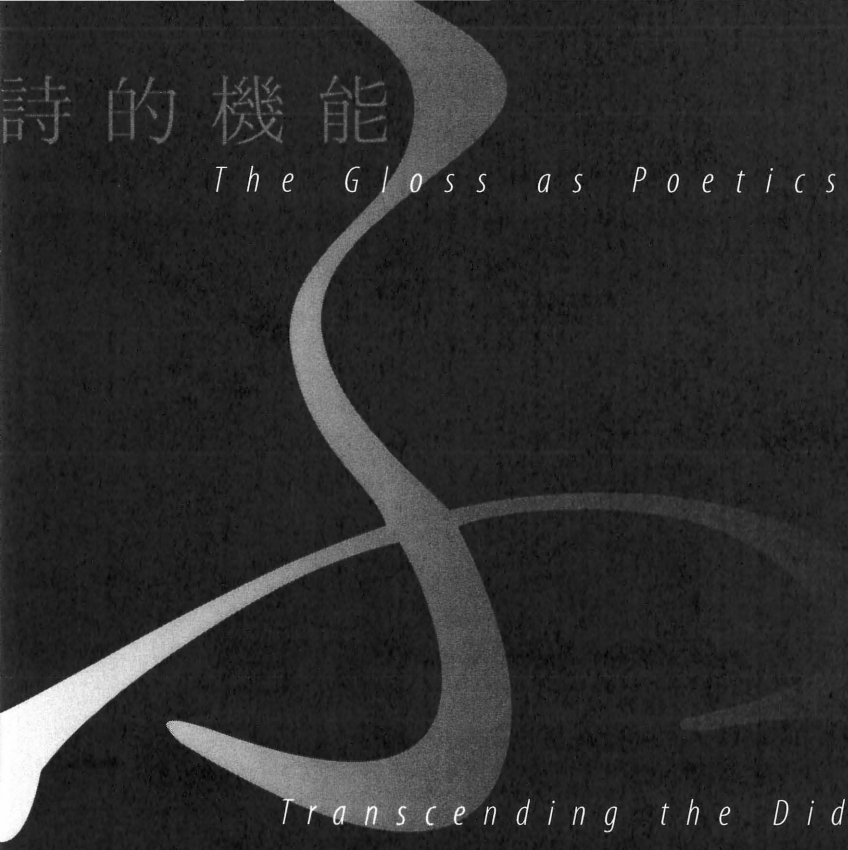
詩的機能

The Gloss as Poetics



Transcending the Didactic

りがな

Kyoko Takashi Wilkerson

received her PhD in linguistics from Georgetown University. She has taught Japanese sociolinguistics at Middlebury College and courses on "Language and Gender" and "English in the World Context" at Wake Forest University. She currently teaches applied linguistics and sociolinguistics at the Graduate School, Nagoya University of Foreign Studies in Japan. She has pub-lished a number of articles on lexical-borrowing, Japanese discourse modality and language and gender. She is currently researching the ways in which changing social values are reflected in contemporary linguistic behavior of Japanese men and women.

Douglas Wilkerson

received his PhD in East Asian Languages and Literatures from Yale University. He has taught Asian Studies, Chinese and Chinese Literature at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, Japanese Drama at Dartmouth College and Classical Japanese Literature at Nanzan University. He has published articles on Chinese and Japanese drama and cinema, and is currently studying ritual enactments in contemporary Japanese society.

3-2003-305 Kamiyashiro
Meito-ku, Nagoya 465-0025
Japan
Visible Language 34.3
Wilkerson, 228-263
dktwil@nufs.nakanishi.ac.jp

The Gloss as Poetics

Transcending the Didactic

Kyoko Takashi Wilkerson and Douglas Wilkerson

This article examines recent creative uses of the interlinear gloss, or furigana, in Japanese writing. Traditionally used simply to supply pronunciations for Chinese characters, the examples collected and analyzed here make use of several different non-standard script combinations, and provide poetic tropes or subtle alterations of the glossed text. The unique simultaneity of the relationship between gloss and glossed word, the manipulation of symbolic associations of the various notational systems employed in Japanese and creation of distinctive visual patterns lend support to arguments for the autonomy of the written word.

Introduction

The Japanese script reform of half a century ago aimed to encourage a more rational and efficient use of traditional notational systems, one that would dispense with both the need for and consequently the use of interlinear pronunciation glosses (*furigana*) for unusual characters or difficult combinations. However, the last twenty years has seen a resurgence in the use of such glosses (broadly defined), not so much for didactic purposes as for their poetic potential. The unique, interlinear position of *furigana* and other glosses creates many possibilities for artistic graphic patterning, a kind of "visual poetry," which manipulates Japan's rich notational resources, as well as the stylistic and symbolic dimensions of the various systems. These new visual figurations are dependent on traditional scanning and processing procedures, yet make use of them in innovative ways, playing with the authoritative dimension of the "word-gloss" relationship. This paper examines the historical ground against which these practices figure, the linguistic devices they employ and attitudes toward language and script resources which they evidence. The mere persistence of three distinct but (essentially) phonetically equivalent notational systems in Japan should give pause to those inclined to hold that writing does not operate independently of speech; the creative exploitation of the current and historical linguistic and social functions unevenly divided among Japan's various notational systems should be convincing evidence of the autonomy of the written word.[2] At the very least this paper proposes a preliminary classification for a collection of creative interlinear glosses.

A Brief History of Interlinear Glosses in Japan

The history of interlinear glosses is interwoven with the development of the Japanese writing system, and with historical changes in writing style. Following the introduction of books from China (between the late third century and early fifth century A.D., according to eighth-century Japanese records), Japanese writing began to develop along several complimentary paths. Several Japanese studied Chinese, and learned to read and write in the Chinese style. A relatively pure style of Chinese was the language of official documents throughout the Nara (710-794) and Heian (794-1185) periods. But those with the resources, freedom and inclination to learn Chinese were relatively few, and even in this period less formal documents were often written in a modified form of Chinese. In adapting Chinese writing to native uses, the Japanese were faced with two problems: the task of making sense of Chinese texts and that of recording Japanese elements in the Chinese script. Let us deal first with the latter task.

In Japan Chinese characters, referred to as *kanji*, came to be read using two types of pronunciation, one borrowed from the Chinese pronunciation (the *on*, or "sound"), the other a Japanese word of equivalent meaning (the *kun*, or "explication").[3] Thus Japanese words could be written with Chinese characters of corresponding meaning, or transcribed phonetically, using either the *kun* or *on* reading with little or no regard for the meaning; characters used in this way are referred to as *kana*. Some texts, like the *Nihon shoki* of 720, imitated the syntax and conventions of written Chinese, using phonetic transcriptions primarily for proper names; other texts, such as the *Kojiki* of 712, used a syntax closer to that of Japanese. In order to maintain its integrity, Japanese poetry was written with Japanese syntax and inflections; the great poetry anthology collected in or after 759, the *Man'yôshû,* primarily used Chinese characters for phonetic transcriptions or in their *kun* readings; the Chinese characters used for phonetic transcriptions in this way came to be known as *man'yôgana ("the kana of the Man'yôshû").*

Man'yôgana were written in the same size and style as characters used for their semantic value. The Chinese also used characters in this way (especially to transcribe Sanskrit words), but their use was somewhat limited, and other conventions helped to make it clear which characters were meant to be

read as transcriptions. The situation in Japan was rather more complex, and there soon developed a practice of writing *kanji* in two sizes, the larger characters used for their semantic value (usually with Japanese pronunciation), the smaller characters to write inflections, particles, etc. in *man'yôgana*. This style, called *senmyôgaki*, was used to write imperial rescripts (*senmyô*) and Shinto prayers, both of which were to be recited without alteration. Examples can be found in the *Shoku Nihongi* of 797.[4]

The degree of detail needed to distinguish several tens of thousands of Chinese characters from one another was not necessary for the transcription of the limited Japanese syllabic repertoire. Moreover, a relatively small number of *kanji* tended to be used repeatedly for the same sounds in Japanese. Chinese characters were read with a single syllable in Chinese, though this often became two when accommodated to Japanese phonetic habits. Those *kanji* frequently used for phonetic transcriptions gradually came to be associated with just one syllable in Japanese, their written forms were somewhat simplified, some redundant symbols fell out of use, and there developed two separate sets of syllabic symbols, *kana*, phonetically equivalent, but graphically distinct: *hiragana*, written in a rounded, fluid style, and *katakana*, written in a more angular, detached style.

Not much is known about the early development of the *hiragana* syllabary. It seems to have developed from cursive forms of the characters used in *man'yôgana*. Aesthetic factors played a great part in the development of this style, which was apparently used by the early tenth century to write many of the great literary works of the Heian period, including the influential poetry collection *Kokinshû* (905). In the middle of the Heian period *hiragana* also began to replace the *man'yôgana* of *senmyôgaki* as well, a factor which encouraged the development of *kana-majiribun*, texts composed in a combination of *kanji* and *kana*.[5]

On the other hand, texts written in Chinese could be puzzled out in several ways. One could read them in the

syntactic order of the original, merely accommodating the pronunciation to the Japanese phonetic repertoire. Many Buddhist scriptures are still read in this way, and by all accounts they were equally as unintelligible to most Japanese then as they are now. A more easily comprehensible method was to adapt the word order to that of Japanese syntax, adding inflections and post-position particles as necessary, and substituting in several places a native Japanese word of equivalent meaning. As aids in this practice, marks of various kinds might be added to the text, usually between the lines, but occasionally in the margins or even on the reverse side of the page. These "reading marks" (*kunten*) are generally of three types: punctuation and indications of places where word order needed to be changed; characters used only for their sound to indicate the pronunciation of difficult characters; and simple marks to represent particles and inflectional endings (the interpretation of these marks usually being determined by their spatial relationship to the character in question: upper-left corner, bottom-right corner, etc.). A text to which such marks were added in 828 is still extant.[6] Space, and perhaps time, limitations encouraged the use of abbreviated forms of characters used for these *kunten*; these abbreviated forms in turn became the major impetus for the development of *katakana*, the angular form of *kana*. These interlinear characters, and their simplified forms (*katakana*), may be considered the earliest forms of *furigana*.

While the Heian period saw the (relative) simplification and codification of the *kana* syllabaries, subsequent developments through the nineteenth century tended to be in the direction of greater and more complicated use of *kanji* even in non-Chinese styles, and the growing necessity for pronunciation glosses. The *kana-majiribun* script mentioned above was used in medieval war tales, such as the *Heiji monogatari* of the late twelfth century. Such tales, written basically in Japanese syntax, employed a highly ornamented style which borrowed heavily on Chinese vocabulary (especially for the terminology of warfare and Buddhist terms) and Chinese rhetoric (parallelism, allusions). This combination of classical Japanese with Chinese, and an admixture of various elements from the vernacular of the time, came to be known as *wakan konkôbun* ("intermixed Sino-Japanese

style"), held by many scholars to be "the foundation of the present Japanese written style."[7] During the Kamakura period (1185-1333) the purer Chinese style of the Heian period was replaced in official documents by variant forms heavily influenced by Japanese. As more such documents came to be written by warriors lacking the learning or inclination to compose in Chinese, the use of wild and fanciful *ateji* increased dramatically.[8] *Kanji* used to transcribe Japanese words with little regard for the ordinary meaning of the individual characters are often referred to by the term "(provisionally) applied characters" (*ateji*).[9] A fairly common example is 目出度い medetai 'auspicious' from 目 me 'eye' + 出 de 'go out' + 度 ta 'occasion, degree' (perhaps employed on the basis of the *on* reading /taku/) + い -i (inflectional ending of adjectival). Another class of words often referred to as *ateji* uses phrases of two or more characters from Chinese to render the meaning of a native Japanese word without regard to the individual readings of those characters in other contexts: the Japanese adjectival urusai 五月蠅い 'noisy, troublesome' from 五 'five' + 月 'month' + 蠅 'fly' + い -i (inflectional ending of adjectival) is an example of this type, also referred to as *jukujikun* ("*kun* reading of phrases," as opposed to individual characters), making use of the *kanji* phrase "(like) flies in May" to write a Japanese word of similar meaning.

The use of *furigana* increased dramatically from the late sixteenth century as a result of several factors. Most prominent among these factors are increases in basic literacy (*hiragana, katakana* and some *kanji*), the development of commercial printing (following the introduction of the printing press in the 1590s), and new styles of writing, especially fiction, which again borrowed heavily from Chinese works, and employed large numbers of Chinese characters and compounds. Several popular writers of this period are noted for their difficult orthography; Ihara Saikaku (1642-93) and Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848) both indulged in the use of imaginative *ateji* and unusual characters. By the early seventeenth century

works were being published in which *furigana* were printed alongside virtually all of the *kanji* (usually with the exception of numerals), to make them accessible to a wide readership. Many popular newspapers and magazines, not to mention works directed at juvenile readers, were printed in this manner well into the 1940s.

Interlinear glosses were put to a rather interesting use during this period by several scholars and writers associated with *kokugaku*, "native (Japanese) studies." These writers sought to recover the pure spirit of Japan, untainted by foreign influences, such as Buddhism and Confucianism. This movement can be seen in part as a reaction against the active promotion of Neo-Confucian and "Chinese learning" by the Tokugawa shogunate which began early in the seventeenth century (another factor which expanded the use of *kanji* and the need for *furigana*, during this period). Many of the scholars associated with "native studies" wrote commentaries on such early and long-neglected classics as the *Man'yôshû* and *Kokinshû*. Rejecting the use of Chinese vocabulary as a corruption of the Japanese spirit, they also promoted writing in a style modeled on that of the Heian period, with the addition of archaic terms from even earlier. Interestingly they did not reject the use of Chinese characters (and certainly not of the *kana* derived from them); this "Heian-revival" style often contained *kanji* with *furigana* giving a native Japanese equivalent, the *kanji* serving to convey the meaning of the ambiguous or now obscure Japanese term. The great scholar and philologist Motoori Norinaga (1730-1843) occasionally reversed this relationship, using *kanji* as interlinear glosses for native Japanese terms written in *hiragana*.[10]

Further steps towards the current style of written Japanese were taken during the Meiji period (1868-1911). Economic and social changes which came in the wake of the 1867 Meiji Restoration encouraged some writers to experiment with written styles somewhat closer to the spoken language of the day. *Kanji* continued to be used extensively, often glossed with words of native origin. The

following two examples show colloquial equivalents of Sino-Japanese compounds given in *furigana* from Futabatei's *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds) written between 1887 and 1889. Throughout this paper, Chinese characters or *kanji* are transcribed in capital letters, *hiragana* in lower case, and *katakana* in italics; *rômaji* (romanized Japanese) and English are transcribed in bold face (translations in English are provided for both the main text and *furigana*).

(1)	面相（かほつき）	kaotsuki **MENSÔ**	'look, feature' **'countenance'**
(2)	衣服（なり）	nari **IFUKU**	'appearance' **'apparel, garments'**

The next example, from the same source, is interesting since the *on*-reading of the Sino-Japanese noun GYÔSHI meaning 'steady gaze' is followed by -meta which indicates the inflectional ending of the Japanese verbal mitsumeta 'stared,' instead of by the expected -shita 'did' which usually verbalizes a noun. In other words, the *okurigana* 'sending *kana*,' or symbols used to transcribe inflections, are to be understood as following the reading given in the superscript, rather than the reading of the original nominal expression in the main text. From this and many other similar examples, it is clear that the writer had the colloquial expression mitsumeta in mind but chose to supply the Chinese characters for stylistic purposes, instead of the other way around (having the Sino-Japanese compound GYÔSHI in mind and adding a pronunciation gloss for the benefit of readers):

(3)	凝視（みつ）めた	mitsu- **GYÔSHI+meta**	v. 'stare' **n. 'steady gaze' + '-d'**

In this period, the Japanese had to coin many terms to refer to new objects and concepts, a large portion of them introduced from the West. The following neologisms consist of morphemes of Chinese origin, their usage being based on that of the Chinese classics or Chinese translations of the Buddhist sutras:

電気 DENKI ('lightning' + 'vital force' --> 'electricity')
国会 KOKKAI ('nation' + 'meeting' --> 'national assembly,''Diet'), and 立法 RIPPÔ ('enactment' + 'law' --> 'legislation').[11]

However, English loanwords began to replace older nouns borrowed from Chinese as well as those which consist of Chinese characters in loan-translations. Some even went so far as to claim that Chinese was an inappropriate medium through which to translate English, since Chinese characters fail to "convey the spirit and meanings of the materials."[12] Furthermore, an underlying sense of inferiority pervaded the collective Japanese psyche, and as a result, all things Western, especially English, became symbols of status.

Seeley reports that many uses of Sino-Japanese compounds were accompanied by *katakana* glosses representing a Western loanword of equivalent meaning.[13] Examples include SHINRI 'truth' glossed with *torûsu,* and SHOKUBUN 'obligation' with *oburigêshon.*

(4)	トルース 真理	*torûsu* SHINRI	'truth' **'truth'**
(5)	オブリゲーション 職分	*oburigêshon* SHOKUBUN	'obligation' **'obligation'**

Both *hiragana* and *katakana* were used for glosses, as well as for writing loanwords. (It was after the Second World War that *katakana* notation was reserved for loanwords and a few other categories.) The following example from Kunikida Doppo's *Shônen no hiai* (1903) consists of a *kanji*-compound glossed with a loanword written, not in *katakana,* as was common for recent, especially non-Chinese, loanwords, but in *hiragana.*

(6)	きせる 煙管	kiseru ENKAN	'(a tobacco) pipe' (from Cambodian khsier) **'a smoke pipe'**

In addition to Western loanwords transcribed in *hiragana* and *katakana*, some were written in *kanji* for their sound value only (e.g.,'coffee'), or for their sound value as well as semantic associations (e.g.,'logic' and 'club,' classic *ateji,* the latter, having been exported to China, still enjoys considerable currency).[14]

(7) 珈琲 /KÔHÎ/ 'coffee'

(8) 論事矩 ROJIKU 'logic' =
論 /RO(N)/ 'debate' + 事 /JI/ 'matter, affair' + 矩 /KU/ 'rule'

(9) 倶楽部 KURABU 'club'=
倶 /KU/ 'together with' + 楽 /RA(KU)/ 'enjoy' + 部 /BU/ 'group'

We have seen that interlinear glosses are used for various purposes: 1) to aid with the pronunciation of Chinese characters; 2) to provide more colloquial (native Japanese) equivalents of learned Sino-Japanese words and compounds; and 3) to indicate specific, often unfamiliar, non-Chinese loanwords (usually from European languages) as a gloss to Japanese (including Sino-Japanese) words. The first type was used as early as the Heian period, the second became quite common during the Edo period, while the third began to be used in the Meiji period.

> Newspapers, popular books and magazines were littered with *ateji* and glossed Chinese characters until the end of the Second World War. For instance, in 1922 the *Tokyo Nichinichi Newspaper* felt the need to gloss well over half (8,011) of the 14,531 Chinese characters used in printing.[15] The post-war orthographic reforms included: the suppression of *ateji* and the idiosyncratic use of interlinear glosses to the extent that they were identifiable,[16] and the issuing of a list of 1,850 Chinese characters to be used for general purpose (*tôyô kanji*), a list which was later revised to contain 1,945 characters for daily use (*jôyô kanji*). The list of *jôyô kanji* was issued in 1981. Most Japanese newspapers and magazines targeted for the "general readership" adhere fairly closely to this list for their typography. Thus, if a draft contains a word not listed in this chart, the publisher usually prints it in *hiragana*, replaces it with a synonym or uses Chinese characters with a pronunciation gloss.[17]

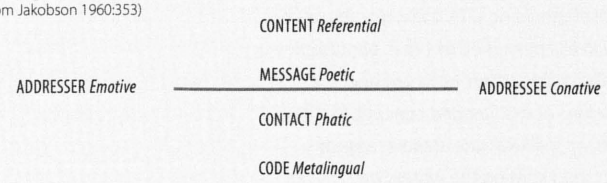
Unger states that, unlike the days when *furigana* were extensively used, the newspapers no longer allocate interlinear margins for *furigana* and instead the clarification or pronunciation gloss is given in parentheses following the unfamiliar characters.[18] In 1967 Miller stated that *furigana* are hardly ever seen today except in technical and scholarly writings, the publishers of such works not limiting themselves to the use of only the *tôyô kanji*.[19] However, a casual glance over a variety of popular contemporary publications reveals that not only does the practice of providing interlinear glosses seem to have survived in a variety of other types of publications, it seems to have flourished with new and innovative extensions of the *furigana* concept. In the following section, we will examine creative uses of glossed words to shed light on the writers' underlying linguistic attitudes that transcend the didactic intent of the post-war orthographic reforms. The following discussion is based on the assumption that standard contemporary Japanese orthography (for the majority of printed and handwritten materials) consists of an intermixture of *kanji*, *katakana* (used for onomatopoeia, the writing of telegrams, the graphic equivalent of italics and most words of foreign origin with the exception of all but the most recent imports from China), *hiragana* (for most words not in *kanji* or *katakana*), and a sprinkling of so-called Arabic numerals and Latin letters, all in approximately the same size (with the exception of certain common units of measure in *katakana*). *Furigana* are *kana* of smaller size placed interlinearly alongside (or above, if the text is printed horizontally) *kanji* to indicate the pronunciation.

Analysis and Discussion

Before discussing the poetic function predominant in the Japanese gloss, the term "poetic function" needs to be clarified, particularly in relation to other functions of language. Language may be said to fulfill a variety of functions including expressive, referential and

metalingual functions. A message can fulfill all of these functions simultaneously, although all of these functions cannot be foregrounded at the same time. In other words, each instance of word use may reveal a different "hierarchy" of these separate functions, rather than the consistent domination of one function; this variety results in a diversity of styles.[20] Take a glossed word

Figure 1
Functions of Language
(adapted from Jakobson 1960:353)



such as ENKAN/kiseru (see [6] above) for example. It has a REFERENTIAL meaning, indicating the association between the linguistic sign, the Sino-Japanese compound 煙管, and what is signified, a tobacco pipe. *Furigana* often fulfill a METALINGUAL function, allowing the writer to confirm that the reader is using the same language or dialect (reading these symbols as / kiseru/ and not as /enkan/), and understands the expressions in the way intended by the writer (i.e., a pipe used for inhaling tobacco smoke, and not, say, an exhaust flue for a stove). A written word can be said to have a channel-oriented PHATIC function,[21] contributing to the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact: the use of the familiar and colloquial /oshaberi/ for the more academic /kaiwa/ (in [10] below) imparts a feeling of intimacy and collusion. As we will see later, an innovative gloss may fulfill an addressee-oriented CONATIVE function invoked in the reader, just as the use of the vocative form does. Different scripts may be employed to indirectly reveal a writers' attitudes and feelings, and conceptions of desired identity, thus performing an EMOTIVE function, as in the use of /shinguru/ 'single' to gloss /hitorimono/ 'unmarried,' thereby expressing the copywriter's view of the adult unmarried state (see [25] below).

Finally, language is said to have a POETIC function when the writer places an emphasis on language "for its own sake" rather than for that of communication per se.[22] Mukarovsky explains the functional difference between poetic language and standard language: "The function of poetic language consists

in the maximum of foregrounding of the utterance" to the extent of "pushing communication into the background as the objective of expression and of being used for its own sake."[23] In other words, it is the art of communication rather than the act of communication that interests the writer.

Different types of discourse tend to make greater use of distinct functional possibilities of language. Technical descriptions tend to emphasize the referential potential, and scientific discourse makes claims to have all but eliminated the poetic and emotive functions. Back channel responses and tag questions function almost exclusively to maintain communication in a conversation, often having little or no referential meaning. Hortatory speeches are often quite expressive, and must make effective use of the metalingual power by carefully selecting the proper register and tone for a given audience, but by nature must emphasize the conative function of discourse as a whole. However, when all of these functions are subordinated to an intentional manipulation of the language to draw attention to itself, the poetic potential is foregrounded.

We will now show how this foregrounding is achieved in the innovative glosses in Japanese. Here we are interested primarily in idiosyncratic glosses, rather than the "standardized" readings provided by writer or publisher. By analyzing non-standard uses of interlinear glosses involving the selection and production of unique lexical phenomena, we will examine the heightened metalinguistic awareness of novelists, copywriters, journalists, technical translators and contributors of creative slang. Just as pronunciation glosses were not the only function of the earliest interlinear symbols, the provision of accepted readings for infrequently encountered *kanji* and *kanji* compounds is not the only use of *furigana*. In fact, in several types of

publications, *furigana* rarely perform this function. Figure 2 lists the most interesting alternative uses observed by the authors in contemporary Japanese. Graphic variations and their functions are discussed later.

Figure 2
Observed Poetic Uses of Innovative Glosses

1. As canonical poetic tropes

metonymy

word play

onomatopoeia (giseigo) and mimetic words (gitaigo)

visual rhyme

2. To foreground certain elements,

usually by providing native synonyms or the original/donor word(s)

a feeling of intimacy, through the use of more colloquial equivalents

local, technical or social flavor

positive aspects of referent (while backgrounding negative aspects)

arcane knowledge of foreign languages, Chinese characters

(to enhance one's identity, to gain social prestige or status)

The following examples may appear to be nothing more than texts glossed with more colloquial equivalents, a common practice in Meiji writing. However, the poetic use of these words becomes apparent when we consider the relationship between the poetic language and the standard. As Mukarovsky argues, poetic use of language is the "intentional [and systematic] violation of the norm of the standard."[24] It is against the background of the standard language that the poetic use of language occurs.

Accordingly, "the more the norm of the standard is stabilized in a given language, the more varied can be its violation, and therefore the more possibilities for poetry in that language."[25] The apparently arbitrary provision of

colloquial equivalents as glosses for Chinese characters was a common practice in the Meiji period; writers and editors were free to use various means to introduce new ideas and fresh nuances to old words. But this practice was suppressed after World War II. The reformed post-War script was, in contrast to pre-War practice, a marvel of efficiency, and most textbooks, newspapers, magazines and popular books quickly adopted the new, more rigid standards. Although the words provided with glosses in the texts below are not archaic, the writers have glossed them with even more familiar words, but words which would not be listed as a "correct" or "accepted" reading. The bleakness and inflexibility of post-War practice redefines the nature of "poetic language," and allows the gloss to impart even to these not unfamiliar terms an unfamiliar distance.[26] Most of the following examples come from magazines and popular novels read predominantly by younger women. That similar examples can be found in the works of writers (both male and female, such as Ariyoshi Sawako) of more "serious literature" is not surprising, since innovations of this sort were first introduced by "literati" and such writers make a profession of exploiting the poetic resources of the language.

(10)	会話（おしゃべり）	oshaberi	'a chat'	
		KAIWA	'conversation'	
(11)	高価（たか）い	taka-	'expense-'	
		KÔKA-i	'valuable' + '-ive'	

(As in example 3 above, the stem /taka-/ in the gloss takes the adjectival ending /-i/, which would not be appended to the nominal KÔKA.)

Words are sometimes, as in examples 10 and 11 above, glossed with native synonyms, including those from non-standard dialects, or words from the original/donor language to foreground a particular local, technical or social flavor. Ariyoshi Sawako's *Hishoku* (Not Because of Color, 1963-1964), which focused on racial tension in the United States, is rich in the use of interlinear glosses in order to foreground local flavor. This is done by glossing some of the words in dialogue with the "original" English expression. The story begins in Japan where Emiko meets Thomas Jackson, an American GI and her future husband. Emiko says that Jackson uses "big words" such as "peace" and "equality." Here, a literal translation of 'big word,' "Ôki na KOTOBA,' is used in the Japanese text, but it is glossed with the English expression *biggu wâdo* 'big word' (see example 12). When Ariyoshi has Jackson say that "it is the heart (rather than words)" that is important in communication, she uses the Japanese word for 'heart' (kokoro) glossed with the English word 'heart.'

(12)	大きな言葉（ビッグワード）	*biggu wâdo* Ôki na KOTOBA	'big word' 'large-sized words'
(13)	「心（ハート）です。」	*hâto* "KOKORO desu."	'heart' '(It) is heart.'

The story moves to New York, where Emiko and Jackson reside. The following use of interlinear glosses is intriguing in that it attempts to render English spoken with a Brooklyn accent in contrast to that of the standard (American) accent.[27]

(14)	Emiko: 「３３番地（サーティスリ）なのよ。」	*'sâ ti suri'* "sanjûsan BANCHI nanoyo."	'thirty three' 'It's No. 33'
	Passerby: "....."		
	Emiko: 「３３（スリスリ）よ。３がダブルス（ダブルスリ）２つ。」 *suri ,suri daburu suri* 'three, three, double three' "san, san, yo. san ga futatsu." 'three, three; two threes.'		
	Passerby: 「ああ３３（トオティトオ）か。」	*tôtitô* "aa, sanjûsan ka"	toety toe 'Oh, you mean 33.'

The following examples reveal the cognitive process of the Japanese readers in forming metonymic connections between the text and the gloss. Such connections are formed between two entities because readers "use one well-understood or easily perceived aspect of something to represent or stand for the thing as a whole."[28] Many metonymies are culturally conventionalized, such as using an "object for the user" *(We need a better glove at third base)*; "controller for controlled" *(Nixon bombed Hanoi)*; or "the place for the event" *(Watergate changed our politics)*.[29] The metonymic use of language expresses "stands-for" relationships between two things; for example, inventor-invented ("She was listening to Bach") as in example 15 below. Here, the name of a well-known composer is used to refer to his creation. In example 16, the institution (taxation office) is glossed with the word for the act of investigation *(marusa)*. Nowadays these two words are used interchangeably and people regard *marusa* as a nickname for the Japanese equivalent of the IRS.

(15)	バッハ 演奏	*bahha* ENSÔ	'Bach' **'performance'**
(16)	マルサ 税務署	*marusa* ZEIMUSHO	'act of investigation' **'taxation office'**

Closely related to the notion of metonymy is synecdoche, as both of these exploit relationships of (figurative or literal) contiguity. However, synecdoche is understood as the substitution of the part for the whole as in the following examples. These examples show a synecdochic use of interlinear glosses, with the part given in the gloss and the whole in the text. Here, the Japanese word for a natural spring with a large amount of magnesium sulfate is used, but it is glossed as simply magnesium sulfate in example 17. Likewise, in example 18, the word for a natural spring containing a large amount of sodium sulfate is used, but it is glossed as simply sodium sulfate.[30] One might also note that the

text is written in Chinese characters associated with traditional Chinese medical thinking and practices (one example has the easily decipherable implication 'bitter-tasting springs,' relating it to everyday sensory experience), while the glosses employ the more abstract terms of Western science, completely divorced from the experiences of ordinary life.

(17)	マグネシウム硫酸 正苦味泉	*maguneshiumu* RYŪSAN SEIKUMISEN	'magnesium sulfate' **'magnesium sulfate spring'**
(18)	ナトリウム硫酸 芒硝泉	*natoriumu* RYŪSAN BŌSHŌSEN	'sodium sulfate' **'sodium sulfate spring'**

The intriguing thing about these examples is that the average reader of *More*, the women's magazine in which these words appeared, has probably never set eyes on the Chinese names of these compounds, especially the first one. The readers can only speculate on the meaning of the word on the basis of the meaning of the components, just as in deciphering English compounds one might make use of Latin and Greek roots. Because etymology is often insufficient and/or sometimes even misleading, the writer probably wrote them in this way to imply the effectiveness of these minerals in recreating the atmosphere of a European-style spa, the unfamiliar chemical names being included to add an aura of scientifically authenticated efficacy. In other words, Japanese readers are conditioned to form synecdochic connection between the text and gloss when necessary. Below is another example which glosses one's entire (household) budget as 'wallet.'

(19)	サイフ 予算	*saifu* YOSAN	'purse' **'budget'**

The writer sometimes invites the readers to form a metonymic connection between two events or entities which seem to be in arbitrary or unconventional relationships. In the following example (20) the writer uses the container for the contained, mentioning the bowls of varying shapes and sizes to refer to a variety of appetizers.

(20)	オードブル 不規則な器	*ōdoburu* FUKISOKU na UTSUWA	'hors d'oeuvre' **'unmatched bowls'**

An extended use of metonymy can be seen in the following examples. The gloss is used to foreground certain aspects of the referent by using one part to represent the whole. The *kanji* 女 'woman' can be read as /onna/ alone and /jo/ or /nyo/ when combined with another character, as in 女性 JOSEI 'female,' and 女人 NYONIN 'woman.' In examples 21 and 22, 女性 'women' is given different readings, /hito/ 'person' and /onna/ 'women.' In both examples 21 and 23, two distinct *kanji* notations are given the same reading, /hito/ 'person,' in spite of the different Chinese characters used. An analysis of such variations reveals the influence of the writer's conscious choice. Nakamura examined the connotative differences in the four terms referring to women in Japanese, two of which are relevant here. Although the term ONNA denotatively means "the sex which possesses the [child-bearing] organ," unlike the male equivalent OTOKO 'man,' it implies the negative 'sex object.'[31] For this reason, JOSEI is used euphemistically in newspapers and magazines. As one can see from the context, there is no reason to emphasize female sexuality in examples 21 and 23. The woman depicted in example 21 is intelligent looking (and not necessarily sexy); example 23 describes the female audience who were moved by Tina Turner's live concert. In contrast, example 22 appeared in an advertisement for plastic surgery with a focus on a woman's physical beauty from a man's perspective.

(21) きれいに年を重ねてきた女性(ひと)の自信に満ちていました。

hito
kirei ni TOSHI o KASAnetekita JOSEI no JISHIN ni MIchiteimashita
'beautiful' '-ly' 'age' OM 'multiply' 'woman' POS 'confidence' 'with' 'fill'-PAST
'She was filled with the confidence of a woman who was aging beautifully.'
(--->'She was filled with the confidence of one who was aging beautifully.')

(22) あんな女性(おんな)に誘われたい

onna
anna JOSEI ni SASOware tai
'that kind of' 'woman' 'by' 'invite'-PASS 'want to'
'I'd like to be propositioned/asked out by that kind of woman.'
(--->'I'd like to be propositioned/asked out by a fox like that.')

(23) 生き生きとした躍動感にはげまされた女(ひと)も多かった。

hito
Ikiiki toshita YAKUDÔKAN ni HAGEmasareta ONNA mo Ôkatta
'vivacious' 'liveliness' 'by' 'encouraged' 'woman' 'too' 'numerous'-PAST)
'There were many women who were encouraged by the sense of vivacious liveliness.'
(--->'There were many who were encouraged by the sense of vivacious liveliness.')

The metonymic use of language is motivated by our conceptual ability to use one well-understood aspect of some domain to stand for the domain as a whole, or to use the mention of a whole domain to refer to one salient subpart. Examples of the former type effectively focus attention on a limited number of characteristics. Even good foreign translations of Japanese words usually have slightly different connotations from the original when borrowed into Japanese, thus their use as glosses can effectively foreground positive aspects and background negative aspects of the referent. Related to the three previous examples (21-23), the loan *guddo ûman* 'good woman' was used to gloss ii ONNA 'good/desirable woman' in the young women's magazine *More* [see (24) below]. This is attributable to the loan's neutral connotation.[32] While the expression 'a good man' in Japanese can be both a sexually attractive man, when said by a woman, or a socially competent or reliable man, when spoken by a member of either sex, ii ONNA 'good woman,' which is used only by men, connotes only a sexy woman. Thus the gloss forces a reevaluation of the term ii ONNA, returning to it the social and moral approbation it had before this was suppressed by sexist usage.[33]

(24)	グッドウーマン いい女	*guddo ûman* ii ONNA	'good woman' 'good woman'

As mentioned before, loanwords can be used to de-emphasize undesirable behavioral patterns. While the native Japanese word for a single person hitorimono has the nuance of 'spinster' when used to refer to women, the English loan *shinguru* 'single' lacks such connotations and implies 'someone who chooses to remain single.' Here are additional examples of this kind (25-28).

(25)	ひとりもの (シングル)	*shinguru* **hitorimono**	'single' **'unmarried'**
(26)	劣等感 (コンプレックス)	*konpurekkusu* **RETTÔKAN**	'[inferiority] complex' **'a feeling of inferiority'**
(27)	禁忌 (タブー)	*tabû* **KINKI**	'taboo' **'forbidden'**
(28)	偽物 (ジャンク)	*janku* **NISEMONO**	'junk' **'fake'**

In example 26 RETTÔ has the unmistakable meaning of 'belonging to an inferior class, of a deficient type,' whereas the more ambiguous *konpurekusu* avoids the offending 'inferior' all together, and puts one in mind of a contemporary urban professional for whom a 'complex,' the necessary price for success in today's world, may be a badge of honor rather than something of which to be ashamed and even allows one to imagine one of the other less offensive complexes currently fashionable in Japanese pop-psychology (Peter Pan, Cinderella, mother-, father-, etc.). A *tabû*, (27) deriving as it does from Polynesian usage, carries the image of an exotic superstition, not to be taken seriously by members of more advanced societies, while KINKI, though originally almost identical with 'taboo,' now carries the force of something to be avoided because of scientific or legal reasons (as pharmaceutical contraindications). The Japanese use of 'junk' (28) takes on special connotations in a highly disposable society, where storage space is unaffordable to most and even houses have an average life-span of about fifteen years; anything from an earlier production cycle may be somewhat rare and even chic, something to be "discovered" in a second-hand shop or flea market and shown off to acquaintances. NISEMONO, on the other hand, is a cheap imitation meant to deceive someone hunting for valuable 'junk.'

Loanwords are often used to foreground sophisticated or modern images of what is described, due to the symbolic associations of the English language, an unspoken belief that English words are more "international" and "cosmopolitan." Research has shown that viewers are led to feel that they can lead a more egalitarian or sophisticated life, free from various social obligations related to traditional values, if they associate with such objects (e.g., clothing, cosmetics, food, furniture as well as things related to travel and leisure).[34] The following glosses are used to invoke a metaphoric process whereby the viewers transport themselves into the desired state, location or situation offered by the advertised commodity (29-32).

(29)	ミステリアス 神秘的	*misuteriasu* SHINPITEKI	'mysterious' 'mysterious'
(30)	アイディア 発想	*aidia* HASSÔ	'idea' 'conception'
(31)	アクティブ 活動的	*akutibu* KATSUDÔTEKI	'active' 'active, energetic, dynamic'
(32)	モノトーン 白黒	*monotôn* SHIROKURO	'monotone' 'black and white'

Takashi's examination of loanwords in 506 television commercials and 413 print ads has revealed that the word *nyû* 'new' was the most frequent loanword which did not serve to fill a lexical gap.[35] This substantiates the fact that advertisers employ loanwords to appeal to the audience's desire for an up-to-date and cosmopolitan image. As one might expect, in ads for traditional Japanese products, by contrast, the Japanese adjective DENTÔTEKI na 'traditional' was used instead of *toradishonaru na*. However, in advertisements for 'traditional' and 'orthodox' British fashion and European-style watches, loanwords such as *toradishonaru 'traditional'* or *ôsodokkusu 'orthodox'* were employed.[36] The same phenomenon is observed in the use of interlinear glosses. Example 33 is used to describe a V-neck sweater and example 34 refers to Chanel

accessories. All of these examples clearly illustrate how foregrounding increases and refines "the ability to adjust more flexibly to new requirements [arising in a given culture] and it gives it a richer differentiation of its means of expression."[37]

(33)	オーソドックス 正統的	*ôsodokkusu* SEITÔTEKI	'orthodox' 'orthodox/legitimate'
(34)	トラディショナル 伝統的	*toradishonaru* DENTÔTEKI	'traditional' 'traditional'

A glance at example 35 gives the impression of *furigana* providing a more colloquial expression of what is expressed in the Sino-Japanese compound. However, there is an additional motivation for this particular combination. This word appeared in an advertisement for AWASH, a washing machine which uses a stream of air bubbles to provide part of the cleaning action. While the use of the word KIHÔ 'air bubbles' is more appropriate semantically, the copywriter wanted this word to be read /awa/ 'bubble, foam' as a play on the product name AWASH. Thus, it is similar to example 36 which uses a French loanword to create what we might term a visual rhyme. Here the French loan *vie* 'life' is given as a gloss, so as to "rhyme" with the Japanese /bi/ 'beauty.' But since the difference in [v] and [b] in Japanese is not phonemic, and [v] is usually replaced by [b], the two words would be virtual homonyms in the speech of most Japanese: "BI (beauty) is *bi* (life)."

(35)	あわ 気泡	awa KIHÔ	'bubble, foam' 'air bubble'
(36)	ヴィ 美は生	*ví* BI wa SEI	vie 'Beauty is life.'

Although it is not clear when writers began using interlinear glosses for this purpose, bilingual puns are not a recent phenomenon. Examples can be found in Tsubouchi Shôyô's *Tôsei shosei katagi* (1886), which describes the lives of university students in the Meiji Period.[38]

The following section discusses the poetic use of interlinear glosses to enhance vividness and attract the reader's attention by maximizing visual effects. The use of onomatopoeia is an effective way to bring up a vivid image of an action or situation. In the text of (37) the uninflected onomatopoeia *boko*, the sound of hitting someone, written in *katakana* is followed by the verbal ending -ru (as in the verb nagu-ru 'to hit') in *hiragana*. The highly colloquial *boko* is made even more active and dynamic by being cast in the written form of a verb, then glossed with the more commonly used term naguru, 'hit,' in *hiragana* to make this unusual construction comprehensible. Example 38 is the title of Shimizu Hiroko's book (1996), which can be translated as "Husband Retires, Wife Gets Stressed." The nouns rendering 'retirement' and 'stress' are glossed with the onomatopoeia for 'not knowing what to do' and 'irritated' respectively.

(37) グーでボコる時 (なぐ)

			nagu-		punch
gû	de	*boko*-ru	TOKI		'when you pow someone'
'fist'	'by'	'hit'	'time'		

(38) 夫は定年(おろおろ)　妻はストレス(いらいら)

		orooro				iraira
OTTO	wa	TEINEN		TSUMA	wa	*sutoresu*
'husband'	TM	'retirement'		'wife'	TM	'stress'

'Husband retires, wife gets stressed'

An effective use of different scripts is another way of foregrounding the visual aspect of language for its own sake. Elements written in the squarish *katakana* or the roman alphabet stand out in Japanese texts filled with Chinese characters and *hiragana* notation. Sentence 39 is a good example. We find here, in the middle of the sentence, the capitalized English word STYLE glossed with a loanword 'fashion' in *katakana*:

(39) ほんの少しSTYLE(ファッション)を変えるだけで...

fasshon
hon no SUKOshi STYLE o KAerudakede....
'just' 'little' 'style' OM 'change''only'
'just a small change in style will.....'

"Words originating in ... foreign languages, are... often taken over because of their novelty and uncommonness, that is, for the purpose of foregrounding in which esthetic valuation always plays a significant part," says Mukarovsky.[39] This, in addition to their connotations of modernity, explains the high frequency of Western loanwords in Japanese magazines for young people and in advertising in general. However, the use of foreign words ceases to be effective when overused, since it is by this route that words are standardized and stripped of their poetic value. This is the process of gaikokugo 'foreign words' becoming gairaigo 'loanwords' in Japanese.

The following section discusses how a maximization of visual effects can still be achieved in our own time, which we term the "post-*katakana* era." As we mentioned earlier, the relationship between poetic language and the standard language, their mutual approximation or increasing distance, varies from period to period. "But even within the same period, and with the same norm of the standard, this relationship need not be the same" for all writers who create with language.[40] We have identified four possible strategies to combat the overuse of foreign words transcribed in *katakana*: 1) In a text inundated with Western loanwords written in *katakana*, *kanji* now stand out, in particular if Western loans are written in Chinese characters used for their phonetic value rather than for their semantic value. This is sometimes done to give a more dignified image of the object under discussion, or to evoke nostalgic feelings of the time period in which the particular *kanji* were used before being replaced by *katakana* [e.g., 'coffee' in the Taisho Era (1912-1926)].[41] 2) In order to fulfill the poetic function, the writer may use *hiragana*

instead of the conventional *katakana* to write Western loanwords.[42] Words such as *foramu* 'forum' or *supotto* 'spot' are sometimes written in *hiragana*. 3) The writer may use a combination of different scripts in a glossed word. Although the most numerous are Sino-Japanese compounds glossed with *hiragana* or *katakana*, other combinations have been observed (see examples 40 and 41). Because the writers are taking advantage of the appearance and symbolic associations of different scripts, one rarely finds an entire word and gloss in the same script (see figure 3).

(40) 青銅 レブロンズ — SEIDŌ *re buronzu* — 'bronze' **'le bronze'**

(41) 不思議 マジカル — FUSHIGI *majikaru* — 'marvelous' **'magical'**

4) Other methods include, but are not limited to, the use of an initial letter or acronyms taken from loanwords. This type of foregrounding achieves maximum intensity by pushing the objective of expression, communication (the original word), literally into the background (to the top or the side of the word) and using symbols for their own sake.

(42) ワンピース OP *wan pīsu* 'one piece'

(43) ウエスト W *uesuto* 'waist'

(44) スカート SK *sukâto* 'skirt'

Figure 3
Combinations of Different Scripts in Glossed Words*

Gloss / Text	Hiragana	*Katakana*	RŌMAJI/ *ENGLISH*	**KANJI**
Hiragana		*single* hitorimono		
Katakana	iraira *stress* nagu ***boko-ru***		*LINE* *line*	FUSHIGI *magical* SEIDŌ *le bronze*
RŌMAJI/ *ENGLISH*		*fashion* *STYLE* *one piece* *OP* *waist* *W* *skirt* *Sk*		KURI no *mousse* *MOUSSE DE MARRON* KANJŌCHISŪ *EQ*
KANJI	oshaberi KAIWA taka - KŌKA - i	*active* KATSUDŌTEKI *in* NAKA	*KOCHAKADEN* KOCHAKADEN	

*For the purpose of quick reference loanwords written in katakana (according to the Japanese phonology) are spelled as in English or French (e.g., shinguru --> single, re buronzu --> le bronze) and English/French words and acronyms are written in italicized capital letters in bold face (STYLE--> **STYLE**, Mousse de Marron --> **MOUSSE DE MARRON**). Several historical (kanji glosses of hiragana, kanji glosses of kanji) and pedogogic (hiragana glosses of Latin script) combinations have not been included here.

The choice of scripts can be a powerful tool not only in attracting the reader's attention, but also in foregrounding the writer's desired identity and knowledge of Chinese characters and foreign languages for social prestige. As poet Kôra Rumiko points out, the use of *hiragana* is still generally associated with feminine language and the women's literature of the Heian Period. Thus, regardless of the writer's sex, *hiragana* can be used to emphasize femininity in poems and/or prose; and Chinese characters can be employed to highlight masculinity. She also claims that, with the emphasis on unified language and universal education which is part of the modernization process, a masculinization of the language has taken place "under the rubric of standardization."[43] Such a strong claim needs validation. However, it is true that as a result of the post-war orthographic and educational reforms, "the burden of learning thousands of Chinese characters, once shouldered by only a small virtually all-male fraction of the school-age population, must now be borne by nearly all Japanese children."[44] Unger argues that although Japan has achieved an extremely high rate of minimum literacy (one's ability to read and write *kana*), when it comes to "literacy as a vehicle for full and free participation in society," it is a different story, since "all literacy... and education is grounded in *kanji*."[45]

Students who cannot make the grade, once a minority within a small minority, now constitute, in absolute numbers, a substantial group. What is more, the level of literacy that these students are having a hard time reaching no longer commands the kind of respect it once did.[46]

Due to the nine years of post-war compulsory education, the knowledge of *kanji* may not be as prestigious as it once was. On the other hand, if many students are having a hard time mastering all the required *kanji*, the use of difficult *kanji* or those not listed as a *jôyô kanji* would be a sign of personal accomplishment. Accordingly, one may argue that the recent use of innovative glosses, as well as the use of archaic *kanji,* may be a reaction to the standardization. Alternately, one might argue that the poetic use of language has become more visible as a result of the post-war standardiza-

tion, since it was difficult to differentiate the devices intended to shape the norm from those intended to violate the norm before the standardization took place.

Our analysis thus far has focused on the level of the individual word. However, because the value of each linguistic element can only be determined relative to the whole structure, the extent to which a gloss fulfills a poetic function must be examined in a larger context. This should include the relationship between the subject matter of the sentence and its component words; the semantic interrelationships of words in the sentence including foregrounded and unforegrounded elements, as well as words with figurative and basic meaning. Only then will the effect of the subject matter on the words and that of the words on the subject matter be revealed. Let us look at examples 45a through 45e. All of them mean 'the modern line is charming,' but the copywriter chose 45c. The glossed word jumps out of the sentence before the eyes of the readers, just as words succeed each other with semantic "jumps" or "breaks" in poetry.[47] The natural flow of sentence processing is interrupted when a non-standard use of language intersects with a standard use: one script embedded in a different script, words carrying dual meaning and glossed words appearing in front of the reader. It takes longer to process a glossed word if for no other reason than that it has two "words" in one.

(45a)	現代的な線が魅力	GENDAITEKI na SEN ga MIRYOKU
(45b)	モダンな線が魅力	*modan* na SEN ga MIRYOKU
(45c)	モダンな線(ライン)が魅力	*modan* na SEN (*rain*) ga MIRYOKU
(45d)	モダンなラインが魅力	*modan* na *rain* ga MIRYOKU
(45e)	モダンなラインがチャーミング	*modan* na *rain* ga *châmingu*

This is similar to the cognitive processes employed in the reading of Japanese poetry. Pivot words, double entendres and stock epithets ("pillow words") disrupt the reader in moving forward into a poem or sentence by carrying them back into what has already been read.

Jakobson contends that the poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination.[48] In selecting words from a list of synonyms to be combined to make a larger unit in the Japanese context, the visual quality of the calligraphy, and the effect of the presence or absence of Chinese graphs and Japanese *kana* must also be considered, since they are crucial to the meaning of the poem.

If verse can be defined as "speech wholly or partially repeating the same figure of sound," as Gerard Manley Hopkins says,[49] it may be reasonable to regard the following examples as "visual verse" since the written code evidences visual rhythm by wholly or partially repeating the same type of script. The use of *katakana* in the gloss cited as example 46 adds visual interest to a phrase otherwise entirely in *kanji* and *kana*. Likewise, in 47, which consists predominantly of *katakana* loanwords, a break is given by the addition of a *kanji*-gloss on the second word. In example 48, the *katakana* word *fâmingu* 'firming' pops out of this *kanji*-dominant phrase, partly because this is the only *katakana* word (and a non-nativized one) and partly because it is given a *kanji*-gloss. Also, the *katakana* script used in the first word is used again to gloss the second word in example 49, while in example 50 the *katakana* script in the second word is foreshadowed by the *katakana* gloss of the first word.

(46) 小さな努力と大人の発想(アイディア)で

aidia
CHIIsana DORYOKU to OTONA no HASSÔ de
'small' 'effort' 'and' 'mature' 'conception' 'with'
'with small effort and mature conception/idea'

(47) メタリックな"レブロンズ"(青銅)とクールな"レピエール"

SEIDÔ
metarikku na *"reburonzu"* to *kûru* na *"repiêru"*
'metallic' 'le bronze' 'and' 'cool' 'le pierre'
'metallic "le bronze" and cool "le pierre"'

(48) 肌を活性化し、ファーミング(引き締め)機能を高める美容液

HIkiSHIme
HADA o KASSEIKAshi, *fâmingu* KINÔ o TAKAmeru BIYÔEKI
skin' OM 'vitalize' 'and' 'firming' 'function' OM 'increase' 'beauty lotion'
'beauty lotion which vitalizes and increases the firming action of the skin'

(49) スポーティ & 活動的(アクティブ)に決めるなら

akutibu
supôti & KATSUDÔTEKI ni KImerunara
'sporty' 'active' 'on' 'decide-if'
'if you're going for a sporty and active (look)'

(50) 古風とモダンを融合して作り出す斬新なスタイル(クラシック)

kurasshiku
KOFÛ to *modan* o YÛGOshite TSUKUriDAsu ZANSHIN na *sutairu*
'classic' 'and' 'modern' OM 'mix, fuse' 'do' 'create' 'novel' 'style'
'novel style created by mixing the classic and modern (style)'

Conclusion

An analysis of innovative glosses has revealed the predominance of a poetic function. Some examples exhibit characteristics "typical" of poetry, such as metonymy, including synecdoche (examples 15-20), and extensions thereof (examples 21-24), as well as visual rhyme (examples 35-36). Others display more generally the "poetic function" as defined by Jakobson and Mukarovsky: a focus "on the message for its own sake" instead of techniques confined to conventional poetic forms. When the poetic function is defined as a systematic deviation from the norm of the standard language, foregrounding certain elements to the extent of subordinating the subject matter may be considered poetic. This can be done by bringing out local flavor (examples 12-14); foregrounding positive aspects and backgrounding negative aspects of the referent (examples 25-34); enhancing vividness by the use of onomatopoeia (examples 37-38); and maximizing the visual effect by a strategic combination of different scripts (examples 39-44). Innovative or poetic strategies cease to be effective however, when the devices are no

longer perceived as rare or unique, or once they gain acceptance as an extension of the norm of the standard language. Thus, to remain "poetic," writers must continually seek out unexpected, uncommon and unique devices by distorting conventions without vitiating the aesthetic value of the language, a practice which often initiates an unconventional convention.

The innovative and poetic glosses examined here have recently come into prominence partly because the background against which distortion is projected has become more rigidly standardized. This may reflect the writers' conscious rebellion against the post-war orthographic reforms, or simply their disregard thereof. Since what is considered innovative and uncommon at present will lose its effectiveness once it, too, has become conventionalized, it will be interesting to see how these poetic uses of the interlinear gloss fare during the coming years. What is not likely to change, however, is the persistent and deeply rooted distinction between visual and aural components, and the ability and, more importantly, the inclination to separately manipulate the semantic and phonetic dimensions of the Japanese language. Reforms aimed at "rationalizing" the Japanese script temporarily increased the degree to which the written language could be made to conform to the spoken language, but subsequent developments have made it very clear that the written language can perform many functions other than simply record speech. ■

Resource A

List of Abbreviated Terms

TM = topic marker **OM** = object marker
POS = possessive **PASS** = passive
PAST= past tense

Resource B

Examples are taken from the following sources; a brief description of the magazines and their target readerships (as given by the publishing house) can be found below.

(10) (19) *Kelly*, 1990, 9, cited in Harada, Kunihiko. 1993. "Use of Loan Word as Additional Tool For More Efficient Communication." Unpublished Manuscript, 3.

(11) Tanabe, Seiko. 1990. *Yume no yôni hi wa sugite.* Tokyo: Shinchô, 121.

(12) (13) Ariyoshi, Sawako. 1968. *Hishoku. Ariyoshi Sawako shû.* Shinchô Nihon bungaku 57. Tokyo: Shinchô, 345.

(14) Ariyoshi. *Hishoku*, 489.

(15) *Classy*, Jan. 1987, 201.(16)

(16) Tanabe. *Yume no yôni hi wa sugite*, 260.

(17) (18) *More*, Jan. 1997, 372.

(20) *25ans*, Jan. 1995, 390.

(21) *More*, Nov. 1986, 314.

(22) *Fine*, Aug. 1995, 76.

(23) *More*, Nov. 1986, 339.

(24) *More*, Nov. 1986, 395.

(25) Tanabe. *Yume no yôni hi wa sugite*, 252.

(26) *Can Can*, Sept. 1994, 219.

(27) *More*, Jan. 1986, 389.

(28) *More*, Jan. 1987, 10.

(29) (41) *More*, Nov. 1986, 39.

(30) (46) *Clique*, Jan. 20, 1994, 24.

(31) (49) *With*, June 1995, 83.

(32) *More*, Nov. 1986, 396.

(33) *More*, Jan. 1987, 103.

(34) *More*, Nov. 1986, 76.

(35) *Mangajin*, 1992:2, 7.

(36) *More*, Jan. 1987, 373.

(37) *Can Can*, Sept. 1994, 225.

(38) Shimizu, Hiroko. 1996. *Otto wa teinen, tsuma wa sutoresu.* Tokyo: Aoki shoten.

(39) *With*, June 1995, 8.

(40) (47) (48) (50) *More*, Nov. 1986, 396.

(42/44) *With*, Aug. 1997, 304.

(43) *More*, Nov. 1986, 75.

(45) *More*, Nov. 1986, 301.

CanCan Fashion magazine; coeds and clerical workers, aged 20-25.

Classy Fashion magazine; working women around 25.

Clique Fashion magazine; working women around 25.

Fine Sports/Fashion; young people around 20, slightly more women than men, interested in outdoor sports (skiing, scuba diving, etc.).

Kelly Nagoya metropolitan area entertainment/shopping/restaurant information; women in their 20s.

Mangajin American publication for learners of Japanese, primarily through illustrated stories (manga); extensive coverage of popular Japanese culture.

More Fashion magazine; women (especially clerical workers) in their 20s.

25ans Fashion magazine; "material girls" (including working women), 20s and 30s.

With Fashion magazine; single working women (clerical workers) 22-24.

Endnotes

[1] The authors would like to express their gratitude for the many helpful and detailed suggestions made by several anonymous readers, suggestions which resulted in substantial changes and improvements in this paper. For any remaining inaccuracies the authors must, however, take full responsibility.

[2] Those interested in this debate may benefit from the trenchant analysis of Roy Harris presented, among other places, in his volumes ***Signs of Writing*** (1995. London: Routledge) and ***Signs, Language and Communication*** (1996. London: Routledge).

[3] Many characters have two or more on readings, reflecting regional differences and changes in Chinese pronunciation over time; quite a few have several different, often etymologically unrelated, *kun* readings as well.

[4] Habein, Yaeko Sato. 1984. ***The History of the Japanese Written Language***. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 18.

[5] Habein, ***Japanese Written Language***, 39.

[6] Seeley, Christopher. 1991. ***A History of Writing in Japan***. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 62-63.

[7] Habein, ***Japanese Written Language***, 41.

[8] Habein, ***Japanese Written Language***, 55.

[9] All of the *man'yôgana* would fit this category, as would the current rendering of many proper names, but the term is usually reserved for a class of more common words so written, the name *ateji* implying that the characters were used as a stop-gap measure because of ignorance or lack of appropriate alternative. As this use of *kanji* runs counter to the general principles governing the most common uses and readings of *kanji*, *ateji* tend to be rather difficult to decipher.

[10] Habein, ***Japanese Written Language***, 84.

[11] Seeley, ***History of Writing***, 136.

[12] Sonoda, Kooji. 1983. "Japanized English." ***Geolinguistics*** 9, 34.

[13] Seeley, ***History of Writing***, 137.

[14] Seeley, ***History of Writing***, 137.

[15] Scharschmidt, Clemens. 1924. "Schriftreform in Japan. Ein Kulturproblem." Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen. Berlin: Universität Berlin 26-27:1, 189. Cited in Unger, J. Marshall. 1987. ***The Fifth Generation Fallacy: Why Japan Is Betting Its Future on Artificial Intelligence***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 34.

[16] In 1948, the *Tôyô kanji on-kun hyô* (List of Sino-Japanese and Japanese Readings for Kanji for Temporary Use), which lists accepted readings of each character of the *tôyô kanji*, was issued. Only those readings considered especially necessary were included; those considered less "useful" were eliminated. This strict limitation was later partially relaxed.

[17] Unger, ***Fifth Generation Fallacy***, 41.

[18] Unger, ***Fifth Generation Fallacy***, 34.

[19] Miller, Roy Andrew. 1967. ***The Japanese Language***. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 136.

[20] Jakobson, Roman. 1960. "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics." Sebeok, Thomas A. ***Style in Language***. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 350-377.

[21] This is Jakobson's modification of the term "Phatic Communion" coined by Malinowski (1930).

[22] Jakobson. "Closing Statement," 356.

[23] Mukarovsky, Jan. 1964. "Standard Language and Poetic Language." Garvin, Paul L., translator. ***A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure, and Style***. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 19.

[24] Mukarovsky, "Standard Language," 18.

[25] Mukarovsky, "Standard Language," 18.

[26] The sources for these and subsequent examples may be found in Appendix B.

[27] The intention behind the glosses here seems to be clear, but the rendition of a Brooklyn accent seems to be at odds with the main text. We would expect the passer-by's pronunciation of "33" to be something like ***toiti torI***, but, as it stands, it reads more like "32."

[28] Gibbs, Raymond W., Jr. 1994. ***The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding.*** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 320.

[29] Gibbs, ***Poetics of Mind***, 324.

[30] These glosses were mistakenly reversed in the text (see *More.* Jan. 1987, 372). Also, magnesium sulfate and sodium sulfate are ordinarily rendered ***RYÛSAN maguneshiumu*** and ***RYÛSAN natoriumu*** in Japanese; however, the word order is reversed in these glosses, perhaps to increase the contrast between the Chinese characters and *katakana.*

[31] Nakamura, Momoko. 1990. "Woman's Sexuality in Japanese Female Terms." Ide, Sachiko and Naomi H. McGloin, editors. ***Aspects of Japanese Women's Language.*** Tokyo: Kuroshio Publishers, 149.

[32] Research has shown that loanwords are sometimes used to express or neutralize new values and behavior patterns in Japan. See Passin, Herbert. 1980. ***Japanese and the Japanese.*** Tokyo: Kinseidô; Takashi, Kyoko. 1990. "A Functional Analysis of English Borrowings in Japanese Advertising: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives". Unpublished Dissertation, Georgetown University.

[33] Endo, Orie. 1995. "Aspects of Sexism in Language." Fujimura-Fanselow, Kumiko and Atsuko Kameda. ***Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future.*** New York: The Feminist Press, 30.

[34] Takashi, Kyoko. 1992. "Language and Desired Identity in Contemporary Japan." ***Journal of Asian Pacific Communication***, 3, 133-144.

[35] In order to examine fairly representative popular trends, this research examined advertisements broadcast by major television stations in the Osaka area during prime-time, and print advertisements in periodicals and newspapers of large, national circulation. Details may be found in Takashi. "Language and Desired Identity."

[36] Takashi, "Language and Desired Identity," 139.

[37] Mukarovsky, "Standard Language," 29.

[38] In this novel, students refer to a pawn shop as /sebun/, since ***shichi*** 'pawnshop' is homophonous with the Japanese word for 'seven.'

sebun (<--seven) e pon (<-- pawn) shita ka
'pawn shop' 'to' 'pawn' 'did' qm
"Did he pawn (it)?"

[39] Mukarovsky, "Standard Language," 29.

[40] Mukarovsky, "Standard Language," 28.

[41] Some *kanji* are used for western loanwords in a form of verbal art. The name of a liner that fits into the collar of white shirts to absorb perspiration is called **ERÎTO** 'elite' written in *kanji* **ERI** "collar" and "**[H]ITO** 'person,' with a *katakana* vowel-lengthening mark in between. See Wilkerson, Kyoko T. 1997. "Japanese Bilingual Brand Names." ***English Today*** 52, 9-14.

[42] For instance, ***YUrakkusu***, a combination of ***YU*** 'hot water,' written in *kanji*, and ***rakkusu*** written in *hiragana* from ***rerakkusu*** 'relax' is "Hot Spring Relaxing." *Hiragana* has been cleverly chosen over *katakana* because the fluid, rounded *hiragana* gives a more relaxing impression than the angular *katakana*, as in the Japanese onomatopoeia (written in hiragana) ***yura-yura*** used for the image of something floating or flickering. See Wilkerson. "Bilingual Brand Names," 11-12.

[43] See Kôra Rumiko's interview in Buckely, Sandra. 1997. ***Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism.*** Berkley: University of California Press, 109.

[44] Unger, ***Fifth Generation Fallacy***, 93.

[45] Unger, ***Fifth Generation Fallacy***, 84-85.

[46] Unger, ***Fifth Generation Fallacy***, 93.

[47] The terms "semantic jumps" and "semantic breaks" are used by Mukarovsky in "Standard Language," 29.

[48] Jakobson. "Closing Statement," 358.

[49] Hopkins, G. M. 1959. ***The Journals and Papers.*** House, H., eitor. London. Cited in Jakobson. "Closing Statement," 359.