konogoroha　hokanomono　ga　　nomenai-no*
These days  anything else  particle  [I] cannot drink
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(strongly feminine SFP '*の*(*no*)')

胃　　　　の　調子　　　　が　　　おかしくなるから。
*I　　　no　chōshi　　　ga　　　okashikunarukara*
Stomach  of  condition  particle    become wrong

このごろは　　　ほかのもの　　が　　　飲めないの。　　　(my translation)
*Konogoroha　hokanomono　ga　　nomenai-no*
These days  anything else  particle  [I] cannot drink
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(strongly feminine SFP '*の*(*no*)')

胃　　　　の　調子　　　が　　　クソ悪くなるから。
*I　　　no　chōshi　　　ga　　　kusowarukunarukara*
Stomach  of  condition  particle   become <u>bloody</u> ill

The translation of 'it upsets my bloody stomach' is '胃の調子がクソ悪くなるから (*I no chōshi ga kusowarukunarukara*) [the condition of my stomach is becoming bloody bad]'. It is difficult to translate as 'my bloody stomach' into Japanese because there is no rude adjective which is suitable in this context. Hence it sounds more natural to the Japanese readers to translate 'become bloody bad'. By emphasising 'bad' with the word 'bloody', Clara's coarse expression 'bloody stomach' is maintained. 'クソ (*kuso*)' of 'クソ悪くなるから (*kusowarukunarukara*)' means literally 'shit' in Japanese and Clara's occasionally unfeminine language use is emphasised here. This utterance is very straightforward and the Japanese reader may find it strange because Clara is depicted as a considerably dependent and feminine figure but uses a rude word. However, she actually swears, using words such as 'shitty', 'Christ' and 'bloody', and these elements should be preserved in my re-translation. Finally, the oddness to the target culture is an effect of translation (Venuti 2008: 125; see Chapter 4, Section 4.3). The strong feminine sentence-final particle '*の* (*no*)' is also used in my

re-translation. The juxtaposition of the rude word 'クソ (*kuso*) [shit]' and feminine form 'の (*no*)' creates the strangeness in my re-translation.

This strategy is also influenced by reader-response theory. According to Iser (1974: xi-xii; see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.1), when social norms are introduced in a literary text, they are treated as the subject to be discussed. In *EW*, social norms of female roles are subverted, and this novel provokes the readers into thinking about this. In my re-translation, the re-creation of swear words in Japanese synchronises with the intention. To readers who are used to over-feminised translation with no or only a few swear words, the direct translation of swear words may seem startling. This is a deliberate part of this experiment: the convention of removing swear words is used in my re-translation in a provocative way, by *translating* swear words. By startling the readers with this strategy, this experiment aims to draw attention to the translation conventions so they can be discussed or at least considered.

## 5.3.2  Ainsley's Performance of 'Doing Gender'

As explored in Section 5.1, Ainsley 'does gender' in order to facilitate the acquisition of a baby and creates a feminine image to seduce the womaniser Len. The thoroughness in her performance is admirable. She behaves as if she were a naïve and timid school girl. This is the scene where Ainsley first meets Len, although Ainsley has targeted him before the actual encounter and has prepared for the achievement of her aim):

> […] She had dug out from somewhere a cotton summer creation I'd never seen before, a pink and light-blue gingham check on white with a ruffle around the neck. Her hair was tied behind her head with a pink bow and on one of her wrists she had a tinkly silver charm-bracelet. Her makeup was understated, her eyes carefully but not

noticeably shadowed to make them twice as large and round and blue, and she had sacrificed her long oval fingernails, biting them nearly to the quick so that they had a jagged schoolgirlish quality. I could see she was determined.

Len was talking to her, asking her questions, trying to draw her out. She sipped at her gingerale, giving short, shy answers. […] When Len asked her what she did, however, she could give a truthful answer. 'I work at an electric toothbrush company,' she said, and blushed a warm and genuine-looking pink. I almost choked (Margaret Atwood, 1969: 67-68).

When Len asks Ainsley what she would like to drink, 'she hesitated, then said timidly, "Oh, could I have just a—just a glass of gingerale?"' (Atwood 2007: 67). Below is Ōura's translation:

(5.29) Oh, could I have just a—just a glass of gingerale?
(Margaret Atwood 2007: 67)

ええ、ほんの――ほんの 一杯、　ジンジャーエール　を　　いただこうかしら
(trans. Ōura Akio 1996: 86)

*Ee,　honno— honno ippai,　　jinjāēru　　　　wo　　itadakou-kashira*
Oh　just　　just a glass of　gingerale　　particle　I wonder I will have
(honorifics + strongly feminine SFP 'かしら (*kashira*)')

Her speech style accords perfectly with so-called 'young lady's language'. She juxtaposes the honorifics and the strongly feminine sentence-final particle 'かしら (*kashira*)' in the same sentence. As suggested above, Ainsley's language use is the bluntest among the three women in my re-translation. If she uses this perfectly female and artificial language use only when she talks to Len, this is the most effective way to demonstrate her shrewd performance to the Japanese readers. Ōura's translation would be kept in my experimental translation to make a significant contrast with her other utterances. Here, this line sounds strange and even comical.

This chapter has presented an experimental re-translation of *EW* and four main strategies are demonstrated. Firstly, the over-feminising

tendency in Japanese translation is shifted to a de-feminising tendency (Section 5.2.1). Secondly, once the de-feminising translation strategy is employed, women's language can be used to highlight a certain character or a specific speech by consciously reflecting the historical and ideological aspect of women's language (Section 5.2.2). Thirdly, different characters can speak with different speech styles through carefully constructed language use (Section 5.3.1). And lastly, swear words are maintained to shock the readers and make them realise that the text they are reading is a translation (also Section 5.3.1). Translation theories are likely to be descriptive, and thus they analyse existing translations. Descriptive studies are valuable to elaborate the current literary system; however, they are not enough to change the distinctly ideological function of translation. This chapter, therefore, has attempted to integrate theories into practice and explore what practical solutions can be offered from an academic point of view. In the light of these strategies, my re-translation may offer some examples of guidelines for other Japanese translators.

# Chapter 6   Conclusion

## 6.1 Introductory Remarks

This study has explored Japanese translation from an ideological and stylistic point of view. Through the investigation of historical, socio-cultural and political aspects of women's language and of the over-feminising convention in Japanese literature, both original and translated, I conclude that the over-feminising convention has functioned to promote, maintain and reinforce gendered linguistic norms in Japanese society. Moreover, Japanese literature has worked as a vehicle for gendered linguistic norms and as a mediator of gender ideology.

The key research questions focused on how female speech in English novels is represented in their Japanese translations, and how the gap in the speech style creates differences in impressions of the female characters in the original novel and their counterparts in the Japanese translations. Because of the over-feminising aspect of Japanese translation, there is a failure to convey what we can take to be the intended meaning of the original novels when the readers of the Japanese translations read and interpret them. From the perspectives of reader-response theory and relevance theory, over-feminising causes crucial problems in Japanese translation. Therefore, how the speech is conveyed has a central role in reconstructing what is assumed to be the intended meaning of the text in the process of translation (Gutt 2000; Boase-Beier 2006: 40). However, the convention of intracultural translation tends to adjust female characters' speech to the ideal feminine mould rather than to recreate the style of the original in the Japanese translation. The linguistic representations are reflections of the author's world view (Fowler 1977: 103), hence it could

equally be said that the linguistic representations in translations are reflections of the translator's world view—and possibly also of the ideology prevailing in their society. As a result, the over-feminising convention may help to propagate the idea of femininity in Japanese society.

To address these problems, this thesis has proposed a de-feminising translation strategy to mitigate the over-feminising convention prevalent in the Japanese literary world. Although this approach is influenced by western feminist theory, the strategy needs to be adjusted to the Japanese context. This de-feminising translation is an experiment in how western feminist theory can be applied in Japanese translation, and how reader-response theory and relevance theory can help translators to recreate the style and convey the intended meaning of the original in Japanese translations. This final chapter summarises the findings of this study, its contributions to translation studies and to the practical world of translation, and future research directions for research in this area.

The limitations of this thesis should again be acknowledged here. The focus has been to apply various theories to translation practice rather than discuss theories in detail or develop them further. In addition, several texts, such as *Pride and Prejudice* and *Bridget Jones's Diary*, have been used to provide convincing evidence when describing the Japanese literary system, but these texts are not used to offer literary criticism. Furthermore, due to the characteristics of the analyses focusing on women's language, the approach of this research has been mainly target-language oriented. In particular, the analyses and experiment are limited to women's language in contemporary Japanese, such as in sentence-final

particles, polite forms or feminine language use in contemporary language. Moreover, my focus in producing a feminist translation is not on the oppression of women in language, but on constructed femininity that represents oppression of women in female speech.

## 6.2 Contributions of the Study to Translation Studies and Practical Translation

The main original contributions of this study can be summarised as follows:

(1) *A presentation of the concept of intracultural translation by developing Roman Jakobson's (2006: 139) notion of translation (Section 1.3 of Chapter 1).* Translation is not only a linguistic matter but also a cultural issue. In the case of Japanese translation from other languages which do not have gender-marking aspects, this particular cultural issue is clearly of importance. According to Jakobson, there are two processes involved in this interpretation: inter- and intralingual translation. Firstly, the content of female speech in a foreign novel is translated from the source language into Japanese. This is interlingual translation. This process could also be referred as intercultural translation in Bhabha's sense (1994). Secondly, and simultaneously, the speech style is transformed into feminine language under the influence of linguistic norms for the feminine ideal. This process could be categorised as intralingual translation in Jakobson's sense. However, I would argue that this second transformation is also intracultural translation because it is, in this sense, a transformation of female speech so that it complies with Japanese cultural norms because the feminine speech style

does not fit either into real Japanese women's language practice or into the style of the character in the original novel.

(2) *New ways of categorising translation.* In relation to (1), I present the new expressions inter- and intracultural translation, which together with inter- and intralingual translation, explain the conventions in Japanese translation. This is a new way of modelling Jakobson's classification to extend the understanding by employing Bhabha's notion (1994) of cultural translation. Therefore, the classification could thus be expanded into five categories: intralingual translation, interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation, intracultural translation, and intercultural translation. In my thesis, I emphasised the importance of intracultural translation since this is the most striking characteristic of Japanese translation.

(3) *A demonstration of the fact that the use of women's language in translation has changed from an example of foreignisation into a type of domestication as women's language garnered the stable status of a linguistic norm in society.* In Chapter 2, Section 2.2, Venuti's (2008) concept of foreignisation and domestication is applied to explain the firmness of the over-feminising convention. Women's language first appeared in a Japanese translation of a Russian novel and the foreignness led *genbun-itchi* writers to use the feminine language in their novels. As a result, women's language prevailed in Japanese literature and affected Japanese women's real discourse. Women's language was authorised and accepted as a linguistic norm, and since then, using women's language in literature has become an act

of domestication. Intracultural translation is, as indicated above, a transformation of female speech into the target cultural norms. This transformation can be explained as a type of domestication.

(4) *An explanation of the history of literature from an over-feminising perspective.* The over-feminising convention, or in other words, the use of fabricated language, started in the late 19th century and is still seen in literature as some scholars point out (Inoue 2003, 2004; Ueno 2003; Levy 2006; Nakamura 2007a, 2007b). However, their research is either on the *genbun-itchi* movement or on contemporary practices in literature and there has been no research that emphasises the long-standing nature of the convention.

The link between past history and contemporary translation practice was examined in Chapter 2, while Chapter 3 investigated how gendered linguistic norms were installed in literature and how the convention has developed. Thus investigation of the history of the over-feminising convention reveals that women's language was installed in literature through the *genbun-itchi* literary movement (Section 3.2) which marked the start of the over-feminising convention which has pervaded Japanese literature since, as well as the start of a new function of literature, as a vehicle of language ideology. Polysystem theory sheds some light on the importance of translation in this context. Thus, when a new literary model is being established in society, translation tends to have greater power and this is why translation played a particularly important role in the

literary system of Japan, which was in the throes of a transition to modernisation in the late 19th century.

(5) *Statistical analysis to support the fact that female characters tend to be over-feminised in Japanese literature.* It is suggested that not only Japanese literature but also other media such as TV programmes, magazines or cartoons tend to over-feminise female characters' speech, and there is some research demonstrating how perceptions of women in society influence the representation of women in literature (Inoue 2003, 2004; Mizumoto 2005; Chinami 2007; Nakamura 2007a, 2007b). However, these scholars have not conducted any empirical analyses of these matters. Thus, through a quantitative analysis of the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* and the Japanese novel *Kicchin*, Chapter 2, Section 2.1 provides statistical evidence of the over-feminising tendency.

In these statistical analyses, the female protagonist's language in the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary* is compared with Japanese women's contemporary language practice, and then compared with that of her two female friends, Sharon and Jude. Through these comparisons, two important aspects of the translation can be identified. Firstly, Bridget's speech is over-feminised and the gap between her language use and real Japanese women's discourse is remarkable, even though Bridget is depicted as a foul-mouthed character. This is an inconsistency in the style. Secondly, although the three female characters Bridget, Sharon and Jude are described with a different femininity level in the source

text, their language use is surprisingly close throughout the Japanese translation.

Moreover, the analysis of the female protagonist Mikage in the Japanese novel *Kicchin* shows that the language use here is also similar to that in the Japanese translation of *Bridget Jones's Diary*. When *Kicchin* was published in 1988, it was suggested that there did not seem to be any gender differences in conversations between the two main characters. However, this analysis clearly demonstrates that Mikage's language use is considerably gendered.

(6) *A proposal to de-feminise as opposed to over-feminising translation.* Feminist translation tends to propose a feminising translation strategy to give women their own voice and make them visible. Through my project, however, I have become aware that when western feminist theory is used in the Japanese context, we should adjust the idea to the recipient culture to a certain extent. In Chapter 4, Section 4.3, therefore, my thesis presents a de-feminising translation as opposed to a western feminist translation strategy.

(7) *An attempt to strike the best balance between an academic approach and commercial acceptance.* Although my approach to this experiment is influenced by feminist theory, a radical translation is not being presented in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, radical feminist translation is likely to gain only a small audience because of its intellectual innovations, and Japanese society is not yet ready to accept such experimental translations as compared with European

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or North American countries. For example, as pointed out in Section 4.1, important feminist books such as Simone de Beauvoir's epoch-making *Le Deuxième Sex*e [*The Second Se*x] (1949), Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (1975), or Dale Spender's *Man Made Language* (1980) have long been out of print in Japanese, a good illustration of their unpopularity. To avoid the danger that my re-translation will not be accepted by the intended audience, I have sought to develop a strategy to achieve a wide readership with adequate academic quality.

(8) *A systematic explanation of translation problems caused by the over-feminising convention.* Although a number of studies address the over-feminising convention (esp. see Inoue 2003, 2004; Nakamura 2007b), there has been no systematic exploration of this matter. I explain the problems in the case of the Japanese translation of *The Edible Woman* by drawing on reader-response theory and relevance theory in Chapters 1 and 4.

While Marian in *The Edible Woman* is a contemporary working woman, described as independent and with feminist ideas, she sometimes speaks with the kind of impeccably feminine language used between the late 19th century and the middle of the 20th century in Japan. Indeed, she seems to be willing to use the ideally feminine language in the Japanese translation. This dissonance in the speaking style of Marian in the original and of her counterpart in the Japanese translation is, from a relevance theory perspective, problematic because not only the content of her utterances but also

the way she express herself is crucially important. Section 4.6 further examines the mismatch of the speaking style, and ascertains that Marian's speech style is strangely synchronised with Mrs Dalloway, the eponymous main character of Virginia Woolf's novel about an early 20th century upper-class English woman.

From a reader-response theory perspective, concretising the meaning of the text depends on the readers' experience or background. Japanese readers thus had a totally different impression of *The Edible Woman* from the western readers (Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2 and Chapter 4, Section 4.5). The western readers saw this novel as a social-historical snapshot of 1960s Canada, whereas Japanese readers consumed it as chick lit. This problem is caused by the mismatching style for Marian's speech, but it can also be said that the acceptance (or lack of) of feminism largely influenced the differing receptions of this novel. Through the investigation here, I conclude that style is crucial to reconstructing the intended meaning of the original text. This establishes clearly a new link between translation studies and Japanese language and cultural studies.

(9) *A re-translation of some passages of The Edible Woman to demonstrate de-feminising translation.* Chapter 5 attempts to integrate feminist theory, reader-response theory, relevance theory and polysystem theory into translation practice to provide new theoretical and practical guidelines to Japanese publishers and translators.

I present some examples of the de-feminising translation in Section 5.2.1. Marian uses strongly feminine sentence-final particles with polite forms in Ōura's translation and this is the most striking feature of her excessively feminine speech style. Thus, I remove these strongly feminine sentence-final particles and neutralise her utterances. In Section 5.2.2, the strategy is developed further. The degree of neutralisation is used to re-create the character shift from Part 1 to Part 3 of the novel. Section 5.3, meanwhile, presents de-homogenising translation. As analysed in Chapter 2, the different female characters have strangely similar femininity levels in terms of their language use and as a result, the images of the characters tends to be homogenised. To solve this problem, Section 5.3.1 suggests using different degrees of the de-feminising strategy. A character with a strongly feminine personality, in this case Clara, can remain over-feminised. A woman described as a blunt character can be overtly de-feminised. This section focuses particularly on translations of swear words, based on Venuti's concept of foreignisation. Section 5.3.2 deals with Ainsley's act of 'doing gender'. Because her performance is planned and she deliberately and comically acts as a naïve and weak woman who needs to be protected by a man, an over-feminising translation is applied here intentionally. Translation studies in Japan tends to be considered practical training and has not been developed enough as an academic discipline. This proposed strategy challenges this convention and suggests what academic study can offer to the practical world of translation.

(10)    *A demonstration of the fact that male translators tend to over-feminise female speech more than female translators.* Through the analyses of the three Japanese translations of *Emma* and the three Japanese translations of *Pride and Prejudice* (Chapter 3, Section 3.4), evidence is collected to support Yamamoto's hypothesis (2000) that male translators are likely to use Japanese women's language too much when translating female characters' speech in novels. This means, in other words, that male translators are likely to be influenced by stereotypes of women's speech. In addition, it is important to mention that male translators are often professors of English literature at universities, ranging in age from between 53 and 69. As shown in the enquiry in Section 3.7, the older they are, the more they tend to approve of gender difference in language use.

(11)    *Evidence for the strength of linguistic norms in Japanese society.* The study in Section 3.5 shows that the translations of *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice* repeatedly use the feminine forms '*wa*' and '*kashira*', which are representative of strongly feminine forms, but rarely appear in Japanese women's real conversations. This result shows that translators' language choice relies considerably on stereotypical expressions. In addition, even the female translator of *Emma* is restricted by social expectations of how women should speak. This supports Ōshima's confession that even if the translator is female, she is not free from the gendered linguistic norms (Section 2.2).

(12)    *A discussion of the influence of stereotypes on translators'*
*language choice.* Chapter 3, Section 3.5 conducts a statistical analysis
of the translations of *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice* focusing on the
representative feminine forms '*wa*' and '*kashira*'. This provides data
to support the hypothesis that male translators are likely to be
influenced by stereotypes of women's speech.

## 6.3 Future Research Directions

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the *genbun-itchi* literary movement
played a crucial role in implanting women's language in literature. The
initial concern of this movement was to create a new written language for
political reasons, and modern Japanese novelists experimented with new
writing styles in their prose and new linguistic norms were established.
These newly established linguistic norms included a newly constructed
women's language, and consequently the belief that women and men
should speak differently became widespread (Ueno 2003: 24). In this
process, the linguistic norms of gendered language use in literature
became well established. As a result, Japanese literature functioned as a
vehicle for these newly constructed linguistic norms, thus helping to
promote gender ideology in Japanese society.

In terms of style, further research is still needed to investigate how
and why this differs at different periods, how it is affected by ideology,
and how, in a wider sense, literature affects ideology from an historical
point of view. Possible questions are: (1) how has literature worked as a
mediator for linguistic norms in Japan since the Meiji period?; and (2) how
has the new writing style reflected the authors' or translators' ideology, or
ideology in society?

The drastic change of style in literature during the Meiji period must have been influenced by the socio-cultural and political transformation which Japan experienced during this time because capitalist development in Japan required the classification of gender roles in society (Section 1.2.2). Therefore, evaluating style in Japanese literature, both original and translated, from the late 19th century to the present and relating it to the ideological context would be an interesting research area involving not only translation studies, but also linguistics, gender studies, and socio-cultural and political issues. To investigate these, a cognitive approach would be useful because cognitive stylistics, including relevance theory, provides clues about how the authors' choices reflect their views and possibly the ideology prevalent in society.

Another possibly area of research would be to expand the study of women's language into an investigation of how Japanese women are represented in cover designs of translations (Furukawa 2011). Cover designs are symbols of how source texts are packaged and received in the target literary system, and they have huge implications for how source texts are represented in target cultures. We can observe that a marginalised culture is transformed and appropriated by the dominant (Western) culture. Thus, in the case of the UK version of *Kicchin*, this Japanese novel is made to conform to the dominant cultural modes of the UK market place with a geisha picture which has no relation to the story at all. Western males in particular have long-held illusions about Japanese women's exotic sensuality and unrestrained sexual pleasure. They have been viewed as 'improper women' (Harker 1999: 29) ever since Commander Perry forced Japan to open trade with the West in 1853. The cover is therefore designed to fit into a western image of Japanese women.

Future research could thus investigate how translation uses visual stereotypes about Japanese women, and how such stereotypes relate to ideological issues.

Research on Japanese women's language and ideology, meanwhile, is a new area of study. Women's language was considered a language which was actually used by real Japanese women for a long time, and research in this area was assumed to be on real language practice (Nakamura 2007a: 1-2). Only recently have some scholars started suggesting women's language as a non-realistic language by labelling it a type of 'culturally salient category and knowledge' (Inoue 2006: 13) or 'language ideology' (Nakamura 2007a: 3). Women's language is a virtual language which people do not actually use, but understand and regard as theirs. It is therefore important to highlight the ideological interpretation of women's language.

In this thesis, the analyses of the convention of female speech into the feminine ideal demonstrate the fundamental aspect of Japanese translation: intracultural translation. By being indifferent to this conversion or by subconsciously accepting it, the readers immerse themselves into a highly gendered society. For example, when conducting my own research into translation and women's language at MA-level, I was unaware that women's language was a political construction based on a clear ideology. While conscious of the gap between the literary language and the real language, my awareness was only vague and I lacked critical perspective, rarely discussing this with colleagues in the publishing industry, or even with friends. This research project has revealed the huge discrepancy between the literary language, which is constructed by women's language, and real women's language. When we see the actual

percentages in the analyses above, it is rather surprising that Japanese readers are indifferent to, or possibly ignorant of, the dual aspect of their language. However, this is the real situation in this society which has successfully installed gender ideology in people's minds.

Ideologies are strongly related to power and language (Fairclough 2001: 2) and power and knowledge are united in discourse (Foucault 1998: 100). As demonstrated in this thesis, Japanese translation is a specimen of the three: language, ideology and power. The style of female character's speech in Japanese translation reflects covertly a gender ideology constructed by power, and which reproduces and reinforces it in society. Therefore, I hope that this thesis evokes more discussion on the ideological aspects of women's language, and offers a potentially fruitful new area of study which might be provide a theoretical and practical resource for translation studies in the future.

*Appendix 1*
Categories of Feminine Forms, Masculine Forms and Neutral Forms

**Feminine forms**

a.  The sentence-final particle *wa* for mild emphasis (SF). (*Wa* here has high sustained intonation.)
    *Iku wa.*     '(I) am going'.
    *Oishii wa.*    '(It) is delicious'.

b.  The particle wa followed by *ne, yo,* or *yo ne* (SF)
    *Iku  wa ne.*    '(I)'m going, you know'.
    *Iku wa yo.*    '(I)'m going, I tell you'.
    *Iku wa yo ne.*   '(You) are going, right?'

c.  The particle *wa* preceded by *da* or *datta* (SF)
    *Ashita da wa.*   '(It)'s tomorrow'.
    *Kinoo datta wa.*  '(It) was yesterday'.

d.  The particle *wa* preceded by *da* or *datta* and followed by *ne, yo,* or *yo ne* (SF)
    *Ashita da wa ne.*  '(It)'s tomorrow, isn't it?'
    *Ashita datta wa yo.* '(It)'s tomorrow, I tell you'.
    *Kinoo datta wa yo ne.* '(It) was yesterday, wasn't it?'

e.  The particle *yo* attached after a noun or *na*-adjective (SF). (*Yo* here has high sustained intonation.)
    *Ashita yo.*    '(It)'s tomorrow, I tell you'

f.  The particle *ne* after a noun or adjective
    *Ashita ne.*    '(It)'s tomorrow, isn't it?'

g.  The particle *no* after a noun or *na*-adjective in a statement (SF)
    *Kiree na no.*   'It is that (it)'s pretty'.
    *Ashita na no.*   'It is that (it)'s tomorrow'.

h.  The particle *no* after a plain form of a verb or *i*-adjective in a statement
    *Iku no.*     'It is that (I)'m going'.
    *Oishii no.*    'It is that (it)'s delicious'.

i.  The particle *no* followed by *ne, yo, yo ne* (SF)
    *Ashita na no ne.*  'It's that (it)'s tomorrow, isn't it?'
    *Ashita na no yo.*  'It's that (it)'s tomorrow, I tell you'.
    *Ashita na no yo ne.* 'It's that (it)'s tomorrow, right?'

j.  The particle *ne* after the *te*-form of verbs of requesting
    *Chotto matte ne.*   'Wait for a moment, would you?'

k. The auxiliary *desho*(*o*) for expressing probability or for seeking agreement or confirmation.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iku deshoo.* | '(He) will probably go. / (You) are going, aren't (you)?' |
| *Ashita desho.* | '(It) is probably tomorrow. /(It)'s tomorrow, right?' |

l. The form *kashira* 'I wonder' (SF)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kuru kashira.* | 'I wonder if (he) is coming'. |

## Masculine forms

a. The particles *zo* and *ze* (SM)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iku ze.* | '(I)'m going, I tell you'. |
| *Iku zo.* | 'Look, (I)'m going'. |

b. The particle *yo* attached after the plain form of a verb or *i*-adjective

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iku yo.* | '(I)'m going, I tell you'. |

c. The auxiliary *da* ending for nouns and *na*-adjectives

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ashita da.* | '(It)'s tomorrow'. |
| *Kiree da.* | '(It)'s pretty'. |

d. The auxiliary *da* followed by *yo*, *ne*, or *yo ne*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ashita da ne.* | '(It)'s tomorrow, isn't it?' |
| *Ashita da yo.* | '(It)'s tomorrow, I tell you'. |
| *Ashita da yo ne.* | '(It)'s tomorrow, right?' |

e. The aixiliary *n da*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kiree na n da.* | 'It is that (it)'s pretty'. |
| *Ashita na n da.* | 'It is that (it)'s tomorrow'. |
| *Iku n da.* | 'It is that (I)'m going'. |

f. The auxiliary *n da* followed by *ne*, *yo*, or *yo ne*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ashita na n da ne.* | 'It is that (it)'s tomorrow, isn't it?' |
| *Ashita na n da yo.* | 'It is that (it)'s tomorrow, I tell you'. |
| *Ashita na n da yo ne.* | 'It is that (it)'s tomorrow, right? / I tell you'. |

g. The plain imperative form of a verb by itself or followed by *yo* (SM)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ike.* | 'Go'. |
| *Ike yo.* | 'Go, I'm telling you'. |

h. The particle *na* or *na yo* for a negative command (SM)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iku na.* | 'Don't go'. |
| *Iku na yo.* | 'Don't go, I'm telling you'. |

i. The auxiliary *daro*(*o*) for expressing probability or for seeking agreement or confirmation

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iku daroo.* | '(He) will probably go./ (You) are going, aren't (you)?' |
| *Ashita daro.* | '(It) is probably tomorrow./ (It)'s tomorrow, right? |

j.  The particle *na* for eliciting agreement (SM)
    *Atsui na.*              'It's hot, isn't it?'

k.  The phonological form *ee* instead of *ai* and *oi* (SM)
    *Shiranee.* (*Shiranai.*)      '(I) don't know'.
    *Sugee.* (*Sugoi.*)            '(It)'s awesome'.

l.  The form *ka yo* for expressing defiance or criticism (SM)
    *Shiranai no ka yo.*      'Don't (you) know (that)?'

m.  The form *–oo ka* for an invitation or offer
    *Ikoo ka.*              'Shall (we/I) go?'


## Neutral forms

a.  The plain form of verbs and *i*-adjectives
    *Iku.*                  '(I)'m going'.
    *Itta.*                 '(I) went'.
    *Oishii.*               '(It)'s delicious'.
    *Oishikatta.*           '(It) was delicous'.

b.  The base of *na*-adjectives or nouns alone. (This is regarded as a feminine
    form by Mizutani & Mizutani 1987.)
    *Kiree.*                '(It)'s pretty'.
    *Ashita.*               '(It)'s tomorrow'.

c.  The particle *yo* followed by *ne* for seeking agreement
    *Iku yo ne.*            '(You) are going, right?'
    *Oishii yo ne.*         '(It)'s delicious, right?'

d.  The particle *ne* after the plain form of verb or *i*-adjective. (This is
    regarded as
    masculine form by Mizutani & Mizutani 1987.)
    *Iku ne.*               '(You) are going, aren't (you)?'
    *Oishii ne.*            '(It)'s delicious, isn't (it)?'

e.  The particle *mon* for mild explanatory assertion
    *Iku mon.*              'It is that (I)'m going'.
    *Oisshii mon.*          'It is that (it)'s delicious'.

f.  The particle *wa* for mild assertion (with a falling intonation)
    *Oishii wa.*            '(It)'s delicious'.

g.  The *te*-form of verbs for request
    *Chotto matte.*         'Wait for a moment'.

h.  The negative auxiliary *ja nai* for mild assertion or seeking agreement
    *Ashita ja nai.*        '(It)'s tomorrow, isn't it?'
    *Oishii ja nai.*        '(It)'s delicious, don't you think?'

i.  The form *jan* for mild assertion or seeking agreement
    *Ashita jan.*           '(It)'s tomorrow, isn't it?'
    *Oishii jan.*           '(It)'s delicious, don't you think?'

j.   The form *ka na* 'I wander'. (This is regarded as a masculine form by
     Mizutani &
     Mizutani 1987.)
     *Iku ka na*.                    '(I) wonder if (he) is going'.
k.   The quotative marker *datte* and *tte* as a final form
     *Oishii n datte*.              '(It)'s delicious, I hear'.

Source of the data: Okamoto, Shigeko and Sie Sato (1992), 'Less Feminine Speech among Young
         Japanese Females', in eds. Kira Hall, Mary Bucholtz and Birch Moonwomon,
         *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference,*
         *April 4 and 5, 1992, Vol.1*, Berkeley and Calif: Berkeley Women and Language
         Group: 478-488.

*Appendix 2*
## Questionnaires on Differences between Men's and Women's Language in Japanese

### [1] Questionnaire in 1955
(2455 people of both sexes, by post)

-Men's language and women's language should differ more: 11%
-Accept the state of difference: 56%
-They should not be different: 31%

### [2] Questionnaire in 1986
(363 working women in the Metropolitan area)

-Women's language should be preserved: 46%
-Women's language should not be preserved: 37%

### [3] Questionnaire in 1995
(a public-opinion poll, 3000 people of both sexes who are upper 16 years old)

(a) It is better that men's and women's language are not different: 9.8%
(b) It is unavoidable that men's and women's language have become less different: 41.2%
(c) It is better that men's and women's language are different: 44.1%

### [4] Classification by age and gender in 1995 Questionnaire

| Percentage answering (a) & (b): | Percentage answering (c): |
|---|---|
| 1. Men (10-19yrs.): 73.5% | 1. Men (60-69 yrs.): 52.1% |
| 2. Women (10-19 yrs.): 73.0% | 2. Men (50-59 yrs.): 51.3% |
| 3. Women (20-29 yrs.): 67.2% | 3. Women (60-69 yrs.): 48.7% |
| 4. Men (20-29 yrs.): 65.1% | 4. Women (50-59 yrs.): 46.0% |

Source of the data: Endo, Orie (1997), *Onna no Kotoba no Bunkashi [The Cultural History of Women's Language]*, Tokyo: Gakuyo Shobo: 173-177.

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