

“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

ANNALS OF “DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY OF TEACHING

VOLUME XVII

No.1/2017

**This journal is included in
IDB SCIPPIO
CEEOL
ICI Journals Master List 2016**

**<http://analefls.ucdc.ro>
analefls@ucdc.ro**

**ISSN 2065 – 0868
ISSN-L 2065 – 0868**

Each author is responsible for the originality of his article and the fact that it has not been previously published.

**“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES**

**ANNALS
OF
“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR”
CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY**

**LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY
OF TEACHING**

**VOLUME XVII
No.1/2017**



“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY BOARD

Momcilo Luburici	President
Corina Adriana Dumitrescu	President of the Senate
Cristiana Cristureanu	Rector
Georgeta Ilie	Vice-Rector for Scientific Research

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Florentina Alexandru	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Nicolae Dobrisan	Corresponding Member of Cairo Arabic Language Academy and of The Syrian Science Academy Damascus
Mary Koutsoudaki	University of Athens
Greg Kucich	Notre Dame University
Dana Lascu	University of Richmond
Ramona Mihaila	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Emma Morita	Kindai University
Efstratia Oktapoda	Sorbonne, Paris IV University
Julieta Paulesc	Arizona State University
Elena Prus	Free International University of Moldova
Marius Sala	Romanian Academy
Silvia Tita	University of Michigan
Irina Mihai-Vainovski	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Estelle Variot	Aix en Provence University
Paolo Villani	Universita degli Studi di Catania
Alain Vuillemin	Artois University and Paris-Est University

EDITORS IN CHIEF

Angela-Oana Drăgan	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University
Magdalena Ciubăncan	Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University

GUEST EDITORS

Irina Holca	Kyoto University
Roman Pașca	Kanda University of International Studies
Carmen Tămaș	Kobe University

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

Dana Capriceru

CONTENTS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

JAPAN: PRE-MODERN, MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY. A RETURN TRIP FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST. LEARNING IN, ABOUT AND FROM JAPAN

1-3 September 2016

I. LITERATURE

Adrian Bercea: The Strange Characters of the *Night of the
Milky Way Railway*: An Attempt at Interpretation from the
Point of View of Shamanism 9

Reiji Kohashi: From Literary Works to Comics in Japan: The
Case of *the Shonen-sencho* (1958) by Fujiko F. Fujio 22

Chikako Masuda: A Study about Hino Ashihei's "Stone and
Nail" and "Ghost" in Comparison with Mizuki Shigeru's
Comic "Urine" Based on Legends from the Kyūshū Region 33

II. LINGUISTICS

Keita Ikarashi: Semantic Role of the English Preposition *In* in
Japanese Compounds 45

Ryohei Naya: An Innovative Use of *Kudasai* in Social
Networking Services 62

III. CULTURE

Maria Grajdian: The Return of the Feminine Woman or
on what *the Tale of Princess Kaguya* (Ghibli Studio, 2013)
and *Frozen* (Walt Disney Pictures, 2013) Have in Common..... 81

Evelyn Adrienn Tóth: Ainu Belief System: The Main Animal
Gods and the Rituals Related to Them 102

Yuhei Yambe: “Geisha Girls Strike”: An Overlooked Aspect of
the Women's Labor Movement in Modern Japan 123

I. LITERATURE

The Strange Characters of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway*: An Attempt at Interpretation from the Point of View of Shamanism

Adrian Bercea*

Abstract: *In this paper, I will concentrate on the main part of Miyazawa Kenji's Night of the Milky Way Railway, which corresponds to the adventure of the main character, Giovanni, on a galactic train in a dreamlike state. During his fantastic voyage, Giovanni encounters various strange personae such as 'the Bird Catcher', 'the three youths' or 'Professor Bulcaniro' (the last being erased from the fourth and last versions of the work), each of them being small puzzles in themselves, with a role difficult to define. There was a tendency in previous research to focus on searching for the source of inspiration for these characters, when they were to be examined. However, the literature has not yet given an answer to the obviously necessary question regarding the role of these characters in the general context and why Giovanni needs to encounter them. Here, I will consider Giovanni's dream journey on the 'Milky Way Railway' as a shamanic initiation ritual and I will categorise the characters he encounters by their role as conferred by the theory of shamanism. I will suggest a guiding theory to shed light on the mysteriousness of the characters in the story, stressing in this way the neglected importance of shamanism in Kenji's works.*

Keywords: *Miyazawa Kenji, Night of the Milky Way Railway, shamanism, initiation, spirits*

1. Introduction

Miyazawa Kenji (1896-1933) published very few works during his life. The only two volumes he published were one of poetry, *Spring and Ashura* (Haru to shura), and one of children's stories, *The Restaurant of Many Orders* (Chūmon no ooi ryōriten), both in 1924, at his own expense. Despite being almost unknown in the literary circles of that time, many of his works became popular soon after his death, especially due to Kusano Shinpei's efforts, the first complete works edition being published starting from 1934. Up to the present, the studies related to Miyazawa Kenji developed in an exponential manner and the critics have found in his

* Master's Student, Graduate School of Letters, Kansai University

works a very diverse world to explore. This world ranges from elements of the *Lotus Sutra* of which Kenji was an ardent reader, to many Christian literature motifs and elements of natural science. The author makes use of his abundant knowledge of legends and traditional beliefs, combining ‘the local’ expressed in the north dialect of Iwate Prefecture where he lived, with ‘the global’ materialized in his pursue of Esperanto.

In the studies about Miyazawa Kenji, the following well-known words written by Takamura Kōtarō are often quoted.

The one who possesses a cosmos within himself, no matter how distant the place he lives in is, he will always shake off the local existence. The one who does not possess a cosmos within himself, no matter how close to a culture’s centre he is, he will always live as a local existence.¹ (Takamura, 1995:228)

Aside from the very interesting problem of centrality and localism, these worlds bring with them the question of what the ‘inner cosmos’ of Miyazawa Kenji actually is. When trying to answer it, the above mentioned elements of Buddhism, Christianity, natural science and so on, can, of course, be brought in as possible answers. However, these answers tend to remain fragmentary and some researchers² wondered if there is something that connects all these elements, something more important that flows through all of Kenji’s ‘cosmos’. In consequence, some have turned their attention to the elements of Jōmon culture present in Miyazawa Kenji’s works³, and furthermore, some have pointed out the relation with shamanism as a heritage of an archaic culture, as I will briefly discuss below.

There are several acquaintances of Miyazawa Kenji’s who related that he happened to fall in uncommon states of mind similar to a trance or that he had different unusual experiences (Taguchi 1993:208-225). Critics have speculated on his ‘shamanic consciousness’ and even placed him in the category of neoshamans⁴. Even when the problem was approached starting from the text and not from the author, most of the critics ended their discussion by paying attention to Kenji’s ‘shamanic consciousness’⁵, failing to give a more detailed answer about the concrete elements of shamanism that can be ‘unearthed’ from the text.

¹ Unless otherwise specified, the English translations are made by the author of the present article.

² The ‘alternative Miyazawa Kenji theory’ suggested by Kuji Tsutomu (1995) or the ‘mystic and syncretic aspect of Kenji’s religion’ Ueda Akira (1985) discussed are such examples.

³ The studies made by Taguchi Akisuke (1993) and Tsunazawa Mitsuaki (1990) can be given as examples.

⁴ For example, Kamata Tōji in Sasaki and Kamata (1991) and Okabe Takashi (2009).

⁵ Kamata uses the expression ‘triangular structure’ *sankakukōzō* and affirms that Kenji’s mentality has a ‘triangular structure’ formed by the ‘shaman consciousness’ *shāman ishiki*, the ‘Ashura consciousness’ *shuraishiki* and the ‘bodhisattva consciousness’ *bosatsuishiki*, the first one “being concealed in the depths

Started in 1924, the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* is Miyazawa Kenji's longest work. It was subject to a lengthy process of revision of about eight years and it was left unfinished. It might be thus adequate to consider it as the work that best expresses the 'cosmos' mentioned above and probably the most appropriate subject for investigating the elements of shamanism in Kenji's work. Although the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* was referred to in connection with shamanism a few times, Giovanni was associated with the image of a shaman very late, in 2006, when Okabe Takashi stated very clearly that 'Giovanni is made to carry the role of a shaman' (Okabe 2006:70). This is due to the reasons discussed above, corroborated with a preconception about shamanism as an occult thing (Taguchi 2000: 44). Nevertheless, aspects essential when debating a shamanic experience or phenomenon remained almost untouched. If the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* is a story where we can trace shamanic elements, then we should first question the following. Does the main character correspond to the general definition of an archetypal shaman? Does he follow the general pattern of a shamanic initiation? How is his contact-interaction with the supernatural being conducted? Are there any symbols in the story that can be considered to belong to the repertoire of the shamanistic world?

In the following pages I will focus on the role of the characters of the *Milky Way Railway* as part of the shaman's indispensable contact-interaction with the supernatural. In my discussion I will mainly use Mircea Eliade's theory of shamanism, for two reasons. One of them is that, in the studies about shamanism, Eliade considered ecstasy as the defining element of shamanism. He emphasised the idea of the voyage of the soul to the other world, giving less importance to other elements such as possession. The voyage of Giovanni's soul on a galactic train in a dream-like state resembles this sort of ecstatic experience rather than any other. The second reason is that Eliade's approach to shamanism is universalistic and he tried to explain shamanism by its patterns as a religious phenomenon, and his theory is essential in my analysis of Giovanni's voyage in *Ginga*⁶ as an archetypal shamanic voyage to the other world.

of self' (Sasaki and Kamata 1991:139). Although a very important statement when discussing Kenji and shamanism, it is very easy to observe that Kamata is targeting Kenji's personal "shamanic consciousness" rather than its manifestation in the author's writing.

⁶ *Ginga* is the Japanese word for Milky Way. However, when I refer to the particular imaginary space of the Milky Way depicted in the story, I prefer to keep the Japanese term.

2. The shamanic role of the *Milky Way Railway* characters

In the first version of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway*, the story after Giovanni gets into the galactic train, from the young girls' talk to the episode about the two coins, is the only one that is told. Afterwards, Miyazawa Kenji made considerable changes and added the 'real world' frame completely missing in the first version. By this 'real world' frame I mean the two pieces before and after Giovanni's dream, relating his adventure in the real world. The first one describes his daily life, giving the reader details about the school where he studies, his colleagues, family and part-time job, and the second one tells how Giovanni finds out that his best friend, Campanella, has drowned, and relates the short conversation with his friend's father. However, the most symbolical part remains the one narrating the journey on the galactic train, the one designed by the author at the beginning. What is most conspicuous in this fantastic journey are the various mysterious characters Giovanni encounters on the way. Apart from Campanella, the Bird Catcher, the tree youths and Doctor Bulcaniro cover the main part of the text.

The characters appearing (then disappearing after a short while) during this journey are extremely strange and impossible to overlook. As we will see from the example of the Bird Catcher below, there was an obvious tendency in the previous literature of trying to trace the author's source of inspiration for them, but this kind of approach will lead us only to a fragmentary understanding of the story. We will still have no answer regarding their role in the general plot line and we will not be capable of regarding their presence as anything but mere hazard.

Next, I will try to overcome this impasse and give a clearer general interpretation. For this, I will analyse these personae from the point of view of shamanism, and try to demonstrate that they belong to certain categories of spirits with specific roles in a shaman's experience.

2.1. Helping spirits

It is not exaggerated to say that the strangest figure of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* is the Bird Catcher. There are a great number of studies discussing what the model for the Bird Catcher was. One very interesting article that analyses thoroughly the models that have been discussed over time is that of Fumio Yonechi, "Kenji Miyazawa's multiplex world viewed from a hypothesis 'the bird catcher in the Galactic Train is a fox'" (Yonechi 2000). What Yonechi proposes is that the image of the Bird Catcher can be linked to that of a fox. He argues that the appearance of the Bird Catcher not only bears similarities with the foxes seen in the vicinity of Hanamaki (Kenji's birthplace), but also the place where the Bird Catcher appears in the story is between the

Cygnus constellation and the Aquila constellation, where the Vulpecula cum Anser constellation (*kogitsuneza* in Japanese) can be found. However, Yonechi is only discussing the motif, making no reference to the storyline, and we are once again without a clue about what role the Bird Catcher is actually playing in the overall structure of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway*.

The Bird Catcher is depicted as “a man with a red beard and a stooped back who wore a slightly tattered brown overcoat” (41)⁷. He looks human, but his appearance and his occupation of catching birds make us think he borrows something from the features of an animal.

From the perspective of shamanism, the fact that the Bird Catcher has points of similarity with an animal is not something unusual. In *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Mircea Eliade states that “we must note that the majority of these familiar and helping spirits have animal forms” (Eliade 1989:89) and “Usually these are animals appearing in human form; they come of their own volition if the apprentice shows talent” (Eliade 1989:90).

What I intend to bring to attention here are the concepts of helping spirits and familiar spirits, well known in the sphere of shamanism. Let us have a look at the first attribute of a shaman in the following definition of Sasaki Kōkan⁸.

The magic-religious characteristics of a shaman consist of: (1) gaining power from the direct contact-interaction with the supernatural (gods, spirits), (2) carry out a role through the direct contact-interaction with the supernatural and (3) being in an altered state of consciousness during the exercise of his power (carrying out of the role). (Sasaki, 1980:20)

We can say that in the *Night of the Milky Way Railway*, Giovanni is also gaining ‘power’ (*ryokunō*) through direct contact-interaction with the ‘supernatural’ personae he encounters. Their role is to guide and give help to Giovanni. They familiarise him with the landscape of the ‘imaginary fourth dimension’ (*gensōdaiyonji*) he is not accustomed to. The Bird Catcher is a spirit dwelling in the galactic space that carries such a role. This is exactly the idea transmitted in the next passage reproducing the conversation between the Bird Catcher, Giovanni and Campanella.

“You press herons like leaves? As specimens?”

“Not as specimens. Why, people eat them, of course.”

⁷ The English quotations from the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* are all from Sarah M. Strong translation (see Bibliog.) and below only the page number will be indicated.

⁸ I prefer to use this definition as it does not interfere with most of the well-known definitions given in shamanism studies and it has a low risk to create ambiguity and confusion.

“How strange,” said Campanella, surprised.

“There’s nothing strange or mysterious about it. [...]” (43)

What the two boys are considering being strange, for the Bird Catcher is not strange at all. What seems unusual to them is part of normality for him. In other words, what is considered strange in the everyday life space, in the extraordinary space of the galactic train makes perfect sense.

This is also the meaning of the next conversation between the Bird Catcher and Giovanni, related after a few pages in the text.

“How did you come here all at once from over there?” Giovanni asked with an odd feeling, not knowing whether to think it normal or not.

“You want to know *why*? Why, because I wished to come, I came....[...]” (48)

In this phenomenon of teleportation the Bird Catcher seems to be capable of, the same idea of difference of perception towards strangeness as above can be assumed.

Another strange character who enters the scene during Giovanni’s journey is the Indian. When the “‘New World Symphony’ welled up more and more clearly from the horizon” (65), suddenly the figure of an Indian running after the train appears. He shoots birds, but the viewers can not clearly decide whether “He is hunting. Or dancing” (65). His action is described as “half-dancing”, and rather than life taking, it reminds of a ritualistic or religious act.

Yet, at the Pliocene Coast, Giovanni and Campanella get off the train and encounter a professor together with three people who appear to be his assistants working to dig up the bone of a *bos*, ‘the ancestor of today’s cow’, as the professor explains. If we have a look at the following explanation of Sarah M. Strong,

It is the paleontologist (a figure drawn with the satiric humor of self-mockery) who puts Kenji’s characteristic philosophical spin on the scene by asserting that the fossils are needed as “proof.” This proof will serve to correct the view of those who think of the “fine thick stratum of earth” as “wind or perhaps water or even empty sky”; in other words, it will persuade people like ourselves that the empty sky is something other than it seems. Much in the same way that the specimens mentioned in the chapter three function as evidence of the existence of absent things, the professor’s finds serve as proof of the validity of another usually unseen dimension of existence. (Miyazawa, 1991:100)

it will become clear that the paleontologist of the Pliocene Coast teaches the two boys about “the existence of absent things” and “the validity of another usually unseen dimension of existence”.

The appearance (and the vanishing) of the Indian, as well as the encounter with the paleontologist, however unexpected and enigmatic, have the meaning of familiarising Giovanni with the unusual space of *Ginga*. The same as the Bird Catcher, their role in the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* is that of a familiar spirit or helping spirit.

I consider the Bird Catcher as the most representative character of this category of familiar and helping spirits. However, together with the Indian and the paleontologist of the Pliocene Coast mentioned above, the lighthouse keeper who appears inside the train and the birds signalman on the top of the watchtower enter the story symbolically as direction guides, and it is not wrong to view them as familiar or helping spirits as well.

If we take into consideration what Eliade says, “the guardian and helping spirits without which no shamanic séance is possible can be regarded as the authenticating signs of the shaman’s ecstatic journeys in the beyond” (Eliade 1989:95) and hence their presence in Giovanni’s journey.

2.2. Spirits of the dead

The rest of the characters appearing in *Ginga*, besides the curious familiar or helping spirits, are spirits of the dead. Although the reader finds out only at the end of the novel, Giovanni’s friend, Campanella, jumps into the river trying to save a colleague and drowns. Thus, Campanella, the one whom Giovanni meets on the galactic train, is actually in the position of a spirit of the dead. In the same position are the three youths (a young man, a little boy and his sister) showing up after the Bird Catcher disappears and a sudden ‘smell of apples’ (*ringo no nioi*) comes in. While Campanella’s death is revealed only at the end, the reader is provided with detailed information about their status as spirits of the dead. The youths are asked by the lighthouse keeper “Where did you folks come from? What happened to you?” (56). The young man answers as follows:

I was a university student and employed as a private tutor. On the twelfth day out, I don’t know whether it was today or yesterday, the ship hit an iceberg and at once listed badly and started to sink. [...]

At that moment there was a sudden loud noise and we fell into the water. Thinking we had already been drawn into the whirlpool, I held onto these two tightly and then, when everything went dim, I found myself here. (56~57)

Why does Giovanni have to encounter spirits of the dead? And what kind of role do they play in Giovanni’s journey? If we consider Giovanni’s journey as one carried out by a shaman during his initiation

ritual process, then meeting spirits of the dead is what makes him aware of the dimension of death as a neophyte.

In the subchapter “Role of the Souls of the Dead”, Eliade makes the following assertion: “‘Seeing spirits,’ in dream or awake, is the determining sign of the shamanic vocation, whether spontaneous or voluntary. For, in a manner, having contact with the souls of the dead signifies *being dead oneself*.” (Eliade 1989:84) Accordingly, seeing the three youths, Giovanni reveals his shamanic vocation, and through interaction with them he accomplishes his own initiation. Being in contact with the dead and becoming himself dead (at least symbolically) means that the one going through the initiation process learns the reality of death. If we were to ask “what did Giovanni learn in this imaginary voyage?”, probably it would not be wrong to say that the simplest answer is ‘death’.

In this manner, I can say that the souls of the dead, namely the three youths and Campanella, play a similar role as the Bird Catcher and the Indian, which is that of a familiar or helping spirit. They familiarise the one destined to become a shaman to a space he is not yet accustomed with, i.e., they familiarise Giovanni with the “imperfect, illusory fourth dimension” (53).

Under the above considerations, what Giovanni encounters in *Ginga* are souls of the dead and familiar/helping spirits. From the point of view of shamanism, this fact does not happen out of mere coincidence; to encounter spirits has a more precise meaning, as it can be seen from the following explanation:

This explains the extreme importance of “spirit visions” in the all varieties of shamanic initiations. “Seeing” a spirit, either in dream or awake, is a certain sign that one has in some sort obtained a “spiritual condition”, that is, that one has transcended the profane condition of humanity. (Eliade, 1989:85)

Therefore, I can say that the three youths and Campanella and then the Bird Catcher and the Indian appear on the Milky Way Railway because they have this role of certifying that Giovanni has “obtained a ‘spiritual condition’”, that he “has transcended the profane condition of humanity”.

All of the passengers of the Milky Way train are souls of the dead. When I say ‘passengers’, I limit the word to refer only to those who appear on the train the same way Campanella or the youths do. They are different from personae such as the Bird Catcher or the birds signalman, who have an occupation in the ‘river of heaven’ (*ama no gawa*)⁹ and

⁹ The term also designates the Milky Way. However, Kenji makes use of it in a few places throughout the story instead of the more common *Ginga* (Silver River).

possess non-human attributes. Their presence on the train is temporary and they are more 'worldly', like, for example, the "tall Catholic-like nun wearing a black veil" (32) Giovanni "had no idea when she had boarded the train" (32). The souls of the dead a shaman encounters during his initiation are of various sorts, but they are not restricted to persons who have just died. Nevertheless, the passengers of the galactic train are described in this way (when Giovanni returns to the village, Campanella's father tells him that "It's no use, it's been forty-five minutes since he went in." (79)), and this is a peculiarity of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway*.

2.3. Tutelary spirits

The character called Professor Bulcaniro appears in the first version of the work and the part focusing on him becomes longer in the third version. However, he is completely removed from the novel in the fourth version. His erasure from the last version has been pointed out many times in previous research, and there are various theories about it¹⁰. Without Professor Bulcaniro, the fourth version might be too concise and difficult to understand, but on the other hand, considering the fact that Professor Bulcaniro's preaching fragments were implicitly excluded, the work's stance as a piece of modern literature that leaves more possibilities of interpretation to the reader is made stronger. Next I will analyse the role and the essential attributes Professor Bulcaniro has as a character and try to explain the change in meaning that Giovanni's experience has when moving from the third to the fourth version.

As we have seen, starting with the Bird Catcher, the diverse characters entering the story's participate in Giovanni's initiation process, and Professor Bulcaniro is no exception. However, in the scenes in which Giovanni meets Professor Bulcaniro or hears his voice, compared to those where he talks with other characters, it is difficult not to notice that the impression of preaching is much stronger.

"You are upset because your friend has disappeared, isn't that right? As a matter of fact this evening Campanella went very far away indeed. It would be quite useless for you to search for him."

"But why is that? I made a promise to keep right on going with Campanella."

"Ah, yes indeed. That is the way everyone thinks. But you cannot go together. And what's more, everyone is Campanella. Anyone you chance to meet, whoever they might be, is someone with whom you have already shared a journey any number of times, eating apples

¹⁰ Uchida Hiroshi summarises them to some extent in his book chapter "A study concerning the manuscripts revision" *Kaikō wo megutte no ronkō* (Uchida 2001:27-39).

together and riding on trains. It is wisest, therefore, to do as you thought earlier and seek the best happiness of all people, going there as quickly as possible together. Only in that way is it really possible for you to go on forever with Campanella.” (149~150)

In this piece of conversation between Giovanni and Professor Bulcaniro, the latter is teaching in a very direct manner the way things are to Giovanni. Professor Bulcaniro makes Giovanni aware once more of what he has just experienced and pushes the young boy's understanding to an upper level, explaining to him the meaning of his experience and what he has to do from there on. It is not wrong to say that while the Bird Catcher's guidance is an indirect one, Professor Bulcaniro's is more direct and in a more strict sense of the word.

As we have seen already, during his initiation process, a shaman encounters various spirits. In addition to the so-called familiar or helping spirits and the souls of the dead, in shamanism studies there is also the category of 'tutelary (or guardian) spirits'. It is difficult to make a clear distinction between the category of 'familiar/helping spirits' and that of 'tutelary spirits'. However, one of the major characteristics of the guardian spirits is that their relationship with the one who is to become a shaman is more direct and stronger.

We said above that a relation of “familiarity” is established between the shaman and his “spirits.” And in fact, in ethnological literature they are known as “familiar,” “helping,” “assistant,” or “guardian” spirits. But we must distinguish carefully between familiar spirits proper and another and more powerful category of spirits known as tutelary spirits [...] (Eliade, 1981:88)

All categories of shamans have their helping and tutelary spirits, though the latter may differ considerably in nature and potency from one category to another. (Eliade, 1981:91)

Although Professor Bulcaniro is a spirit like all the other characters appearing in the galactic train, within Giovanni's relationship with him, compared to the one with the others, a certain difference can be observed. As I already remarked, Giovanni's relation with Professor Bulcaniro is rather striking when speaking of instruction. If we consider the Bird Catcher as a familiar/helping spirit, then Professor Bulcaniro will be classifiable as a tutelary spirit. Yet, if we examine the next assertion of Eliade's,

As we see, if the dead shaman's soul plays an important role in the development of shamanic vocation, it only prepares the candidate for later revelations. The souls of dead shamans put him in relation with spirits, or carry him to the sky [...] (Eliade, 1989:83-4)

it would not be wrong to consider Professor Bulcaniro also as an ancestor shaman spirit with the role of guiding Giovanni.

What meaning can be then extracted from the erasure of Professor Bulcaniro from the last version of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* in the light of the theory of shamanism that I followed here? In shamanism studies the methods of conferment of the shamanic powers are roughly divided into two. One is the hereditary transmission of the shamanic profession (the neophyte receives ancestors' knowledge) (1), and the second is by means of spontaneous vocation (the neophyte is being "called" and he starts a journey to obtain qualification") (2)¹¹. In the third version of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway*, Giovanni obtains the shamanic profession through the guidance of Professor Bulcaniro as a spirit of an ancestor shaman. In other words, in this case, the first method (1) can be seen. "[...] you must advance unswervingly just as you resolved to do in your dream. And please come to see me at any time if there is anything you would like to discuss." (152) tells Professor Bulcaniro to Giovanni who has just woken up in the grass of the hill he climbed in the beginning. Then, the story soon ends. If we have a look especially at the last phrase, the stance of Professor Bulcaniro as a teacher or guru becomes evident.

In the last version where there is no Professor Bulcaniro to enter the stage, on the other hand, and Giovanni's initiation is conducted without any exterior guidance from a second person. Although he could just go back home, he is attracted by a curiously "black hill", climbs it, gets on the Milky Way train, and before returning to the ordinary world, he hears no "cello-like voice" of Professor Bulcaniro. We can say, therefore, that in the last version the second method of becoming a shaman (2) can be seen.

What I have to notice is that, in the third version, the figure of Professor Bulcaniro appears in the real world too. After the above scene where Professor Bulcaniro's preaches to Giovanni, Giovanni wakes up on the hill. The figure of Professor Bulcaniro comes close to Giovanni who has just woken up in the real world, appearing for the second time. He confesses to Giovanni that it was an experiment similar to hypnotism, passes the green Milky Way ticket to Giovanni for a second time, and then disappears again in the "far side of the weather wheel pole." (152)

Although I mentioned before that we can consider Professor Bulcaniro as a spirit of an ancestor shaman having the role of guiding Giovanni, if we think of his reappearing in the real world and his

¹¹ Although Eliade mentions also the case of individuals who become shamans of their own free will, these shamans have less power (Eliade 1989:13), and I consider that it can be placed in the frame of the second method mentioned without any risk of error.

hypnosis experiment, I wonder if it is wrong to see him also as a living shaman. If we have a glimpse especially at the description where Professor Bulcaniro grows faint in the distance beyond the weather wheel pole, the fact that he can commute between the real world and the world of the Milky Way becomes clearer. Whether we think of him as a spirit of a dead shaman or as one of a living shaman, the most important thing remains the fact that his soul can travel back and forth freely between the two worlds.

3. Conclusion

Taking the above into consideration, I can say that, seen through the theory of shamanism, the characters in the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* seem to be connected by their role in the initiation process of the protagonist, Giovanni, and thus the story itself gains more coherence. These characters that appear and disappear during Giovanni's dream are an important part of the shaman's indispensable contact-interaction with the supernatural and their presence in the story is not pure coincidence. They can be categorized as familiar or helping spirits, spirits of the dead and tutelary spirits or ancestor shaman spirits, with important meaning in the theory of shamanism.

As I have discussed in the introduction, the word 'shaman' might be a taboo considered in relation to the author himself. However, it provides a useful clue to the understanding of the *Night of the Milky Way Railway* and possibly other works by Miyazawa Kenji. I have no intention to ignore or minimize the importance of Buddhist, Christian or natural science elements in Kenji's work and propose those of shamanism as unique and universally available. Rather, my quest is for a guiding theory capable of putting the parts together and leading us to a more coherent theme of the story. While it is difficult to say that Giovanni's story is about the truth depicted in the Lotus Sutra (of which Kenji was an ardent reader and which is the foundation of his Buddhist thought), for example, I consider we can take the initiation journey of Giovanni as a future shaman as the main theme without any risks.

In contrast with other elements present in Miyazawa Kenji's work, the ones related to shamanism are not to be seen without difficulty. In Kamata's words, they are "being concealed in the depths of self" (even if I would rather say 'his work' instead of 'self') and have to be uncovered. This paper is such an attempt. To reveal the 'hidden' image of shamanism, there are several questions that I think we should try to answer first, as I have mentioned in the introduction. This time I centred my discussion on the contact-interaction with the supernatural as an important part in the shamanic experience and I hope to consider the

problematic of Giovanni's shamanic initiation and the shamanistic symbolism on another occasion.

Bibliography:

1. Miyazawa, Kenji (1991), *Night of the Milky Way Railway* [trans. Sarah M. Strong], M. E. Sharpe, New York.
2. Miyazawa, Kenji (1995), *ShinKōhon Miyazawa Kenjizenshū daijūkan dōwa III honbunhen*, Chikumashobō.
3. Miyazawa, Kenji (1996), *ShinKōhon Miyazawa Kenjizenshū daijūichikan dōwa IV honbunhen*, Chikumashobō.
4. Eliade, Mircea (1989), *Shamanism: Archaic techniques of ecstasy* [trans. Willard R. Trask], Arkana, London.
5. Kuji, Tsutomu (1995), *Zōho Miyazawa Kenji - Seikimatsu wo koeru yogensha*, Shinsensha.
6. Okabe, Takashi (2006), "Gingatetsudō no yoru" ron - <Fusha> to shite no Jobanni, *Miyazawa Kenji 17 [tokushū Jobanni]*, Yōyōsha, pp. 63-73.
7. Okabe, Takashi et al. (2009), *Shāmanizumu no bunkagaku - Nihonbunka no kakureta suimyaku*, Shinwasha.
8. Sasaki, Kōkan (1980), *Shāmanizumu: ekusutashī to hyōi no bunka*, Chūōkōronsha.
9. Sasaki, Kōkan and Kamata, Tōji (1991), *Hyōrei no ningengaku Kongenteki na shūkyōtaiken to shite no shāmanizumu*, Seikyūsha.
10. Takamura, Kōtarō (1995), *Takamura Kōtarō zenshū* (vol. 8), Chikumashobō.
11. Taguchi, Akisuke (1993), *Jōmon no matsuei: Miyazawa Kenji*, Mumyōsha.
12. Taguchi, Akisuke (2000), Miyazawa Kenji to shāmanizumu, *Ekodabungaku 45*, Ekodabungakukai, pp. 44-61.
13. Tsunazawa, Mitsuaki (1990), *Miyazawa Kenji Jōmon no kioku*, Fūbaisha.
14. Uchida, Hiroshi (2001), *Miyazawa Kenji "Gingatetsudō no yoru" no monogatari kōzō*, Bungeisha.
15. Ueda, Akira (1985), *Miyazawa Kenji Sono risōsekai he no dōtei*, Meijishoin.
16. Yonechi, Fumio (2000), "Gingatetsudō no 'Toritori' Kitsune kasetu kara mita Miyazawa Kenji no jūshōteki sekai", *Sōgōseisaku 10(1)*, Iwateken ritsudaigaku sōgōseisaku gakkai, pp. 15-34.

From Literary Works to Comics in Japan: The Case of *the Shonen-sencho* (1958) by Fujiko F. Fujio

Reiji KOHASHI*

Abstract: *Fujiko F. Fujio (1933-1996), known as the author of Doraemon, sometimes adapted from foreign literary works immediately after debuting as a professional comic artist. For example, Ulysses by Homer, The Dog Crusoe by R. M. Ballantyne, and The Rose and the Ring by W. M. Thackeray were used in his adaptations. Also, his UTOPIA: the Final World War (『Utopia 最後の世界大戦』, 1953) was influenced by Aldous Leonard Huxley's Brave New World. After the Pacific War was over, many new literary works became available from overseas. However, it does not seem that he read them in the original form. Despite his popularity, there are many questions regarding the sources of Fujiko F. Fujio's knowledge about foreign literary works.*

This paper argues the case of Shonen-sencho (『少年船長』, 1958). Its origin is Mr. Midshipman Easy (1836) by Frederick Marryat, a retired captain in the Royal Navy. He was by no means popular in Japan. In prewar times, only three of his works were translated. To begin with, it is important to ask how Fujiko F. Fujio came to know about Frederick Marryat. The first part of this paper discusses the possible course of acquiring the knowledge about Frederick Marryat. The second part of this paper compares in detail Shonen-sencho, the adaptation, to Mr. Midshipman Easy, the original. Further, it investigates which parts Fujiko F. Fujio adopted and omitted from the original text, and why he did it. The focus of this paper is to explore how a Japanese comic artist understood and adapted foreign literary works.

Keywords: *Fujiko F. Fujio, Frederick Marryat, Mr. Midshipman Easy, comic, adaptation*

1. Introduction

Japan had already been accepting many literary works from the western world since Meiji era (1867-1912). Those overseas literary works affected not only translators, but also novelists. A similar situation can be observed in the field of comics. Turning overseas literary works into comics was also present in Japan. Among the early Japanese comics, there were many single frame comics as well as satire comics from

* Assistant Professor, Osaka University

foreign countries¹; however, full-length comics with stories also started to emerge. Particularly after the end of the Pacific War (1945), the appearance of Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫, 1928-1989) was undoubtedly epoch-making. To begin with, the title of the work that made his fame is *New Treasure Island*² (『新宝島』, 1947). The name of this work itself refers to Robert Louis Stevenson's well-known novel, *Treasure Island*. In this way, the introduction of foreign literary works had an important meaning in the success of comic stories. Nevertheless, studies to investigate how comic artists were able to obtain knowledge about them, as far as I know, cannot be found. It may be said that such issues have never been considered.

In this paper, I would like to discuss one of the adaptations from an original foreign novel into a comic by Fujiko F. Fujio (藤子・F・不二雄, 1933-1996), one of Japan's most famous cartoonists³. He was inspired by Tezuka's *New Treasure Island* in his junior high school days and adapted literary works into comics after becoming a comic artist. However, faithful 'translations' of the originals were not created. In Japanese comics, there are adaptations rather than translations⁴. This may be an obvious conclusion since the comic form is different from the literary form.

Shonen-sencho (「少年船長」), meaning *The Young Captain*, was published in 1958 as an appendix of the magazine *Joyful Fourth Graders* (『たのしい四年生』), the readership of which would be fourth grade elementary school children (approximately 10 years old). Fujiko F. Fujio explained that the original author of *Shonen-sencho* is Frederic Marryat; however, he did not mention the title of the original text. There is a list of characters and the readers can recognize that the name of the protagonist is Jack Easy. Hence, it can be argued that *Mr. Midshipman Easy* is the original text. If so, however, there is a problem with this

¹ I have already mentioned this phenomenon in "Comparison of the Representations of Female Teachers in the Japanese Periodicals and British Ones" (*Comparative Arts & Design Studies around Asia: The Horizon of the 21st Century between Japan and Britain*, 2013).

² Strictly speaking, this work was not an achievement by Tezuka alone, but a co-product with another cartoonist, Sakai Shichima (酒井七馬, 1905-1969). There are still various opinions about which cartoonist occupied the main position in the innovative technique of *New Treasure Island*. See Nakano and Noguchi.

³ His primary work was *Doraemon*, which appeared in the picture used to advertise the 2020 Tokyo Olympics during the recent closing ceremony of the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics. For this reason, *Doraemon* may be referred to as a character representing Japan.

⁴ "adaptation is a procedure which can be used whenever the context referred to in the original text does not exist in the culture of the target text, thereby necessitating some form of re-creation" (Bastin, Georges L. 'Adaptation'. In Baker, Mona, and Saldanha, Gabriela. eds. 2011. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies. (Second Edition)*. London: Routledge., pp.3-4) Comic artists have to cut episodes of the original texts because of the limitation of pages in a magazine, so it may be right to call them 'abridged translations.' Nevertheless this paper uses the expression 'adaptation' from the viewpoint of the need of 'some form of re-creation.'

situation because, actually, Marryat was a British novelist known as the 19th century's pioneer of naval adventure fiction⁵. In Japan, therefore, few people would recognize his name. How was Fujiko F. Fujio familiar with Marryat's *Mr. Midshipman Easy*? To begin with, was *Mr. Midshipman Easy* ever actually introduced into Japan? The first section of this paper discusses the possible courses that Fujiko F. Fujio may have taken to acquire knowledge regarding Marryat's works. The second section of this paper compares *Shonen-sencho* as an adaptation with *Mr. Midshipman Easy* as the original. The primary focus of this paper is to explore how a certain Japanese comic artist adapted foreign literature into his work.

2. How did Fujiko F. Fujio know about *Mr. Midshipman Easy* by Frederick Marryat?

Firstly, let us confirm some basic facts. The strange name Fujiko F. Fujio is not the author's real name⁶. His real name is Fujimoto Hiroshi (F. is from the initial character of the family name Fujimoto), and Fujiko Fujio was the name of the cartoonist team composed of Fujiko F. Fujio and Fujiko Fujio A., whose real name is Abiko Motoo (藤子不二雄○A=我孫子素雄, 1934-). They were friends since elementary school in Toyama Prefecture, and used the Fujiko Fujio name from 1954 until the dissolution of the partnership in 1987. Therefore, we are unable to distinguish their work fundamentally, and *Shonen-sencho* is a work from the partnership era. This paper assumes Fujiko F. Fujio as the author of this work from two reasons.

The first reason is the definite difference in the style of these two comic artists. We can judge the style of *Mr. Midshipman Easy* to be near to that of Fujiko F. Fujio. The second reason is decisive: this work is included in *The Complete Works of Fujiko F. Fujio*. Accordingly, this paper focuses on Fujiko F. Fujio as the original author and examines his personal experiences.

However, Fujiko F. Fujio spoke about his comics, but rarely discussed his personal life. On the contrary, Fujiko Fujio A. is open

⁵ Marryat, Captain Frederick (1792-1848) London-born author, naval captain, and FRS. He first achieved fame for his sea stories, beginning with the partly autobiographical *The Naval Officer, or Scenes and Adventures in the Life of Frank Mildmay* (1892). Marryat resigned his commission in 1830 and thereafter supported himself by writing. Among his most successful works, *Peter Simple* (1834), *Jacob Faithful* (1834), and *Mr. Midshipman Easy* (1836), all set at sea, were followed by *Japhet in Search of a Father* (1836), about a founding. With *Masterman Ready* (1841) he turned his attention to children's books, and it is chiefly for these he is remembered. *The Settlers in Canada* (1844) was followed by *The Children of the New Forest* (1847), a historical novel about the adventures of the four Beverley children, orphaned during the Civil War, who learn the arts of survival from a poor forester. (Birch, Dinah. ed. 2009. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature (seventh edition)*. Oxford: Oxford UP., p.640)

⁶ In general, Japanese people do not have middle names.

about his personal life. In *Manga Michi* (『まんが道』), meaning *Road to Comic*, he depicts the early period of their lives as comic artists. Of course, *Manga Michi* itself is a piece of fiction, so the readers have to be careful not to misunderstand it as the truth. This paper tries to aim for precision by quoting from texts other than *Manga Michi* (including the citations regarding Fujiko F. Fujio from the diary by Fujiko Fujio A.) while admitting that its content is basically trustworthy.

Here, I would like to examine the process by which Fujiko F. Fujio obtained knowledge of *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. In the pre-World War II era, out of his numerous novels, only three of Marryat's works had been introduced into Japan: *Peter Simple* (1834), *The Children of the New Forest* (1847), and *The Little Savage* (1848). In Japan, *The Children of the New Forest* was the first translation of Marryat's works, in 1939. The translator was Shimizu Terukichi (清水暉吉)⁷. It seems that Shimizu was originally a poet and a translator of western poems; however, from around 1935 to the end of the war, he translated some western popular novels for *King*, one of the Japanese representative entertainment magazines. *Peter Simple* was published from Iwanami Shoten in a separate volume in 1941. The translator, Ito Toshio (伊藤俊男), hardly had any remarkable translations. *The Little Savage* was translated in 1942. In 1948, following the war, *The Collected Works of Marryat* were published by Nakamura Keiichi (中村経一)⁸, the translator of *The Little Savage* mentioned above. However, only two works were recorded in *The Collected Works*, and *Mr. Midshipman Easy* was not one of them⁹. In 1948, *Shininzake*, which means "dead-man's liquor", was translated in an anthology of gothic novels. The original text is *The Story of the Greek Slave*. In the following year, Nobuhara Ken (延原謙), known as the translator of the *Sherlock Homes* series in Japan, translated *The White Wolf of the Hartz Mountains* (1839) as *Hakurokai* (「白狼怪」). An interesting example from the same year as *Shonen-sencho* was *The Story of Bad Boy Jack*. This was published in *The Age of English in Junior High School* (『中学英語時代』) as an English teaching material. However, I could not check the original. Considering the circumstances, the works of Marryat were, surprisingly, widely accepted in Japan. This paper does not have a definite answer for the reason why several works

⁷ His representative translations are Johann Rudolf Wyss's *The Swiss family Robinson* in 1940, and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* in 1941. Including the translation of *The Children of the New Forest*, his early translations were mainly published by Asahi Newspaper, a Japanese quality paper.

⁸ He mainly translated history books: *The History of Rome* and *The History of Greece* in 1942, and Thomas Macaulay's *The History of England* in 1948.

⁹ The first work was *Sho-banjin*, the retranslation of *The Little Savage*, and the second work was *Shiryaku-sencho*, known as *The Privateersman* (1846).

of Marryat were welcomed in Japan. Yet, Japanese boys had read translations of nautical fiction with boy-protagonists, like Jules Verne's *Two Years' Vacation* (『十五少年漂流記』) or Stevenson's *Treasure Island* in children magazines since the Meiji era. This is clear from the fact that *New Treasure Island* influenced the later comic artists as mentioned above. Most of Marryat's novels too feature boys as protagonists, and this is true about *The Little Savage* and *Peter Simple*¹⁰; consequently, there might have been some demand for such works at that point in Japan. However, *Mr. Midshipman Easy* had never been translated into Japanese.

It can be surmised that Fujiko F. Fujio did not acquire his knowledge independently and somebody else told him about this novel. For example, the comic that was adapted from *The Rose and the Ring* (1854) by W. M. Thackeray was recorded in *The Complete Works of Fujiko F. Fujio*. In the case of this work, it was revealed that in fact it was the editor's recommendation¹¹. However, in this case, it is hard to think about what the editor recommended because there was no available translation of *Mr. Midshipman Easy*, as pointed out above. There is an extremely small possibility that he read the original book in English. His educational background was a technical high school and he did not study English sufficiently. In addition, Japan was a so-called 'developed country' in the field of translation. Therefore, it is probable that he read the translations of these literary works¹².

We examined another possibility: movies. Both comic artists loved watching movies. Scenes where they are watching movies appear in *Manga Michi* several times. Fujiko F. Fujio depicted the legend of Dracula¹³ as *Ryuketsuki* (「流血鬼」), which means a bloody demon, in 1978. The story is based on Richard Matheson's *I Am Legend* (1954), which is now recognizable as a movie starring Will Smith made in 2007. Most likely, he watched *The Omega Man*, which was the second film adaptation of *I am Legend* in 1971, or read a paperback version in 1977. He confessed to having referred to the movie.

¹⁰ Regarding *Peter Simple*, Miyamoto Yuriko, 43-year-old female writer at that time (she was a wife of Miyamoto Kenji, the leader of Japanese Communist Party), listened to it being read out on her sickbed (*The Letters to the Prison*, 1942). This novel was included in "Iwanami bunko", which was founded after the style of *Reclams Universal-Bibliothek* in Germany. Thus, it is hard to say it was only 'a product for children'.

¹¹ *Manga Michi*. vol.10, p.116. This comic is not necessarily non-fiction, but it is sure that a fact is near.

¹² However, time contradiction sometimes occurs. Fujiko Fujio A kept a diary and wrote that he was reading Dos Passos's *USA* in 1949 (Fujiko Fujio A and Fujiko F. Fujio. *We Drew Cartoons for Boys Together* [『二人で少年漫画ばかり描いてきた』], p.41). In fact, it was in 1950 that the first translation of *USA* was published by Kaizosha. What did he read?

¹³ By the way, Tezuka also utilized the legend of Dracula as *Don Dracula* (1979). Tezuka depicted *Don Dracula* living in Japan with his beloved daughter as a somewhat humorous existence.

Actually, I have read the magnificent original *Ulysses*, as translated by Doi Bansui¹⁴. Nevertheless, the inexperienced cartoonist did not have the ability to summarize 64 pages. Reluctantly, I used the movie starring Kirk Douglas, which was released a few years ago, (...)¹⁵

Ulysses was published in 1957, and the movie of *Ulysses* starring Kirk Douglas was released in 1954. As such, Fujiko F. Fujio sometimes referred to movies.

In 1937, *Mr. Midshipman Easy* was made into a movie in the United Kingdom under the title of *Midshipman Easy*. The director was Carol Reed and this work was his first movie as a solo director. Carol Reed was well known in Japan as the director of *The Third Man*, the Palme d'Or prize winner in 1949, and as the director of *Oliver!*, which received the 1968 Academy Award for directing. Fujiko Fujio A. confessed that Carol Reed was one of his favourite five movie directors. There is a scene describing how he watched *The Third Man* in *Manga Michi*¹⁶. This episode is about the partner of Fujiko F. Fujio, not himself; however, it is clear from his description that Carol Reed was a very popular movie director at that time. Fujiko F. Fujio might have watched his movies, too. I investigated the possibility that Fujiko F. Fujio may have watched *Midshipman Easy* somewhere. However, I was unable to confirm this. Specifically, I searched through articles from the Japanese movie magazines at that time that mentioned Carol Reed, but could not find any before the war, and a record of *Midshipman Easy* being released in Japan did not exist. During this investigation, I was unable to answer the first question, which is how Fujiko F. Fujio gained knowledge of *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. However, there is a slight possibility to elucidate the source. In Fujiko Fujio A.'s diary in 1951, he described that F. read *The Compact Edition of World Masterpieces* (「世界名作縮刷全集」) and drew *UTOPIA: the Final World War* was based on this reading experience. As far as I researched, the title *The Compact Edition of World Masterpieces* was used only for the New Year supplement in January 1938 issue of *Fujin-Koron* (『婦人公論』). This issue was published over 10 years before the date of the diary and the magazine itself was intended for women. Moreover, that appendix did not contain Huxley's *Brave New World* or Marryat's *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. If I identify *The Compact Edition of World Masterpieces*, which Fujiko Fujio A. mentioned, the course through which Fujiko F. Fujio acquired

¹⁴ 土井晩翠(1871-1952) was a famous Japanese poet. He was also a scholar of English literature, and he translated Thomas Carlyle, George Gordon Byron, and so on.

¹⁵ The first appearance is *Masterpiece Collection of the Appendix Comics* (『付録漫画傑作選』, 1985). Quoted from *The Complete Works of Fujiko F. Fujio* 101.

¹⁶ *Manga Michi*. vol.6, pp.80-86

the knowledge of *Mr. Midshipman Easy* will be elucidated. I have not been able to find it yet, but I would like to make this a subject for my future examination.

3. What episodes from *Mr. Midshipman Easy* did Fujiko F. Fujio adapt and omit in *Shonen-sencho*?

Next, I would like to examine where Fujiko F. Fujio selected and omitted scenes from *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. *Mr. Midshipman Easy* is a large book consisting of 41 chapters in three volumes. Here I am referring to a compact type published by Oxford University Press in 1910; though it is compact, it has more than 400 pages. On the contrary, *Shonen-sencho* has merely 34 pages. It can be said that there must have been a conscious choice of the episodes that were depicted. In 1955, Fujiko Fujio drew a manga based on Anthony Hope's adventure novel, *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894), at the request of an editor. In *Manga Michi*, the process at that time is depicted as follows:

Fujiko Fujio A.: Okay, the princesses are still there...

Fujiko F. Fujio: I suggest that we remove the princesses and Antoinette. Anyhow, we can only have this story in 16 pages! Should we remove the female characters and concentrate only on the men's fight?

Fujiko Fujio A.: I see! That's a good idea.¹⁷

Intriguingly, Fujiko F. Fujio offers this suggestion. It is extremely suggestive that it was Fujiko F. Fujio who insisted on the modification from the original text.

The outline of *Shonen-sencho* is as follows. Jack Easy boards H. M. Sloop Harpy with his friend Ned as the midshipman. The chief officer is Mr. Jolliffe and the captain is Mr. Wilson. H. M. Sloop Harpy encounters a Spanish battleship in the middle of a voyage after which a battle begins. H. M. Sloop Harpy is nearly cornered just before submergence. However, the crew organizes a night attack. Jack captures Don Silvio, the captain of this Spanish battleship, and saves a kidnapped woman, Agnes. She is the daughter of Don Rebiera, a wealthy Spanish person. In order to return Agnes, Jack and Ned, who are British, sneak into Spain, which is at war¹⁸. Meanwhile, Don Silvio runs away. He obtains the help of the Governor-General and appears in the residence of Don Rebiera for his revenge. Jack and his comrades manage to run away, and Jack attacks the ship, which is anchored in the port. Fortunately, the captain of this ship is Don Silvio. Jack takes him hostage, and usurps the position of the captain. Jack then leaves Spain with Agnes.

¹⁷ *Manga Michi*. vol.13, p.211

¹⁸ The original text was set during the Napoleonic Wars (the author Marryat himself served with distinction), and the United Kingdom and Spain were in a state of war at that time.

Many episodes and characters are omitted from the story. In *Shonen-sencho*, there are only eight characters with names. The original story begins before Jack was born. An episode with his father and mother accounts for the first several chapters, by which point the story becomes redundant. There are definitely many funny scenes in the episodes with his father and mother. The next is the scene in which Jack is named by his parents.

“(…) It is scriptural—we have the Apostle and the Baptist—we have a dozen Popes who were all Johns. It is royal—we have plenty of kings who were Johns—and moreover, it is short, and sounds honest and manly.”

“Yes, very true, my dear; but they will call him Jack.”

“Well, we have had several celebrated characters who were Jacks. There was—let me see—Jack the Giant Killer, and Jack of the Bean Stalk—and Jack-Jack—”

“Jack Spratt,” replied Mrs. Easy.

“And Jack Cade, Mrs. Easy, the great rebel—and Three—fingered Jack, Mrs. Easy, the celebrated negro—and, above all, Jack Falstaff, ma’am, Jack Falstaff—honest Jack Falstaff—witty Jack Falstaff—”¹⁹

Finally, only the name of Falstaff enters his head. Falstaff is, of course, the comical figure who appears in Shakespeare’s work²⁰, and the conversations between his parents appears interesting to the readers. However, these are merely trifling details. Therefore, such scenes are omitted in *Shonen-sencho*. The same applies to many characters in this novel. Many of the seamen’s names are omitted, and only three people remain: Captain Wilson, Jolliffe, and Ned Gascoigne. The first scene in which Ned appears is as follows.

Their names were O’Connor, Mills, and Gascoigne.²¹

Here Gascoigne appears as only a crewmember to Jack. It is farther in the future that Jack refers to him as Ned.

“That we may take our oaths of,” replied Gascoigne.

“Then look you, Ned,” said Easy.²²

In addition, Mesty, who is an important person to Easy, is absent in *Shonen-sencho*. He was originally an African prince who got enslaved. He escaped from slavery and became a lower deck seaman. Moreover, it

¹⁹ Captain Marryat. 1910. *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.5-6

²⁰ Falstaff appears in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and the character that has the name Peter Simple appears in the same text.

²¹ Marryat, op.cit., p.73

²² Ibid., p.170

was Mesty who murdered Don Silvio and his confession appears as follows in Chapter 33.

I look round –all right, and I drive my knife good aim into him heart and press toder hand on him mouth, but he make no noise.(...)

“Dead! Don Silvio dead! Well, Mesty, we are eternally obliged to you, for there was no safety for my father while he was living.”²³

‘Toder’ in this citation is not a spelling error. In Chapter 15, Mesty’s English is described as below.

Although we have made the African negro hitherto talk in his own mixed jargon, yet, as we consider that, in a long narration, it will be tedious to the reader, we shall now translate the narrative part into good English, merely leaving the conversation with which it may be broken, in its peculiar dialect.²⁴

Mesty has a strange pronunciation in English owing to his African origin (this expression may appear discriminatory from today's point of view), and his conversations with other characters in the text reproduce it. In the translation of *Peter Simple*, Peter’s Irish comrade O’Brien also speaks in dialect²⁵. *Peter Simple* was a translation, so the translator Ito had enough space to do this; *Shonen-sencho* is a comic, which has only 34 pages, so the author Fujiko F. Fujio might have had no space to represent such a complicated character. Besides, the scene of the murder as mentioned above would appear as too bloody for children, who were supposed to be the main target. In *Shonen-sencho*, Don Silvio was merely captured, and what happened to him afterwards is never explicitly depicted. This is enough for the young readers. Fujiko F. Fujio would artfully avoid scenes in which actions such as murder appeared in works for children. For these purposes, he might have eliminated important characters in the original text. And thanks to concentrating on Jack’s friendship with Ned, Fujiko F. Fujio controlled the story so that its main frame did not collapse. His selection of episodes from *Mr. Midshipman Easy* to represent in *Shonen-sencho* prove an exquisite sense of balance²⁶.

²³ Ibid., p.356

²⁴ Ibid., p.137

²⁵ He speaks in Edo dialect, which was used in the old-town area of Tokyo.

²⁶ The ways in which he used his skill were different between works for adults and works for children. In *Ryuketsuki*, the protagonist drives in a shard of wood into a body in order to exterminate a vampire. The most famous example would be *The Dishes of Minotaur* (1969), which overflows with a grim humor as a human voluntarily becomes the food for a tribe. He published these works in comic magazines for adults. He presented such works parallel to *Doraemon*. It is very interesting to follow how he was able to write both stories for children and adults at the same time.

4. Conclusion

Ultimately, my research was not able to clearly show how Fujiko F. Fujio gained knowledge of *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. However, it opened up possibilities that I would like to explore after this article. More importantly, we were able to understand Fujiko F. Fujio's outstanding method regarding the choice of episodes and characters from the original text.

Finally, let us look at a certain scene from *Manga Michi* once again. After showing a female editor the draft of 62 pages for a magazine for first and second grade elementary school pupils, they were requested to rewrite all pages. According to the explanation, their draft was good for the fourth and fifth grade pupils, not for the original audience. They managed to rewrite their draft, and the editor gave them a pass²⁷. Episodes in which editors are asking them to write for a specific audience are often depicted in this comic.

These bitter experiences in the debut period were probably put to use in *Shonen-sencho*. The fact that he had to draw for children led to the modification of *Mr. Midshipman Easy*, the original text. Fujiko F. Fujio was always a cartoonist who paid attention to the reader, and this is one of the secrets of his popularity, which continued after his death.

Bibliography:

1. Bastin, Georges L. 'Adaptation'. In Baker, Mona, and Saldanha, Gabriela. eds. (2011) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. (Second Edition). London: Routledge
2. Birch, Dinah ed. (2009) *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (seventh edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press
3. Captain Marryat (1910) *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
4. Fujiko F. Fujio (2010) *Shonen-sencho* (「少年船長」) in *The Complete Works of Fujiko F. Fujio* 101, Shogakukan
5. Fujiko F. Fujio (2011) *The Dishes of Minotaur* (「ミノタウロスの皿」) in *The Complete Works of Fujiko F. Fujio* 70, Shogakukan
6. Fujiko F. Fujio (2010) *Ryuketsuki* (「流血鬼」) in *The Complete Works of Fujiko F. Fujio* 74, Shogakukan
7. Fujiko Fujio A. (1996) *Manga Michi* (『まんが道』), Chuo-Koron Shinsha
8. Fujiko Fujio A. and Fujiko F. Fujio. (2010) [1977]. *We Drew Cartoons for Boys Together* (『二人で少年漫画ばかり描いてきた』), Nihon Tosho Center
9. Kohashi, Reiji (2013). "Comparison of the Representations of Female Teachers in the Japanese Periodicals and British Ones" in *Comparative Arts & Design Studies around Asia: The Horizon of 21st Century between*

²⁷ *Manga Michi*, vol.10.

Japan and Britain, The Faculty of Letters of Osaka University

10. Nakano, Haruyuki (2007) *The Biography of the Mysterious Cartoonist, Sakai Shichima: the Light and Shadow of the Legend of New Treasure Island* (『謎のマンガ家・酒井七馬伝「新宝島」伝説の光と影』), Chikuma Shobo
11. Noguchi, Fumio (2007) *Tezuka Osamu's New Treasure Island: Its Legend and the Truth* (『手塚治虫の「新宝島」その伝説と真実』), Shogakukan Creative

A Study about Hino Ashihei's "Stone and Nail" and "Ghost" in Comparison with Mizuki Shigeru's Comic "Urine" Based on Legends from the Kyūshū Region

Chikako Masuda*

Abstract: *Hino Ashihei served the longest time for Japan, in the Pacific War, and was widely known as a war writer. Also, he greatly loved one kind of Japanese goblin (yōkai) called kappa¹, and wrote many novels, children's stories, and essays about them. He published a collection of forty-three kappa stories called "Kappa Mandala"², and other collections like "Kappa Ascension"³, "Kappa Conference"⁴, and "Twelve Kappa Stories"⁵. However, this group of works by Hino about kappa has not been studied yet. In this paper, from the many works about kappa which Hino wrote, I will discuss "Stone and Nail" 「石と釘」, a story based on a folktale from the author's birthplace. Although an absurd children's story, "Stone and Nail" carries within it Hino's longing for peace. Here, I will also discuss the comic titled "Urine" 「小便」, based on two of Hino's stories, "Stone and Nail" and "Ghost" 「亡霊」, and drawn by Mizuki Shigeru, a Japanese cartoonist who loved yōkai.*

Keywords: *Hino Ashihei, Mizuki Shigeru, GHQ, War, Kappa Folklore.*

1. The making and sources of "Stone and Nail"

"Stone and Nail" was published on the 10th of July 1940 in the 22nd number of "Kyūshū Bungaku" 「九州文学」 under the title "Legends" 「伝説」. The title was changed to "Stone and Nail" when the story was included in the book "Legends" 『伝説』 (the 30th of May 1941, Oyamashoten).

Kappas are one kind of Japanese ancient goblins (yōkai) that appear in various folktales that were transmitted from one generation to

*Professor, Kansai University

¹ Kappa is an amphibian creature living in the water and in the waterside. It has a plate on its head and, when the plate dries, it cannot live on land. It loves cucumber, sumo wrestling and sometimes works mischief on humans. However, it keeps its promises, it is elusively honest, and it does not lie as humans do. That is why it is loved by humans. When it dies it becomes a muddy greenish liquid giving off a bad smell.

² 火野葦平 『河童曼陀羅』 (1957年5月、四季社)

³ 火野葦平 『河童昇天』 (1940年4月、改造社)

⁴ 火野葦平 『河童会議』 (1958年4月、文芸春秋新社)

⁵ 火野葦平 『河童十二話』 (1955年7月、学風書院)

another in Japan's regions. In Fukuoka Prefecture, where Hino Ashihei was born and raised, there is a legend called *Kappa no Komahiki* 「河童の駒引き」⁶. This is the legend that inspired Hino. In the “Dictionary of Kappa Folklore” 『河童伝承大事典』 compiled by Wada Hiroshi, it is summarized as follows:

Once upon a time, the head of the village of Sutara washed his horse in the pond nearby, tied it to a tree on the bank, and returned home. After a short while, the horse came running back, neighing. When the owner looked at him, he saw that a kappa was clinging from one of the horse's legs. He was working a mischief. The man seized the kappa and was about to kill him, but as the kappa apologized; the man beat a nail in the back of a stone Jizō, made the kappa promise he will not do any mischief while the nail is in the Jizō's back, and then released him. This Jizō was enshrined on the Takatōyama mountain⁷, and after that, it became a custom for the villagers to pay a visit to this “kappafūji no jizōson” 「河童封じの地藏尊」⁸ on New Year's Eve, and see if the nail is still there.

2. The subject of "Stone and Nail"

“Stone and Nail” starts with a scene where an itinerant monk (yamabushi) with a burglar's appearance asks a smith to make him an *issshaku* (about 30 cm) long nail. The kappas from Sutara and Shimagō were fighting a turf war and the corpses of the kappas were scattered in a muddy green juice. As a result, the crops rotted and the people were troubled. The yamabushi⁹ thought of a plan to trap in the kappas. When they heard that the yamabushi made the smith forge a nail to trap them, the kappa parties immediately agreed between them that it was not the time for war and made peace. From that day, the yamabushi became the new enemy for kappa. The yamabushi lighted a *goma* 護摩¹⁰ in front of the Jizō from the temple on the Takatōyama and began to recite sutras in a loud voice. Without eating for many days, he kept praying with unshakable mind for the body of the stone Jizō to become softer. The kappas hindered the yamabushi, trying to seduce him by turning themselves into women, or scattering bad smells of excrements, but the

⁶ *Koma* 駒 indicates a horse or a pony that a man favours

⁷ Takatōyama is a small mountain in the Wakamatsu Ward of Kita Kyūshū City from Fukuoka Prefecture, with an elevation of 124m. Even at the present, stone statues of Jizō with nails in the back, that the locals are fond of calling *kappafūji no jizōson* 「河童封じの地藏尊」, can be found on this mountain.

⁸ The Jizō with a nail is a rare thing in Japan, being made to warn against kappas' mischiefs. It is said that Ashihei himself and his brothers heard similar stories from their mother when they were children.

⁹ Yamabushi are monks who retreat in the mountains and undertake ascetic practices to gain *reigen* 靈験 (a miraculous power bestowed by gods through prayer).

¹⁰ *Goma* is a ritual consisting of prayer to Buddha while making a fire.

power of the sutras was stronger. After a few days, the body of the Jizō became softer. Then, the yamabushi began to beat in the nail into Jizō's back. The kappas plunged their sharp claws into the yamabushi and bit him, afraid to become trapped. The yamabushi used all the power he had and then collapsed, but the kappas became green muddy liquid and melted. At last, the yamabushi had accomplished his task. In the end, Ashihei explains in this way:

When I climb Takatōyama and touch with my hand the rusty nail in the stone Jizō from the top, I always have a somewhat strange cold feeling. Then I gaze intently at the beautiful green grass that has just begun to sprout on the ground under which countless kappas are trapped forever.

The author reflects upon the sense of emptiness that remains after foolish things like a turf war between comrades. Despite being written in 1940, in the midst of the Japan-China War, in this work the author's sense of emptiness towards the foolish conflict and his prayer for peace can be easily seen.

Hino Ashihei made use of the tale about the nail in the back of the Jizō of mount Takatōyama, but he wrote this story as pure fiction. However, at present, seventy years after the writing of "Stone and Nail", this story became so popular that it is easily mistaken with an old tale (mukashibanashi).

3. Mizuki Shigeru's comic, "Urine", based on Hino Ashihei's "Stone and Nail" and "Ghost"

Mizuki Shigeru mixed two of Hino's stories, "Stone and Nail" and "Ghost", and published a completely different comic, "Urine" in „Manga Action" 『漫画アクション』 (the 4th of December 1969). Later, this comic was included in "Kappakō" 『河童膏 (September 1969, Futabasha), which had "from Hino Ashihei's "Kappa Mandala" written on its cover. "Urine" follows Hino's "Ghost" in the first half and "Stone and Nail" in the second. However, as I will explain later, the final conclusion is completely different from Hino's works.

4. Hino Ashihei's "Ghost"

There was a deep pool in a luxuriant forest. Until then, many travelers passed through it, but no one ever stopped. One day, a blind man came. From the pool he heard a pleading voice telling him to stop for a while, sit on the rock under the chestnut and listen. The man sat on the rock as the voice of the deep pool told him. The pool had no source of water and neither did it have an outlet. Its water was muddy like melted

green moss and gave off a bad smell, stronger even than that of excrement. The owner of the voice said he was a kappa. Although the form was not seen, he heard a strange voice from inside the pond. One hundred years before, in these mountains, about one thousand kappas had lived happily together like in an ideal village. No one had any arrogant desire to control others and everybody was happy, only boredom being something that could not be helped. One day, a kappa with a curved nose and a brown plate on his head, who was not taken seriously by his comrades, suggested an experiment. The experiment consisted in trying to see how it would sound if all the kappas who lived there shouted at once. As everyone was bored, they decided to put it into practice right away. The story-telling kappa thought that if he shouted loud, he would not be able to hear everybody's voice; therefore he decided to stay quiet. Eventually, the day of the experiment came. The kappa with a curved nose gave the signal. At that moment he wondered if a big voice will resound, but there was no sound and what followed was only perfect silence. All of the kappas, wondering how the sound will be like, thought about listening and did not shout. Then, the kappas' peaceful living broke in a moment and they melted into a green muddy liquid, forming a pool. This pool has neither water source nor outlet, and it can only rot endlessly. There, the kappas were living only days of lament, recalling the days of peace and tasting regret, sadness and anguish. The kappas were thankful that the man listened to their story and happy that they could impart the sorrow in their hearts. As soon as the story ended, the blind man tried to urinate in the pool. If they were soaked in urine, they would return to their initial form. The kappa who was telling the story did not want to return to the initial form under any condition and he implored the man not to urinate, but the novel ends with a scene where finally urine is poured into the pool.

"Ghost" is a strange tale, indeed. What did Hino intend to depict with this tale? Let us have a closer look at the text. The narrating kappa in the story describes his joy at the fact that the blind man sat under the chestnut tree as follows:

I had my eyes in tears of happiness. You certainly must be Ashihei's friend. In these days when people look with contempt at legends, deny poetry, think of romance as heresy and make science and proof the only values of reality, aside from Ashihei, there is no one to have such unchangeable, deep understanding and love for us, kappas.

The state of affairs after the war, in 1947, the year when the author wrote this tale, was as follows. People looked with contempt at legends, denied poetry, thought of romance as heresy and made science and empirical proof the only values of reality, which Hino disliked. The one

who suggested the experiment was a kappa who “was not considered too important among his fellows, because he had a curved nose, and his head-plate hair was brown”. What does this brown head-plate hair indicate? Does it indicate a foreign, non-Japanese, Occidental kappa? The story-telling kappa describes the state of affairs on the day of the experiment as follows:

We gathered in the basin between the hills and stared at the moving whip of the kappa with brown head-plate and curved nose. He stood on a higher hill, with the reed whip in the right hand, putting on airs, and waited for the right moment. [...] He decided not to shout and listen to everybody’s chorus. I fancied a lot this idea. I thought that, surrounded by one thousand kappas, if I shut up, nobody will notice, and there will be no consequence anyway. Even so, that would be breaking a promise, therefore I felt a little guilty and I looked around restlessly.

Although everyone promised to shout, this kappa decided to break the promise, feeling a little guilty. Finally, the kappa with a brown plate and a curved nose, gave the signal. The moment is depicted as follows:

In that moment I saw how the poor-looking shabby kappa was in a state of unprecedented satisfaction. He had been looked at with contempt before, but now he was leading one thousand kappas. With one whip the whole group could become whatever he wanted. His satisfaction suddenly became a prideful fluttering and a kind of vengeful look. (...) I suddenly felt repulsion, and for that reason, I made up my mind not to shout. In the trembling of that moment, the long-awaited reed whip faintly cut the wind and swung down. I held my breath.

The narrating kappa has a feeling of revolt towards the arrogant look of the brown plate kappa with a curved nose who thinks that “with one whip the whole group can become whatever he wanted”. Even if he felt guilty about breaking the promise, he decided not to shout. Moreover, this kappa was not the only one to break the promise. All of the kappas chose “unanimous silence instead of unanimous shouting”. In this way, “after this historical moment, the unshakable iron laws, the frightful legendary code fell cruelly upon our heads”. Then, “the breach of contract and the fright ruined both the body and the spirit, and in that moment, the one thousand kappas, starting with their leader, became a green muddy liquid, and a pool was formed in this basin”, the kappa tells.

What is the meaning of “the unshakable iron laws” and “the legendary code” above? They are the laws and the code that fell upon the kappas because they broke their promise, in other words made a breach of contract. Let us have a look at the nature of kappa. There is a folk story called “The Miraculous Medicine of Kappa”, transmitted with small

differences from one region to another throughout Japan; but in general, the story is as follows.

One day, a mischief-maker kappa, thinking to touch the bottom of a girl, sneaked into the toilet. When the kappa stretched his hand to touch the girl, a sharp blade cut down his arm. The kappa went to the landlord and apologized for his indiscretion, asking to have his hand back. If the landlord gives him the hand back within a few days, the kappa can put it back the way it was. The kappa apologized many times and finally promised not to work mischief a second time, and in exchange for his hand, he said he will reveal the secret of kappa's miraculous medicine for bone-setting.¹¹ In "Kappa no Komahiki" that I discussed before, which was the base folktale for "Stone and Nail", there is also the promise not to work mischief while the nail is beaten in. The kappas themselves go periodically, once a year or once a month, to see the nail in the back of the Jizō. In the legends, kappas are creatures working mischief, but once someone gets angry at them, they repent, and if they promise they will not do it again, they will respect their promise without exception. In other words, kappas are yōkai who respect their promises. For this reason, in "Ghost", when the kappas did not respect their promises, "the unshakable iron laws, the frightful legendary code cruelly" chased them down, their body became a muddy green moss-like liquid, and they turned into a pool. Originally, a kappa's nature is to keep his promise once he has made one. However, the kappas in "Ghost" are depicted as creatures breaking their promises and extremely close to humans. Throughout the novel, it is also stressed that "originally, kappas are foolish creatures", but this can also be linked with Hino's mention that "humans are foolish animals". Thus, the world of kappa from "Ghost" can be considered as a metaphor of human society.

I have already explained that the kappa with "brown head-plate hair" who suggested and conducted the sound experiment might have the meaning of a foreigner or a metaphor of the Occident, but what was the situation in Japan in 1947 when "Ghost" was written?

Japan was put under the control of General Headquarters (GHQ) from the 15th of August 1945 to the San Francisco Peace Treaty of the 18th of April 1952. The year 1947 was right in the midst of GHQ control. On the 10th of September 1945, GHQ issued the "Freedom of Press and Speech Directive", followed by "Japan Press Regulation Directive" (Press Code) on the 19th of the same month and "Japan Broadcasting

¹¹ This example is given as a "legend from Chikuzen" 「筑前の伝説」 in 「三七 河童」 of 宮地武彦・山中耕作・荒木博之『日本伝説大系第一三巻 北九州編』. However, in 国際日本文化研究センター「怪異・妖怪伝承データベース」(International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Ghost and Monster Database), a few dozens of similar stories transmitted in each region of Japan are recorded.

Regulation Directive” (Radio Code) on the 22nd. From October the 9th, “leading newspapers and magazines were subject to pre-censorship based on these codes (magazines will return to post-censorship from November 1947, and newspapers from July 1948)”.¹²

The Press Code comprised ten articles and prohibited things like matters prejudicing public safety, destructive criticism towards the Allies and the army of occupation, and propagandistic news.¹³ In other words, having been defeated in the war, Japan was freed from army control, but fell under GHQ’s new regulation of freedom of speech and administrative control. Considering these circumstances at the time of publication of the “Ghost”, the “brown head-plate hair” kappa who, despite being seen as an heretic and treated with disdain by others, had the “satisfaction” and “a kind of vengeful look”, saying that “with one whip the whole group can become whatever he wants”, might refer to GHQ rulers or the Japanese who were profiting by getting close to GHQ. As for the sound experiment, it is explained that “although it certainly demonstrates the power of scholarship on a scientific basis and refined theory, in fact, that is only the surface, the real motive being nothing else then mere boredom”. Put differently, while the rules of the GHQ appear to be based on logic and reason, they are based on nothing more than mere inertia and fancy. The kappas were “only killing time, passing their monotone mornings and evenings, spending peaceful days without revolting against the authority and with no desire to conquer”. They “rotted in a bottomless weariness” and, losing their ability to think and discern the reality, did nothing but live in degradation and inertia. On the day of the experiment, the “brown head-plate hair” kappa, looking with glaring eyes down on “the impure things outside the realm of scholastic enthusiasm”, reveals his arrogance, controlling the other kappas. The kappas, who eventually notice this, do not shout at all. What is the meaning of the fact that they did not shout? It is the wordless opposition of the subordinates. The Japanese of that time, 1947, had very little will, scholarship or knowledge to oppose the specious logic of the GHQ; against the domination, they had nothing but a wordless opposition.

In the end, the narrating kappa notices that the man is blind and also deaf. He had asked him to sit under the chestnut tree and listen to his story, and he did just so. The Japanese of 1947 became aware of GHQ’s arrogance, were tired of it, and opposed it silently; for the kappa,

¹² 山田敬男「連合国最高司令官総司令部」(『日本大百科全書』1994年1月1日～10日、小学館)

¹³ Here I consulted 国立国会図書館編『一九四五 終戦の前後、何を読み、何を記したか〈平成二七年度国立国会図書館特集展示〉』(2015年10月、国立国会図書館), 内川芳美「プレス・コード」(『日本大百科全書』1994年1月1日～10日、小学館) etc.

the man they thought listened and understood the process that lead to their sentiment was neither listening nor seeing anything. In other words, even after the war, an outsider could not easily understand the anguish of the ruled Japanese. The novel ends implacably with the following words of the kappa:

... You, there! Stop that! Don't pee! We know from the ways of our ancestors that the urine can bring one back to his original form. We don't want to become kappas again! The thought of going back to those boring, monotonous days makes us shudder. For one hundred years, we haven't got bored in the least of anguish and sadness, retrospection and hope. We felt our life was worth living.

Although having lost hope in the actual world to which they do not want to return, the kappas end up being forced to return. Despite living in a world different from the human world, namely in the world after death, for one hundred years, and feeling their "life was worth living", the ghosts are called back to the actual world. Unless one hundred years pass, the good cannot be discerned from the bad. In 1947, when Hino wrote "Ghost", the Press Code had been promulgated and he was scared of the Occupation Purge. Actually his work was indeed purged by the Occupation from May 1948 to October 1950. After one hundred years, what consequences the rule and the contamination of GHQ will be spreading in Japan? Should it be seen with these eyes?

We cannot answer that, but we can look at Mizuki Shigeru's "Urine", drawn in 1969. As it was a time when Japan was plunging into economic competitio, enjoying a high-economic growth, he could express his ideas and feelings frankly.

5. Mizuki Shigeru's comic, "Urine", and Hino Ashihei's "Stone and Nail" and "Ghost"

Mizuki Shigeru's comic "Urine" starts with a scene where a man is about to pull out a nail from the back of a *Jizō*, but he is stopped by an eighty seven year old man who tells him "you must not pull it out!".¹⁴ The old man says "This is a Urine *Jizō*, and it has a history behind it. What would you do if a kappa came out? ", and then starts telling the story from Hino Ashihei's "Ghost".

The man that passes by the pool is named *Anma no Tōroku* (あんまの東六). As in Hino's "Ghost", we are told that one thousand kappas were

¹⁴ In 1953, on Takatōyama mountain in Kita Kyushu City, Wakamatsu Ward, there was an incident: somebody pulled out the nail from a *kappafūji no jizōson* 「河童封じの地蔵尊」 (more about it in 玉井政雄『河童の釘』). Hino also writes about this incident in "Kappa's Nail" 「河童の釘, and it is possible that the appearance of the man who pulls out the nail is based on this story.

spending their peaceful and pleasant days in the deep forest, when they got bored and one of them suggested they should do an experiment to get over the boredom. He said: "Won't you all try something fun?" "Let's gather the kappas of this valley and shout all at once." "I wonder how big a voice would come out of this". However, there is no mention that the kappa who made the suggestion had "a brown head-plate" as in Hino's "Ghost".

The biggest difference from "Ghost" is that the kappa who made the suggestion says: "This is a thing called 'culture' and I learned it from a pond around one hundred *ri*¹⁵ from here". As for the other kappas, "there were some saying this is a ridiculous thing, but after some convincing, they unanimously decided to move on to the practical introduction of 'culture'". Then, finally the day of the sound experiment came. Although one would expect a big sound,

I held my breath and I focused my entire body in my ears. What was happening? I was expecting a stir so loud and violent, along with a reverberation, that would break my tympanum. Instead, in that instant a very strange silence came. I have heard that enormously loud reverberations can give the illusion of silence. Was that what was happening there? I cleaned my ears, but I couldn't hear anything. It was the legendary frightful code that fell on our heads cruelly, the unshakable iron law saying: "Kappas must not adopt culture!"

The underlined part is almost entirely the same as the one in Hino's "Ghost". The difference consists in concluding that "the legendary code" that fell upon the kappas says "kappas must not adopt the culture". This is Mizuki Shigeru's original interpretation. In other words, in Mizuki's "Urine", "the legendary code" fell, the kappas changed into a green muddy liquid and became a pool because they tried to adopt culture. When Anna no Tōroku passes by the pool, the kappas tell him the entire story of the circumstances that lead to their transformation, and, at the end, they implore him to urinate.

We were actually waiting for you. Please urinate in this pool. If somebody urinates on us, we can become kappas again. We know from the ways of our ancestors that urine can bring one back to his original form. "Got it. I guess I should urinate then." Tōroku said and started to urinate on the pool.

Exactly the opposite of the situation presented in the "Ghost", the kappas from Mizuki's "Urine" want to come back to this world. In Mizuki's "Urine", the one thousand kappas come back to life, regain their vitality, and Tōroku, astonished, runs off to the village. The

¹⁵ About 3.92km.

villagers, afraid that the one thousand kappas may devastate their fields, start to think of ways to exterminate them, but realize it is a difficult thing to do. Therefore, they ask a yamabushi to shut down the kappas for them, and he traps the kappas, as it also happens in Hino Ashihei's "Stone and Nail". Nevertheless, in the end, it is not made clear who named the Jizō "Urine Jizō", and the story finishes with "a somewhat strange cold feeling". Mizuki's "Urine" finishes like a typical comic, with "Kappafūji no jizōson" and "Urine Jizō" turning into a story that leaves the reader with a bitter smile.

6. Final Considerations

In the present paper, I discussed the fact that Hino Ashihei's "Stone and Nail" is constructed based on the "Kappa no Komahiki" legend. This legend has its origin in the so-called Kappafūji no jizōson, enshrined even nowadays in the City of Kita Kyūshū, Wakamatsu ward, Takatōyama. I explained that originally "Stone and Nail" is fundamentally different from the "Kappa no Komahiki" legend. As a work from the Japan-China War, it refers to peace, one of its significations being to warn against turf war continuation. In the process of my study, I revealed the interesting fact that Hino Ashihei's story has a great influence in Kita Kyushu, so great that nowadays "Stone and Nail" is more widely known than the legend of "Kappa no Komahiki", told and read over and over as if it was an actual legend from Fukuoka Prefecture. Also, I examined in detail Hino's "Ghost". Like "Stone and Nail", "Ghost" is also a story about kappas. However, as I argued above, the story of "Ghost" is constructed by associating the figure of the Japanese who resisted wordlessly against the domination of GHQ with a kappa. Furthermore, I discussed the relation between Mizuki Shigeru's comic, "Urine", and Hino Ashihei's "Ghost" and "Stone and Nail", revealing that Mizuki's "Urine", while based on the works of Hino, emphasizes the humoristic aspect, characteristic for a comic.

Bibliography:

1. Ashihei, Hino (1940), *Kappa Shōten*, Kaizōsha
2. Ashihei, Hino (1955), *Jūniwa*, Gakufū shoin
3. Ashihei, Hino (1957), *Kappa mandara*, Shikisha
4. Ashihei, Hino (1958), *Kappa kaigi*, Bungei shunjū shinsha
5. Uchikawa, Yoshimi (1994), *Presu kōdo in Nippon daihyakka zennsho*, Shōgakukan
6. Wada, Hiroshi (2005), *Kappa deshō daijiten*, Wada shoten
7. Yamada, Takao (1994), *Renkōkoku saikō shirei kansō shireibu in Nippon daihyakka zennsho*, Shōgakukan
8. Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan (ed.) (2015), *1945 Shūsen no zengo, nani o yomi, nani o shirushita ka*, Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan.

II. LINGUISTICS

Semantic Role of the English Preposition *In* in Japanese Compounds

*Keita Ikarashi**

Abstract: *There are cases where English prepositions are used in Japanese compounds. This paper investigates compounds in which the English preposition in appears between two nouns, namely, N1-in-N2, and clarifies the semantic role of in in this type of compound. Previous studies have attempted to identify the meaning of in in the compound based on another similar type of compound, namely N1-iri-N2; however, there remain some unresolved issues in their analyses. Therefore, unlike these studies, this paper analyzes the compound N1-in-N2 independently from the compound N1-iri-N2, and proposes that in of N1-in-N2 expresses two semantic relations between N1 and N2: (i) a containing relation and (ii) an inseparable relation. This paper, furthermore, demonstrates that the second semantic property comes from a peculiar categorial status of the constituent N1-in.*

Keywords: *the N1-in-N2 construction, the N1-iri-N2 construction, compound specific submeanings, adjectival noun*

1. Introduction

A number of English words have been borrowed into Japanese, constituting the foreign stratum, which consists of “borrowings into Japanese from languages other than Chinese since the 16th century, especially in the 19th century, that have a low degree of assimilation into Japanese, in particular, borrowings from western European languages like English, French, German, Italian, and Dutch” (Kageyama and Saito, 2016: 25).¹ In this stratum, words originated from English are dominant (cf. Shibatani, 1990; Loveday, 1996).

The language contact with English does not affect the Japanese grammatical system, but it merely induces lexical borrowings (cf. Winford, 2003). However, “not all cases of borrowing from English into Japanese

* University of Aizu, Junior College Division

This paper is a revised and extended version of the presentation at the “Japan: Pre-modern, Modern and Contemporary” conference. I express my sincere gratitude to Ryohei Naya and Kazuya Nishimaki for their invaluable comments and suggestions. I have also benefited from the discussion with the audience at the presentation.

¹ Borrowings from Chinese typically belong to the Sino-Japanese stratum. In addition, Japanese has two more strata: the native stratum (indigenous words) and the mimetic stratum (cf. Shibatani) 1990, Irwin, 2011, Kageyama and Saito, 2016.

are [straightforward]. [...] English items ‘borrowed’ into Japanese have been thoroughly ‘japanized’ and integrated into the phonology and morphology of the language” (Winford, 2003: 33). For example:

- (1) a. truncated compounding: e.g. *waa-puro* < word processor
- b. innovative compounding: e.g. *goo sutoppu* ‘traffic light’ < go + stop
- c. blending or hybridization: e.g. *dai-sutoraiku* < Japanese ‘big’ + strike

(Winford, 2003: 33, with slight modifications)

As for the morphological aspect, Irwin (2011:137) notes that “[t]he most heavily researched area of loanword morphology is the range of phenomena associated with compounds.” Even in the case of compounds, however, some phenomena have yet to be focused on; thus, such phenomena remain poorly understood. Among these phenomena are compounds involving English prepositions, such as *tiizu-in-hanbaagu* cheese-in-hamburger steak to mean ‘hamburger steak with cheese in it.’ For the purpose of exposition, I will henceforth refer to this type of expression as *the N1-in-N2 construction*. As will be discussed later, the preposition *in* shows different behaviors from the original *in*, and thus is japanized into the Japanese morphology. Previous studies have tried to clarify its morphological status, but its semantic aspect is not fully investigated. As a result, I aim to identify the meaning of *in* used in the N1-in-N2 construction, so that the analysis can contribute to understanding semantic roles of English prepositions in Japanese word formation.

The organization of this paper is as follows. Section 2 provides basic observations about the N1-in-N2 construction. Section 3 gives an overview of previous studies and points out some problematic examples from their analyses. Section 4 proposes two meanings of the preposition *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction and adduces several pieces of evidence to support the proposal. Section 5 investigates how these two meanings arise and identifies the categorial status of the constituent N1-in. Lastly, Section 6 concludes this paper.

2. Basic Observations

The phenomenon which is discussed in this paper is, as mentioned in Section 1, similar to those in (2). The observation here is based mainly on Namiki (2003, 2005) and Nagano and Shimada (2016). In (2) the nouns *rinsu* and *syannpuu* are connected with the English preposition *in* (Namiki, 2003, 2005).²

² The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples in this article: Acc = accusative, Cop = copula, Dat = dative, Gen = genitive, Top = topic.

‘dumplings containing octopus dumplings’

(*Gindako*, cited from Namiki, 2005: 9)

In (4a), *eaa in tyoko* is a kind of chocolate. The expression serves to name a chocolate with a particular property. Notice that the two nouns connected by *in* are not limited to foreign vocabularies: Sino-Japanese words (e.g. *ekitai* in (4b)) and native words (e.g. *tako-yaki* in (4c)) can be used in the N1-in-N2 construction. The productive use of *in* as observed above suggests that it has established a certain morphological position in Japanese.

Nagano and Shimada (2016) point out that *in* is not the only preposition used in a way as observed so far; *on* is also used in a similar type of expressions. For example:

- (5) *banana on mafuin*
banana on maffuin
‘muffin topped with banana slices’

(Nagano and Shimada, 2016: 3)

As with the examples given so far, (5) is a kind of muffin, but not banana. According to Nagano and Shimada, *on* is also productively used in a way as observed in (5). Although it is interesting to, for example, compare *in* and *on* in semantic and morphological terms and ascertain their differences and similarities, for the purpose of exposition, I will limit myself to data concerning *in* in the following discussion. However, I believe that it will be possible to employ the analysis in this paper to analyze examples such as those in (5).⁴

⁴ Namiki (2005) and Nagano and Shimada (2016) point out some variants of the N1-in-N2 construction. One of them is as follows:

- (i) *mafuin banana in*
muffin banana in
‘muffin with banana slices inside’

(Nagano and Shimada, 2016: 3, with slight modifications)

The example in (i) is different from the compounds dealt with in the text with respect to the word order; the constituent *banana-in* is put after *mafuin* (i.e. [mafuin [banana in]]). We can understand that *banana* and *in* create a constituent in (i) from phonological terms: a slight pause is put immediately after *mafuin* (i.e. mafuin | banana in (‘|’ indicates a pause)). This is assumed to indicate that both *banana* and *in* are a single constituent. I assume that this variant is similar to compounds such as those in the following example:

- (ii) *maturi tsukuba*
festival Tsukuba-city
‘Tsukuba-city festival’

As will be mentioned in Section 3, the head of compounds is the element on the right side in Japanese. Thus, if the compound refers to a festival that takes place in Tsukuba city, the order of two constituents is normally *tsukuba-maturi*. Nevertheless, the compound in (ii) puts its semantic head on the left side. As with *mafuin-banana-in*, *maturi-tsukuba* can be separated by a slight pause between the two constituents (i.e. maturi | tsukuba). Ikarashi and Naya (2016) argue that this type of compound serves to focus on the right side element, which would be put on the left side. Thus, the compound in (ii) emphasizes the place where the festival takes place. If the compound in (i) is a similar type of that in (ii), *banana-in* is focused

3. Previous Studies: Namiki (2003, 2005) and Nagano and Shimada (2016)

The N1-in-N2 construction has not attracted much attention in the literature. As far as I know, Namiki (2003, 2005) and Nagano and Shimada (2016) are the only works that have dealt with this expression in detail. In this section, I will provide an overview of these studies, particularly by focusing on their semantic analyses, and then point out some problems of their analyses.

3.1. Namiki (2003, 2005)

Takayasu Namiki is probably the first scholar who has investigated the N1-in-N2 construction (Nagano and Shimada, 2016). According to Namiki, the construction is a compound that is created based on the compound N(oun)1-iri-N(oun)2 (N1-入り-N2). For expository purposes, I will refer to the compound as *the N1-iri-N2 construction*. Namiki appears to try to understand the meaning of the N1-in-N2 construction based on that of the N1-iri-N2 construction. First, let us consider the N1-iri-N2 construction. For example:

- (6) *rinsu iri syanpuu*
rinse containing shampoo
'shampoo with rinse added to it'

iri, a native deverbal noun, means 'containing,' which is derived from the verb *iru* 'enter.' Namiki assumes that *rinsu* and *iri* firstly form the compound *rinsu-iri*; this compound further undergoes a compounding process with *syantpuu*, resulting in the larger compound *rinsu-iri-syantpuu*.

Phonologically, (6) shows a typical compound character. Compounds "generally [receive] one accent, and the accent does not necessarily reflect that of the original accent of [each] word" (Tsuji-mura, 2014: 86); see also Kubozono, 1995). As shown in (7), *rinsu* and *syantpuu* have their own accents, but *rinsu-iri-syantpuu* has one accent. Hence, *rinsu-iri-syantpuu* constitutes a unified phonological word, namely a compound. (The location of accent is marked by " ' ".)

- (7) ri'nsu + iri + sya'npuu → rinsu-iri-sya'npuu
(Namiki, 2005: 5)

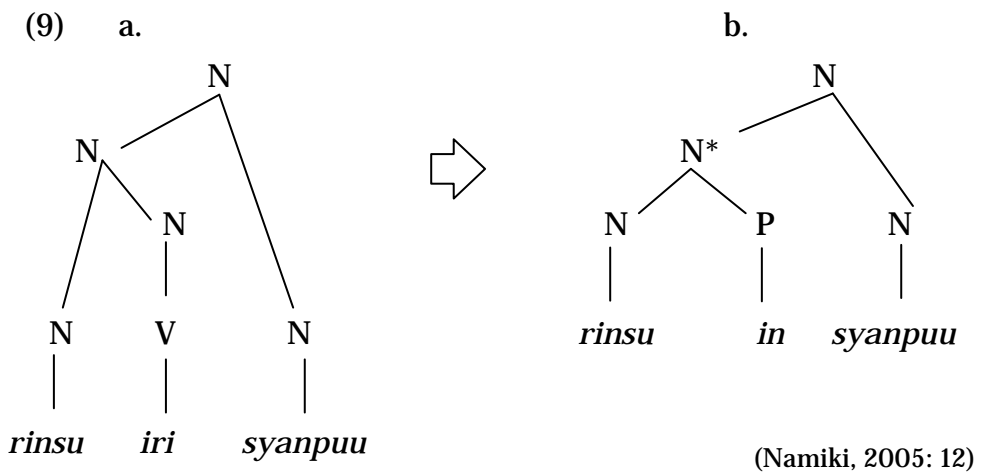
Here, let us turn to the N1-in-N2 construction. Semantically, the construction is similar to the N1-iri-N2 construction; *rinsu-iri-syantpuu*

to characterize the muffin. It is interesting to clarify the motivation by which the constituent N1-in is put on the right side; however, I leave this issue for future research.

and *rinsu-in-syanpuu* both mean ‘shampoo with rinse in it.’ Phonologically, the N1-in-N2 construction shows the same accentual pattern as the N1-iri-N2 construction. As shown in (8), *rinsu-in-syanpuu* carries one accent, constituting a unified phonological word.

(8) ri'nsu + i'n + sya'npuu → rinsu-in-sya'npuu (Namiki, 2005: 6)

The semantic and phonological similarities lead Namiki to conclude that the N1-in-N2 construction is a compound that is created based on the N1-iri-N2 construction, as illustrated in (9).⁵



If the N1-in-N2 construction is a compound, its interpretation is captured (straight forwardly). Generally, the class of compounds is determined by the right-hand element in Japanese due to the right-hand head rule (Kageyama, 1982, Namiki, 2001). For example, Namiki (2001: 280) exemplifies the head position with the so-called reversible compounds, namely, “compounds where both the form XY and the form YX exist”:

- (10) a. *hati-mitu* bee-syrup ‘honey’
 b. *mitu-bati* syrup-bee ‘(honey) bee’⁶

In (10), *hati* ‘bee’ and *mitu* ‘honey’ are compounded. In (10a), *mitu* is put on the right side of the compound, so the compound describes a kind

⁵ “N*” indicates a category similar to a noun. Namiki (2005) does not identify the exact category of N* and leaves this issue for future research.

⁶ The form *bati* occurs, because the initial consonant of *hati* has undergone sequential voicing, *rendaku* in Japanese.

of honey. On the other hand, in (10b), *hati* appears on the right side. Thus the compound means a kind of bee. Now let us turn back to the N1-in-N2 construction. *Syanpuu* in *rinsu-in-syanpuu* is the right most element. Therefore, the compound refers to a kind of shampoo.

As is clear from the above overview, Namiki is assumed to understand the meaning of the N1-in-N2 construction based on that of the N1-iri-N2 construction. Notice, however, that he also notes their semantic differences. N1 of the N1-iri-N2 construction can accommodate containers and quantity as well as ingredients, such as *rinsu-iri*:

- (11) a. *kan iri kyandii* (container)
 can containing candy
 ‘candy contained in a can’
 (Okashiya Kenta, *Oyatsu Story*, cited from Namiki, 2005: 7)
- b. *180 ml iri botoru* (quantity)
 180 ml containing bottle
 ‘a bottle containing 180ml liquid’
 (*Asahi*, Oct. 8 2003, cited from Namiki, 2005: 7)

On the other hand, Namiki finds that “[i]n Japanese compound nouns of the type N1 in N2 [...] only the ingredient reading seems to be possible before *in*” (Namiki, 2003: 549, note 8)). That is, Namiki considers *in* to be a partial correspondence to *iri*; *in* is a semantic correspondence to *iri* in that both are attached to nouns with the meaning *ingredient*.

3.2. Nagano and Shimada (2016)

Nagano and Shimada (2016) elaborate on Namiki’s (2003, 2005) analysis. Putting aside technical (in particular formal) arguments, I will focus on Nagano and Shimada’s analysis about the semantic aspect of the N1-in-N2 construction. They propose that the process in (9) is “monolingual code-switching between the native and foreign lexical strata of Japanese” (Nagano and Shimada, 2016: 9). They specifically say the following:

- (12) *rinsu in shanpuu* results from realizing the terminal V node of the structure [(9a)], which is usually realized by the native morpheme *iri*, by its synonym *in*, which is listed in the foreign lexical stratum [...]
- (Nagano and Shimada, 2016: 9)

As noted in (12), Nagano and Shimada consider *in* as a synonym of *iri*; the difference between the two items can be found not at the semantic

level, but at the metalinguistic level. According to Nagano and Shimada, the monolingual code-switching between *in* and *iri* takes place because of the difference in metalinguistic (sociolinguistic, psychological, or cultural) connotations; evoking Westernness, *in* functions to enhance the product's image value, which derives speakers or writers to use *in* instead of *iri* (see also Loveday, 1996). The difference at the metalinguistic level allows these two items to conform to the principle *synonymy avoidance*.⁷

3.3. Problems

Namiki (2003, 2005) and Nagano and Shimada (2016) attempt to define the meaning of *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction based on that of *iri* in the N1-iri-N2 construction. Their attempts seem to be successful to some extent. However, both analyses encounter some problematic examples.

Let us first point out examples that pose problems in the analysis by Nagano and Shimada. They regard the N1-in-N2 construction as a semantic equivalence to the N1-iri-N2 construction. However, these two expressions semantically show different behaviors. First, let us consider examples (13).

- (13) a. *sain* *iri* *T-syatu*
 autograph containing T-shirt
 'autographed T-shirt'
 b.??*sain in T-syatu*

In (13a), *iri* can connect *sain* and *T-syatu*. On the other hand, *sain-in-T-syatu* in (13b) sounds unnatural. The contrast in (13) suggests that *in* is not simply equivalent to *iri*.

I will highlight two more similar kinds of examples. Although Namiki (2003, 2005) assumes that the semantic correspondence of *in* with *iri*, he, as mentioned above, finds that *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction can be compounded with only nouns with the ingredient reading, whereas *iri* in the N1-in-N2 construction is allowed to be compounded with nouns expressing not only ingredients, but also quantity and containers. For example:

⁷ After submitting the first draft of this paper, I found Shimada and Nagano (2017), which is in proceedings of the annual meeting of the Association for Natural Language Processing (the paper was presented on March 14, 2017). Shimada and Nagano propose that *in* in N1-in-N2 construction serves as predicates like *contain*. They, however, do not focus on the semantic aspect of the construction.

- (14) *40mai iri kopii-yoosi* (quantity)
 40 sheets containing copy-paper
 ‘40 sheets of copy paper in a package’
 (cf. Namiki, 2003: 541)

We often encounter expressions such as those in (14), in which *40-mai* and *kopii-yoosi* are not in a direct containing relation. The N1 position is filled with a noun expressing quantity (i.e. *40mai*), and the example means that 40 sheets of copy paper are in the package. We cannot use *in* instead of *iri* to express the same meaning as illustrated in (14):

(15)??*40mai in kopii-yoosi*

Furthermore, consider the examples in (16).⁸

- (16) a. *kiribako iri boorupen* (container)
 paulownia box containing ballpoint pen
 ‘a ballpoint pen in a paulownia box’
 (<https://giftmall.co.jp/FXnrkKJy/>)(cf. Namiki, 2003: 541)
 b. ??*kiribako in boorupen*

Paulownia is a kind of tree that is often used in Japan to make boxes for expensive products. In (16a), the N1 position is filled with a noun expressing container (i.e. *kiribako*), and the example describes a ballpoint pen, which is in the paulownia box. In (16b), on the other hand, the use of *in* instead of *iri* causes an unnatural sentence, which seems to suggest, as pointed out by Namiki, that nouns expressing a form of a container are not allowed to be compounded with *in*.

I agree with Nagano and Shimada (2016) in that *in* and *iri* are different at the metalinguistic level. However, these examples show that contrary to Nagano and Shimada’s semantic description, they also differ at the semantic level; therefore, it is difficult to define the meaning of *in* only in terms of that of *iri*.

Namiki’s (2003, 2005) observation that *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction is required to follow nouns expressing ingredient is also disputable. In this respect, Nagano and Shimada (2016) point out interesting examples. They realize cases in which *in* does not directly correspond to *iri*. They provide examples like those in (17) in a footnote.

- (17) *beekon in tiizu*
 bacon wrapped.in cheese
 ‘bacon-wrapped cheese’
 (<http://cookpad.com/recipe/2886943>, cited from
 Nagano and Shimada, 2016: 31, footnote 36)

⁸ The examples cited from the Internet were finally checked on February 2017.

Given this compound refers to a type of food, *in* cannot be replaced with *iri*, but *maki* ‘wrapping.’ According to Nagano and Shimada (2016: 31, footnote 36), *in* is used in (17) “because the resulting bacon wrapping can be seen as a kind of container to put the cheese in” (underline mine). However, as Namiki (2003, 2005) points out, the N1 position is incompatible with containers. Thus, Nagano and Shimada’s analysis on the use of *in* in (17) causes a problem for Namiki’s observation. Therefore, we should find some semantic properties of *in* that dissolve the superficial contradiction between (16b) and (17).

Intuitively, *in* certainly is in a paradigmatic relation with *iri*. However, the examples dealt with in this section show that it is difficult to account for the meaning of *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction only from the perspective of the meaning of *iri* in the N1-iri-N2 construction. Thus, it is necessary to analyze the meaning of *in*, independently of that of *iri*. To capture all of the examples given so far, I will clarify the meaning of *in* in the next section.

4. Semantic Properties of *in* in the N1-in-N2 Construction

I propose that all the N1-in-N2 constructions share the following two semantic properties:

- (18) *In* in the N1-in-N2 construction expresses two semantic relations between N1 and N2: (i) a containing relation and (ii) an inseparable relation.⁹

The construction should express both of the two relations between N1 and N2; in other words, if N1 and N2 of the construction fail to express either or both of the two relations, the expression in question becomes unacceptable.

Based on the proposal, we can account for the phenomena given so far. For example, *rinsu-in-syanpuu* ‘shampoo with rinse in it’ is natural because it meets both semantic characters; rinse is blended into and contained in shampoo as an essential ingredient (semantic character (i)), and hence, rinse cannot be separated from shampoo (semantic character (ii)).

On the other hand, unnatural N1-in-N2 constructions fail to have one or both of the two semantic properties. For instance, the following example sounds unnatural:

- (19)??*sain in T-syatu* (= (13b))

⁹ I assume that a “containing relation” is neutral with respect to the relation between N1 and N2: The definition allows both “N1 contains N2” and “N2 contains N1.” For example, in the case of *rinsu-in-syampuu*, N2 (*syampuu*) contains N1 (*rinsu*). In the case of *beekon-in-tiizu* in (17), on the other hand, N1 (*beekon*) is assumed to contain N2 (*tiizu*).

Signature is written on the surface of a T-shirt. As such, it is not contained in the T-shirt, thereby violating the first property “containing relation.” That is why the example in (19) is unacceptable.

The same is true for the following example:

(20)??40mai in kopii-yoosi (= (15))

Because 40-mai describes the number of copy paper in a package, 40 sheets and copy paper are not in a direct containing relation (the violation of the first semantic property). Thus, the example sounds unnatural.

Unlike the examples in (19) and (20), the following example is assumed to violate the semantic property (ii) “inseparable relation”:

(21)??kiribako in boorupen (= (16b))

The example in (21) describes a ballpoint pen that is in the paulownia box. Notice that the ballpoint pen can be easily separated from the box without affecting the form or property of the ballpoint pen; in this context, the paulownia box is assumed to merely serve to give rise to a high-value quality (in fact, the website given in (16a) explains the role of paulownia boxes in a similar fashion). That is why the expression in (21) is unacceptable.

Recall here that Namiki (2003, 2005) points out that N1 in the N1-in-N2 construction is limited to nouns expressing ingredient, which is contained in N2: in other words, containers such as a paulownia box are not allowed to appear as N1 (Section 3.3). As mentioned in Section 3.3, however, his observation is disputable. Nagano and Shimada (2016) points out the example in (17), repeated in (22).

(22) beekon in tiizu
 bacon wrapped.in cheese
 ‘bacon-wrapped cheese’

Nagano and Shimada (2016: 31 footnote 36) note that “the resulting bacon wrapping can be seen as a kind of container to put the cheese in” (underline mine). Although I pointed out that their explanation seems to contradict with Namiki’s observation, the contradiction can be dissolved if we posit semantic property (ii). The bacon is an essential part in defining the food in question; bacon and cheese together form one food; hence, they are in an inseparable relation. Although it may be rare that containers appear in the N1 position, they do not cause any problem if the

N1 has an inseparable (and a containing) relation with N2 (unlike examples such as *tiizu-in-hanbaagu*, the example in (22) expresses the relation ‘N1 contains N2.’ See footnote 9 for relevant discussion).

We can find more clear examples in which containers appear before *in*:

- (23) *kappu in keeki*
cup in cake
‘a cake in a cup.’

In (23), *in* follows the container *cup*, but the expression is fully acceptable (we can find the same expression on the Internet). The cup in this case is assumed to be a constitutive part of the food referred to by the expression. Namely, the shape of the cake is determined by the cup. Thus, the cup is essential to characterize the food in question, and is, hence, inseparable from the cake. That is why (23) sounds natural.

In sum, *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction expresses two semantic relations between N1 and N2: (i) a containing relation and (ii) an inseparable relation. The N1-in-N2 construction becomes acceptable when both of the two properties are present.

5. Morphological Motivation for the Semantic Property ‘an Inseparable Relation’

5.1. The Compound *N1-in* as an AN

In the preceding section, I proposed the semantic properties of *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction. A question arising here is that of where these meanings come from. The first property “a containing relation” is intuitively straightforward; it comes from the original meaning of *in*.¹⁰ The origin of the second property “an inseparable relation,” on the other hand, is not as clear as that of the first semantic property. In this section, I will attempt to identify the origin of the meaning “an inseparable relation” from a morphological perspective.

Before advancing into discussion, I will define the morphological status of the N1-in-N2 construction. Given Namiki’s (2003, 2005) observations about accentual patterns and the position of the morphological head (Section 3.1), I assume, like Namiki, that the N1-in-N2 construction forms a compound. More specifically, N1 and *in* first undergo a compound process, and subsequently N1-in and N2 forms a larger compound (Namiki, 2003, 2005).

¹⁰ In fact, Shimada and Nagano (2017) consider *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction to be predicates like *contain*.

I argue, first of all, that the constituent N1-*in* forms a compound whose category is an adjectival noun, or AN, (e.g. *benri* ‘convenient’, *sinsetu* ‘kind’), as shown in (24).

(24) [Noun *in*]_{AN}

ANs serve to describe attributive properties of the nouns they modify (Tsuji-mura, 2014). Thus, in the case of *rinsu-in-syanpuu*, *rinsu-in* as a whole serves as an AN, modifying the head noun *sy-anpuu* and describing its attributive property (i.e., rinse is contained as its essential ingredient). This attributive property, I assume, is intrinsic to shampoo; therefore, without it, the shampoo becomes a completely different product. That is why N1 is interpreted to be inseparable from N2. Note that *kiribako* in *kiribako-in-boorupen*, an unacceptable compound, does not seem to be an attributive property of *boorupen*; the paulownia box does not constitute a relevant property of the ballpoint pen; hence, it is separable from the ballpoint pen in question without changing the characteristic of ballpoint pen. Thus, *kiribako-in* cannot appear on the left side of the compound. In the rest of this section, I will provide some pieces of evidence that lend support to my assumption.

5.2. Comparison with Independent *In*

Let us first consider Nagano and Shimada’s (2016) analysis. They propose that *in* is a verbal noun, or VN. VNs are attached by the verb *suru* (Martin, 1975). For instance, the VN *kenkyuu* ‘study’ permits the form *kenkyuu-suru* ‘to study,’ whereas the pure noun *isya* ‘doctor’ excludes a co-occurrence with *suru* (**isya-suru*) (Kageyama, 1993: 26). In fact, *in* can be followed by *suru*, as follows:

(25) *hanbaagu-ni* *tiizu-o* *in suru.*
 hamburger steak-Dat cheese-Acc in do
 ‘(I) put cheese in hamburger steak.’

What should be noticed here is that the compound *N1-in* is not allowed to co-occur with *suru*:

(26)??*hanbaagu-ni* *tiizu-in* *suru.*
 hamburger steak-Datcheese-in do
 ‘(I) put cheese in hamburger steak.’

Given the right-hand head rule, the compound *tiizu-in* would be a VN since *in* is a VN. Nevertheless, the form *tiizu-in suru* is unacceptable, which suggests that the compound N1-*in* is not a VN. Notice here that

when used as a predicate, N1-in takes the copula *da* as its ending (Namiki, 2005):

- (27) *kono hanbaagu-wa tiizu-in da.*
 this hamburger steak-Top cheese-in Cop
 ‘This hamburger steak contains cheese.’

Furthermore, we can observe the following examples:

- (28) *amanatto-in-na kanten anmitu*
 amanatoo-put.in-Cop kanten anmitsu
 ‘kanten anmitsu (agar jelly dessert) with sweetened adzuki beans in it’
 (<http://cookpad.com/recipe/2265284>, cited from Nagano and Shimada, 2016: 30, with slight modifications)

- (29) *tiizu-in-na wagaya-no okonomiyaki*
 cheese-in-Cop my house-Gen okonomiyaki
 ‘my family’s okonomiyaki which contains cheese’
 (<http://recipe.rakuten.co.jp/recipe/1510000188/>)

When put before nouns, N1-in can take the *na* form of the copula. The facts given in (27)-(29) can be observable in the case of ANs. For example, the AN *benri* ‘convenient’ takes the forms *benri-da* ‘it is convenient’ and *benri-na kaban* ‘convenient bag’ (Tsuji-mura, 2014: 136-138, with slight modifications). Based on these observations, it is reasonable to conclude that the constituent N1-in forms a compound whose category is an AN.¹¹

5.3. A Similar Phenomenon: Compound Specific Submeanings

The entire category of a compound is usually determined by the head element due to the righthand head rule; therefore, the fact that the category of N1-in is an AN means that *in* has an AN status. It is not impossible that the category of *in* in N1-in differs from that of the

¹¹ N1-in, however, does not seem to be a prototypical AN. For example, the following compound, in which N1-in takes *no*, not *na*, in adnominal modification, sounds natural:

(i) *rinsu in no shanpuu*

The nominal element taking *no* is assumed to be a noun (cf. Teramura, 1982). In this respect, N1-in is an AN closer to noun. Teramura (1982) points out that Japanese lexical categories make continuous relations; for example, *sakan* ‘active’ and *genki* ‘energetic’ both fall under the AN category, but the former is a more prototypical AN than the latter, which is closer to noun. Considering the characteristic of the Japanese lexical categories, the proposal that N-in is an AN is tenable even if N1-in, in some cases, does not show prototypical behaviors of AN.

independent *in* if we take into consideration words that have a specific meaning when used in a compound-final position. Namiki (2010) terms this meaning “a compound specific submeaning.” For instance, the abstract noun *itiryuu* means ‘first-class or excellence’ when used as an independent word or as the left-hand element of a compound (Namiki, 2010: 2381):

- (30) a. *itiryuu no sikisya* (phrase)
 excellence of conductor
 ‘excellent conductor’
 b. *itiryuu hoteru* (compound)
 first-class hotel
 ‘first-class hotel’

(Namiki, 2010: 2381)

Itiryuu, on the other hand, has a different meaning, or a compound specific submeaning, when placed on the right side of a compound, namely ‘specific to,’ or ‘unique to’:

- (31) *sanuki-huzin-itiryuu no kokoro nimo nai kenson no poozu*
 Sanuki woman specific to mind in not modesty pose
 ‘just a pose of modesty which was specific to women in Sanuki’
 (Namiki, 2001: 283) (cited from Namiki, 2010: 2381)

The categorial change is at issue in the case of *in* in N1-in, but *in* in N1-in is also semantically different from the independent *in*; the former describes an attributive property of the noun it modifies while the latter designates an action or an event (see Hasegawa, 2015: 64). Thus, I suppose that *in* in N1-in can be captured in terms of compound specific submeanings; it is possible to assume that *in* appearing on the head position of a compound has a AN status unlike the independent *in*, whose category is a VN, and makes the constituent N1-in an AN.¹²

Note in passing that *in* in N1-in behaves like an affix in that it requires a preceding noun when having an AN status. Compound constituents with an affix-like behavior are sometimes called affixoids (cf. Booij, 2010). Thus, there is a possibility that *in* in N1-in can be

¹² There are superficially similar examples to the form in (24). Irwin (2011: 141) notes that *in* in the following example functions as an affix:

(i) *siizun-in* season-in ‘start of the (sports) season’ (with slight modifications)

In (i), *in* appears on the right side of the compound; therefore, the superficial form is the same as N1-in of the N1-in-N2 construction. However, its categorial status is different. *Siizun-in* co-occurs with the verb *suru*: *siizun-in suru* ‘the (sports) season starts.’ Compounds like those in (i) are thus VNs. This may suggest that *in* in (i) is not related to compound-specific submeanings because it has no difference from the independent lexical *in*. On the other hand, *in* in (24) has a different property from the independent *in*, which suggests that it has gained a compound-specific property.

examined in terms of more general morphological phenomena (Namiki, 2010) notes that a compound-specific submeaning is a similar idea to Booij's affixoids).

6. Conclusion

The English preposition *in* is japonized and integrated into the Japanese morphological system, in that the lexical *in* has lost its prepositional status and is used as a part of the N1-in-N2 construction. Previous studies have tried to identify the meaning of *in* in the construction by comparing it with a similar type of compound, namely, the N1-iri-N2 construction. Although these two constructions have some similarities, we observed some discrepancies between them. I, therefore, examined the meaning of *in* of the construction independently of the N1-iri-N2 construction and proposed that *in* in the N1-in-N2 construction expresses two semantic relations between N1 and N2: (i) a containing relation and (ii) an inseparable relation. The first semantic property can be straightforwardly understood: It comes from the original meaning of *in*. The second semantic property, on the other hand, is more complex than the first. I argued that it is originated in the categorial status of the constituent N1-in: N1-in is an AN. Because of its AN status, N1-in expresses an attributive property of N2, and hence, N1 and N2 are in an inseparable relation.

Bibliography:

1. Booij, Geert (2010) *Construction Morphology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
2. Hasegawa, Yoko (2015) *Japanese: A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
3. Ikarashi, Keita and Ryohei Naya (2016) "Gokeesee ni Mirareru Kinooteki Dookizuke: Siteeteki Tokutyoo o Motu Hukugoogo o Ziree tosite (A Functional Motivation in Word-Formation: A Case Study of Specificational Compounds)," paper presented at the 152nd Conference of the Linguistic Society of Japan
4. Irwin, Mark (2011) *Loanwords in Japanese*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia
5. Kageyama, Taro (1982) "Word Formation in Japanese," *Lingua* 57, 215-258
6. Kageyama, Taro (1993) *Bunpoo to Gokeesee* (Grammar and Word-Formation), Hituzi, Tokyo
7. Kageyama, Taro and Michiaki Saito (2016) "Vocabulary Strata and Word Formation Processes," *Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*, ed. by Taro Kageyama and Hideki Kishimoto, 11-50, De Gruyter Mouton, Boston/Berlin.
8. Kubozono, Haruo (1995) *Gokeesee to On'inkoozoo* (Word-Formation and Phonological Structure), Kurosio, Tokyo
9. Loveday Leo J. (1996) *Language Contact in Japan: A Socio-linguistic History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford

10. Martin, Samuel E. (1975) *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*, Yale University, New Haven and London
11. Nagano, Akiko and Masaharu Shimada (2016) "When a Preposition-less Language Borrows Prepositions: Language Contact through L2 Education and Its Reflection on Recipe Naming," ms. Tohoku University and University of Tsukuba
12. Namiki, Takayasu (2001) "Further Evidence in Support of the Righthand Head Rule in Japanese," *Issues in Japanese Phonology and Morphology*, ed. by Jeroen van de Weijer and Tetsuo Nishihara, 277-298, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/New York
13. Namiki, Takayasu (2003) "On the Expression *Rinse in Shampoo*: A New Type of Japanese Compound Coined from English Words," *Empirical and Theoretical Investigations into Language: A Festschrift for Masaru Kajita*, ed. by Shuji Chiba et al., 538-550, Kaitakusha
14. Namki, Takayasu (2005) "Nihongo no Atarasi Taipu no Hukugoogo: 'Rinsu-in-Syanpuu' to 'Rinsu-iri-Syanpuu' (A New Type of Japanese Compound: 'Rinsu-in-Syanpuu' and 'Rinsu-iri-Syanpuu')," *Gendai no Keetairon no Tyooryuu* (A Trend in Current Morphology), ed. by Tsuyoshi Oishi, Tetsuo Nishihara, and Yoji Toyoshima, 1-19, Kurosio, Tokyo
15. Namiki, Takayasu (2010) "Morphological Variation in Japanese Compounds: The Case of *Hoodai* and the Notion of 'Compound-Specific Submeaning,'" *Lingua* 120, 2367-2387
16. Shibatani, Masayoshi (1990) *The Languages of Japan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
17. Shimada, Masaharu and Akiko Nagano (2017) "Use of English Prepositions as Japanese Predicates: A Challenge to NLP," *the proceedings of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Association for Natural Language Processing*, 294-297.
18. Teramura, Hideo (1982) *Nihongo no Sintakusu to Imi* (Syntax and Semantics in Japanese), Kurosio, Tokyo
19. Tsujimura, Natsuko (2014) *An Introduction to Japanese Linguistics* 3rd edition, Blackwell, Cambridge, MA
20. Winford, Donald (2003) *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*, Blackwell, Malden, MA

An Innovative Use of *Kudasai* in Social Networking Services

Ryohei Naya*

Abstract: *In communication via social networking services, users tend to employ peculiar expressions that are not observed outside the Internet. Such expressions are called Internet dialects (Inoue (2006)) or typed language (Tanaka (2014)). This paper addresses as an example of typed language the expression where the polite request marker kudasai 'please' directly follows the imperative form of a verb (i.e., [X-siro kudasai]). This novel expression may seem ungrammatical, but it has several pragmatic advantages over other existing expressions when used in on-line communication. I argue that such advantages arise from the distinct roles of the imperative and kudasai in the expression; the former expresses the writer's mental state, and the latter conveys it to the reader. These reflect two different levels of linguistic expressions which Hirose (1995) calls private and public. The discussion reveals that the apparent peculiarity of the expression can be accounted for by general principles.*

Keywords: *on-line communication, politeness, felicity condition, private expression, public expression.*

1. Introduction

As more and more people gain access the Internet, various social networking services (SNSs) are being developed. This development has dramatically changed the way people communicate. People have come to communicate with others via SNSs in a different way from in the pre-Internet era. Studies concerning the linguistic aspect of on-line communication, for example, report that SNS users employ expressions characteristic to communication via SNSs, which have different properties from those used in oral and written communication (Miyake (2005), Inoue (2006), Hiramoto (2008), Hayakawa and Ide (2009), Tanaka (2014), Uno (2015), among others). Such SNS-specific expressions fall into what Tanaka (2014) calls "typed language," which

* University of Tsukuba, JSPS Research Fellow

This paper is a revised version of a presentation at the 4th International Conference "Japan: Pre-modern, Modern, and Contemporary" held at "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University from September 1 to September 3, 2016. I would like to thank the audience members at the presentation for their invaluable comments and questions. I am also grateful to Yukio Hirose and Keita Ikarashi for their helpful comments and suggestions. This work was supported in part by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Research Fellow, Grant No. 16J01676).

can be defined as “words visualized by typing a keyboard (or some other device)” (Tanaka (2014: 37)). Although typed language has been described and studied by several researchers, it has less explored areas than spoken and written language.

Hoping to deepen our understanding of typed language in Japanese, this study focuses on an expression where the polite request marker *kudasai* ‘please’ is used in an innovative way.¹ Let us observe the example in (1), which is cited from the title of a blog post.^{2, 3}

(1) [Title of a Blog Article]

<i>Ore-no</i>	<i>tooan-o</i>	<i>tensakusiro</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
my	answer-ACC	correct.IMP	please

‘Please correct my answer(s).’

(<http://ameblo.jp/ganbaritainda/entry-11966604237.html>)

In this example, *kudasai* ‘please’ directly follows *tensakusiro*, the imperative form of the verb *tensakusuru* ‘correct’. Based on this characteristic, let us call expressions like (1) “*X-siro+kudasai* sentences.” This sentence must sound odd to those who are not familiar with the expressions used in SNSs; *Kudasai* and imperatives are not used in this way outside the Internet. Normally, *kudasai* follows a verb with *-te* as in (2a), and does not accompany the imperative form as in (2b).⁴

(2) a.

<i>Ore-no</i>	<i>tooan-o</i>	<i>tensakusi-te</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
my	answer-ACC	correct-TE	please

‘Please correct my answer(s).’

b.

<i>Ore-no</i>	<i>tooan-o</i>	<i>tensakusiro</i>
my	answer-ACC	correct.IMP

‘Correct my answer(s).’

Judging from these “normal” usages, the expression in (1) may seem ungrammatical. However, the expressions containing the sequence imperative + *kudasai* are often used on the Internet (especially in certain types of SNS). This indicates that such expressions are established as typed language among SNS users.⁵

¹ Morphologically, *kudasai* is the imperative form of the verb *kudasaru* ‘give (me).’

² The examples cited from the Internet in this paper were collected in August 2016 and last accessed in February 2017.

³ The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples in this paper: ACC = accusative, COMP = complementizer, COP = copula, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperative, PL = plural, QUOT = quotative particle, TOP = topic.

⁴ When *kudasai* follows a verb with *-te* as in (2a), it functions as an auxiliary verb. See Nakatani (2013, 2016) for *V-te V* predicates.

⁵ Note that not only verbal nouns (with the form of *X-suru*) but also verbs can be directly followed by *kudasai*. In the Internet, we can find the following examples:

This study explores why they are used in communication via SNSs. I will argue that the expression *X-siro+kudasai* can help avoid some problems that may be caused by the alternative expressions in (2). I will also explain why the expression has such a property, based on the distinction between the two levels of linguistic expression that Hirose (1995) calls private and public. In doing so, this study will demonstrate that expressions found exclusively in typed language are also regulated by general principles that govern spoken and written language and that their apparent irregularity is a result of a complex interaction among those principles.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 observes how *X-siro+kudasai* sentences are used in SNSs. Section 3 examines their pragmatic advantages over the alternative expressions, especially in terms of politeness (Brown and Levinson (1987)) and felicity conditions (Austin (1962) and Searl (1969)). Section 4 first shows the grammatical roles of the imperative and *kudasai* in *X-siro+kudasai* sentences and argues that their roles are deeply related to the distinction between private and public expression in the sense of Hirose (1995). In addition, Section 4 shows the distinction between the primary function of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences and their secondary effect, from which the pragmatic advantages are derived. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. Observation

This section observes some examples of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences cited from SNSs and shows that they can be divided into two types. In some examples, *X-siro+kudasai* sentences express the writer's request to readers who may respond to the request. The other examples are similar to the former in that writers use the sentences to express their requests. In such examples, however, the writers do not intend to ask readers to do something; rather, they just express their requests to people who are not even assumed to be potential readers. I will call the former Type 1 and the latter Type 2.

Let us first observe Type 1. In (3), which is repeated from (1), the expression "*X-siro+kudasai*" is used in the title of a blog entry.

-
- (i) { *osiero / miro / kake / nero* } *kudasai*
{ *tell.me.IMP / look.IMP / write.IMP / sleep.IMP* } please

However, for the convenience of Internet searching, this paper focuses on only the expressions that consist of the imperative form of a verbal noun and *kudasai*. The analysis proposed in this paper is also valid for examples like (i).

- (3) [Title of a Blog Entry]
Ore-no tooan-o tensakusiro kudasai
 my answer-ACC correct.IMP please
 ‘Please correct my answer(s).’ (= (1))

In this entry, the writer posts answers to essay questions in a bar examination, asking readers to correct the answers. In response, the readers post comments on the entry. These features indicate that the title in (3) reflects the writer’s request that the readers correct the answers.

Similar uses of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences can be observed in titles for threads of textboards, a kind of Internet forum. A thread is a collection of posts that are concerned with one topic. The topic is given by the poster of the thread and defined in the title and opening post. The example in (4) is the title of a thread in 2channel, a major textboard in Japan.

- (4) [Title of a Thread]
Omaera ore-no hondana-o hyookasiro kudasai
 you.PL my bookshelf-ACC evaluate.IMP please
 lit. ‘You, evaluate my bookshelf, please.’
 (<http://hayabusa.open2ch.net//test/read.cgi/news4vip/1396451034/>)

The poster begins the thread by showing the picture of his or her bookshelf and stating the reason that he or she wants the bookshelf to be evaluated.⁶ The subsequent posts in the thread give comments about the bookshelf. Based on this interaction between the poster and the viewers giving comments, we can interpret *omaera* ‘you.PL’ in (4) as referring to the viewers of the thread. Thus, we can say that the title in (4) works to indicate the poster’s request to the viewers.

The same is true of the example in (5), which is also the title of a thread in 2channel.

- (5) [Title of a Thread]
Pasokon-o kaoo-to omou n da kedo...
 computer-ACC buy-QUOT think COMP COP though
Zyogensiro kudasai
 advice.IMP please
 ‘I will buy a computer... Please give me advice on it.’
 (<http://hayabusa.open2ch.net//test/read.cgi/news4vip/1396451034/>)

⁶ This example contains the first person pronoun *ore*, which is conventionally used by males. Based on this expression, one may consider that the writer is male. However, as pointed out in Hayakawa and Ide (2009: 198), *ore* is the unmarked pronoun used in textboards (especially in 2channel), and female counterparts like *atasi* and *watasi* are not used unless necessary. Thus, the use of male pronouns does not indicate the gender of the writer.

In this title (and the opening post), the poster says that he or she plans to buy a computer and then asks the viewers for advice. Responding to this message, viewers post relevant information on the thread. Clearly, the expression *X-siro+kudasai* in (5) is used to express the poster's request addressed to the viewers, as with the examples in (3) and (4).

Let us move on to Type 2 of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences. As already noted, this type expresses the request that is not addressed to those who are supposed to read the sentence. Observe the following title of a blog entry:

(6) [Title of a Blog Entry]

Tyaazi-kara ryoosyuusyohakoo-no huroo-o tooitusiro
 load-from receipt issuing-GEN process-ACC unify.IMP
kudasai
 please

lit. 'Please unify the process from money-loading to receipt-issuing.'

(<http://blog.niwaringo.com/entry/2014/10/31/001044>)

In the entry, the writer complains about the complicated procedures in which he or she loads money onto an electronic money card and then gets the receipt. The procedures differ according to the ticket-vending machine used, so that the writer sometimes fails to get a receipt. To make sure that the writer can get a receipt every time, he or she demands that a railroad company unify the procedures. It is this demand that is represented by the title in (6). However, as is clear from the content of the demand, the title does not function to ask the readers to respond to that demand; rather, it just expresses the writer's feelings.

The example in (7) is also classified as the second type.

(7) [Post on a Thread]

Animeka-yori sinsaku happyoosiro kudasai
 making.into.anime-rather than new title release.IMP please

lit. 'Please release a new game software rather than making the game into an anime'

(<http://aoi.bbbspink.com/test/read.cgi/hgame2/1361245850/>)

This example is cited from a post on a thread of the textboard 2channel. The thread is concerned with the news that a video game franchise will be made into an anime. The poster of (7) is not pleased with the news. He or she demands that a new game of the franchise be released. Clearly, the poster does not intend to use the sentence in (7) to ask the readers to make a new game and release it. The demand is addressed to the people working in the video game company, who are not assumed to be potential readers of the post. In this sense, the sentence in (7) just expresses what the poster thinks.

This section has shown that *X-siro+kudasai* sentences can be classified into two types: Type 1 expresses the writer’s request for readers who will respond to that request; and Type 2 just expresses the writer’s feeling of requesting or demanding. Both types are similar in that they are used to express the writer’s request or demand. The request or demand, however, can be expressed by the “normal” expressions shown in (8), which are repeated from (2).

- (8) a. *Ore-no tooan-o tensakusi-te kudasai*
 my answer-ACC correct-TE please
 ‘Please correct my answer(s).’
- b. *Ore-no tooan-o tensakusiro*
 my answer-ACC correct.IMP
 ‘Correct my answer(s).’

A question arises here as to why it is not these expressions but the apparently odd expression *X-siro+kudasai* that is employed in communication on SNSs (especially on textboards). The next section will show that *X-siro+kudasai* sentences can play a role that the other expressions would be incapable of fulfilling.

3. The Pragmatics of *X-siro+kudasai*

This section examines the reasons that the two alternative expressions (see (8)) are not used in the context of communication on SNSs, taking into consideration two notions: politeness (Brown and Levinson (1987)) and felicity conditions (Austin (1962)), Searl (1969)), which will be discussed in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, respectively. Then, Section 3.3 argues that the use of *X-siro+kudasai* has validity in view of metapragmatics.

3.1. Politeness in On-line Communication

The expressions in (8) are not very appropriate in terms of the notion of politeness as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that politeness is redress for potential damage caused by face threatening acts (FTAs). “Face” is defined as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown and Levinson (1987: 61)), and consists of negative and positive face. The two aspects are defined as follows:

- (9) a. Negative Face: the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions be unimpeded by others.
 b. Positive Face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

(Brown and Levinson (1987: 62))

Accordingly, politeness also has both negative and positive aspects:

- (10) a. Negative politeness is redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded.
(Brown and Levinson (1987: 129))
- b. Positive politeness is redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions / acquisitions / values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable.
(Brown and Levinson (1987: 101))

X-siro+kudasai sentences have advantages over the other two expressions in terms of negative and positive politeness.

Let us begin with negative politeness. The previous section shows that the *X-siro+kudasai* sentences classified as Type 1 are used to express the writer's request addressed to the readers. Let us suppose here that an imperative sentence is used instead of an *X-siro+kudasai* sentence:

- (11) *Ore-no tootan-o tensakusiro*
 my answer-ACC correct.IMP
 'Correct my answer(s).' (= (8b))

Since requesting forces the readers to do something, it will threaten the readers' negative face. That is, this is a situation where one needs to redress potential damage caused by that FTA. However, the expression in (11) cannot function as a redressive action for the FTA, because it is too rude an expression to ask someone to do something. Therefore, its use is avoided.

One might consider that imperative sentences can be used in the context where *X-siro+kudasai* sentences of Type 2 are used, because they do not express a direct request to the readers and so do not threaten the readers' negative face. In that case, (12) may be used instead of (6).

- (12) *Tyaazi-kara ryoosyuusyohakoo-no huroo-o tooitusiro*
 load-from receipt issuing-GEN process-ACC unify.IMP
 'Unify the process from money-loading to receipt-issuing.' (cf. (6))

However, this expression will offend the readers' positive face. According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 66), FTAs of positive face include "expressions of violent (out-of-control) emotions" because they "show that S[peaker] doesn't care about (or is indifferent to) H[earer]'s positive face." Recall that in the blog entry with the title in (6), the

writer is irritated and complains about the different procedures among ticket-vending machines. If such negative emotions are directly expressed (i.e., without redressive actions) as in (12), it will threaten the positive face of the readers. Thus, imperative sentences are avoided even if they do not force the readers to do something.

Let us next consider the case of *X-si-te+kudasai*, which is exemplified in (13). This example contains the polite request marker *kudasai*, and so it will not threaten the negative face of the readers.

- (13) *Ore-no tootan-o tensakusi-te kudasai*
 my answer-ACC correct-TE please
 ‘Please correct my answer(s).’ (= (8a))

However, it can be too polite in communication on SNSs. This will threaten the reader’s positive face this time. In SNSs, especially textboards, users have a tendency to create communities and show solidarity among members. For example, heavy users of 2channel are often called “inhabitants of 2channel.” Their solidarity is maintained in part by linguistic strategies. Hayakawa and Ide (2009: 198) point out that in communication on the Internet (especially, on textboards), non-polite forms are preferred to polite forms (see also Inoue (2006: 64)). That is, polite forms are avoided because they are typically used when talking to unfamiliar people, and thus they may undermine the solidarity among users. This strategy can be reinterpreted in the light of positive politeness. Fukuda (2013: 63) regards positive face as social desire to be accepted as a member of the group or community. Given this description, we can say that the use of polite forms is the act of threatening the positive face of the members of the given community. Therefore, the expression in (13) is not very appropriate in the context of communication on SNSs. This is true of Type 2.

In contrast to the expression in (13), the expression *X-siro+ kudasai* is suitable for on-line communication; it successfully functions as the politeness strategy that redresses the potential damage caused by the threatening of the positive face. Brown and Levinson (1987) show several strategies for counteracting FTAs. One strategy is to use dialects, slang, and jargon (Brown and Levinson (1987: 107-112)). They can soften FTAs because they mark in-group identity and thereby the “S[peaker] can implicitly claim the common ground with H[earer] that is carried by that definition of the group” (Brown and Levinson (1987: 102)) As pointed out in Section 7, *X-siro+kudasai* is used exclusively in communication on SNSs and is a type of typed language or “Internet dialect” as Inoue (2006) calls it. That is, it can serve as a marker of in-group identity. Additionally,

The writer of the blog asks readers to correct his or her answers to essay questions in the bar examination. To appropriately respond to this request, special knowledge on laws is required. Thus, not all the readers can fulfill the writer's request. Realizing this difficulty, the writer may not be fully confident that the readers are capable of correcting the answers. This means that the felicity condition in (14) is not satisfied. Consequently, it is natural that the writer avoids using direct expressions for requesting (or ordering) in the context where the intended actions are not likely to occur. Among the expressions are the following:

- (16) a. *Ore-no tooan-o tensakusi-te kudasai*
 my answer-ACC correct-TE please
 'Please correct my answer(s).'
- b. *Ore-no tooan-o tensakusiro*
 my answer-ACC correct.IMP
 'Correct my answer(s).' (= (8))

The expressions in (16a) and (16b) have a strong tendency to bear the illocutionary forces of requesting and ordering, respectively. Avoiding the use of these direct expressions, the writer is in need of an alternative hedge expression. It is this need that *X-siro+kudasai* sentences meet. Therefore, they are frequently used in on-line communication and established as typed language.

3.3. The Use of *X-siro+kudasai* and Metapragmatics

This section has shown that *X-siro+kudasai* sentences are appropriate in on-line communication in terms of politeness and the felicity conditions. Based on the above discussion, *X-siro+kudasai* cannot be regarded merely as a misuse of *kudasai*. The use of *X-siro+kudasai* can also be justified by the notion of metapragmatics.

According to Takahara, Hayashi, and Hayashi (2002: 189), a speaker practices metapragmatics when he or she moves a conversation forward considering which expression best conveys his or her message in the situation. The writer using *X-siro+kudasai* effectively conveys his or her message in the context of communication via SNSs by intentionally adopting the expression. In this sense, the writer practices metapragmatics. Thus, the use of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences is reasonable in on-line communication.

4. *X-siro+kudasai* and Two Levels of Linguistic Expression

This section shows the roles of the imperative part and *kudasai* in *X-siro+kudasai* sentences, and argues that they relate to two different

levels of linguistic expression as proposed in Hirose (1995). In addition, this section distinguishes between the primary function of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences and a secondary effect, and explains why they can counteract FTAs of negative face.

Let us first introduce the two different levels of linguistic expression proposed by Hirose (1995) and subsequent works (Hirose, 1997), Hirose and Hasegawa (2010), among others) and the notions related to them. The two levels are called public and private expressions. Hirose (1995: 226) defines public expression as “the level of linguistic expression corresponding to the communicative function of language” and private expression as “the level of linguistic expression corresponding to the non-communicative, thought-expressing function of language.” An important difference between the two is that public expressions are used with the intention of communicating with another person, while private expressions are not. Hirose (1995: 226) refers to “an act of linguistic expression with the intention of communication as a ‘public expression act,’ and an act of linguistic expression with no intention of communication as ‘a private expression act.’” Public expression acts, but not private expression acts, require the existence of an addressee.

Some linguistic expressions semantically presuppose the presence of an addressee. Such expressions are called addressee-oriented expressions. Among their typical examples in Japanese are (i) certain sentence final particles like *yo* ‘I tell you,’ *ne* ‘you know,’ *sa* ‘let me tell you,’ *wa* ‘I want you to know,’ etc., and (ii) polite verbs like *desu*, *masu*, and *kudasai*. The phrases and sentences without addressee-oriented expressions are private expressions. For example, the sentence in (17a) does not have addressee-oriented expressions. Thus, it “functions as a private expression, used exclusively to express what you think” (Hirose, 1995: 227). (17a) can be turned into a public expression by, for example, adding the addresser-oriented sentence final particle *yo*, as in (17b).⁷

- (17) a. *Ame da.*
rain COP
‘It is raining.’
b. *Ame da yo.*
rain COP I.tell.you
‘It is raining (I tell you).’

Based on these examples, the relationship between private and public

⁷ Note that (17a) “can also be used as it stands as a public expression as long as the speaker intends to tell the addressee, if there is one, that it is raining” (Hirose (1995: 227)).

expressions can be schematically represented as follows (cf. Hirose (1995: 228)):

- (18) [< private expression > + addresser-oriented expression]
 public expression

Here, angle brackets < > represent private expression and square brackets [] represent public expression. (18) indicates that an addresser-oriented expression turns a private expression into a public expression. In addition, it indicates that a public expression contains a private expression in it (Hirose (1995: 228)). That is, a public expression has a two-layer structure.

Returning to *X-siro+kudasai* sentences, a similar structure can be observed in them. More precisely, I argue that in *X-siro+kudasai* sentences, the imperative part functions as a private expression, which is turned into a public expression by *kudasai*. For instance, the sentence in (19) has the structure in (20).

- (19) *Ore-no tooan-o tensakusiro kudasai*
 my answer-ACC correct.IMP please
 ‘Please correct my answer(s).’

- (20) [< ore-no tooan-o tensakusiro > + kudasai]
 private expression
 public expression

In this example, what the writer thinks or wants is expressed in the form of the imperative. That is, the imperative expresses the mental state of the writer where he or she wants something to take place (in (19), the writer wants someone to correct his or her answers). The expression of the mental state is turned into a public expression by *kudasai*. The use of *Kudasai* in (19), however, plays a slightly different role from the usual addressee-oriented expressions. It does not mark the sense of addressee-orientedness in which the addressee is interpreted as a person whom the writer asks to do something to satisfy his or her want. Rather, it indicates that the sentence is oriented to *readers*, that is, the receiver of the message in the SNS. That is, the sentence as a whole publicly expresses what the writer thinks or wants.

Note that an imperative itself can be both a private and a public expression: As a private expression, it expresses the desire or wish of a speaker; and when it is used with an intention of communication, it is turned into a public expression without any change in form, expressing an order or command (Hirose (2016: 24)).⁸ In an *X-siro+kudasai* sentence, the imperative part serves as a private expression. If it is a public expression, unambiguously public expressions can also be directly followed by *kudasai*. However, that is not the case, as shown in the examples in (21).⁹

- (21) a. * [*Ore-no tooan-o tensakusiro yo*] *kudasai*
 my answer-ACC correct.IMP I.tell.you please
 b. * [*Ore-no tooan-o tensakusi-nasai*] *kudasai*
 my answer-ACC correct-do(Polite).IMP please

In (21a), the sentence final particle *yo* overtly turns the expression *ore-no tooan-o tensakusiro* into a public expression. The imperative part of (21b) contains *nasai*, the imperative form of *nasaru* ‘do (Polite),’ which is interpreted only as a public expression. The unacceptability of these public expressions in (21) shows that the imperative part in *X-siro+kudasai* is not a public but a private expression. Therefore, we can say that the imperative part of *X-siro+kudasai* just expresses the writer’s mental state (wish or desire). For example, the imperative part in (19) is not meant to order the readers to correct the writer’s answers. Rather, it expresses the writer’s desire that someone correct his or her answers, as briefly discussed above. This expression is turned into a public expression only after the reader-orientedness marker *kudasai* is attached. Because of *kudasai*, the writer’s wish or desire can be conveyed to the readers.¹⁰ Thus, the sentence in (19) can be interpreted as follows:

- (22) I say to you that I strongly wish someone to correct my answers.

Importantly, as indicated in (22), the primary function of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences is to describe the writer’s mental state expressed by an imperative. Recall from Section 2 that Type 2 of *X-siro+kudasai*, which is exemplified in (23), expresses the writer’s feeling of requesting.

⁸ This characteristic is similar to that of the expression *Ame da* in (17a), which is basically a private expression but can be turned into a public expression (see fn. 7).

⁹ I owe the examples in (21) to Yukio Hirose (personal communication).

¹⁰ The sentence final particle *yo* ‘I tell you’ cannot be used instead of *kudasai*. If *yo* is attached to the imperative *tensakusiro*, the resultant expression is interpreted only as a direct order to the readers. In that case, the expression will cause the same problems as those caused by simple imperative sentences, which we observed in Section 3.

- (23) a. *Tyaazi-kara ryoosyuusyohakkoo-no huroo-o tooitusiro*
 load-from receipt issuing-GEN process-ACC unify.IMP
kudasai
 please
 lit. 'Please unify the process from money-loading to receipt-issuing.'
 (= (6))
- b. *Animeka-yori sinsaku happyoosiro kudasai*
 making.into.anime-rather. than new title release.IMP please
 lit. 'Please release a new game software rather than making the
 game into anime'
 (= (7))

These examples utilize the primary function of *X-siro+kudasai*, informing the readers' wishes. The description of the writer's mental state by *X-siro+kudasai* sentences can bring about the effect of requesting in certain contexts; the writer's request is indirectly conveyed in the form of an implicature. This means that requesting is a secondary effect of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences. This effect is utilized in Type 1 of *X-siro+kudasai* sentence, which is exemplified by (19) and (24).

- (24) a. *Omaera ore-no hondana-o hyookasiro kudasai*
 you.PL my bookshelf-ACC evaluate.IMP please
 lit. 'You, evaluate my bookshelf, please.' (= (4))
- b. *Zyogensiro kudasai*
 advice.IMP please
 lit. 'Give me advice, please' (= (5))

As with (23), the examples in (19) and (24) inform the writers' wishes as its primary function, and as a result, they are indirectly interpreted as requests.

The distinction between the primary function and the secondary effect of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences is important when we consider why the expression can avoid the problems that may be caused when the alternative expressions *X-si-te+kudasai* and *X-siro* are used instead (see Section 3). Firstly, *X-siro+kudasai* sentences can avoid threatening the negative face of the readers because they request something in an indirect way. Being indirect fits negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson (1987: 132ff)). For example, when one asks someone to pass the salt, one will say.

- (25) Can you (please) pass the salt?
 (Brown and Levinson (1987: 133)), with a slight modification)

This sentence itself is a question about the hearer's abilities, but for this reason, it is interpreted as an indirect request, conventionally functioning as a negative politeness strategy. Likewise, an *X-siro+ kudasai* sentence can be a redressive expression because it just describes the writer's mental state in itself, and as its secondary effect, it conveys a request.

Second, the dual property of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences (i.e., the expression of the writer's mental state and an indirect request) makes the sentences available even in the environment where the felicity condition for requesting mentioned in Section 3.2, which is reproduced in (26) from (14), is not clearly satisfied.

(26) *H[earer]* is able to do *A*. *S[peaker]* believes *H* is able to do *A*.
(= (14))

On the Internet, anyone can access the message, and so some readers can fulfill the writer's wish but others cannot. To the former, an *X-siro+ kudasai* sentence is felicitous as an indirect request. It is also appropriate to the latter, because the expression itself just describes and expresses the writer's mental state, informing the readers that he or she has a wish. In this sense, *X-siro+kudasai* sentences need not satisfy the felicity conditions. Consequently, they are frequently used in on-line communication.

In sum, *X-siro+kudasai* sentences reflect two levels of linguistic expression, private and public. The imperative part is a private expression and expresses the writer's wish. This expression is turned into a public expression by *kudasai*. The expression as a whole conveys to the readers that the writer wishes something, which has a secondary effect of requesting. The duality of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences plays a significant role in avoiding the problems related to politeness and felicity conditions, increasing their usefulness in communication via SNSs.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have addressed *X-siro+kudasai* sentences, which cannot be found outside the Internet. They show an apparent peculiarity in that *kudasai* directly follows an imperative. Thus, they may seem to be a misuse of *kudasai*. However, I have argued that they are a new usage of *kudasai*, which facilitates communication in SNSs. Compared to other normal expressions *X-si-te+kudasai* and *X-siro*, *X-siro+kudasai* is more appropriate in terms of politeness and felicity conditions. This is due to the duality of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences. The primary function of *X-siro+kudasai* sentences is to convey the writer's wish to the readers. More precisely, the writer's wish is expressed by the imperative part, and it is turned into a public expression by *kudasai*.

This primary function has a secondary effect: the sentence can be interpreted as an indirect request. Given these properties, we can say that *X-siro+kudasai* sentences are not a misuse of *kudasai* but rather they are an effective way to convey the writer's message and contribute to better communication in the context of the Internet.

Our conclusion has an implication for the study of typed language. As is the case with *X-siro+kudasai*, the expressions used in typed language tend to be apparently irregular, especially in terms of formal characteristics. However, their irregularities can be reduced to several general principles. What makes them peculiar is the interaction among general principles. They may interact with each other in a complex way in an environment of on-line communication. Therefore, the study of typed language needs to reveal what principles are related to a given expression and how they interact with each other.

Bibliography:

1. Austin, John L. (1962) *How to Do Things with Words*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
2. Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson (1987) *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
3. Fukuda, Kazuo (2013) *Taijinkankei no Gengogaku: Poraitonesu kara no Nagame* (The Linguistics of Interpersonal Relationship: From a Perspective of Pragmatics), Kaitakusha, Tokyo.
4. Hayakawa, Ko and Risako Ide (2009) "2channel no Kotoba to Komyunitai Kankaku: Kakikomi no Saho ga Tsukuru Ittaikan o Megutte (Words in 2channel and the Sense of Community: On the Code of Message-Posting and the Feeling of Solidarity it Brings)," *Medeia to Kotoba* 4, 192-219.
5. Hiramoto, Tsuyoshi (2008) "Denshi Medeia o Tsujite Kotoba wa Ikanishite Hanasarerunoka (How Is a Language Spoken through Electronic Media?)," *Medeia to Kotoba* 3, 174-200.
6. Hirose, Yukio (1995) "Direct and Indirect Speech as Quotations of Public and Private Expression," *Lingua* 95, 223-238.
7. Hirose, Yukio (1997) "Hito o Arawasu Kotoba to Sho-o (Words of Reference to Persons and Anaphora)," *Siji to Sho-o to Hitei* (Reference, Anaphora, and Negation), ed. by Minoru Nakau, 1-89, Kenkyusya, Tokyo.
8. Hirose, Yukio (2016) "Ninchiimiron teki Kanten karano Nichiei Taisho Kenkyu (A Contrastive Study of Japanese and English from the Perspective of Cognitive Semantics)," paper presented at the Summer Institute of the Linguistic Society of Japan 2016.
9. Hirose, Yukio and Yoko Hasegawa (2010) *Nihongo kara Mita Nihonjin: Shutaisei no Gengogaku* (Japanese People as Seen from the Japanese Language: The Linguistics of Subjectivity), Kaitakusha, Tokyo.
10. Inoue, Ippai (2006) "Netto Shakai no Wakamono Kotoba (Young People's Words in the Internet Society)," *Gengo* 35(3), Taishukan, Tokyo.

11. Levinson, Stephen C. (1983) *Pragmatics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
12. Miyake, Kazuko (2005) “Keitai Meeru no Hanashi Kotoba to Kaki Kotoba: Denshi Medeia Jidai no Bijuaru Komyunikeshon (Spoken and Written Language in Cell-Phone Text-Messaging: The Visual Communication in the Era of Electronic Media),” *Medeia to Kotoba* 2, 234-261.
13. Nakatani, Kentaro (2013) *Predicate Concatenation: A Study of the V-te V Predicate in Japanese*, Kurosio, Tokyo.
14. Nakatani, Kentaro (2016) “Complex Predicates with *-te* Gerundive Verbs,” *Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*, ed. by Taro Kageyama and Hideki Kishimoto, 387-423, Mouton De Gruyter, Boston/Berlin.
15. Searl, John R. (1969) *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
16. Takahara, Osamu, Takuo Hayashi, and Reiko Hayashi (2002) *Puragumateikkusu no Tenkai* (The Development of Pragmatics), Keiso Shobo, Tokyo.
17. Tanaka, Yukari (2014) “Bacharu Hogen no 3 Yoho: ‘Uchikotoba’ o Rei toshite (Three Usages of Virtual Dialects: A Case Study of ‘Typed Language’),” *Hanashikotoba to Kakikotoba no Setten* (The Interface between Spoken Language and Written Language), ed. by Ishiguro Kei and Koyo Hashimoto, 37-55, Hituzi Shobo, Tokyo.
18. Uno, Nagomi (2015) “Twitter niokeru ‘Atarashii *mi*-Kei’ (‘New *mi*-Forms’ in Twitter),” *Kokubun* 123, Ochanomizu University, 106-94.

III. CULTURE

The Return of the Feminine Woman Or On What *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* (Ghibli Studio, 2013) and *Frozen* (Walt Disney Pictures, 2013) Have In Common

*Maria Grajdian**

Abstract: *This paper takes into account the aesthetic-ideological dimensions of two animation works released in 2013 – Frozen (Walt Disney Pictures, dir.: Chris Buck & Jennifer Lee) and The Tale of Princess Kaguya (Kaguya-hime no monogatari, Studio Ghibli, dir.: Takahata Isao) – within broader Soft Power endeavours on an international level via specific artistic strategies such as emotional ambivalence, the dynamic reconsideration of legends and myths, the subtle highlighting of the spiral-like dialectics of cause and effect. Its goal is to point out the intricate levels comprised by the phenomenon of the “feminine self” as media-related construction in the unstable stress-ratio between individual aspirations and historic-geographical embedding. Thus, it becomes obvious that beyond being a physical appearance with clearly defined standards of “inside” and “outside”, the “feminine self” is a highly personal concern, related both to the socio-cultural context of its emergence and to the economic-political path of its development. In times of the ubiquitous Cool Self symptomatology, the reinvigoration of local myths and legends provokes a nostalgic U-turn towards a more classical worldview with the simultaneous intellectualisation of popular culture encompassing the rather conservative message that love, happiness and existential fulfilment are more than ever individual choices in late-modernity.*

Keywords: *animation/anime, feminism/femininity, Disney, Japan*

1. Introduction: re-tracing femininity

The Wind Rises (*Kaze tachinu*, Studio Ghibli, director: Miyazaki Hayao), *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*. Miyazaki's work might be considered by far the gentlest animated feature about war: it is the fictionalised biography of Horikoshi Jirô (1903-1982), the aeronautical engineer who designed Mitsubishi's A5M fighter and its successor the Mitsubishi A6M Zero fighter, employed by Japan during the Pacific War. On a deeper level, *The Wind Rises* tells the all-too-known story of great dreams and the individuals harnessing them, and the way these dreams and their carriers are taken over by the waves of history. The other two

* Associate Professor, Nagasaki University

animation movies, *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, which will be at the core of this paper, tackle the problematic of femininity and its position in late modernity, while bringing into foreground the narrative foundation of old legends and folk tales (see Barker 1989:31, Drazen 2003:211, Gluck 1985:42, Grajdian 2008:49). In soft tones of emotional transcendence, they obtrusively display parables on the risk and responsibilities of uncontrollable power in the hands of individuals, and provide symbolic undertones of female empowerment through the prism of the weight of personal choices in the midst of increasing popularity and solitude: thus, Andersen's fairy-tale respectively the old Japanese folk-tale become spaces of longing, and paradoxically, belonging.

In elaborating the complex dialectics of assertive power and compassionate empathy as represented in *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, I shall move across three stages. Firstly, in an initial explanation elucidating the technical data of the two animation works, I shall refer to their intrinsic characteristics: their idiosyncrasies and specificities, both as products of popular culture emerging in a specific geographical area and within a particular historical moment, and as media-submitted reflections of a status-quo which crumbles under the weight of political correctness and cultural identity as ongoing individual projects (see Eagleton 1990:278, Habermas 1981:I/32). Secondly, I shall compare the two animation works, and analyze their differences and similitude's, in a research endeavor striving to connect late-modern feminism and feminist slogans with the original ideals and claims of proto-feminists – and what was, and still is, at stake when feminism is approached as a battle field, a “semiotic guerilla-war”, instead of an opportunity for growth and communication, an interface for understanding and cooperation, a spiritual journey in the quest for authenticity and love. Thirdly, in the conclusion, I shall focus on the interplay of Western and Eastern identity paradigms as reflected in products of popular culture, such as *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, and in their representation of femininity as the driving force for progress and enlightenment. As it will become obvious alongside the analytical explanations further below, the intricate, dialectical relationship between love, empowerment and identity construction as discursive products are actively negotiated by means of cultural production, marketing, consumption/perception and reproduction. This relation implies three main strategies – emotional ambivalence, the dynamic reconsideration of legends and myths, the subtle highlighting of the spiral-like dialectics of cause and effect – employed in the process of reconstructing the past as a repository of emotional energy and socio-cultural role-models, beyond economic-political compulsions.

The ideas and concepts outlined in this paper are results of an extensive fieldwork over more than a decade of intensive research on anime, animation and the representation of reality in products of the popular culture industry. The fieldwork included numerous informal interviews with anime producers and anime consumers (hard-core fans or plain viewers), as well as participatory observation. The entire research endeavor was rounded-up by in-depth literature research, both directly related to the field of animation and its adjoining fields (entertainment industry, cultural consumption, the politics of leisure, etc.) and indirectly tackling the theoretical dimensions of the academic background (Cultural Studies, Media Anthropology, feminism, semiotics/poststructuralism, Post-Colonial Studies, etc.). In the process of pointing out the intricate levels comprised by the phenomenon of the “feminine self” as media-related construction in the unstable stress-ratio between individual aspirations and historic-geographical embedding (see Clarke 2004:25, Clammer 2000:212), it becomes obvious that beyond being a physical appearance with clearly defined standards of “inside” and “outside”, the “feminine self” is a highly personal concern, related both to the socio-cultural context of its emergence and to the economic-political path of its unfolding. In times of the ubiquitous *Cool Self* symptomatology, the reinvigoration of local myths and legends provokes a nostalgic U-turn towards a more classical worldview with the simultaneous intellectualisation of popular culture encompassing the rather conservative message that love, happiness and existential fulfillment are more than ever individual choices in late-modernity. *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* re-construct, in their own specific ways, two apparently different paths towards love, happiness and existential fulfillment as individual choices: without aggressively displaying femininity as the solution to all evils, their main characters, the two sisters struggling with innate differences and deep-rooted needs for togetherness and validation, and the orphaned single-child found in the forest who hides a terrible secret, unknown even to herself until the time is due for it to be revealed, find in their feminine core the answers to questions and the healing to pains which seemed previously insurmountable.

2. The power of vulnerability: folk legends and fairy tales

As high-caliber institutions of the entertainment industry, both Walt Disney Pictures and Studio Ghibli have been establishing clear production standards, both ideologically and aesthetically, in delivering their products within the all-too competitive market of popular products. As to be shown further below, *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* were released in a historical context in which a series of events

at various levels – cultural, social, economical, political and not least technological and educational – had led to an increasing pressure to redefine “gender roles” in practical terms which would allow larger segments of the population to choose and to learn to cope with the new realities of the 21st century. Intentionally or not, *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* display from two ends of the world the state of the arts, and while addressing well-known plots based on old fairy-tales and folk-legends, they commit to a process of re-semanticization of those plots through the creative employment of the characters and their interactions. Thus, there is a two-fold structure of significance: firstly, femininity and its core element “love”; secondly, identity and the function of “love” as a manifold force.

2.1. *Frozen* and the victory of the feminine love

Loosely based on *The Snow Queen*, a Danish folk tale collected and re-written by Hans-Christian Andersen in 1845, *Frozen* extracts from its original the Nordic setting, some trolls and the basic idea of sorcery, but gives the powers of wintry transmogrification not to an evil queen, but to the elder of two sisters – Elsa, a blonde, brooding princess, who is born with the ability of turning anything she touches into ice. The story in *Frozen* opens with icemen from the kingdom of Arendelle harvesting ice, among them a young boy named Kristoff and his pet reindeer, Sven. Elsa, Princess of Arendelle, possesses cryokinetic powers, with which she is able to produce or manipulate ice, frost and snow at will. One night while playing, she accidentally injures her younger sister, Anna. Their shocked parents, the king and queen of Arendelle, seek help from the troll king, who heals Anna and removes her memories of Elsa's magic. The royal couple isolates the sisters in the castle until Elsa learns to control her magical powers, warn her against ever revealing her powers, for fear it will be misunderstood. Afraid of hurting Anna again, and with her ability to control her powers deteriorating, Elsa spends most of her time alone in her room, refusing even to speak to Anna and a rift develops between the sisters as they grow up; when the girls are teenagers, their parents die at sea during a storm.

The process of re-writing Andersen's story with the focus on the two royal sisters while making it a box-office success, involved a new approach to individualism and feminism, less aggressive, but still assertive in their reflection of socio-cultural reality in late modernity: it was supposed to combine both the direct references to the targeted audiences and the necessary links to the initial setting, while keeping alive its enticing mysteries and the fantasy environment (it also softly reminds of *Tangled*, another Disney great hit, and perhaps also remotely

hits Broadway musical *Wicked* in mind, particularly for US-American audiences; see Bryman 1995:62, Do Rozario 2004:47):

Hans Christian Andersen's original version of *The Snow Queen* is a pretty dark tale and it doesn't translate easily into a film. For us the breakthrough came when we tried to give really human qualities to the Snow Queen. When we decided to make the Snow Queen Elsa and our protagonist Anna sisters, that gave a way to relate to the characters in a way that conveyed what each was going through and that would relate for today's audiences. [...] There are times when Elsa does villainous things, but because you understand where it comes from, from this desire to defend herself, you can always relate to her. [...] We do try to bring scope and the scale that you would expect but do it in a way that we can understand the characters and relate to them. (producer Peter Del Vecho, in an interview with Brendon Connelly „Inside the Research, Design, and Animation of Walt Disney's *Frozen* with Producer Peter del Vecho“, in *Bleeding Cool*, September 25, 2013, retrieved May 31, 2017)

There are three episodes in *Frozen* which depict stages of maturing femininity while taking into account the necessity of communal responsibility and personal accountability. The first episode is Elsa's coming-of-age celebration, when the kingdom prepares for her coronation. Excited to be allowed out of the castle again, Princess Anna explores the town and meets Prince Hans of the Southern Isles; the two quickly develop a mutual attraction. Despite Elsa's fears, her coronation takes place without incident. During the reception, Hans proposes to Anna, who hastily accepts. However, Elsa refuses to grant her blessing and forbids their sudden marriage. The sisters argue, culminating in the exposure of Elsa's abilities in an emotional outburst. It is a moment of crisis, of open conflict between the two sisters, with uncontrollable repercussions: declared a monster by one of the quests, the Duke of Weselton, a panicking Elsa flees the castle, while inadvertently unleashing an eternal winter on the kingdom. High in the nearby mountains, she abandons her restraint, vowing to never return to her kingdom, and builds herself a solitary ice palace, during the title-song *Let It Go*.

The snow glows white on the mountain tonight,
Not a footprint to be seen.
A kingdom of isolation, and it looks like I'm the Queen.
The wind is howling like this swirling storm inside,
Couldn't keep it in; Heaven knows I've tried.
Don't let them in, don't let them see,
Be the good girl you always have to be.

Conceal, don't feel, don't let them know ...
Well, now they know!

Let it go, let it go!
Can't hold it back anymore.
Let it go, let it go!
Turn away and slam the door.
I don't care what they're going to say.
Let the storm rage on.
The cold never bothered me anyway!

It's funny how some distance
Makes everything seem small.
And the fears that once controlled me
Can't get to me at all.
It's time to see what I can do,
To test the limits and break through.
No right, no wrong, no rules for me: I'm free!

Let it go, let it go!
I am one with the wind and sky.
Let it go, let it go!
You'll never see me cry.
Here I stand,
And here I'll stay.
Let the storm rage on!

My power flurries through the air into the ground.
My soul is spiraling in frozen fractals all around.
And one thought crystallizes like an icy blast:
I'm never going back, the past is in the past!

Let it go, let it go!
And I'll rise like the break of dawn.
Let it go, let it go!
That perfect girl is gone.
Here I stand
In the light of day,
Let the storm rage on...
The cold never bothered me anyway!

A second sequence of vital importance in the unfolding of the growing-up process is the moment when Anna and Elsa reunite in Elsa's ice castle high in the mountains. Elsa refuses to return to her kingdom, still fearing that she might hurt her sister. When Anna insists that Elsa join her, she becomes agitated and her powers lash out, accidentally

striking Anna in the heart. Horrified, Elsa forces Anna, Kristoff and Olaf to leave by creating a giant snow creature named Marshmallow that chases them away from her palace. As they flee, Kristoff becomes concerned when he sees Anna's hair turning white. He seeks help from the trolls, his adoptive family, who explain that Anna's heart has been frozen by Elsa, and that unless it can be thawed by an „act of true love“, she will become frozen solid forever, and eventually die. Believing that only Hans can save her with a true love's kiss, Kristoff races back with her to Arendelle. As the result of their open aggressive confrontation, Elsa's powers evolve again outside controllable dimensions, and within this release of tremendous forces, she hurts the very person she wanted, in fact, to protect. It is a brutal lesson in humility and self-discipline: those very abilities which make us special have the unlimited potential of destroying us – and, most importantly, those around us.

The third episode of fundamental importance in the heroines' increasing awareness of their position in the world is the final confrontation between Elsa and Hans, after she had escaped and had been heading out into the blizzard on the fjord. Told that her sister is dead because of her, Elsa sinks in quiet desperation, while the storm suddenly ceases, giving Kristoff and Anna the chance to locate each other. Nevertheless, Anna, seeing that Hans is about to kill Elsa, throws herself between the two just as she freezes solid, blocking Hans' attack, and thus saving her sister from a deadly blow. As Elsa grieves for her sister, Anna begins to thaw, since her decision to sacrifice herself to save her sister constitutes an "act of true love": it was by giving, of herself, of her own life to a loved „other“ that she could find a way to break the irreversible spell. Elsa realizes thus that „love“, unconditional, deep-going, meaningful love, is the key to controlling her powers, and in a sudden insight of her own ability to care and hope, she thaws the kingdom and gives Olaf his own personal flurry so he can survive in summer.

There is more that a silent revolution in terms of bold feminism in *Frozen* (see Bichler 2004:115, Brode 2004:31, Wells 1998:83): there is the discursive, media-reinforced message to be true to oneself, to believe in oneself and to search for solutions within oneself (while observing the environment and learning from ongoing experiences). Indeed, Elsa and Anna are Disney princesses per se, with dishy suitors and glamorous gowns, but in *Frozen*, being a typical princess is solely a superficial layer in the process of creating a credible fantasy universe in which tales are told and lessons are taught in a comprehensible, yet entertaining manner. While Anna learns the hard way that there is no short-cut in love and in pursuing one's true heart, expectations and feelings of entitlement included, Elsa has to learn to forgive and accept

herself, to „let go“ of past pain and responsibilities beyond her level of maturity, and to enjoy her life as a continuous journey amid those she loves and cares about. At its very core, *Frozen* turns, thus, into a rhapsody of life and love with the profound message of savouring the „little things“ which count, after all, the most.

2.2. *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* and the mystery of the lost femininity

Based on the Japanese folk-tale *The Tale of the Bamboo-Cutter* (『竹取物語』 *Taketori Monogatari*), apparently emerged in the 10th century and thus being considered the oldest extant Japanese prose narrative, although the earliest manuscript dates to 1592, *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* is the story of a girl found in a bamboo by an old bamboo-cutter, who decides to raise the small girl together with his wife. Life in this sacred rural space is idyllic, and the young sylph soon earns the nickname Takenoko (Little Bamboo) for the speed with which she grows, much faster than other kids. The equally miraculous discovery of gold and rare fabrics in the bamboo woods convinces Sanuki that this glowing creature deserves better, and he moves her to the capital to seek a husband befitting her imagined regal status. Soon, her newly rich parents install her in a mansion, surround her with servants and have her trained in the ways of the aristocracy, and try to marry her. A succession of suitors ensue, all desperate to earn the hand of the mysterious young woman whose ethereal beauty has become the stuff of legend – but Princess Kaguya rejects all candidates, including the emperor, allotting them impossible tasks to fulfill. Deep in her heart, trapped within the gilded cage of a noble home and rigid social etiquette, the now formally named „Princess Kaguya“ longs for the lost countryside of her childhood, she pines for her earlier, simpler life – the birds, bugs, beasts, grass, trees and flowers of the nursery rhyme that keeps running through her head, and the friendship of handsome ragamuffin Sotomaru, which has sparked an eternal flame in her heart. Incidentally, she reveals that she is from the moon and must soon return to the land of her birth.

On the surface, *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* is the story of a reluctant princess trying to get back to the forests and hillsides of her childhood while rejecting the path ascribed by society to mature women, but in Takahata's vision, it becomes a meditation on life's heartbreaking ephemerality. The film was drawn, over roughly a painstaking decade of quests and drawbacks (though seemingly rooted in Uchida Tomu's unfinished Toei Animation project from the 1960s), in an unfinished-looking freehand – as if the animators were running after the fleeting princess in person, trying desperately to capture the essence of each

moment as it flew past. Moreover, Takahata uses the setting of classical Japan as an opportunity to work in an eerie register that blends humane social-realism with a clear-eyed spirituality, and pushes the challenges and limitations of the animated medium to its expressive boundaries. Landscapes fade towards the edge of the frame, and at moments of heightened emotion – such as the princess’s frenzied escape from her coming-of-age celebrations, one of Ghibli’s greatest-ever sequences – characters fall apart into flurries of water-colour and charcoal. The visual result is a surrealist construction with the haunting simplicity of an ancient scroll-painting coming back to life.

The story is well rehearsed yet still startlingly strange, and confers this richly evocative anime movie as timeless a vision as the tale that inspired it – a parable of the emptiness of earthly possessions and the transcendent power of love. There are, indeed, weighty sociopolitical themes to be teased out of the story’s tale of exile and forgetfulness, reward and banishment, but the dominant tone is one of painful tenderness – of the rapturous, bittersweet enchantment with nature that has underwritten so much of Studio Ghibli’s output. While the elaborate set pieces in which suitors are commanded to bring forth the mythical elements with which they falsely describe their love (the robe of the fire rat, the jewel from a dragon’s neck, etc.) remain intact, it is our typically independent heroine’s longing for the simple pleasures of this world and for human love that profoundly fire the action. Rendered with deceptive simplicity, the undulating terrains of her childhood Eden are as attractive and alluring as any fantastical screen environment. Princess Kaguya herself in her unspeakable beauty stays confined within the realms of individual imagination, implied by the unprettified strokes that delineate her face. There’s a touch of the elusiveness of Miyazaki’s *Ponyo* in Takahata’s portrait of this moonchild – a soft uncertainty that allows her visage to slip almost imperceptibly from childish innocence to lunar luminescence.

With the plaintive sound of a half-remembered folk song echoing through the trees, *The Tale of the Princess Kaguya* brings the audiences to its audacious final act in a state of elegant readiness. It would be easy for this section to tip over into fantastical foolishness, but as the narrative takes flight and worlds collide, we find ourselves hoping against hope for a Disneyfied „happy” ending. What we get is something altogether more elegiac – a cosmic conclusion of operatic proportions that somehow manages to sit organically among the lyrical frolics that have gone before it. The main song, *Memories of life*, puts this best into perspective:

あなたに触れたよろこびが
深く 深く

このからだの 端々に
しみ込んでゆく
ずっと 遠くなにも
わからなくなってもたとえ
このいのちが終わる時が来ても
いまのすべては過去のすべて
必ず また会える
懐かしい場所で
あなたがくれた ぬくもりが
深く 深く
今 遥かな時を越え充ち渡ってく
じっと 心に灯す情熱の炎も
そっと傷をさする
悲しみの淵にも
いまのすべては未来の希望
必ず憶えてる
懐かしい場所で
いまのすべては過去のすべて
必ずまた会える
懐かしい場所で
いまのすべては未来の希望
必ず憶えてる
いのちの記憶で

The joy I felt when I touched you
Went deep, deep down
And seeped into
Every nook and cranny of this body.
Even if I'm far away
And no longer understand anything,
Even when the time comes
For this life to end,
Everything of now
Is everything of the past.
We'll meet again, I'm sure,
In some nostalgic place.
The warmth you gave me
Deep, deep down,
Comes to me now, complete
From a time long past.
Steadily in my heart
The flames of passion give light,
And softly soothe my pain

Down to the depths of my grief.
Everything now
Is hope for the future.
I'll remember, I'm sure,
In some nostalgic place,
Everything of now
Is everything of the past.
We'll meet again, I'm sure,
In some nostalgic place.

Everything now
Is hope for the future.
I'll remember, I'm sure,
When I remember this life.

With its languid pace and expansive running time, this may lack the immediate connection with younger Western audiences that Miyazaki's most popular works achieved. Yet Takahata's beautiful historical fantasia, which was beaten to the best animated feature Oscar by Disney's anime-inflected *Big Hero 6* (released as *Bay-Max* in Japan), is a poignant gem, very different in tone to the director's most celebrated works, *Grave of the Fireflies* (1988) and *Only Yesterday* (1991), but no less worthy of praise and admiration. "Flower, bear fruit and die; be born, grow up, and die. Still the wind blows, the rain falls, the waterwheel goes round. Lifetimes come and go in turn." At times, Takahata occasionally cuts away mid-scene to a flower, or an animal, or running water – the kind of poetic "pillow shot" pioneered, in films such as Ozu Yasujiro's *Tokyo Story* (1953). Emotions and moods are anchored to specific moments of stillness, and we feel them all the more intensely because of it. Its closing set-piece, in which the princess meets the heavenly beings who placed her in the bamboo grove in the first place, is a gorgeous *raigo-zu* – a celebratory tableau of the Amida Buddha and a troupe of *bodhisattvas* descending on a cloud that heralds a passage into the next world (see Takahata 1991:421, 1999a:344, 1999b:62; Köhn 2005:122-131, Grajdian 2010:97). But it is also just an image of stellar coolness: a fantastical parade of celestial creatures who can glide through walls and turn arrows into garlands of flowers. Princess Kaguya moves softly in the space beyond human perception and recognition – her femininity re-loaded reminds of the value of compassion and commitment, as expressions of human maturity, acceptance and understanding.

2.3. Femininity re-discovered: its necessities and its challenges

At its very origins, feminism started out in an effort to re-capture femininity from the all-consuming jungle of industrialization and urbanization, the two main elements of modernization. Proto-feminists saw themselves in cross-fires within a society rapidly changing, which required both women's reproductive and educative abilities and their skills to be employed at the workplace – a workplace patterned upon male necessities and ambitions, to be sure, in factories and ports, in coal-mines and on ships, in the building-industry and on the fields. In the historical context of a brutal and increasing de-feminization of women as potential members of the active workforce and of the male-dominated environment of the political, medical, technical/technological and cultural discourse, the intellectuals among women at the turn of the 20th century and in the subsequent decades initiated a counter-movement targeted at disclosing female citizens as equal to the male ones, but different in their biological and emotional structure(s). The main ingredient within this discourse was “love” as the core element of the female identity, which erroneously was interpreted by the mid-century generations as equaling to “sex”, and to the “sexual revolution” being seen as the climax of female liberation and empowerment. What proto-feminists meant through “love” is, though, what sociologists would identify later on as the “missing link” in late-modern societies, which drives its members to loneliness, isolation, alienation: a vital force residing within the human being, the catalyst of all emotions and actions, connecting the universal energy and the individual aspirations into one powerful flow of intent, which consequently leads to profound bondings both on the surface of the social network and in the depth of the family cell (Kawakita 1992:33, Riesman 1950:18-22). More concretely speaking, “love” as it is referred to in terms of gender affiliation to femininity, is that ineffable strength which exists deep-down in women and allows them to be mothers and educators, thus protecting the species from its own extinction, even in times of economical recession, political destruction (wars) or social disintegration.

The reconsideration of the concept of “love” as the core element of female identity and the very force which instigates female spirituality, its re-capturing by means of products of popular culture appears as the main focus in *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* and draws on three main ideas:

1. Firstly, there is the failure of the paternal figure and, generally speaking, of the classical family model. It is good to remember instead that works of popular culture rarely deal with functional families and communities, but rather with dysfunctional

structures. Parental love appears as a means to restrict and condition children, and leads those children into inevitable crises which might, eventually, strengthen their sense of self. Both in *Frozen* and in *The Tale of Kaguya Hime*, the emotional needs of the children are not met, the kids being advised either to “conceal, not feel” in *Frozen* or to give up a life they enjoy for something their father has chosen for them, in case of Princess Kaguya formerly Takenoko.

2. Secondly, there is the failure of romantic entanglements as the solution to all evils. Both Elsa and Takenoko, who becomes later Princess Kaguya, clearly show that they do not need any man to help them out of their situation and lead they find their place in the world. Rather, Elsa’s and Takenoko’s fulfilment as individuals results from the transgression of gender limitations and the sublimation of their own fears, either by acknowledging that runaway and loneliness is not an alternative to Elsa’s unlimited powers in *Frozen*, or by accepting that there are choices one makes in the rage of the moment – and those choices must be carried on, ultimately, as Princes Kaguya must learn. The only control one might have over circumstances is one’s own reaction to them and the power to move on.
3. Thirdly, the solution proposed both by *Frozen* and by *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, presumably independent of each other, is one of astonishing simplicity: they both indicate that moment when the necessity and inevitability of building an identity become imperative, accompanied by an urgent sense of self-awareness and responsibility. Both Elsa and Takenoko learn that running way is no solution and no alternative to facing the realities of growing up and of confronting the outer world with one’s innermost yearnings and desires – and fears, for that matter, as well. They learn that accepting oneself leads, inevitably, to accepting the others, on one hand, and on the other hand, to a deep-going sense of authenticity and pursuing a life in which the self is free to love and to live.

The most important element in the construction of individual identity as the result of a process of constructing an own individual identity is, thus, an in-depth crisis followed by a conscious commitment towards one’s own self, ideals and flaws included, independent of outer compulsions. Overcoming the individual levels of self-questioning and self-recovery, this process of identity construction might find its completion in two ways: there is the utopia in *Frozen*, with the revival of the community and the restoration of the family, as it is sisterly love

which saves the frozen kingdom (see Arima 2004:125, Barrier 2003:98). Altogether, *Frozen* scores points mainly for its originality in the tender acuity with which the relationship between the two sisters is observed. Suffice to say that for once, sisterhood feels like an abiding interest of the filmmakers and not a tacked-on afterthought. Mapping the contours, twists, intimacies and estrangements of siblinghood – a surprisingly underexplored subject for Disney – *Frozen* draws real, recognizable plumb-lines and casts a lingering spell.

On the other hand, there is the dystopia in *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, with its loss of community and the dismantlement of family ideals, visible in the uncanny ending respectively in the sudden leap into fantasy in the love scene at the climax of the movie – an adultery love scene, to be sure, unique in Studio Ghibli's strict moral guidelines. There is a deep wisdom in this film, but a deep sadness too. The film's tag line, "A princess' crime and punishment," offers a clue, while Takahata himself has said he wanted to explore what "crime" Princess Kaguya might have committed, since the original story is silent on that point. His exploration, though, has little to do with plot, and everything to do with his heroine's emotional and spiritual journey – and the way it ends (see Keene 1993:77, Bary 1995:58). The climax is a haunting, wrenching evocation of *mono no aware* – or as it is literally translated, the pathos of things. The basis of Japanese aesthetics since time immemorial, *mono no aware* is hard to define, but *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* brilliantly illuminates it with images of life being the loveliest in its transience, of parting in its terrible finality.

Thus, individual fulfillment and a clear sense of self emerge from "love" as what one could call an "invented emotion" intensively negotiated by proto-feminists in their quest for a working definition of femininity and its features, its necessities and its challenges – as well as its ideals. It allows for transfer of significance in historical terms, which leads, in its turn, to socio-cultural affiliation as the result of conscious choices on the basis of everyday events and accumulated life experience. Emotional ambivalence delivers the impetus to intellectual activism transgressing time and space. Social actors, as Pierre Bourdieu put it, grow into responsible, self-aware citizens (Bourdieu 1979:128-137, Morley/Robins 1995:79-81). More than being a plain animated *bildungsroman* in terms of classical education and formation, both *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* create aesthetic-ideological spaces where the overcoming of loss and fear leads to the creation of the mature individual, embedded in historical reality, which turns, again, into a site of responsible, self-aware citizen participation. The responsible, self-aware citizen becomes able to live in the moment and to

respect life as the most precious asset one possesses and could ever possess. Thus, instead of running away without looking back and rejecting any sort of responsible awareness, the “feminine self” of late modernity accepts its role as part of a larger community – and emerges from within this very community as a messenger of love, of gratitude and of forgiveness as well as of the power of remembrance.

3. Conclusion: towards a popular culture of authenticity

Seventeen years after the beginning of the new millennium, Japan might still seem at times as an incomprehensible space, with its own dynamics and inner mechanisms. As the only non-Western nation to have attained Western standards of development, both in terms of economical strength and in terms of its citizens’ lifestyle, Japan carries into the new era interrogations and insecurities inherited at the beginning of its modernity, in the year 1868 when the Meiji Restoration was declared with its entire spectrum of decisions and consequences. For once, the challenges Japan is facing nowadays are unique in their historical primordality, and require visionary solutions. Moreover, the historical habit of Japanese technocrats to take over and employ Western proven methods to their own crises and misunderstandings, after previously having adapted them to the Japanese realities, is not helpful anymore, due to the very unprecedented (though predictable) nature of the problems overwhelming the Japanese societies currently. Out of the three main blocks confronting Japan nowadays,

- 1.** the ecological one (the lack of natural resources locally respectively the increasing diminution of natural resource on an international level, compounded with the ethical question of nuclear energy);
- 2.** the social one (the historically low birth-rate and the extremely high life-expectancy);
- 3.** the military one (the aggressive neighbours in Asia as well as Russia in the North and Japan’s unstable or rather weak position in the region, lurking under the surface of diplomatic promises, conventions and treaties),

The second one seems to carry the heaviest weight: a social general sense of apathy. This results from a mental and spiritual exhaustion over the last 25 years, following the enormous shock in the early years of the 1990s, which was, in turn, a result of a blind confidence and trust into elites and specialists having led to a lack of self-control and caution, otherwise natural elements within the survival instincts of the human being (see Allison 2013:145, Bauman 2001b:107, 2002:94). Furthermore,

the generalized sense of apathy leads, continuously, though unobtrusively, to hopelessness, which turns, again, predictably, into the unwillingness to love and procreate. Recent statistics and sociological data talk of “herbivore men” and “carnivore women”, of 42% virgin men under the age of 40 years and of women marrying men 10 years or more their juniors in order to establish a family according to prevalent standards (see Azuma 2000:28, Saitô 2000:37-45, Shimada 2002:173, Yamada 1999:73-77). The reasons for this social problem at the core of the crises Japan is facing currently are multiple, but the main one may lie in the fact that without an active, strong, confident population in its majority, there are no way politicians and economists can face political and economical challenges on their paths towards constructive, future-oriented solutions. Populations function according to own inner dynamics, which are, historically observable and practiced. The lack of children – with the whole range of issues which become visible, such as a lack of hope, of the willingness to strive for happiness and to share that happiness, to extend one’s ephemeral existence into eternity by finding a partner and procreating, the vision of a future itself beyond the limited individual life, the pursuit of goals meant to make the world a better place – indicates deeper malfunctions within the Japanese society, which were repressed for decades (see Bauman 2001a:19, Miegel 2005:112-131, Ivy 1995:114). The most basic among these disorders is the one referring to the power of the feminine instance and of femininity in its most fascinating dimensions: its regenerative abilities, its comforting glow as well as its visionary optimism and energy. *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* refers, in this reading, to the necessity to reconsider femininity and its importance at the core of humankind, to strive for its reinvigoration beyond a wrongly conceptualized and applied feminism.

On the opposite side of the world, the nation which has become during the last half of the century the lighthouse and the model for the whole humanity, the United States of America, struggles in its own ways with deep-going issues which were suppressed and ignored for centuries, under the pretext of the historical law of “the strongest who wins and moves forward continuously. Successful life is measured in materialist accomplishments, while the deeper levels of contentment and happiness are simply closed-off through education and role-models imposed by the media.” (Luhmann 1996:32; see Bauman 1997:22) What “man” and “woman” mean moves from the biological dimension into the discursive formation, and the very nature of masculinity and femininity is challenged in the light of ever changing patterns of success and progress based on hedonist criteria. *Frozen*, from this perspective, touches deeply the problematic of the return to those tales which made humanity a soft,

warm place to embrace all inhabitants, with no need to fight and hate each other. There is less of a lesson summed up in the statement “the charming prince might come one day, but you’ll be nevertheless fine without him – and maybe you can live happily ever after even without him”, but rather the attempt to mediate between a worldview based on the cultural consumption of emotional pre-fabricated illusions to lead to instant gratification, on the heavy costs of losing any significant long-term benefits, and its, admittedly more difficult alternative, which refers to planning and hard-work, to discipline and self-confidence, to humility and respect, to establishing a goal and steadily moving towards it, in spite of obstacles and setbacks along the way.

Feminism, as it was envisioned and outlined by its Founding Mothers, was the effort to win back femininity and feminine essence as well as feminine energy from the increasingly, dangerously powerful, unstoppable, all-consuming modernization, with industrialization and urbanization being its two main factors. When the proto-feminist Simone de Beauvoir wrote *The second sex (Le deuxième sexe)* in 1949, she referred to the culturally constructed differences between men and women, and how these are exploited by being naturalized through education and role-models. Raising awareness on the differences between genders and on the necessity to accept those differences, was, in this reading, Beauvoir’s task, not a disempowering of men and their over-powering by women. Furthermore, Julia Kristeva’s references in her seminal work *La révolution du langage poétique* in 1974 to motherhood and motherly love in the semiotic spaces of language and arts, which impact and formulate politics and economics, and thus bring societies and technologies of power into movement, were not meant as a cry towards limitless sexual liberation and out-powering of men – they were, in fact, an act to awaken awareness and caution, to indicate of lurking dangers within the modernization project, based mainly on such features as physical strength, the pressure to advance and impose progress, to dispose of those unable to keep the pace, either by killing or by displacing them, mostly associated with masculinity and the masculine worldview (see Giddens 1990:131, Meštrović 1997:32). Emotions and tender nurturing are not part of the modernity project as pursued and developed by technocrats and idealists, and still they are the fuel on which the engine of femininity works, on which the polarization between masculinity and femininity thrives and, in turn, creates the beautiful contrasts in life and in the world.

Aggressive movements in the 1950s and the 1960s, followed by an avalanche-like succession of misunderstood publications and fake celebrities, created along several decades the image of the “feminist

woman” as void of femininity and emotions, a smaller, physically speaking, man, able to compete with her male counterparts in any field. History shows that this is not, realistically, the case, with separate physical standards in every domain. Encouraged to be assertive and bold, to reject her feminine gender as “weak and objectified” by instruments of the political discourse, unable to resist as a singular voice in the “lonely crowd” of misguided fellow citizens, the late-modern woman found herself in the new millennium confronted with expectations and pressures she could not possibly deal with (Kimmel 2015:129-37). The crisis of masculinity and the dissolution of the social fabric, visible in huge numbers of single persons, single households, single parents and an unprecedented rate of divorces in the rich, post-industrialized nations – tendency increasing – is a direct consequence of the crisis of femininity, of the impossible choices late-modern women are compelled to face, of the contradictory loyalties they are confronted with, marching against nature and defying fundamental laws of the universe – such as the basic polarity between male and female, survival and death, procreation and extinction, belonging and isolation, power and submission versus oppression.

Both *The Tale of Princess Kaguya* and *Frozen* tackle the “feminine woman” in an empowering and liberating manner, transcending the fears and limitations imposed upon the feminist discourse, as it was initially meant and constructed by such intellectuals as Simone de Beauvoir or Julia Kristeva, into solutions and visions for the future. The “feminine woman” in late modernity does not reject her gender or her sexuality, but regards them as assets in her perception and processing of reality, of life and of the world. She is nurturing, but not conformist, and the freedom of choice does not include promiscuity and dishonesty. Living with integrity and facing challenges with courage, makes it possible for her to live in harmony with herself and with other humans, with the nature and with the universe at large. A soft sense of calm enthusiasm brings her to ever deeper levels of peace within herself, and she glows that peace towards those around her, in the eternal flow of coherent human interactions and exchanges.

As portrayed in *Frozen* and *The Tale of Princess Kaguya*, the “feminine woman” of late modernity is far more than the *shôjo*, though it definitely has extracted some elements from her being an imaginary conglomerate: she keeps a child-like joy of experiencing life in its everyday transcendence while maturing under the sign of healthily incorporating new experiences and challenges. Media and public opinions may still objectify and sexualize her presence, but the “feminine woman” knows that anger and an aggressive display of disdain

or contempt are far below her dignity, so that she distances herself gracefully from mass-mediated images and stereotypes of “what a woman should be” and instead focuses on creating a life of her own with people around her with whom she shares common values and ideals.

Rising above impossible standards of success and likeability, the late-modern “feminine woman” decides for herself that her destiny lies in the very choices she is making. Neither Takenoko who becomes later Princess Kaguya, nor Elsa or Anna find their fulfillment in direct connection with a man (though this is slightly suggested in Anna’s case), but in their decision to pursue their own path in life – and in their determination and commitment to stay true to themselves. Love is something to give, to oneself and to the others, not something to take; it is a conscious choice made every day – like happiness and the warm, soft sense of belonging. Beyond the solitude which might initially arise from such an attitude towards life, there is the ineffable promise of a better world to emerge from the chaos and confusion of this one, suffocated in sex, consumerism and hatred: a promise of acceptance and solace, of quiet celebration of the human being and of humanity in their astonishing diversity and unleashed potential.

Bibliography:

1. Allison, Anne (2013) *Precarious Japan*, Durham/London: Duke University Press
2. Arima, Tetsuo (2004) *Dizunî to raibarû-tachi: Amerika no kâtoun-media-shi* [Disney and Its Rivals: The History of the US-American Cartoons Medium], Tokyo: Film-Arts-Press
3. Azuma, Hiroki (2000) *Fukashina mono no sekai* [The Over-Visualized World], Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun
4. Barker, Martin (1989) *Comics – Ideology, Power and the Critics*, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press
5. Barrier, Michael (2003) *Hollywood Cartoons – American Animation in Its Golden Age*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press
6. Bary, Wm. Theodore de (1995) "The Vocabulary of Japanese Aesthetics I, II, III", in: *Japanese Aesthetics and Culture – A Reader*, edited by Nancy G. Hume, Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 43-76
7. Bauman, Zygmunt (1997) *Postmodernity and Its Discontents*, Cambridge: Polity Press
8. Bauman, Zygmunt (2001a) *Community – Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press
9. Bauman, Zygmunt (2001b) *The Individualized Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press
10. Bauman, Zygmunt (2002) *Society under Siege*, Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press

11. Beauvoir, Simone de (1949) *Le deuxième sexe*, Paris: Gallimard.
12. Bichler, Michelle (2004) *Anime sind anders – Produktanalytischer Vergleich amerikanischer und japanischer Zeichentrickserien*, Marburg: Tectum Verlag.
13. Bourdieu, Pierre (1979) *La Distinction*, Paris: Editions de Minuit.
14. Brode, Douglas (2004) *From Walt to Woodstock: How Disney Created the Counterculture*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
15. Bryman, Alan (1995) *Disney and His Worlds*, London/New York: Routledge.
16. Clammer, John (2000) "Received Dreams – Consumer Capitalism, Social Process and the Management of the Emotions in Contemporary Japan", in: J. S. Eades, Tom Gill, Harumi Befu (eds.): *Globalization and Social Change in Contemporary Japan*, Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, pp. 203-223.
17. Clarke, James (2004) *Animated Films*, London: Virgin Books.
18. Do Rozario, Rebecca-Ann (2004) The Princess and the Magic Kingdom: Beyond Nostalgia, the Function of the Disney Princess, in: *Women's Studies in Communication*, Vol 27, 2004/1, pp. 34-59.
19. Drazen, Patrick (2003) *Anime Explosion: The What? Why? and Wow! of Japanese Animation*, Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.
20. Eagleton, Terry (1990) *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, Oxford/Cambridge: Basil Blackwell Publishers
21. Giddens, Anthony (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
22. Gluck, Carol (1985) *Japan's Modern Myths – Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, Princeton (New Jersey): Princeton University Press.
23. Grajdian, Maria (2008) *Das japanische Anime: Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Annäherung*, Sibiu: Lucian Blaga University Press.
24. Grajdian, Maria (2010) *Takahata Isao*, Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang Press.
25. Habermas, Jürgen (1981) *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns: 1. Handlungsrationalität und gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung; 2. Zur Kritik der funktionalistischen Vernunft*, Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp.
26. Hooks, Bell (2001) *All about Love: New Visions*, New York: Harper Perennial.
27. Hooks, Bell (2003) *Communion: The Female Search for Love*, New York: Harper Perennial.
28. Ivy, Marilyn (1995) *Discourses of Vanishing – Modernity, Phantasm, Japan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
29. Kawakita, Yashio (1992) *'Nichijōsei' no yukue* [The Future of the 'Quotidianity'], Tōkyō: JICC Press.
30. Keene, Donald (1993) *Seeds in the Heart*, New York: Henry Holt.
31. Kimmel, Michael (2015) *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era*, New York: Nation Books.
32. Köhn, Stephan (2005) *Traditionen visuellen Erzählens in Japan – Eine paradigmatische Untersuchung der Entwicklungslinien vom Faltschirmbild zum narrativen Manga*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
33. Kristeva, Julia (1974) *La révolution du langage poétique*, Paris: Editions du Seuil
34. Luhmann, Niklas (1996) *Die Realität der Medien*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag
35. Meštrović, Stjepan G. (1997) *Postemotional Society*, London: Sage Publications

36. Miegel, Meinhard (2005) *Epochenwende: Gewinnt der Westen die Zukunft?*, Berlin: Propyläen Press
37. Morley, David/Robins, Kevin (1995) *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries*, London/New York: Routledge.
38. Riesman, David (1950) *The Lonely Crowd*, New Haven: Yale University Press
39. Saitō, Tamaki (2000) *Sentō bishōjo no seishin bunseki* [The Analysis of the Spiritual History of the Beautiful Fighting Girl], Tokyo: Ōta Shuppansha
40. Shimada, Yoshiko (2002) "Afterword – Japanese Pop Culture and the Eradication of History", in: *Consuming Bodies: Sex and Contemporary Japanese Art*, edited by Fran Lloyd, London: Reaktion, pp. 186-191
41. Takahata, Isao (1991) *Eiga wo tsukurinagara kangaeta koto I: 1955-1991* [What I Was Thinking While Creating Movies I: 1955-1991], Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten
42. Takahata, Isao (1999a) *Eiga wo tsukurinagara kangaeta koto II: 1991-1999* [What I Was Thinking While Creating Movies II: 1991-1999], Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten
43. Takahata, Isao (1999b) *Jūniseiki no animēshon: Kokuhō emakimono ni miru eigateki, animeteki naru mono* [Animation Works of the 12th Century: Movie- and Anime-like Things Which Can Be Seen In the Scroll Rolls Preserved As National Treasures], Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten/Studio Ghibli
44. Yamada, Masahiro (1999) *Parasaito shinguru no jidai* [The Era of the Parasite Singles], Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō
45. Wells, Paul (1998) *Understanding Animation*, London/New York: Routledge

Ainu Belief System: The Main Animal Gods and the Rituals Related to Them

*Evelyn Adrienn Tóth**

Abstract: *As an ethnic group indigenous to Hokkaido, the Hokkaido Ainu saw the decline of their once thriving culture in the Meiji era when their activities and traditions were limited or even prohibited by the new Ainu assimilation policies. In the 20th century, the ethnic group became widely known as a ‘dying race’ (滅び行く民族; ‘horobiyuku minzoku’) and even educators and scholars believed that the ‘primitive savages’ would soon disappear from the face of the Earth. However, the Ainu are still present today and are far from seeing their culture disappear; on the contrary, we can see its rise and modern development through various cultural revitalisation movements. With indication on the cultural flexibility and the belief system of the Ainu, the aim of this paper is to introduce the Ainu as an ethnic group, with special attention to their main animal gods (known as ‘kamuy’ or ‘kamui’ in the Ainu language) and their respective rituals, introducing the rites both in their original form and how they are conducted in today’s Ainu culture, in order to show that they are still present in today’s Japanese society despite the assimilation of the ethnic group.*

Keywords: *Ainu, Japan, Indigenous, Animism, Culture*

1. Introduction

The Ainu (which means ‘human’ in the Ainu language) are an indigenous people of today’s Japan and Russia. Their historically attested place once included the northern and central islands of Japan, as far north as Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands, the southern tip of the Kamchatka Peninsula, and the lower reaches of the Amur river.¹ Originally they were hunter-gatherers who, after establishing contact with the indigenous Japanese from the 13th century onward,² became more and more dependent on barter economy. They lived in riverside or seaside villages called ‘kotan’. Each kotan had their own leader, but the Ainu as a whole never had one collective leader that would unite the people.³

* Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Faculty of Humanities, PhD candidate

¹ Cheung 952.

² Weiner

³ Godefroy 1-2.

As Figure 1 shows, the main traditional Ainu settlement areas included the northern part of Honshu, the southern part of Sakhalin, Hokkaido and the Kuril Islands. However, in this paper I will only be focusing on the Hokkaido Ainu.

The number of Ainu people recorded in government surveys varies greatly; population surveys estimate their number to be around 27,800. However, it is highly possible that these figures are much lower than the real number of Ainu descendants, as many Ainu still tend to conceal their identity and ethnic background in order to avoid further discrimination, which was a serious problem for them throughout the 20th century.⁴ The umbrella group that is made up of Hokkaido Ainu, the *Ainu Association of Hokkaido*, estimates the population to be around 50-60,000, or even as many as five times higher.⁵

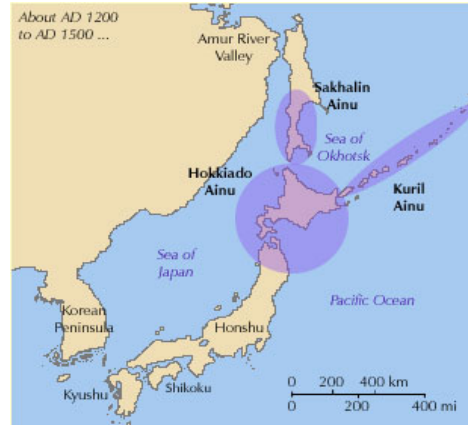


Figure 1. Traditional Ainu settlement areas

2. Origin of the Ainu

The origin of the Ainu people is still an unresolved and widely debated issue on the ethnographic field. Nevertheless, there have been many theories on the subject.

According to *The Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture*, people living in Hokkaido used earthenware and sustained themselves on fishing, hunting and gathering from as early as the Yayoi period (traditionally dated 300 BCE–300 CE) on Japan’s main island, Honshu, continuing through the following few centuries. This period is often referred to as the Epi-Jomon or Satsumon culture. The Satsumon culture itself began around the 7th century and ended sometime between the 12th and 13th centuries, and was followed by the Ainu culture in the 13th century. Focusing on the belief system, and also the topic of this paper, one theory supposing some kind of possible relation between the Okhotsk and Ainu cultures is particularly interesting. Concurrently with the Satsumon culture, the Okhotsk culture also existed along the Sea of Okhotsk in Hokkaido, and it seems that bears played an important role in the culture’s religion as bear skulls have been found in their dwellings. The Ainu also revered the bear as one of their most important animal gods, therefore the bear played an important role in their belief system.

⁴ Cheung 952.

⁵ Maher 335.

Based on the above, the Okhotsk culture is believed to have affected the Ainu culture in terms of beliefs and spirituality.⁶

Although the aforementioned theory is still debated, most archaeological and genetic facts support that the Ainu formed their own culture from two distinct ones; first, the Okhotsk culture that supposedly revered the bear as an important animal closely related to the culture’s religion, and second, the Epi-Jomon or Satsumon culture, that sustained itself on hunting-gathering (albeit being agriculture-oriented).⁷ Moreover, to provide a concrete example, Dr. Hajime Ishida from the Department of Anatomy, Sapporo Medical University School of Medicine clearly concludes that intermarriages also happened between the Okhotsk people and the ancestors of the Ainu, which further supports the connection between the aforementioned cultures.⁸

3. The Ainu belief system

The belief system of the Ainu is considered to be close to what we call as ‘animism’, although scholars still find the comparison debatable. In short, animism is a certain kind of world-view that considers all things surrounding us to be ‘alive’ or being possessed by spiritual qualities. According to the Ainu belief system, a spirit or a soul exists not only in human beings, but in other living and non-living things and even in natural phenomena as well, including plants, animals, inanimate objects, thunder etc.

Certain spirits are considered to be more important than the others; these are called ‘kamuy’ or ‘kamui’ in the Ainu language. The word originally means ‘god’ or ‘deity’, but the concept of kamui is not easy to define. To put it simply, a kamui is a spirit that either contributes to people’s daily life (such as fire and water), or that possesses supernatural power that cannot be changed or prevented by the Ainu (such as natural

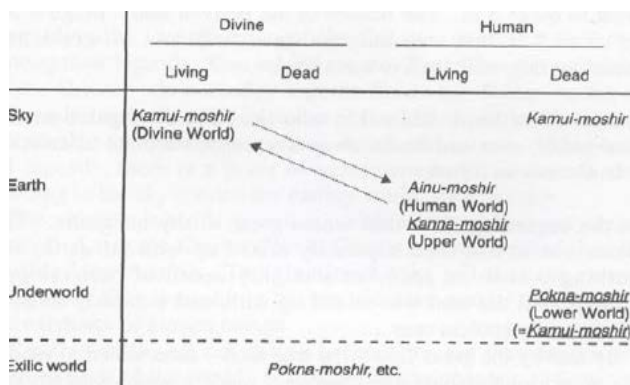


Figure 2. The classification of ‘moshir’
Original source: Takako Yamada, *The World View of the Ainu: Nature and Cosmos Reading from Language*
 (London; New York: Kegan Paul, 2001), pp. 11.

⁶ http://www.frpac.or.jp/english/files/together_01.pdf [2017. 02. 01.]

⁷ Kura 149.

⁸ Ishida 253.

phenomena and epidemics).⁹ In other words, this means that a kamui in the Ainu belief system does not necessarily have good qualities or intentions.

Professor Nakagawa Hiroshi from Chiba University gives an even simpler definition on the subject; in his book on Ainu tales, we can read that kamui are all things that possess a power or ability that humans (Ainu) do not possess.¹⁰

Upon examining the belief system, we might encounter certain important words that describe the traditional beliefs of the indigenous group. One of them is 'Ainu moshir', which does not only mean 'Human World' in the Ainu language, but also often refers to the Ainu culture and community as a whole in our modern world. The word 'moshir' is commonly associated with 'world' or 'country'. As Figure 2 shows, Ainu traditions differentiate three worlds in the belief system, which are the following: 'Kamui Moshir' (or 'Divine World'), 'Ainu Moshir' (or 'Human World') and 'Pokna Moshir' (or 'Lower World').¹¹

Kamui originally reside in 'Kamui Moshir', live in human form and take care of the Ainu people from above. However, they sometimes visit the Human World as well. Upon doing so, they change their forms into that of those animals or plants that they represent. Accordingly, the Bear God appears in 'Ainu Moshir' in the form of a bear, the Fox God in the form of a fox and so forth.¹² As the gods themselves decide to come down and help the Ainu (such as providing them food), the people does not consider hunting or fishing as a cruel act that results in ending the prey's life, but rather think of it as a passive act, as these animals are all intend to be captured.¹³

As I have already mentioned, Ainu traditionally attached particular importance to the spirits that contributed to their daily life. Therefore, it is not surprising that they also revered the most important animals as kamui and treated them accordingly. They distinguished certain animals based on their symbolic meaning and strength and worshipped them. As the paper will show, these animal kamui or gods can further be classified into certain categories, such as 'beast', 'bird' or 'fish'. In terms of their strength and size, the bear is considered to be the highest-ranked in the beast category, the owl in the bird category, and the killer whale in the fish category.¹⁴ Accordingly, Ainu people worshiped the bear, the owl and the killer whale as the highest-ranked kamui in their belief system. In the following, I will especially focus on the bear and the owl, respectively,

⁹ Kameda 14-15.

¹⁰ Nakagawa 23-24.

¹¹ Kameda 14-15.

¹² http://www.ainu-museum.or.jp/nyumon/rekishibunka/2_5sanko.html [2017. 02. 01.]

¹³ Kameda 14.

¹⁴ Yamada 147-149.

along with the main rituals related to them. Finally, as a third important animal, I will argue that the salmon does not only take the role of the main source of food in the traditional Ainu diet, but also has strong connections to the divine world, albeit not considered as a kamui.

4. The Bear God and the bear iyomante

Based on the above, we already know that the bear is considered the highest ranked animal kamui on land; in fact, it still plays an important role in the modern sense of the Ainu culture as well. According to the traditions, many Ainu considered themselves to be the descendants of bears, as the following legend will show. The legend itself was originally collected by the Anglican English missionary, John Batchelor, who spent more than 60 years of his life among the indigenous people of Hokkaido. During this time, he learnt their language and noted down their traditions, being one of the first foreign people to write extensively about the Ainu.¹⁵ The legend is as follows:

'In very ancient times there lived two people who were husband and wife. The husband one day fell ill, and soon after died, leaving no children, so that the poor wife was left quite alone. Now it happened to have been decreed that the woman was at some future time to



Figure 3. Brown bear with her cubs

bear a son. When the people saw that the time for the child to be born was nigh at hand, some said, "Surely this woman has married again." Others said, "Not so, but her deceased husband has risen from among the dead." But the woman herself said that it was all a miracle, and the following is an account of the matter: —

'One evening there was a sudden appearance in the hut in which I was sitting. He who came to me had the external form of a man, and was dressed in black clothing. On turning in my direction he said— "O, woman, I have a word to say to you, so please pay attention. I am the god who possesses the mountains {i.e., a bear), and not a human being at all, though I have now appeared to you in the bodily form of a man. The reason of my coming is this. Your husband is dead, and you are left in a very lonesome condition. I have seen this, and am come to inform you that you will bear a child. He will be my gift to you. When he is born you will no longer be lonely, and when he is

¹⁵ Frédéric 13.

grown up he will be very great, rich, and eloquent." After saying this he left me.' By and by this woman bore a son, who in time really became a mighty hunter as well as a great, rich, and eloquent man. He also became the father of many children. Thus it happens that many of the Ainu who dwell among the mountains are to this day said to be descended from a bear.¹⁶

In the above case, the Bear God visited our world and did well to the woman. However, the bear happens to be one of those kamui that does not necessarily have good intentions, as its Ainu name indicates. Traditionally, Ainu people distinguished bears with good intentions from those of bad intentions, and called them accordingly. Good bears were called **Nupuri koro kamui**, meaning 'the deities who possess the mountains', who reside on the top of the mountain. At the same time, dangerous bears were called **Nupuri-kesh-un-guru**, meaning 'persons who reside at the foot of the mountains'.¹⁷ The naming also suggests us that in some cases people thought that the closer the kamui is to the land of the gods, the better or tamer he or she is, as in the above case the evil bear can be found at the *bottom* of the mountain, whereas the good one can be found on the top.

The most important ceremony regarding the bear is the 'iyomante' (other spellings include 'iomante' or 'i-oman-te'), which translates as 'spirit-sending ceremony'.¹⁸ The Ainu perceived kamui as spirits who watch over the people and at times decide to come down to the human world to help the Ainu, in the form of animals and plants that they represent. This means that they help the people by getting caught or hunted down. We already know that the indigenous people did not consider killing as a cruel act; rather, they believed that by killing an animal, they 'liberate' the spirit dwelling in it. According to the Ainu belief system, sending the spirits of animals and plants back to their own world was exceptionally important. Therefore, a spirit-sending ceremony itself can be perceived as an expression of gratitude towards the kamui for its help, or even a respectful 'return gift' from the Ainu people to the kamui dwelling in the divine world.¹⁹

The bear iyomante is known to be conducted in various ways, as ceremonies tended to differ from region to region, but the most widely known variant is the one I am going to introduce below.

Before examining the ritual itself, I would like to point out that according to the Ainu, the Bear God himself decided to visit our world in

¹⁶ Batchelor 8-10.

¹⁷ Ibid., 470.

¹⁸ Kameda 16.

¹⁹ Utagawa 255.

order to help the people, and this means that meeting him was not inevitable but was already decided. This may sound complicated, but the Ainu believed that the bear knew that he is going to be captured and killed, and came to help the people when he saw that the community was running out of food. According to various accounts, he even chose himself a human leader who would capture him.²⁰

Although the present paper is not a comparative analysis, I would like to point out that the idea of a god's or deity's self-sacrifice, or the bear ceremonialism itself, is not unique to the Ainu culture. Based on various ethnographic studies, paleoanthropologists suggest that the bear could have been an important totemic animal in various cultures from the earliest of times, and it may have been considered both a hunting prey and a highly respected being.²¹ Studies show that other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic region also showed great reverence to the animal; among others, the Sami people in the northernmost part of Eurasia conducted bear ceremonies similar to those of the Ainu, which will be explained below.²²

The most widely known form of the Ainu bear *iyomante* is the following: upon capturing the bear as a cub, the Ainu took him to the village and an Ainu took care of him, treating him as a family member. When the bear became strong enough to cause harm to people, the family placed him in a cage outside the hut and kept rearing him for around two years. During this time they worshipped him along with their relatives and other members of the village.²³ After around these two years, the spirit-sending ceremony was about to take place. The day before the festival, the owner of the bear sent people round the village to invite his neighbours and the other villagers to the feast. Many times guests from distant villages also took part in the festivities as the event symbolised the brotherhood of the Ainu people. For the ceremony, all of the people dressed in their best attire to honour the bear.²⁴

In the beginning of the ceremony itself, an Ainu was chosen who approached the bear in its cage, and told him that they are about to send him back to his ancestors to the divine world. He also prayed that the bear would not be angry and would come down to the human world again to help the Ainu.²⁵ There are several accounts on the prayer that should be said this time, and, based on the fact that the Ainu all lived in small, community-like villages, sometimes quite separated from each

²⁰ Sjöberg 77.

²¹ Antonello 5.

²² Munro 169.

²³ Sjöberg 77.

²⁴ Batchelor 485.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 487.

other, we can assume that the exact words of the prayer also might have differed from region to region. According to Batchelor, one such prayer was the following:

'O thou divine one, thou wast sent into the world for us to hunt. O thou precious little divinity, we worship thee; pray hear our prayer. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with a deal of pains and trouble, all because we love thee so. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy father and mother. When thou comest to them please speak well of us, and tell them how kind we have been; please come to us again and we will sacrifice thee.'²⁶

After this prayer, another Ainu went to the bear's cage and passed a noose round his neck so that the people would be able to lead him out of his cage. Upon leading him out, other Ainu started shooting ceremonial arrows at him and then killed him, either with ordinary arrows or with the help of two tree logs.²⁷

However brutal the ceremony might look, it is important to realise that according to the Ainu way of thinking, this ritual was a mean to send the kamui back to the divine world, therefore the killing of the bear was a means to liberate its spirit. The above-mentioned fact is also suggested by the Japanese name of the ritual; 熊祭り ('kumamatsuri'; 'bear festival') or 霊送り ('tamaokuri'; 'sending the spirit back').²⁸ Many people still tend to think that the bear ceremony was a sacrifice *to* the gods, whereas its real essence was sending the kamui *himself* back to the divine world. The bear had to die to get back to his own world, but its reason was to be able to leave the meat and the fur for the Ainu people, and to abandon the animal disguise.²⁹



Figure 4. Picture depicting the bear iyomante. Painting from the handscroll 'Scenes of the Daily Life of the Ezo', c. 1870, attributed to Hirasawa Byōzan (1822-1876)

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ <https://www.bears.org/spirit/ainumyth.php> [2017. 02. 02.]

²⁸ Kindaichi, Yoshida 348-349.

²⁹ <https://naturalhistory.si.edu/arctic/ainu/html/room05.html> [2017. 02. 02.]

The bear iyomante is often considered to be the core of religious Ainu traditions that still bear great importance to the Ainu culture in its modern sense. However, the authenticity of the ceremony is debatable for the reasons stated below. By the early 20th century, Hokkaido became a tourist destination and the bear iyomante took the role of a ‘tourist magnet’ which excited people from all over the country. Of course, the ceremonies conducted this time had to fit to the new circumstances, therefore they became simplified and were held for the entertainment of tourists. This, of course created a certain degree of ‘uncertainty’ concerning the authenticity of the bear iyomante. As Professor David L. Howell from Harvard University concludes in his essay about the connection of Japanese and Ainu history, “the iyomante was no longer connected to the realities of everyday life for most Ainu.”³⁰ In this sense, tourists visiting Hokkaido could not observe the real, authentic ceremony that originally formed a part of the Ainu tradition. To attract more tourists, ceremonies from the 1930s onward were often announced as the last ‘classic’ or ‘traditional’ festivals, emphasizing that these were to be the last authentic ones, but they continued regardless.³¹

Even though the ceremony did attract tourists, it was regarded as a barbaric festival from the turn of the 19-20th century by many Japanese officials who worked towards the modernization of the country. As the government did not tolerate these festivals for too long, iyomante ceremonies became prohibited in the second half of the 20th century, but nowadays are allowed to be held again.³² However, their most widely known variants nowadays are the simplified ones that had to be changed over time to attract tourists.³³

5. The Owl God and the owl iyomante

Whereas the bear is considered the highest ranked animal kamui on land, the owl – specifically, the Blakiston’s fish owl (‘*Bubo blakistoni*’; in Japanese シマフクロウ; ‘shimafukurou’) is thought to be in a superior position in the bird category.³⁴ According to the cultural anthropologist Yamada Takako, who is currently a professor at Kanazawa Seiryō University, the reason of the owl being superior to other birds is the following:

³⁰ Howell 136.

³¹ <http://apjjf.org/2011/9/12/Simon-Cotterill/3500/article.html> [2017. 02. 02.]

³² <http://www.asyura2.com/0601/ishihara10/msg/478.html> [2017. 02. 02.]

³³ <http://apjjf.org/2011/9/12/Simon-Cotterill/3500/article.html> [2017. 02. 02.]

³⁴ Kameda 22.

Owls generally have the eyes set forward in flat, round faces, which have human-like features, and are nocturnal. Thus, they are, in a manner of speaking, anomalous among birds. It can be said that the background for choosing the Blakiston's fish-owl, a species of owl, as a symbolic expression among birds of prey is somewhat related to such anomalous qualities. In any case, the Blakiston's fish-owl links with the salmon, a major food for the Ainu, and is one of the strongest in the 'bird' category.³⁵



Figure 5. The Blakiston's fish owl, being the largest living species of owl, is one of the most important animal deities of the Ainu

In his 1901 book "The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore", John Batchelor writes about five kinds of birds whose cry should not be imitated by the people; the cuckoo, the woodpecker, the nighthawk, the goatsucker and the owl. According to the Ainu, these birds have the power to bewitch people, therefore imitating them brings misfortune. However, the owl is considered to be a deity which means that imitating its cry counts as 'blasphemy', as Batchelor describes it.³⁶

Batchelor did not only explain the reason why imitating the above-mentioned birds brings misfortune; he also noted down five different names regarding the Blakiston's fish owl, along with their respective explanation, which clearly show why the owl was revered and worshipped by the Ainu.³⁷ According to the missionary's accounts, the names for the owl were the following:

1. 'Humhum okkai kamui' or 'the divine male who calls humhum'. This name was considered to be the most ordinary one among the five different ways to call the owl. Regarding its meaning, 'humhum' is most likely an onomatopoeia for the sound the bird is supposed to make. 'Okkai' means 'male' in the Ainu language, therefore it is clear that the Owl God is regarded as a male deity, which immediately places him to the highest importance, for men always took a higher place than women in the traditional Ainu society. Finally, as I have already

³⁵ Yamada 149.

³⁶ Batchelor 409.

³⁷ Batchelor 410.

mentioned above, 'kamui' means 'god', 'deity'; in the current context, it can be translated as 'divine'.³⁸

2. 'Kamui ekashi' or 'the ancestor of the gods'. It is important to note that here, by 'god', the Ainu meant all the other birds as "every deity is only looked upon as a god among its own kind".³⁹ The word 'ekashi' translates as 'old man', 'ancestor', which again emphasizes his importance, as old men were treated with the greatest respect and had the most important role in the traditional Ainu society.
3. 'Kamui chikappo' or 'divine little bird'. 'Kamui' again translates as 'divine', whereas 'chikappo' can further be divided: the word 'chikap' means 'bird' in the Ainu language, and 'po' takes the role of a diminutive particle with the meaning 'little'. This term implies endearment, and shows that the bird is looked upon by the Ainu with affection.
The last two names for the Blakiston's fish owl further show its importance among the people, at the same time implying the reason of him being held in high esteem.
4. 'Ya un kontukai' or 'the servant of the world'. This name implies that his role is to watch over the needs of the Ainu. According to various legends, the Creator God himself ordered him to come down to the human world for this reason. His role is to assist the hunters and to lead them to the prey while directing them with his hoots.⁴⁰ According to Batchelor, "if this bird hoots very loudly, it is a sure sign that danger is close at hand; but if the hoot be quiet and regular, then it means peace and good fortune."⁴¹
5. Finally, the last name of the owl is 'Ya un kotchane guru' or 'the mediator of the world'. This name clearly shows that this bird is meant to mediate between the Creator God and the people living in the human world. Moreover, the owl is supposed to take the requests of the Ainu directly to the Creator, who is considered to be the most important deity, having created the world. (Here we can see that according to the Ainu belief system, there is a certain kind of hierarchy among its deities.)⁴²

According to the traditional beliefs, every human being is capable of communicating with the gods, therefore the Ainu did not have 'priests'

³⁸ Ibid., 410-411.

³⁹ Ibid., 411.

⁴⁰ Batchelor 411-413.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

who had the privilege of being mediators between the human and the divine world. However, the influence is likely to be much stronger if a kamui takes the most important messages to the gods. For this reason, Ainu captured young owls and raised them in their villages – however, unlike in the case of bears, they did not worship them. After some time, when they had to send an important message to the divine world, they ritually killed them. According to Batchelor’s accounts, the Ainu first carefully told the owl that they are about to send him back to his ancestors, then offered him food and wine to bring to the divine world along with the message when he departs.⁴³

Upon examining the above-mentioned five names, we can clearly see why the owl was worshipped by the people; however, one might wonder where do all these positive qualities come from. There are various legends in the Ainu folklore regarding the owl, which again emphasize its importance. According to one of them, after the creation of the world, the Owl God was commissioned to plant various seeds so that the Ainu would not have to worry about the food supply. The Owl God is believed to have worked day and night to plant the seeds around the world, therefore the Ainu held him in high esteem, treated him with respect and worshipped him.⁴⁴ Other legends tell us about the Owl God staying in the human world on purpose, to be able to watch over the needs of the Ainu.⁴⁵ The previous legends and the above-mentioned five different names all imply that the Blakiston’s fish owl was considered to be a kamui with positive intentions, whose purpose was to watch over the needs of the Ainu and to serve as a mediator between the human and the divine world.

As I have already mentioned when introducing the Bear God, the most important ceremony regarding the deity was the ‘spirit-sending ceremony’ or iyomante. However, the name of the ceremony does not exclusively refer to the bear. The ritual itself is an expression of



Figure 6. Picture depicting the owl iyomante

Original source: Shigeki Akino, “Spirit-Sending Ceremonies,” in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, eds. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil, 248-255 (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1999), 255.

⁴³ Ibid., 414-415.

⁴⁴ Kameda 24.

⁴⁵ Kameda 24.

gratitude towards the kamui for its help, let it be the Bear God, or, in this case, the Owl God. The owl-sending ceremony was another kind of iyomante, which did not involve any messages to be sent to the divine world, but was conducted for the same reason as the bear iyomante was: to ceremonially send the kamui back to his own world where he originally came from. Unlike in the case of the bear iyomante, there are only limited sources regarding the owl sending ceremony. The only known illustration was produced in the late 19th century, and describes one regional variation of the event.⁴⁶ As Figure 6 shows, people first tied two thin logs together, also tying the legs of the owl into the knot. Then, after decorating the place of the ceremony, Ainu women gathered around the owl and started singing and clapping, while the men gathered around the logs and started lifting the wooden structure with the owl on it.

As the included picture is the only known source of the owl iyomante, scholars often refer to it.⁴⁷ However, I would like to point out again that it only depicts a regional variation of the ceremony, therefore its performance may have varied in different areas. It is unclear which regional tradition can be observed here, but the picture itself is a part of a collection called Ainu Fūzoku emaki (Picture Scroll: Ainu Manners and Customs), and was created by Nishikawa Hokuyō.⁴⁸

Based on various accounts, in Kushiro, the ceremony was exclusively held by elders who were the most knowledgeable about Ainu rituals and customs, whereas females and children were not allowed to take part in the ceremony, or even to be near the place where it was held.⁴⁹ Examining this illustration, we can clearly see women dancing around while clapping and singing, therefore we can assume that it is not from Kushiro.

Modern sources say that the last owl-sending ceremony was conducted in 1983, after more than 9 years of preparation. This was only the second ceremony in the 20th century, and probably the last one. Today, the Blakiston's fish owl is an endangered species, and is very rare in Hokkaido; therefore it is unlikely that such a ceremony will ever be conducted again. According to the Ainu who led the ceremony, during the long years before the actual event, Ainu people tried to find as many sources and written records as possible, to be able to conduct it in an authentic way. Even reporters from the NHK arrived to write articles and take pictures of the last owl iyomante, which still bears great importance for the researchers, and serves as a good source on the ceremony regarding the animal deity.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ibid., 18-19.

⁴⁷ <http://www.frpac.or.jp/about/files/sem1813.pdf> [2017. 02. 03.]

⁴⁸ Kameda 18.

⁴⁹ Kameda 19.

⁵⁰ <http://www.frpac.or.jp/about/files/sem1813.pdf> [2017. 02. 03.]

6. The role of the salmon in the Ainu belief system

According to the Ainu belief system, the salmon is not considered a kamui as its purpose is to serve as the main source of food for the Ainu, but its strong connection to the divine world is undeniable.

There are several facts regarding the salmon that would prove this divine connection; the first one of them being the most popular names for it in the Ainu language. Perhaps the most well-known is 'sipe' (or 'shibe'), which means 'great thing', 'chief food'. However, the salmon is also widely known as 'kamui chep' which translates as 'divine food', 'divine fish'. The latter name for the fish clearly suggests its divine origin, as the word 'kamui' is included in it. 'Chep' is the general name of all kinds of fish in the Ainu language, whereas 'chi-ep', of which the word 'chep' originates from, means 'food'. This again suggests us that fish served as the main source of food for the Ainu for a long time.⁵¹

Besides the above-mentioned names, there is another name that implies the salmon's divine origin. According to Batchelor, some of the smaller salmon were called 'inau-kot-chep', which translates as 'the fish which have inau (given them)'.⁵² An 'inau' (also transliterated as 'inaw') is a certain kind of wooden stick used for ceremonial and religious purposes, and the fact that it is included in the name for the smaller salmon implies that the fish definitely had connections with the world of the gods.⁵³ Moreover, certain specimens even had an important role during the bear iyomante, as they were offered to the Bear God.⁵⁴

As the Ainu believed that a successful catch is only possible if they maintain a good relationship with the gods, conducting various rituals in order to please the deities were essential for them. People also insisted on using special tools to be able to send the spirit of the salmon to the divine world.⁵⁵ One of the most important tools was a thick willow stick, the 'isapa-kik-ni' or 'head-striking wood'. On the reason of its usage, Batchelor writes the following:

The Ainu say that the salmon do not like being killed with a stone or any other wood other than good sound willow, but they are very fond of being killed with a willow stick. Indeed, they are said to hold the *isapa-kik-ni* in great esteem. If anything else is used the fish will go away in disgust.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Batchelor 519.

⁵² Ibid. 522.

⁵³ Batchelor 90.

⁵⁴ Iwasaki-Goodman 28.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 29.

⁵⁶ Batchelor 521-522.

Based on the missionary's accounts, using the above-mentioned willow tool was respectful towards the salmon, while using tools made of other materials were not. In fact, a legend says that there were times when the Ainu used other tools as well to catch and kill the salmon, but the Salmon God felt that the Ainu were being disrespectful, and refused to send more salmon to the human world, which resulted in a shortage of food. Eventually, the Salmon God said that the people must use the isapa-kik-ni if they want the salmon to return, and when they did, the fish indeed returned.⁵⁷

Here we see that according to the belief system, some kamui come down into the human world taking the shape of animals and plants, such as the Bear God and the Owl God, while others remain in the divine world and instead of coming down, they send the animals and plants they represent to the human world, such as the Salmon God does.⁵⁸

As the salmon is not considered a kamui, there are no accounts on iyomante ceremonies in its case. However, the Ainu placed great importance on the rituals associated with fishing. Ethnological accounts reveal that there were significant regional variations regarding how they were conducted; sometimes they even became significantly simplified or they ceased to be held. In the following, I would especially like to introduce how the ritual was conducted in three different regions: Horobetsu, Kushiro and Shiraoi. These regions still have a considerable Ainu population today, and records are well kept on the way of performing rituals – which cannot be said in most cases, since there are other areas where records of such rituals are lacking.⁵⁹



Figure 7. Orita Suteno Ainu storyteller (1899-1994) taking part in a salmon ceremony

Source: Natalie B. Fobes (National Geographic Creative)

⁵⁷ Poisson 41.

⁵⁸ Kameda 21.

⁵⁹ Iwasaki-Goodman 29-30.

According to the anthropological linguist and scholar, Professor Chiri Mashihō, in Horobetsu, the first ritual regarding the salmon took place before the fishing season started. First, the headman of each household gathered together near the lower reaches of the river, where they conducted a ritual known as 'pet kamui nomi' or 'River God ritual'. Then they set up an altar and offered inaus, sacred wooden sticks to the gods associated with fishing. As I have already mentioned, the Ainu did not have designated priests in their culture, therefore anyone could serve as a priest. This was true for the pet kamui nomi as well. The priest was the one who offered the inau to the gods of the river, after which he prayed for a successful catch and asked the gods to allow salmon to come up the river.⁶⁰

Professor Chiri also emphasizes that the Ainu living in Horobetsu continued to conduct similar rituals even when their catch was poor during the fishing season. In such a case they offered sake and inau to the gods of the river, asking them to help the people by bringing a good catch.⁶¹

The first catch was held in great esteem and respect, and the Ainu in the region conducted a special ritual to offer it to the God of Fire and the God of the House, during which the people prayed to the above-mentioned gods. After that, the salmon was shared among the villagers.⁶²

Similarly to Horobetsu, Kushiro is another region with detailed records of salmon-related rituals. According to these records, the Ainu living in Kushiro often used a special method called 'tes' to catch salmon. This approximately means 'fishing with a fence'. First, the people set the fence and the fishing net across the river, then they placed two inau for the river gods (a male and a female one) at the bank of the river. After that, they prayed for safe fishing and a successful catch.⁶³

The first salmon of the season was held in great esteem, therefore it was offered to the gods. The Ainu living in the region even followed a special procedure for cutting it. According to Professor Masami Iwasaki-Goodman from Hokkai Gakuen University, the procedure was the following:

The area around the throat between the head and the body were cut and placed in the fire, so that the God of Fire received the honor. Then they took a thin willow stick and put it through the salmon's heart, stomach, and intestine, and placed it near the fire so that it would burn away. These were the offerings to the gods.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Ibid., 30.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Iwasaki-Goodman 30-31.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Iwasaki-Goodman also states that salmon with a bent lower jaw was believed to be very special. After drying it, the Ainu stored it at the altar until the next bear iyomante. This special salmon served as an important item at the ceremony, as it was placed under the head of the bear after it was killed. Once the ceremony was finished, the Ainu put the salmon away until the next important ritual, when it was used again.⁶⁵

Unlike in the previous two regions, Ainu living in Shiraoi conducted their fishing-related rituals especially for salmon, treating it with a special respect. According to the records, the preparation for the ceremony bore resemblance to the one in Horobetsu: the first ritual took place before the fishing season, and the headmen from each household gathered together to set up an altar and make inau for the gods. However, they then prayed to each god according to their *own* wishes and feelings, including the Fox God, who was believed to have an important role in providing salmon. After the first successful catch, the first salmon was cooked and offered both to the God of Fire and the God of the House, then it was taken back to the river and was offered to the gods of the river as well.⁶⁶

The question of continuation of the above-mentioned rituals is somewhat problematic, as there were considerable changes in Ainu fishing rights throughout the 19-20th century. As the Ainu traditionally were hunter-gatherers, they sustained themselves on hunting, fishing and gathering for centuries. During this time, Ainu groups supposedly had exclusive fishing rights regarding certain areas. Iwasaki-Goodman states the following about these rights:

Firstly, a certain group was given an exclusive fishing right over a given area if they seasonally or continuously fished there. No other people were allowed to fish in the area. Secondly, the group was organized based mainly on kinship. Furthermore, to gain fishing rights, the group had to have occupied the area for a certain length of time or have used the resource before other people had advanced into the area. In that respect, the fact that the group permanently lived in the area made a good case. Fourthly, when the resource in the area become low, competition over fishing rights intensified, and thus a conflict was likely to develop. People other than members of the group could gain a share of the fishing rights by giving the rights owner a gift. In short, in the subsistence salmon fishing period, there was a fishing management system based on recognition of exclusive fishing rights to kin-based corporate groups among Ainu.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Iwasaki-Goodman 31.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 31-32.

This fishing system continued to the mid-1800s, when Japan opened up to the West and started its Westernisation movements. In the beginning, efforts were made to protect Ainu fishing grounds and Japanese fishermen were limited to the mouths of the rivers. Nevertheless, the Japanese quickly expanded their own fishing grounds and increased their salmon catch, which had a negative effect on the Ainu fishing grounds, as the salmon was captured at the mouths of the river, not being able to swim up and reproduce. In the early Meiji era, fishing for salmon in the rivers was banned to enhance the salmon stock. However, this operation caused the Ainu to lose their traditional fishing grounds. They could not continue their traditional way of life as subsistence salmon fishing was not allowed, therefore their lifestyle began to drastically change.⁶⁸

Despite the above-mentioned negative effects on Ainu fishing rights, the salmon culture itself did not entirely disappear from the Ainu culture. It is true that many elderly Ainu still remember being punished for catching salmon to sustain themselves, which was considered illegal, but the salmon rituals did not necessarily cease to be held in Ainu households. Some young Ainu still recall eating dried or frozen salmon at their grandparents' house, which proves that the people tried to keep as much of their old culture as possible, even for the price of simplifying the rituals, having to accommodate their way of living to the new rules and laws.⁶⁹

Based on recent interviews with Ainu elders, the way of performing rituals differed from household to household, which indicates that the once collectively held ceremonies became private. An elderly woman from Chitose recalls the first salmon of the season being passed into the house through the god's window, which was reserved for the passage of the gods, again indicating the salmon's connection to the divine world. Then the family made an offering of rice and malt, and prayed that the first salmon would be taken back to the gods. The woman gave detailed information on her family's performance of the ritual, proving that the role of the salmon remained very important spiritually, even after the restriction and ban on fishing. Another interview with an Ainu man living in Shiraoi indicates that his family also tried to keep a part of the traditional salmon culture, despite the sudden changes regarding the Ainu lifestyle. He recalls his grandfather placing a little piece of the first salmon of the season into the fire burning in the stove, which was the simplified version of the ritual welcoming the first salmon of the season.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ibid., 32.

⁶⁹ Iwasaki-Goodman 33.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 33-34.

The above-mentioned interviews show that while they had to adjust themselves to the new rules, the Ainu tried to continue their traditions, even for the price of simplifying them. Their fight for keeping their culture resulted in a success in 1997, when the **Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture** (also referred to as Ainu Cultural Promotion Law or New Ainu Law)⁷¹ was passed, which emphasizes the revitalisation and the maintenance of the Ainu cultural heritage, including certain salmon-related rituals in different regions.⁷² This also means that ceremonies regarding the salmon are still conducted today, albeit under different circumstances.

7. Conclusion

With writing this paper, my aim was to introduce the belief system of the Ainu, indicating their cultural flexibility that developed due to Japan's modernisation. We could see that the Ainu had to make considerable changes regarding their beliefs and traditions, especially after entering the Meiji era, but we also could see that their traditions are not completely lost. Their aim was to keep as much of their belief system as it was possible for them, even for the price of changing it to fit to the new circumstances. Thus, their traditions could continue, and today we can speak of its 'revitalisation' in certain places, which is further enhanced by the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law passed in 1997. This could not have happened without their cultural flexibility that helped their traditions to survive. In order to guarantee their cultural survival, we have to accept that this cultural flexibility had to develop, so the traditions did not vanish, but change. I am sure that if more people realise this fact, they will understand more about the characteristics of the Ainu culture, thus providing its survival.

Bibliography:

Books and journals

1. Akino, S. "Spirit-Sending Ceremonies." In *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, edited by William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1999. pp. 248-255.
2. Batchelor, J. *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1901.
3. Cheung, S. C. H. "Ainu culture in transition." In *Future* Vol. 35. (2003), pp. 951-959.
4. Frédéric, L. (Translated by Roth, K.) *Japan encyclopedia*. Harvard University Press, 2005. pp. 13.

⁷¹ In Japanese: アイヌ文化の振興並びにアイヌの伝統等に関する知識の普及及び啓発に関する法律

⁷² Ibid., 34-35.

5. Godefroy, N. *The Ainu assimilation policies during the Meiji period and the acculturation of Hokkaido's indigenous people*. (Paper presented at the 1st symposium of the Center for Japanese Studies of the University of Bucharest, March 2011.)
6. Howell, D. L. "Is "Ainu History" "Japanese History"?" In *Journal of Northeast Asian History* Vol. 5, No.1 (June 2008), pp. 121-142.
7. Ishida, H. "Metric and Nonmetric Cranial Variation of the Prehistoric Okhotsk People." In *Anthropological Science* Vol. 104, No. 3 (1996), pp. 233-258.
8. Iwasaki-Goodman, M. and Nomoto, M. „Revitalizing the Relationship between Ainu and Salmon: Salmon Rituals in the Present.” In *Senri Ethnological Studies* Vol. 59 (2001), pp. 27-46.
9. Kameda, Y. *Aspects of the Ainu Spiritual Belief Systems: An Examination of the Literary and Artistic Representations of the Owl God*. University of Victoria, Department of Pacific and Asian Studies, 2009.
10. Kindaichi, K. and Yoshida, M. „The Concepts behind the Ainu Bear Festival (Kumamatsuri)” In *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 5, No. 4 (1949), pp. 345-350.
11. Kura, K., et al. „Cognitive function among the Ainu people.” In *Intelligence* Vol. 44. (2014), pp. 149-154.
12. Maher, J. C. „Akor Itak: Our Language, Your Language: Ainu in Japan.” In *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective*. Multilingual Matters, Vol. 116. (2001), pp. 323-349.
13. Munro, N. G. *Ainu Creed and Cult*. Oxford: Oxford Press, 1963.
14. Nakagawa, H. *Ainu no monogatari sekai (The World of Ainu Tales)*. Tokyo: Heibonsha Library, 1997.
15. Poisson, B. A. *The Ainu of Japan*. Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 2002.
16. Sjöberg, K. *The Return of the Ainu: Cultural mobilization and the practice of ethnicity in Japan*. London, New York: Taylor and Francis, 2013.
17. Utagawa, H. „The "Sending-Back" Rite in Ainu Culture” In *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* Vol. 19, No. 2/3 (1992), pp. 255-270.
18. Weiner, M. *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*. London: Routledge, 1997.
19. Yamada, T. *The World View of the Ainu: Nature and Cosmos Reading from Language*. London; New York: Kegan Paul, 2001.

Websites

1. Ainu Museum 'Poroto Kotan': アイヌ文化入門 : 信仰 http://www.ainu-museum.or.jp/nyumon/rekishibunka/2_5sinko.html [2017. 02. 01.]
2. Elio Antonello: The myths of the Bear. <https://arxiv.org/ftp/arxiv/papers/1305/1305.0367.pdf> [2017. 05. 15.]
3. Myths: The Bear Ritual of the Ainu. <https://www.bears.org/spirit/ainumyth.php> [2017. 02. 02.]
4. Smithsonian, National Museum of Natural History: Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People: Vital Cultural Link, Room 5 Overview. <https://naturalhistory.si.edu/arctic/ainu/html/room05.html> [2017. 02. 02.]
5. Simon Cotterill: Ainu Success: the Political and Cultural Achievements of Japan's Indigenous Minority. <http://apjjf.org/2011/9/12/Simon-Cotterill/3500/article.html> [2017. 02. 02.]

6. アイヌ儀式：「イヨマンテ」禁止通達を52年ぶりに撤廃（毎日新聞）
<http://www.asyura2.com/0601/ishihara10/msg/478.html> [2017. 02. 02.]
7. シマフクロウとアイヌ民族：アイヌの人びとはシマフクロウとどのように関わってきたか（長谷川 充）
<http://www.frapc.or.jp/about/files/sem1813.pdf> [2017. 02. 03.]

Pictures

- Figure 1.** Traditional Ainu settlement areas. https://heritageofjapan.files.wordpress.com/2010/05/map_6.jpg [2017. 02. 01.]
- Figure 2.** The classification of 'moshir'. YAMADA, T. *The World View of the Ainu: Nature and Cosmos Reading from Language*. London; New York: Kegan Paul, 2001. pp. 11.
- Figure 3.** Brown bear with her cubs. <http://www.ainu-museum.or.jp/siror/monthly/201611.html> [2017. 02. 01.]
- Figure 4.** 'Ainu Bear Sacrifice'. 'Scenes of the Daily Life of the Ezo', c. 1870, attributed to Hirasawa Byōzan (1822-1876). <https://discoverjapannow.wordpress.com/2014/01/27/iyomante-sacred-ceremony-of-the-ainu-forgotten-indigenous-people-of-japan-part-4/> [2017. 02. 02.]
- Figure 5.** Blakiston's fish owl. https://hokkaido-labo.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/hokkaido-kushiro-zoo-045_R.jpg [2017. 02. 02.]
- Figure 6.** Picture depicting the owl iyomante. KAMEDA, Y. *Aspects of the Ainu Spiritual Belief Systems: An Examination of the Literary and Artistic Representations of the Owl God*. University of Victoria, Department of Pacific and Asian Studies, 2009. pp. 18.
- Figure 7.** Orita Suteno Ainu storyteller (1899-1994) taking part in a salmon ceremony. Natalie B. Fobes Photography (National Geographic Creative) <http://www.smh.com.au/news/world/rebirth-of-a-nation/2008/07/19/1216163229922.html> [2017. 02. 03.]

“Geisha Girls Strike”: An Overlooked Aspect of the Women's Labor Movement in Modern Japan

Yuhei Yambe*

Abstract: *This paper analyzes a geisha strike that occurred in Osaka on February 26, 1937. At Nanchi Gokagai (Osaka), the largest geisha district in modern Japan, about sixty geisha went on strike because the manager of the call-office refused to recognize the union they had formed. All geisha had to register with the call-office, but they had no voice in deciding the call-office's policies. The geisha strikers climbed Mount Shigi and stayed at Gyokuzō Buddhist temple for several days. At the time, the strike caused a sensation. However the strike has not been the focus of attention in studies of Women's Labor Movements by Women's Studies scholars in Japan until recently. Geisha have seldom been viewed as 'regular' female workers. Rather, they are often treated only as victims of human trafficking and thus are marked by the stigma of 'being a prostitute.' Therefore, focusing on the geishas' self-representations and the high level of self-awareness seen in them, my paper discusses the Osaka geisha strike as a significant moment in the history of the women's labor movements that helped geisha to acquire confidence as women workers.*

Keywords: *Women's history, Geisha strike, Women's labor movements, Modern Japan.*

1. Introduction

In the latter half of the 1930s, labor movements in Osaka Prefecture were at their second peak in the interwar period. In 1937, 412 labor disputes occurred and a total of 17,257 workers participated in them. Compared with other prefectures in Japan, Osaka had the highest number of disputes¹. A period of inflation followed Manchurian Incident (1931), this in turn made living conditions for workers more difficult. Many workers began to demand higher wages and better treatment. At the same time, the police were tightening control over socialist and labor movements. Gradually, the length of the disputes became shorter and the style of the strikes also grew more moderate.² Among these, there was one strike that especially attracted media attention. It was known as

* Ph.D., Kyoto University of Art and Design

¹ Naimushō Keihokkyoku 内務省警保局. *Shakaiundō no Jōkyō 1937 社会運動の状況 1937 年*. (This is a confidential report of the Department of Interior), 1937, p. 806

² Watanabe, Tōru and Kimura, Toshio(eds.) 渡辺徹、木村敏男編. *Osaka Shakai Undōshi Vol.2 Senzenhen Ge 大阪社会運動史 (第2巻) 戦前篇・下*. Tokyo: Yūhikaku 有斐閣, 1989, p.1928

the geisha *Yama-gomori* (literally meaning 'seclusion on the mountain') strike. On February 26, 1937, about sixty geisha strikers climbed Mount Shigi and stayed at Gyokuzō Buddhist temple, demanding that the manager of the call-office recognize the union they had formed. Before the strike, nobody anticipated that geisha would adopt such an 'extreme' way of protesting. Many newspapers sent reporters to the temple to write about the geishas' strategy and their practice of communal living on the mountaintop.

As is well known, the term geisha (芸者), derives from *shirabyōshi* (dancing girls), highly trained and talented female entertainers in Heian period (794-1185) Japan. *Shirabyōshi* had declined during the late 15th century to the late 16th century, however in the Genroku period (1688-1704), female entertainers who made a specialty of music and dancing became popular in *yūkaku* (the red-light districts) and later they came to be called geisha. Their social position changed greatly during the rapid modernization of Japan. Based on models from 'advanced' western countries, the Meiji government established a licensed prostitution system, which was considered to be a proper measure for protecting soldiers from the threat of venereal diseases³; geisha then came under the supervision of police as a group of 'potential prostitutes'. Under some laws enacted in the 1870s, geisha and *shōgi* (licensed prostitutes) were distinguished from other female workers. They had been given fewer legal rights than others, had to be registered at the local police station, and were required to live in *okiya* (dormitories for geisha). 'Officially' they were free to retire whenever they wanted to, however most of them were forced to continue working because they were bound by lots of debts. Most of them were from poor families. The police frequently blocked their free-retirement to protect owners' profits.

Despite the situation, geisha often asserted their rights through strikes; especially in the late 1920s to the early 1930s, there were many strikes carried out by geisha and *shōgi* to demand higher wages or better treatment in various parts of Japan⁴. For instance, 8 *shōgi* in Matsushima Yūkaku of Osaka held a strike on July 17, 1926 demanding the abolition of unfair distinctions between *shōgi* of different status in the hierarchy.⁵ On January 13, at Takeo Yūkaku of Saga, 3 geisha and 7 *shōgi* held a strike to protest against the cruel owner.⁶ Historically speaking, even though they were not treated as regular workers by the

³ Fujime, Yuki 藤目ゆき. *Sei no Rekishigaku 性の歴史学*. Tokyo: Domes Shuppan ドメス出版, 1997, p.26

⁴ See Yambe, Yuhei 山家悠平. *Yūkaku no Sutoraiiki 遊廓のストライキ*. Tokyo: Kyōwakoku 共和国, 2015a, pp.107-134

⁵ *Geibi Nichinichi Shimbun 芸備日日新聞*, 21st Jul. 1926

⁶ *Saga Shimbun 佐賀新聞*, 13th Jan. 1931

government, both geisha and *shōgi* were women workers attempting to get better working conditions through many means just as other women workers were trying the same thing.

Academic interest in geishas' labor movements has grown since the late 1990s. In the groundbreaking study *Sei no Rekishigaku* (A History of Gender and Sexuality), Yuki Fujime analyzed the relationship between the modernization of Japan and the establishment of the licensed prostitution system by using feminist research about the history of prostitution in modern western society⁷. She also discussed several strikes conducted by geisha and *shōgi* as labor movements that were carried out by women workers who had not been recognized as regular women workers⁸. Fujime's work was a landmark among studies of Women's history; it provided an opportunity to revise historical studies in a way that incorporates the perspective of sex workers. Nevertheless, there have been few studies since then that examine labor movements by geisha or *shōgi* in greater depth⁹.

This paper will thus attempt to analyze the interactions between media coverage and the geishas' self-representations, focusing on the geisha's strategies and their descriptions of the Osaka strike in 1937. As is true of other working-class women of that time, few documents written by the women themselves remain. Therefore, this study will primarily focus on the representations of geisha that appeared in newspaper articles. These materials are not ideal for historical research, but unlike many other nameless workers whose lives went unrecorded, those of the geisha are described in a number of news reports about the strike that appeared in media (newspaper) such as, *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, *Osaka Jiji Shinpo*, *The New York Times*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Seattle Daily Times* and *The Straits Times*. These news reports have proven useful in approaching actual images of geisha as women workers which have been hidden in the past.

2. Background History: Nanchi Gokagai Yūkaku and the Dominance of Yamatoya

Nanchi Gokagai Yūkaku, where the strikers worked, was the largest geisha town in Japan. Gokagai refers to the five geisha quarters, Souemon-chō, Kurouemon-chō, Yagura-machi, Saka-machi and Nanba-

⁷ Fujime, Yuki (1997), op. cit., pp.87-99

⁸ *ibid.*, pp.283-311. The Osaka geisha strike was also introduced in MINAMI, Hiroshi(eds.) 南博編 *Kindai Shomin Seikatsushi 14 近代庶民生活誌 14*. Tokyo: San Ichi Shobō 三一書房, 1992

⁹ I have discussed the Osaka geisha strike of 1937 in my article in Japanese: YAMBE, Yuhei 山家悠平. "Osaka Nanchi Geigi-tachi no Shigisankomori Sutoraiki" 大阪南地芸妓たちの信貴山籠りストライキ. *Joseigaku Nenpō 女性学年報 36* (2015b): pp.1-36. In the article, I focused primarily on the interaction between geisha and their supporters (including some newspaper reporters)

shinchi. According to legend, the town was established in 1626 by Yasui Kyūbē; as recently as 1931, there were 831 *shōgi*, 2000 geisha and 499 *chaya* (restaurants) in the town¹⁰.

By 1931, Sakaguchi Sukesaburō, owner of the large restaurant, Yamatoya, was in firm control of the town. He took over the ownership of a small *okiya* (dormitory for geisha) in 1907 and built a modern geisha school three years later. He opened the restaurant in 1912¹¹. His restaurant was very successful and enjoyed the patronage of powerful persons in the business world; geisha from his school performed at his restaurant¹². In the face of economic crisis in the early 1930s, he also introduced many business innovations as well as rationalization to the town. In 1935, he integrated 21 small call-offices into one stock holders' company called the Nanchi Kenban (call-office) company¹³. Before the consolidation into one company, geisha had registered at one of the small call-offices—similar to present day entertainment agency where they received offers for work.

From Sakaguchi's point of view, this was a form of rationalization. But for the geisha it was an unfavorable change. Because the scale of the businesses was small, each call-office could usually look after them. But in the new stock holders' company, geisha lost the guarantee of livelihood in old age, and they had to compete under the rules of capitalism.

3. Ando Tomi and the Formation of a Geisha Union

To counter the dominance of Sakaguchi, Ando Tomi, a former geisha and owner of the restaurant Tsurunoya, called for the formation of a geisha union¹⁴. She was around fifty years old, and she already had established a highly trusted position in the geisha society. When Sakaguchi was prosecuted for heavy tax evasion in October 1935, Ando started preparing to form a union. Eventually, the geisha union was formed under the supervision of the local police office in July of 1936¹⁵ (Photo 1).

In an interview, Ando explained her impression of Sakaguchi's integration of small call-offices:

¹⁰ Nihon Yūransha 日本遊覧社. *Zenkoku Yūkaku Annai 全国遊廓案内*. 1931, p.122

¹¹ Kanzaki, Noritake 神崎宣武. *Yamatoya Monogatari: Osaka Minami no Kagai Minzokushi 大和屋物語—大阪ミナミの花街民俗史*. Tokyo:Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2015, p.16

¹² Washitani, Chofū 鷺谷樗風. *Sakaguchi Sukesaburō Den 阪口祐三郎伝*. (this book was published privately), 1955, p.24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.36-37

¹⁴ Ando, Tomi 安藤とみ. *Nanchi Geigi Shin Kenban Kinenchō 南地芸妓新検番記念帖*. (this book was published privately), 1941, p.296. included in MINAMI, Hiroshi(eds.),op. cit., pp.294-320

¹⁵ *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun 大阪毎日新聞*, 16th Nov. 1936

I was really shocked when I heard Sakaguchi's statement that he will integrate call-offices into a stock holders' company. There was no consultation with us in advance. We were ignored and our pride as geisha was wounded badly [...] He bought up 65% of the stock of the company; *otokoshu* (male-servants) became employees and geisha were treated as commercial objects¹⁶.

Her testimony clearly indicates that geisha were left out of Sakaguchi's decision. Soon after the establishment of the union, 300 geisha joined. That was about one-sixth of the geisha population of the town¹⁷. Tomi's granddaughter, Ando Takako, remembered that "(she) looked like a grand champion woman sumo wrestler [...] She was a woman of great willpower and dignity"¹⁸. Because Ando Tomi was a very charismatic, caring and unique person, presumably lots of young geisha joined the union in protest against Sakaguchi's dominance.

The geisha union started to demand of the Kenban company that it recognize the union, eliminate some articles that restricted Geishas' rights from the company's policies, create a foundation for retired geisha from the Kenban company's profits, and so on¹⁹.

4. Breaking Down the Negotiations, the Beginning of the Strike

However, Sakaguchi's Kenban company denied all their demands and applied pressure on Ando to disband the union. On February 25, fifteen geisha union members including Ando were called to Sakaguchi's Kenban office, and they were forced to abandon their demands. Takada Hatsue, a leader of a young geisha group, remembered a meeting when "(an executive of the Kenban company said) 'you are making demands as if you were regular workers. If you continue to have such an attitude, you will be fired [...] you are just *daikon* (white radish) in a vegetable store. You have to obey our orders'. I told them, 'this is not a human way to live, so we will do whatever we want'. We left, feeling very angry and in tears"²⁰. Ando also remembered this conversation in anger. The metaphor of *daikon*, often used to criticize unskilled actors in Japan, especially provoked their anger because it hurt their pride as professional

¹⁶ *Osaka Jiji Shinpo* 大阪時事新報, 4th Mar. 1937

¹⁷ The geisha population of 1935 is cited in *Osakafu Tōkeisho 1935* 大阪府統計書 1935 年 (the statistical documentation of Osaka), 1935, p.814. The population was 1802

¹⁸ Ando, Takako 安藤孝子. *Irebun Dosue 異例聞どすえ*. Tokyo: Rukkusha ルック社, 1966, p.33

¹⁹ *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 16th Nov. 1936. ANDO, Tomi, op.cit.,pp.296-297

²⁰ *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞, 6th Sep. 1995. she was about thirty at the time of the strike but commented later

entertainers. That night, Ando and some other elderly geisha held a strategy meeting that went on until morning²¹.

On the morning of 26th Feb. 1937, led by Ando, sixty geisha went on a strike. They climbed to the top of Mount Shigi, and declared that they would stay at Gyokuzō Buddhist temple until Sakaguchi's Kenban company recognized their union²². Mt. Shigi is located in Nara prefecture and was easy to reach from Osaka by train and cable car. Gyokuzō Buddhist temple had offered temple lodgings for many years, and there were many devout believers among the geisha. At the Gyokuzō temple was enshrined Bishamonten (Vaisravana), who was believed to grant every wish, and it was probably one reason that geisha chose that temple.²³

Staying at the mountain temple seemed radical but it was a popular way of striking at that time. Before the geisha strike, seventy young girls of the Shochiku revue had climbed Mt. Koya and demanded higher wages in 1933. It is likely that Ando and other geisha leaders learned from other workers' strategies before the strike. The geisha worked as stage performers, and there were no restaurants in Nanchi Gokagai that could run their businesses without them. If the strike went on longer, many businesses dependent on the geisha, including the Kenban Company, would suffer. Moreover, Sakaguchi could not force the geisha to work because they were away from the town and they were under the protection of the priests.

Soon after the geisha climbed the mountain, some newspaper reporters followed them and stayed in the same temple. The geisha hung up a signboard in front of the Gyokuzō Buddhist temple (Photo 2). The signboard reads: 'The Headquarters of Geisha Prayers'. At that time, the labor movement was strictly controlled by the police, so probably they used the word 'prayers' instead 'strike'. In the evening, they had a meeting in a big room of the temple (Photo. 3). Ando Tomi made a speech inspiring geisha with courage.²⁴ Fukuyasu Miyoshi, a reporter for the newspaper *Osaka Jiji Shimpō*, and one of the first news reporters to arrive at the mountain temple, remembered that eighty-four telegrams in support of the strike were sent to the temple that night²⁵.

²¹ Ando, Tomi (1941), op. cit., p.312

²² *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 26th Feb. 1937 (evening edition), ANDO, Tomi, op. cit., p.312

²³ Yomiuri Shimbun Osaka Honsha (eds.) 読売新聞大阪本社編. *Kunizakai Monogatari* 国境物語. Tokyo: Kōsaidō 廣齋堂. 1975, p.171

²⁴ Fukuyasu, Miyoshi 福安美好. *Osaka Nanchi no Arashi* 大阪・南地の嵐. Hyōgo: Kōyōsō 紅葉荘, 1937, p.35

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.36

5. Escalation of Media Coverage and Growing Public Support

Like contemporary tabloid TV shows, many news reporters visited the mountain temple and reported on the everyday life of geisha with photos (photo 4, 5, 6), because the geisha were photogenic and many veteran and popular geisha had joined the strike. The strike was present even in foreign newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *The Chicago Tribune* and *The Seattle Daily Times*. *The New York Times* wrote that "determined to remain in their sanctuary until the issue is settled they have adopted this daily routine: 10A.M. - Deadline for rising, dressing, painting, powdering and eating breakfast. 11 A.M. - Worship for all, including prayers to Buddha for victory"²⁶.

The news media also played the role of helping to make connections between geisha and supporters or patrons. Many supporters, from the prefectural assembly members of the Socialist Party to a hairdresser from Nanchi, visited the mountain temple to encourage the strikers. Yoshiya Nobuko, a famous woman writer, also visited them and expressed sympathy for the strikers: "I really felt sympathy for them. In this social and economic situation, they are also *shokugyō-fujin* (professional women workers). But they have been treated as objects and their human rights have been ignored [...]"²⁷.

According to articles in the *Osaka Jiji Shimpō*, *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* and *The New York Times*, many reporters were amazed by the 'gifts' geisha had been given. Many gifts (sushi, sandwiches, sake, snacks, money, etc.) from patrons and supporters arrived at the temple from the second day of the strike. *The New York Times* estimated that the strikers received at least 1000 yen (about 2.000.000 yen in today's currency) from sympathizers.

There are a number of anecdotes concerning the gifts. For example, Takada Hatsue, who became a spokesperson for the youngest group of strikers, answered a question in an interview that was conducted about sixty years after the strike as follows:

On one evening, we, the youngest group of strikers, felt like drinking some alcohol, but the elder geisha hid all the sake that had been given to us by supporters in their room. We really got angry, and I went to talk to them as a representative of the youngest group[...] 'If you do not want to give us those bottles of sake, tomorrow we will leave from the mountain', I told them. Then, they

²⁶ *The New York Times*, 27th Feb. 1937

²⁷ *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 5th Mar. 1937

reluctantly gave us some sake. We were so happy and soon started a midnight party²⁸.

This episode also shows us that there was diversity among the sixty strikers. In geisha society, elder geisha had more authority than younger ones but through the strike it seems they grew more flexible.

6. The Strategies of the Geisha

In response to increasing media attention, the geisha devised some performances. Instead of negotiating with the Kenban Company directly, the geisha used the media's attention effectively.

The first action was reported on the 1st of March. It was called *Hadashi Mairi*, a traditional ceremony in which believers go to the temple bare-footed in winter when it is very cold. Early in the morning, some geisha went to Bishamon Temple to practice *Hadashi Mairi*. Although Bishamon Temple was only a ten-minute walk from Gyokuzō Buddhist temple, many news media reported this practice (photo 7). The next action was *Mizugori* (cold water ablutions). At 3 o'clock in the morning on March 4, Ando and some other geisha practiced cold water ablutions (Photo 8). Of course these actions were deeply related to religious beliefs but it was also obvious that they knew how they would be reported in the news.

Not only these performances but also the media's attention gave geisha an opportunity to speak out about their views in public. Takada Hatsue said to a journalist at *Osaka Jiji Shinpo* that "this is our first experience to think about ourselves seriously. We have been treated as commercial objects, but now we realize that we are human beings and we are women workers. It's been 5 days since we climbed up the mountain. This is like a dream that we had never imagined before. Sixty-four of us, living under the same roof, feeling like real sisters, and we have been fighting together [...] We are proud of ourselves, because there are only women here. There are no male mentors, instead we respect our 'Mother Ando' of Tsurunoya, and we will fight until the end under her command"²⁹.

As she states, there was much encouragement from other women workers and they had plenty of time to think about their work and they could talk with colleagues without interruption from men.

²⁸ *Yomiuri Shimbum* 読売新聞, 7th Sep. 1995

²⁹ *Osaka Jiji Shinpo* 大阪時事新報, 2nd Mar. 1937

7. The Sudden Ending of the Strike

Throughout the strike, Ando and some other geisha leaders often went down to town to visit other members of the union and their patrons, but they never made time to talk with Sakaguchi's Kenban company. Instead they visited the local police office and the prefectural office of Osaka on February 28 and March 1, to explain their demands and ask for help. Even though news media reported their action as a strike (and geisha used their attention effectively as already mentioned), geisha pretended to be asking the police for help. On the one hand, this must have been a reflection of their weak position in society. At the same time, it was also a carefully considered strategy to avoid oppression.

The geisha also had a meeting with priests on 1st Mar. Later, a priest told a news reporter that, "we cannot ignore them because they came here to pray for the grace of *Bishamon*. We will listen to their opinions, and then we will take the proper measures as priests"³⁰.

On March 4 (it was the same day of the cold water ablutions), Ando went down to Osaka again. She visited the chief of police and told him that the strikers had changed their demands. Instead of their earlier demands, they now wanted to organize a new Kenban company of their own³¹. There are few testimonies about this, but it is likely that the geisha had gained self-confidence and a new sense of independence through conversations with their supporters and patrons. Fundamentally, they were different from other workers in modern industries in that they did not have to be employed by someone else. So they probably decided to abandon their old demands and then declared their intention to form a new geisha Kenban company.

Just after the geisha changed their approach, the strike was suddenly ended through the mediation of police officers on March 6. It was the 9th day of the strike. Twenty-two geisha, including Ando, faced six representatives from Sakaguchi's Kenban company at the police office at noon. According to *Osaka Jiji Shimpo*, the police officers presented this mediation plan:

1. All geisha would leave the mountain immediately.
2. Geisha leaders would apologize to the Nanchi Yūkaku management head office for causing this trouble.
3. The police office would grant permission for the geisha to establish a new geisha Kenban company.
4. Ando Tomi would not be allowed to become the manager of the new Geisha Kenban Company, because she was responsible for the strike.

³⁰ *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 4th Mar. 1937 (evening edition)

³¹ *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 5th Mar. 1937 (evening edition)

5. Both sides should lay aside their deep-rooted grudges, and work toward the ideal of realizing coexistence³².

This mediation plan clearly indicated that the geisha would be liberated from Sakaguchi's domination, on the other hand, they would have to compete with Sakaguchi's Kenban company from then on. Also, Ando Tomi would have to leave the center stage of the movement. Even though there were some negative aspects, Ando and other leaders of the geisha strikers willingly accepted the mediation plan. Ando explained to an interviewer of *Osaka Jiji Shimpō* what she felt when she heard the mediation plan. She said that "this was the happiest moment of my life"³³.

That day, the geisha had a victory celebration party. Lots of photos were taken by news reporters (photo 9). In the afternoon of the next day, they left the mountain (photo.10). The strike ended. *The New York Times* reported on March 7. "Geisha Win Strike; Osaka is Gay Again."

8. Conclusion: The Strike Ended and Japan Moved Toward War

After they won the strike, a new Geisha Kenban Company was established on the 15th of Apr. in accordance with police guidelines. In this new company, not only were executive positions filled by geisha, but they were also able to decide their policies by themselves³⁴. This was the most distinctive characteristic of the new Geisha Kenban Company. The company started with 190 members. By the end of 1940, about 430 geisha had registered with the new Geisha Kenban company³⁵. They built a monument at Gyokuzō Buddhist temple celebrating the third anniversary of the geishas' victory and their appreciation for support from the temple (photo.11)³⁶. But in the meantime, Sakaguchi's Kenban company still had much influence upon the Nanchi geisha society.

Ando Tomi retired in 1940 and moved Tsurunoya to Kyoto in 1943 because of the air raids on Osaka³⁷. After the war, she moved to Minobe Mountain in Yamanashi prefecture to practice Buddhism, and she died in the summer of 1962 when she was seventy-nine years old³⁸. Ando Takako remembered that her grandmother was called 'The Savior Grandma Tomi ' and that Tomi frequently told the story of the strike

³² *Osaka Jiji Shimpō* 大阪時事新報, 6th Mar. 1937

³³ *Osaka Jiji Shimpō* 大阪時事新報, 13th Mar.1937 (evening edition)

³⁴ Ando, Tomi (1941), op.cit.,p.319, 320

³⁵ 株式会社南地芸妓新検番 Kabushiki Gaisha Naichi Shin Kenban . 創立三周年記念写真帖 *Sōritsu 3 Shūnen Kinenchō*. (this book was published privately), 1940 (provided by Gyokuzō Buddhist temple)

³⁶ The monument still exist at the same place in Gyokuzo Buddhist temple

³⁷ Ando, Tomi (1941), op.cit.,p.323, ANDO, Takako (1966), op.cit.,p.27

³⁸ Ando, Takako (1966), op.cit.,p.20

happily when she was at gatherings³⁹. Takada Hatsue stayed in Osaka Nanchi during the war, and opened her own restaurant in *Kasayamachi* (Osaka) in 1962. At the age of eighty-eight (1995), she said to a journalist of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* that the strike was the most impressive experience of her entire life as a geisha⁴⁰.

As Ando and Takada explained, the strike must have been an empowering process for many geisha (even though testimonies of geisha were limited). Also, the strike gave them the opportunity to think about themselves, and became a starting point to reform unequal power relations between employers and geisha in Nanchi Gokagai. Numerous news media reported their voices, and the geisha were able to find supporters in many places in Japan, and even in the USA. Takada remembered that they received a donation in US dollars from an American supporter⁴¹. The Osaka geisha strike also influenced the geisha society in other parts of Japan and empowered geisha to claim their rights as women workers alongside other workers in Japan.

According to some newspaper articles, soon after the Osaka geisha strike, about a hundred geisha in Asahikawa, Hokkaido went on strike⁴². *The New York Times* reported this strike on 17th May in an article titled, "New Geisha Strike Begins". Then geisha in Chiba (near Tokyo) climbed to a mountain temple and demanded higher wages on the 1st of July⁴³.

By the end of the 1930s, however, labor movements were suppressed under the fascist regime. Just after the Chiba geisha strike, the Japanese government launched military aggressions in China on July 7. The new geisha Kenban Company was also used for war propaganda as a way of encouraging women to cooperate with the war⁴⁴. Nevertheless, it is still important to reveal the history of geisha and *shōgi* as women workers. Knowing their history helps us to gain new perspectives and to explore the relationship between social action and self-awareness. This history also helps us to understand the potential of labor movements to make a difference in a world where many women workers are still being marginalized and stigmatized because of prejudice against them.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.22

⁴⁰ *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞, 4th Sep. 1995

⁴¹ *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞, 6th Sep. 1995

⁴² *Otaru Shimbun* 小樽新聞, 17th May. 1937

⁴³ *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞, 1st Jul. 1937 (evening edition)

⁴⁴ I have discussed how the fascist regime appropriated the geisha Kenban Company in the war effort in my article. See Yambe, Yuhei (2015b), *op. cit.*, pp.29-32. Last but not least, I would like to show my deepest appreciation to Professor Rebecca Jennison at Kyoto-Seika University for her advice on this paper. Without her guidance and persistent help, this paper would not have been possible.

Photos:



Photo.1 Members of the geisha union with Ando Tomi (in the center)
(ANDO, Tomi, op. cit., p.297)



Photo.2 Geisha hanging up a sign board (Provided by Gyokuzō Buddhist temple)



Photo.3 Ando making a speech (Provided by Gyokuzō Buddhist temple)

Photo.4 Geisha praying for victory (株式会社南地
芸妓新検番 Kabushiki Gaisha Naichi Shin
Kenban . 創立三周年記念写真帖 Sōritsu 3
Shūnen Kinenchō. 1940)

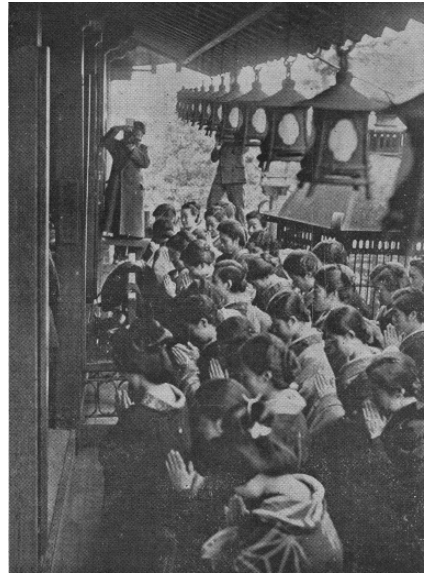


Photo.5 Geisha writing letters(Osaka
Mainichi Shimbun 大阪毎日新聞,
27th Feb. 1937)

Photo.6 Geisha laying out long *Futon*
(bedding) (Osaka Mainichi Shimbun 大
阪毎日新聞,28th Feb. 1937)





Photo.7 *Hadashi Mairi* practice (ANDO, Tomi, op. cit., p.305)



Photo.8 *Mizugori* practice (ANDO, Tomi, op. cit., p.305)



Photo.9 Geisha celebrating the victory (*Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 6th Mar. 1937).

Photo.10 Geisha getting down the mountain (ANDO, Tomi, op. cit., p.313).



Photo.11 Hōon Katsugō monument at Gyokuzō Buddhist temple (Taken by the author on 18th Mar. 2015)

Bibliography:

1. Ando, Takako (1966) *Irebun Dosue*. Tokyo: Rukkusha
2. Ando, Tomi (1941) *Nanchi Geigi Shin Kenban Kinenchō*. (This book was published privately)
3. Fujime, Yuki (1997) *Sei no Rekishigaku*. Tokyo: Domes Shuppan
4. Fukuyasu, Miyoshi (1937) *Osaka Nanchi no Arashi*. Hyōgo: Kōyōsō
5. Kabushiki Gaisha Naichi Shin Kenban (1940) *Sōritsu 3 Shūnen Kinenchō*. (this book was published privately)

6. Kanzaki, Noritake (2015) *Yamatoya Monogatari: Osaka Minami no Kagai Minzokushi*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
7. Minami, Hiroshi eds. (1992) *Kindai Shomin Seikatsushi 14*. Tokyo: San Ichi Shobō
8. Naimushō Keihokyoku (1937) *Shakaiundō no Jōkyō1937*. (this is a confidential report of the Department of Interior)
9. Nihon Yūransha (1931) *Zenkoku Yūkaku Annai*. Tokyo: Nihon Yūransha
10. Osakafu (1935) *Osakafu Tōkeisho*. (the statistical documentation of Osaka)
11. Yambe, Yuhei (2015). *Yūkaku no Sutoraiki*. Tokyo: Kyōwakoku
12. Yambe, Yuhei (2015). "Osaka Nanchi Geigi-tachi no Shigisankomori Sutoraiki". *Joseigaku Nenpō* (No.36) : pp.1-36
13. Yomiuri Shimbun Osaka Honsha eds. (1975) *Kunizakai Monogatari*. Tokyo: Kōsaidō
14. Washitani, Chofū (1955) *Sakaguchi Sukesaburō Den*. (this book was published privately)