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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LANGUAGE STRUCTURE
AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION:

Japanese and American Communication Patterns in the
Translation of First and Second Person Pronouns

by

Chieko Nabetani

A thesis
presented to the University of Windsor
in partial fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Communication Studies

Windsor, Ontario, Canada, 1987

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze comparative data from novels in both Japanese and English to demonstrate the obstacles to accurate translation of personal pronouns.

The differences in language structure which create difficulties in translation are due to cultural differences. The effects of background culture on the pronoun systems are considered at length in this study. There are many varieties of forms of first and second person pronouns in the Japanese language, which imply various relationships between the speaker and the addressee, whereas in English, there is only one form of first and second pronouns.

As a result of the textual analysis, it can be said that translating Japanese into English distorts characteristics of Japanese interpersonal communication by collapsing them into a one-dimensional pronoun framework. Conversely, translating English into Japanese distorts American interpersonal communication patterns by expanding them into a multi-dimensional pronoun framework which reflects characteristics of Japanese society.

Pronouns are obstacles to translation. Translators are forced to eliminate distinctions (Japanese to English) or to create them (English to Japanese). All they can do is to minimize these problems as much as possible by taking the cultural context into account.

Finally, an effort is made to stress the importance of the role of translation in enhancing intercultural communication.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my professors and friends in Canada and Japan who have shared with me the happiness and sometimes, the hardships, of intercultural communication. Through their interest and willingness in communicating with people from other countries, they have taught me how possible — and how enjoyable it is — to share feelings, thoughts, ideas and experiences with those from different cultural backgrounds.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I wish to express special thanks to my parents who have always supported and encouraged me to make use of all opportunities, and to my sister Naomi and my friend Tomoko for sending me many books from Japan.

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To all of you, again,

どうも ありがとう ございます。

(Dōmo arigatō gozai masu.) -- "Thank you very much."

Chieko Nabetani

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
April, 1987

PREFACE

It is from my personal experiences with so-called autistic children in 1982 that I began seriously questioning the concepts of 'language' and 'communication.' — Why do these children not speak? Why do we label them as 'handicapped' just because they are not using language as a tool of communication? Most autistic children cannot speak because of psychological, rather than physical, problems. I finally recognized that they are very sensitive towards communication. Body language is their primary way of communication, and once they trust and become willing to communicate with someone they begin, little by little, to use oral language.

'The way I speak is only the right way of communicating with others' — this concept which had dominated my mind was totally revolutionized by my experiences with autistic children. Through them, I have become aware of how much variety exists in interpersonal communication, and how important it is to be sensitive to other people's methods of communicating, even within the oral language that each of us use in his or her own way.

My two-year stay in Canada has brought me to more deeply understand about 'language' and 'communication,' by putting myself in the circumstance in which I could not use my primary tool of oral communication (Japanese). Also, by using English I have become aware

of how 'culture' is related to my primary interest of language and communication, and how culturally unique every language and way of communication can be.

This study arises from my personal interest towards enhancing communication, which includes all varieties of communication in my life. Also, if possible, I hope people in this world become more aware of intercultural communication, and more sensitive to every form of communication, oral and non-verbal.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The following dialogue comes from the original Japanese The Sound of the Mountain (1):

When Fusako asked "Rusubanwa?"

Shuichi said,

"Boku ga suru yo." ----- (I)

Fusako said,

"Iie, watashi ga suru wa." ----- (II)

(Kawabata 1957:317)

A published English translation of this scene is:

"Who will watch the house?" asked Fusako.

"I will," said Shuichi. ----- (I')

(Fusako said,)

"No, I will." ----- (II')

(Kawabata 1971:276)

Both (I) "Boku ga suru yo." and (II) "Watashi ga suru wa." are translated into the same English phrase, "I will." In Japanese 'boku' is a first person pronoun used by rather young men as a standard usage, and by older men only in informal situations. On the other hand, 'watashi' is a first person pronoun used by all women and only older men as a standard usage, but by younger men only in formal situations.

The fact that Shuichi uses 'boku' in (I) and Fusako uses 'watashi' in (II) rather than any of a variety of first person pronouns in Japanese, suggests that the scene is quite an informal situation and that Shuichi is rather young. Instead of the two different words 'boku' and 'watashi,' and all that they imply, both pronouns can be only translated into 'I' in English, since English has only one personal pronoun for this use.

There are many varieties of forms of first and second person pronouns in the Japanese language. The speaker has to choose from these various forms depending on his or her relationship with the addressee, and also depending on the situation. On the other hand, in English only one form of first and second person pronouns is used.

As the above example shows, it is very difficult to express the subtle meaning of Japanese personal pronouns in an English translation. In the reverse situation, in order to translate from English into Japanese the translator is obliged to guess at subtle nuances.

1. PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze comparative data from novels in both Japanese and English to demonstrate the obstacles to accurate translation of personal pronouns. An effort will be made to show different interpersonal communication patterns of Japanese and Americans which cause difficulties in intercultural communication.

1.1 The Study of Translation

In this internationalized world, people rely heavily on translations such as academic journals, news, movies, literature etc. Studying about translations is not only an important part of the linguistic field, but also an important part of studying communication. People deal with large amounts of translated literature sometimes without recognizing they are translations. The reliability of translation itself is usually taken for granted. However, translations necessarily involve many difficulties which deal with meaning.

To translate a text is to transfer life patterns from a specific culture, which are mirrored in the linguistic system of that culture, into a receptor culture and restructure them by using the linguistic system of the receptor culture. Untranslatable or mistranslatable elements are mostly related to the cultural differences between the source culture and the receptor (target) culture.

The connection between a culture and its language is important and needs serious consideration.

1.2 The Study of Translation between Japanese and English

In today's world the need for translation between Japanese and English has been increasing rapidly. Up to World War II translated information was mainly one way, that is, from English into Japanese. After the war this trend intensified as Japan tried hard to catch up economically as well as technologically to the Western world especially the United States.

Today, however, Japan has grown to one of the most highly economically and technologically advanced countries. Now it has become increasingly necessary for other countries to get firsthand information - usually in Japanese - about Japan. This is the era, therefore, when more emphasis is needed on the study of Japanese and English translation problems.

2. METHOD

These translation difficulties will be displayed by textual analysis of translations of two novels. How Japanese communication patterns are translated into the native English speaker's communication patterns, and how English communication patterns are translated into the native Japanese speaker's communication patterns will be investigated by examining the same dialogues in both the original novels and their translations.

From among many possible forms of interpersonal communication in daily life, this study focuses on the family unit, both Japanese and American, since the family is the most fundamental social unit for most human beings.

Comparisons of Japanese and American interpersonal communication patterns within the family unit will center around Japanese and English first and second person pronouns. Examining the usage of first and second person pronoun systems allows us to examine the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

The sources chosen for this analysis are the Japanese novel The Sound of the Mountain by Yasunari Kawabata and its English translation, and the English novel The Grapes of Wrath by John Steinbeck and its Japanese translation.

These two novels were selected because both portray aspects of the family unit very well, and are full of dialogues between family members. These two features are not found in many books available in both languages. Moreover, both Kawabata and Steinbeck received Nobel Prizes in literature, were admired by the public, and portrayed the 1930's. These important similarities mean that valid comparisons can be possibly made.

These two novels do not cover all possible samples of interpersonal communication patterns within the family unit. The purpose of this research, however, is not to cover all the different patterns of interpersonal communication, but rather to illustrate the

obstacles to accurately translating Japanese and English pronouns as they occur in different interpersonal communication patterns within the family. Thus, an effort will be made to show how difficult it is to translate pronouns without distortion, and how elements of such difficulties are easily found in ordinary conversations in everyday life. For these reasons, these two novels provide sufficient quality and quantity to predict and show the essential difficulties which create distortions in translating interpersonal communication patterns.

The research conducted here is organized into four chapters. Chapter II deals with approaches to translation and meaning. In order to make clear that the differences in language structure which create difficulties in translation are due to cultural differences, the sociology of language will also be discussed.

In Chapter III, a comparison of the pronouns of both Japanese and English will be made. The different syntactical functions of pronouns are stressed, and the effects of background culture on the pronoun systems will be investigated further.

Chapter IV is devoted to comparing each original novel with its translated version through examples of pronoun usage found in dialogues. The variety of relationships among family members can be found by tracing the different pronouns used in the Japanese version of The Sound of the Mountain, and then comparing them with their rendition in the English translation. Similarly, the relationships among the family members in the original English dialogue in The Grapes of Wrath can be compared with their rendition in the Japanese

translation. In both novels, the change of relationships through time as shown in pronoun usage will be investigated.

Finally in Chapter V, some contrasts can be made between the Japanese family unit and the American family unit by analyzing the translation problems discovered through comparisons made in the previous chapter. The social structure embedded in the pronoun systems will be considered. An effort will be made to interpret translation as a means of enhancing intercultural communication.

3. PERSPECTIVE

Since this study deals with the subtle usage of language and its nuances in the background culture, it is difficult to quantify. A phenomenological perspective will be employed to investigate language structure. From the phenomenological perspective, the social world is the product of human thought and activity. Therefore, explorations of general principles should be carried out in accordance with the way one's daily life organizes his/her experiences, especially the social world (Schutz 1967). This is a way to look at the 'phenomena' that are made available to a person by using the epoché.(2) Thus, my personal knowledge will be an important source for this study. In addition, a micro focus on everyday life is highly emphasized. As a bilingual student of English and Japanese I will make extensive use of both English and Japanese sources. Through my personal experiences of staying in North American society I have broadened my view of society

and deepened my understanding of my background culture, Japan, as well as of North American culture. These experiences will provide additional information for this study.

CHAPTER II

APPROACHES TO TRANSLATION AND MEANING

1. LANGUAGE, SELF AND SOCIALIZATION

The existence of language implies the creation of a universe of discourse for individuals by enabling understanding through communication. Thus, language is fundamental to all social processes, and to the persistence and maintenance of all social structures; it is involved in almost every act of social behavior. It is the one institution that every human being must master in order to function in any of the other institutionalized areas of social life (Hertzler 1965:19).

Hertzler also points out that language plays a significant part not only in the consciousness of self, but also in the closely related development or construction of self (Hertzler 1965:396).

George H. Mead maintained people communicate mostly by sharing significant symbols. Through interaction, the process of socialization begins. The early stage of socialization is an important time for learning the skills necessary for societal living and also an important stage of personality development which engenders

the idea of self. Therefore, language and self develop together in social situations (Mead 1934).

The individual is not born a member of society. By using language he/she becomes aware of his/her 'self' as well as social structure. Language, self and socialization are inseparable. In Geza Revesz's memorable words: "Man made language, and language fashioned man and made him human" (quoted in Herzler 1965:21). This means that language itself is not only a unique human social product, but also the basic tool in human socialization.

Through language the essential knowledge for social behavior is gained. Also, by means of language, social values, attitudes, ideas, traditions and ideologies are made conceivable for the human and at the same time internalized by him/her. The cultural contexts of languages differ widely making communication tremendously difficult between those who employ different mother tongues.

Benjamin Whorf argued that because people can conceptualize their world only through language, language is prior to thought (Whorf 1956). For example, the way people whose mother tongue is a Western European language think about the world is different from the way people whose mother tongue is Japanese think about it.

2. TRANSLATION AND MEANING

Translation is one of the most common ways of communication between those who use different languages. Therefore, difficulties of translation will be inherent in the of cultural differences which are embedded in language.

The essence of translation lies in the preservation of meaning across two different languages (Brislin 1976). To translate text X from one (source) language into another (target) language is to transfer the meaning of that text from the source language and reproduce it in the target language. This should be done as faithfully as possible.

Linguistic theory, which is the foundation of translation theory, has traditionally had a place within anthropology. Nevertheless, relatively little research recognizes language as a social phenomenon or the connection between linguistics and anthropology; the methods and insights of the social sciences and those of linguistics have not integrated well (Fishman 1971). The translation problems stemming from the different perceptions of people who employ different languages, suggest that anthropological research needs to be integrated with linguistic theory.

Thus Eugene Nida, a leading scholar of translation, has introduced sociolinguistic approaches to translation (Nida 1964). This approach to translation deals with the author, the historical background of the text, the circumstances involved in producing the text, and the history of the interpretation of the text, since all of

these elements figure in the social setting of communication (Brislin 1976).

One important aim of translation is to explicate the cultural context of the source language and the target language. With this as the goal, translators have to be sensitive to the ways in which words are used and must know how the words fit into the cultures that use the source and the target language. Therefore, the approach to translation which I am emphasizing in this study is a sociolinguistic approach.

3. IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS FOR TRANSLATORS

There are no systematic charts which infallibly help translators to make perfect translations. There always remain untranslatable passages. All that translators can do is to transfer the meaning as faithfully as possible.

To reduce translation problems as much as possible, the 'etic' view and the 'emic' view should be considered. These are two methods for making discoveries about cultural differences which must be considered when using the sociolinguistic approach. Kenneth Pike coined the words 'etic' and 'emic' from the linguistic terms 'phonetic' and 'phonemic' (Pike 1967).

The 'etic' approach looks at behavior from the outside for the purpose of comparing cultures. Categories of behavior are imposed on observation, and objective observation using these categories is the method of study. The 'etic' approach is useful for cross-cultural

study, i.e., the comparison of the kinds of events or behaviors occurring in different cultures.

The 'emic' approach, on the other hand, attempts to discover how a system looks from the inside, so ordinarily only one culture can be studied at a time. Comparison is not a method of study, and the categories and rules of behavior are derived from the user's point of view.

While the 'etic' approach and the 'emic' approach are sometimes combined, this study intends to suggest an appreciation for the emic approach in understanding intercultural communication. Using the emic approach, the translator can better understand linguistic and cultural contexts. This approach is essential for translating a text into another language, especially since certain words, situations, idiomatic expressions, grammatical and rhetorical styles have different meanings and implications in various cultures. Therefore, language equivalencies based on an 'emic' knowledge of both cultures must be used in translation in order to accomplish an accurate interpretation.

4. TRANSLATION DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN JAPANESE AND ENGLISH

Donald Keene, who has translated much Japanese literature into English writes: "The intricacies of the Japanese language prevent all but a handful of foreigners from approaching the literature in the original, and the uninspired nature of many translations often causes

the enthusiasm of the most adventurous-minded reader to cool" (Keene 1955:1). Having studied Japanese since 1941, and struggled to overcome translation difficulties, he suggests that knowledge of the general cultural background of the language is the first qualification for the translator, rather than proficiency in the language (Keene 1971).

As previously mentioned, difficulties of translation are inherent in the cultural differences which are embedded in language. Thus, many translation difficulties between Japanese and American English stem from the cultural differences between Japan and the United States. The next chapter describes first and second person pronoun usages in both Japanese and English, and provides insight into the cultures behind them.

CHAPTER III

JAPANESE AND ENGLISH FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

1. JAPANESE FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

An English sentence, such as 'I saw you' can be used at any time, in both formal and informal situations. In Japanese, however, this simple sentence can be changed in many ways to express the speaker's attitude or relationship to the addressee, and the situation when the conversation takes place. Various examples follow:

- A conversation between a husband and wife who have been married for several years:

The husband would say to his wife,

"Ore wa omae o mita."
(I you saw)

In contrast to this, the wife would say to her husband.

"Watashi wa anata o mita."
(I you saw)

- A conversation between university students:

A male student would say to his male friend who is the same age,

"Boku wa kimi o mita."
(I you saw)

In contrast to this, a female student would say to her female friend who is the same age,

"Atashi wa anata o mita."
(I you saw)

These examples show that pronouns clearly vary from conversation to conversation in Japanese. In addition, the same speaker would use different pronouns depending on the power relationship between him/her and the addressee and also the situation in which he/she is involved.

The first person pronouns commonly used in Japanese are: 'watakushi,' 'watashi,' 'atashi,' 'washi,' 'boku,' 'ore,' and 'ora.' Brief characterizations of the circumstances under which each of these forms may be used follow (3):

watakushi: very formal for men, less so for women

watashi: slightly formal for men, less so for older men, standard for women, also for girls

atashi: mainly by women, slightly more informal than 'watashi'

washi: usually rural dialect, used mainly by men and regarded as characteristic of an older generation

boku: almost exclusively used by men, informal for older males, standard for boys

ore: exclusively used by men, relatively younger generation in casual situations

ora: rural dialect, exclusively used by men.

The second person pronouns commonly used in Japan are: 'anatasama,' 'anata,' 'anta,' 'kimi,' 'omae,' and 'omē.' Brief characterizations of the circumstances under which each of these forms may be used follow (4):

anatasama: very polite and formal

anata: standard and polite, more formal for men

anta: informal

kimi: mainly used by men to refer to a person who is equal or of lower status

omae: informal, mainly used by men to refer to a person who is equal or of lower status, slightly pejorative

omē: rural dialect of 'omae,' pejorative.

2. ENGLISH FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

In English, 'I' is the only first personal pronoun. No matter who he/she is, no matter what the situation is, the speaker can only use 'I' to refer to himself/herself as the subject. It is the same with the second person pronoun. No matter to whom the speaker is speaking, no matter what the situation is, the speaker can only use 'you' to refer to the addressee.

3. CASES OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Both Japanese and English first and second person pronouns have separate cases. Japanese personal pronouns are expressed in the nominative, possessive, accusative and dative case with case markers attached to pronouns. 'I,' 'my,' 'me' and 'mine' are the cases of English first person pronouns. There are no separate case markers in English. In Japanese 'wa' is used as a subject marker, 'no' is used as a possessive marker, 'o' is used as a direct object marker and 'ni' is used as an indirect object marker.

<u>Case</u>	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>English</u>
nominative	(watakushi) wa	I
possessive	(watakushi) no	my
accusative	(watakushi) o	me
dative	(watakushi) ni	to me

(Yoshida 1976:16)

Each one of the various Japanese pronouns previously introduced can form all these cases with case markers. All of the various levels of Japanese first person pronouns can be in the nominative case with a subject maker 'wa.' Likewise, by using other case makers with the various first person pronouns, other cases are easily employed. Thus, each case has various levels in Japanese, which are determined by the usages of the various first person pronouns and their nuances. In English, however, each case still has only one level.

4. DIFFERENT USAGES OF PRONOUNS; JAPANESE AND ENGLISH

4.1 Power Relationships

In Japanese, the first and second person pronouns are one of the main mediums for expressing the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Pronoun usage also implies the speaker's social class, his/her kind of family life, his/her level of education as well as his/her personal character.(5) Besides these implications, pronouns also indicate the speaker's feelings in various situations.

On the other hand, in English, the first and second person pronouns are reciprocal. The speaker can only employ 'I' to refer to himself/herself and 'you' to refer to the addressee. Therefore, it is not necessary for the speaker to consider his/her social status, age, sex, emotional situation or other factors. Not only that, neither 'I' nor 'you' show the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Differences in social class, seniority, kinship, intimacy, age, and sex cannot be implied by these pronouns.

As one scholar has observed:

The most 'notable' of all the varieties of special language in Japanese is without question the extremely involved system for categories of speech levels generally referred to as 'honorific language' (Miller 1967:269).

In Japanese, 'honorific language' appears on nouns, pronouns and verbs, which are used to show formality, politeness, and respect. This usage is an important aspect of the Japanese language, and is determined by the power relationships between the speaker and the addressee (Yoshida 1976:17).

The existence of the various forms of first and second person pronouns in Japanese is also an important part of honorific language.(6) The presence of honorific forms in Japanese pronouns of Japanese and their absence in English pronouns is the key to the analysis of the differences of the background culture of both pronouns systems.

Yoshida points out that one of the most important factors in a Japanese conversation is the awareness of the speaker that he/she is superior, inferior or equal to the addressee (Yoshida 1976:43). When speaking to an older person, who is usually considered superior to the speaker, honorific language has to be carefully used to show politeness in the right way. If the speaker does not know whether the addressee is older or younger, he/she is usually confused about which second person pronoun - 'kimi,' 'anata' or 'anatasama' to use. The power relationship reflected in Japanese pronoun systems is clear, whereas the English pronoun system has no equivalents.(7)

4.2 Functions of Pronouns

One characteristic of Japanese second person pronouns, pointed out by Suzuki, a Japanese linguist, is that second person pronouns are used less when speaking with 'superiors' (Suzuki 1973:132). They are used more often in speaking to 'equals' or 'inferiors,' as well as to new acquaintances about whom the speaker knows little or nothing. Other forms of address such as occupation, position in an organization, kinship terms, and the name with an affix attached are used for superiors.

Thus 'sensei' (teacher) is used to address professional people such as doctors, lawyers, politicians, writers, teachers, and other professionals. Although 'sensei' literally means 'teacher,' it is applied as a title to anyone belonging to one of the professions and marks the addressee as superior to the speaker. 'Kōchōsensei' (principal) is used to address the principal of his/her school. A 'sensei' also calls the principal 'kōchōsensei.' Within business organizations, second person pronouns are replaced by one's title: 'shachō' is used to address the company president, 'buchō' (the department supervisor), and 'kachō' (the section supervisor).

In families, second person pronouns are replaced by kinship terms when younger members address elder members. The following kinship terms are standard forms used as substitutes for second person pronouns for elder persons(8):

one's grandfather	ojīsan
one's grandmother	obāsan
one's father	otōsan
one's mother	okāsan
one's elder brother	onīsan
one's elder sister	onēsan

(Yoshida 1976:27)

Superior (elder) members use second person pronouns as well as first names or first names with suffixes to address inferior (younger) members.

According to the theory of Takeo Suzuki, ~~these~~^r are five rules for forms of address among family members (Suzuki 1973:151-153). These are:

1. A person rarely addresses superiors with personal pronouns, but he/she can address inferiors with pronouns.
2. A person usually calls superiors by kinship terms, but he/she cannot address inferiors by kinship terms.
3. A person cannot address superiors by their first names, but he/she can do so with inferiors.
4. A person can refer to himself/herself using his/her first name when speaking to superiors, but he/she cannot do so when speaking to inferiors.
5. When a person speaks to inferiors, he/she can refer to himself/herself by his/her kinship term in the family, but cannot do so when he/she speaks to superiors.

These five normal behaviors are observed in all conversations among family members. To address non-family members, Suzuki (1973:154-157) proposes the following five rules as a summary of normal behavior for forms of address to persons outside the family:

1. Generally one cannot address one's superiors, such as teachers or senior officials, by personal pronouns.

2. One can call these social superiors by titles such as 'kachō' (section chief) and 'sensei' (teacher). This cannot be done when speaking to inferiors. For example, just as one can address one's elder brother as 'onīsan' (elder brother), but cannot call one's younger brother 'otōto' (younger brother), a teacher cannot call his students 'seito' (student), although they can call the teacher 'sensei' (teacher).
3. A person cannot address his/her superiors by their family names only, but this is rather common when speaking with inferiors. When using someone's family name, a title must be added. For example, we can say 'Yoshida-sensei' or 'Yamada-kachō.'
4. A person can refer to himself/herself by using his family name when he/she speaks to his/her superiors in some special cases, but he/she cannot do so when he speaks to his/her inferiors.
5. Though it is possible in some special situations for a person to refer to himself/herself by using a title when he/she speaks to inferiors, it is impossible for him/her to do so when he/she speaks to superiors. For example, a teacher can refer to himself/herself as 'sensei' (teacher) when he/she speaks to his/her students, but a student cannot refer to himself/herself as 'seito' (student) when speaking to a teacher.

Suzuki's theories show clear and striking parallels between rules of address within and outside the family. Each set of rules echoes the other. Elsewhere, Suzuki also suggests that the category of 'pronouns' common in Indo-European languages is not really appropriate for use in Japanese. Suzuki's rules of address can be better explained by setting up two new categories which include titles, personal names, kinship terms and personal pronouns, all of which can be used for the same 'pronoun' functions (Yoshida 1976:30-31). These new categories can be called 'terms for self' and 'address terms' (Suzuki 1973:146).

Up to now I have been discussing the characteristics of Japanese pronoun usage. It seems clear that there will be great distortions when translating these various Japanese pronouns into English 'I' or 'you.' Most or all of the characteristics of Japanese interpersonal communication patterns implied by Japanese pronominal forms and usages will be eliminated. Similarly, there will be great difficulties when translating 'I' or 'you' into one of the various Japanese forms, especially in view of Suzuki's theory about the functions of 'terms for self' and 'address terms,' which include other forms of address besides pronouns, such as titles, names, kinship terms and so on. The translator is obliged to create a new dimension of interpersonal relationships by choosing one of 'terms for self' or 'address terms' which imply the several different possible relationship between the speaker and the addressee. In what follows, we will investigate how

these distortions and difficulties have occurred in translations of two major novels dealing with family life, one Japanese and the other American.

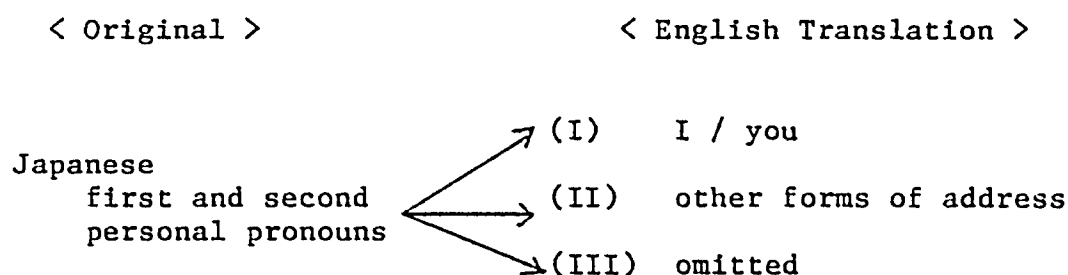
CHAPTER IV

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

1. THE SOUND OF THE MOUNTAIN

The main purpose of this section is to investigate how first and second person pronouns used in the Japanese original The Sound of the Mountain are translated into English. The Japanese first and second person pronouns are traced within the dialogues, and then compared with their English translation.(9)

There are three possible approaches to translations from Japanese to English pronouns:



Most Japanese pronouns are translated into the English pronouns, 'I' and 'you' (Type I). There are also examples of the Japanese pronouns being translated into other forms of address such as first names or

kinship terms (Type II). In other examples, Japanese pronouns are dropped in the English translation (Type III).

We will investigate all three types of translations. In each case we will carefully examine the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, as well as the situation.

1.1 A Synopsis of the Novel

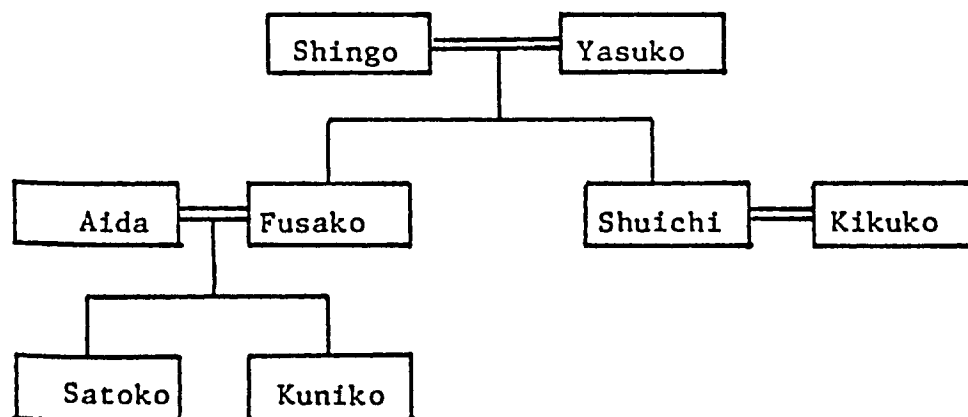
The protagonist, Shingo, has a secret longing for a beautiful woman who was his wife Yasuko's older sister. Although she is dead, Shingo still has a beautiful image of her in his mind. It is not that he is dissatisfied with his wife, but rather disturbed by his unsuccessful love for her sister.

Shingo's family is surrounded by a gloomy atmosphere. His son, Shuichi, frequently stays with a woman who is a war widow. Shuichi's older sister, Fusako, has left her husband and stays with her parents and her two little daughters, Satoko and Kuniko.

Kikuko, Shuichi's wife, reminds Shingo of a window looking out of a gloomy house — she brings him relief. Additionally, there is something about the delicate figure of Kikuko that makes Shingo think of Yasuko's sister. Shingo's feelings toward Kikuko are the main theme of this novel. The story is not about the love between a man and a woman, but rather about the love of an old man for beauty, the beauty of a naive and chaste young woman. Kikuko is a symbol of purity and childlike goodness to Shingo.

Shingo's family structure is traditionally Japanese; a young couple lives with their parents. Fusako's return complicates the relationships within the household of these two couples. Before she returns to her parents' home, the relationships within the family are simple and clear cut: the parent couple versus the young couple. Fusako's arrival changes the balance of these two dynamic relationships within the family. It clarifies the following individual relationships: parent and child, husband and wife, sister and brother, daughter and parents-in-law, and sister and sister-in-law. Each relationship is a necessary element of the entire family structure. The author emphasizes the relationship between Shingo and Kikuko, which is the relationship between a father and a daughter-in-law, which becomes the focus of the story.

1.2 The Ogatas' Family Unit in the Novel



1.3 Style of the Novel

There are sixteen chapters, each of which was first published separately in various magazines. Therefore, each chapter sounds alone like an independent short story, and at the same time forms a very important element of the entire story line of The Sound of the Mountain.

The chapters are full of conversations, each of which displays subtle nuances about the feelings between members of the family. The stresses and strains of a traditional Japanese family structure adapting to social changes are emphasized throughout the story.

Besides the family members, the character of Eiko, a woman in the office where both Shingo and Shuichi work, and the character of Mrs. Ikeda, a roommate of Shuichi's mistress Kinu, as well as Mr. Suzumoto who is Shingo's old friend are important in the novel. The dialogue of these characters is also used in the textual analysis in order to contrast it with the dialogue which takes place between Shingo's family members.

1.4 First Person Pronouns

The following are excerpts from Shingo's dialogues with other persons. The English translation is given below each sentence.

- Shingo to Kikuko:

"Watashi wa kono aida kara miteita." (J: 60) (10)

"I've been watching it for some time now." (E: 52)

- Shingo to Suzumoto:

"Boku mo nobotta koto ga nainda." (J: 94)

"Neither have I." (E: 82)

- Shingo to Kinu:

"Watakushi ga oaisuruno wa myōna mono desu ga" (J: 267)

"It must seem strange that I should be calling on you."
(E: 232)

Shingo uses three different first person pronouns to three different persons to whom he is speaking: 'watashi' to Kikuko, 'boku' to his old friend Mr. Suzumoto and 'watakushi' to his son's woman Kinu. The use of 'watashi' by Shingo to Kikuko, as well as to other family members, signifies his position as head of a traditional upper-middle class family. 'Boku' used by Shingo to his old friend indicates their informal and close relationship. By using the extremely polite form, 'watakushi' to Kinu, Shingo is very formal and wants to apologize about his son. At the same time Shingo tries to keep a distance from Kinu. However, all of these different first pronouns are translated into 'I' in English.

Which character of the novel uses which first person pronoun to whom appears in Table 1-1.

Table 1-1

Different Forms of the First Person Pronouns in Yama no Oto (The Sound of the Mountain)

Addressee Speaker		Ogata Family					Outsiders				
		Shingo	Yasuko	Shuichi	Kikuko	Fusako	Satoko	Eiko	Mrs. Ikeda	Kinu	Suzumoto
Ogata Family	Shingo		watashi	watashi	watashi	watashi	—	watashi	—	watakushi	boku
	Yasuko	watakushi watashi		—	watashi	watashi	—	—	—	—	—
	Shuichi	boku	boku		—	boku	—	—	—	—	—
	Kikuko	watakushi	watakushi	—		watakushi	—	—	—	—	—
	Fusako	watakushi watashi	watakushi	watakushi	watakushi		—	—	—	—	—
	Satoko	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
Outsiders	Eiko	watakushi	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—
	Mrs. Ikeda	watakushi	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—
	Kinu	watakushi	—	—	—	—	—	watakushi		—	—
	Suzumoto	boku	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

— = No contacts or conversations which elicit first person pronouns within the sample

1.5 Description of Usage

All the Japanese first person pronouns in this story are translated into the English first person pronoun 'I,' the first approach (Type I) discussed earlier in this chapter. The following examples are summarized in Table 1-1.

Shingo: He uses 'watashi' to all his family members equally, but he uses different forms to outsiders. The extremely polite form, 'watakushi,' is used to Kinu, and the casual form, 'boku,' is used to Suzumoto.

Yasuko: She mainly uses the formal form 'watakushi' to her husband, Shingo. The women's standard form, 'watashi' is used after a rather long conversation with him. She consistently uses 'watashi' to all the younger family members.

Shuichi: He uses the younger men's standard form, 'boku' to every family member.

Kikuko: She regularly uses the formal polite form, 'watakushi' to each member of her family. As a person who originally comes from outside of the family, she consistently shows politeness to every other family member.

Fusako: She usually uses the formal form 'watakushi' to her family members. When she is upset at her father she uses the standard form, 'watashi' — which does not show the politeness 'watakushi' does — to him.

Eiko, Mrs. Ikeda, Kinu: They also regularly use the formal polite form, 'watakushi' to Shingo. Kinu uses 'watakushi' to Mrs. Ikeda, too.

Suzumoto: He uses 'boku' to Shingo. 'Boku' is used by an older male only in informal situations to a person who is of lower or equal status.

The regular use of 'watakushi' by female family members indicates their upper-middle class status and traditional family relations (Kakutani 1978:49). Each family member uses a different first person pronoun, but they keep using the same form when addressing all family members. However, as in example in 1.4, Shingo differentiates pronoun usage clearly between family members and outsiders. Even among outsiders, he differentiates forms 'boku,' 'watashi' and 'watakushi' depending on who is the addressee. In spite of what are implied by these Japanese pronouns in the original work, all of them are translated into the one-level English pronoun 'I.'

1.6 Second Person Pronouns

The following are excerpts from dialogues between Shingo and Yasuko which suggest some of the subtleties of meaning conveyed by pronoun usage in Japanese.

- Shingo to Yasuko:

"Omae, Fusako ga kiteita toki, zuibun jaken ni atatta ne."
(J: 50)

"You weren't kind to her when she came home." (E: 45)

- Yasuko to Shingo:

"Anata, sono osoba o meshiagattan desu ka?" (J: 34)

"You didn't eat them, did you?" (E: 30)

Shingo uses 'omae' to his wife Yasuko, whereas Yasuko uses 'anata' to her husband Shingo. 'Omae' is used to refer to a person who is of equal or lower status. It is also commonly used to show the intimate relationship of a husband to his wife. Used by females, 'anata' indicates inherent politeness and subtle informality. 'Anata' is also commonly used to show the intimate relationship of a wife to her husband. Both different second pronouns are translated into 'you,' however, eliminating all these distinctions.

Table 1-2 shows which character uses which second person pronoun to whom.

1.7 Description of Usage

Our sample includes no cases where Japanese second person pronouns are translated into other forms of address in English (Type II in Section 1). There are, however, a few cases where the pronouns are omitted (Type III). For example, when Shingo says to Yasuko,

Table 1-2

Different Forms of the Second Person Pronouns in Yama no Oto (The Sound of the Mountain)

Addressee Speaker		Ogata Family					Outsiders				
		Shingo	Yasuko	Shuichi	Kikuko	Fusako	Satoko	Eiko	Mrs. Ikeda	Kinu	Suzumoto
Ogata Family	Shingo		omae	omae	—	omae	—	kimi	anata	anata	kimi
	Yasuko	anata		—	—	omae	—	—	—	—	—
	Shuichi	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Kikuko	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—
	Fusako	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—
	Satoko	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
Outsiders	Eiko	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
	Mrs. Ikeda	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	anata	—
	Kinu	—	—	anata	—	—	—	—	anata		—
	Suzumoto	kimi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

— = No contacts or conversations which elicit second person pronouns within the sample

'There was a contradiction even in those few words.' Yasuko responds:

"Nani mo sō anata." (J: 54)

"There always is." (E: 48)

In the Japanese there is a pronoun. A direct translation would be 'What obvious things you are talking about.' But 'There always is' is suitable in this context. This idiomatic way of responding allows the pronoun to be dropped. Therefore, cases which belong to type (III) usually retain most of the original meaning.

In the great majority of cases in our sample, Japanese second person pronouns are translated into the English second person pronoun 'you,' as the information contained in Table 1-2 shows. Each character has distinctive patterns of usage, as the following summary from Table 1-2 indicates:

Shingo: He uses *omae* to all of his family members except Kikuko. He always addresses Kikuko by her first name.(11) He uses 'kimi' to address Mr. Suzumoto and Eiko. 'Kimi' is mainly used to refer to a person who is equal or of lower status. To refer Mrs. Ikeda and Kinu, he uses a quite polite form, 'anata.'

Yasuko: She uses the standard women's form, 'anata,' to address Shingo, and the informal form, 'omae,' to address Fusako.

Mrs. Ikeda: She uses the standard form, 'anata,' to Kinu.

Kinu: She also uses the standard form, 'anata,' to both Shuichi and Mrs. Ikeda.

Suzumoto: He uses 'kimi,' which refers to a person who is of equal status, to Shingo.

Shingo has the most dialogues with second person pronouns. He uses the same form 'omae' to every family member, but for outsiders, he differentiates his pronoun usage on the basis of the intimacy level of the relationship.

By examining Japanese second person pronoun usage, we find that the number of second person pronouns in the original is relatively small compared to the many appearances of 'you' in the English translation (see Table 1-2). There are two reasons for this. First, because of Japanese syntax, there are many sentences which do not have a subject, especially when the addressee is obvious. However, because English syntax requires a subject, the pronoun 'you' is employed to fulfill that function. Second, within the family, each member addresses others by kinship terms, the first name or the first name plus a suffix, as discussed in Chapter III. Our sample has no examples of second person pronouns used by children to their parents. In the English translation, however, sometimes 'you' is employed instead of kinship terms, or the first name or the first name with a suffix.

Table 1-3 shows how each character addresses the other. Kinship terms are used by younger family members to address older family

Table 1-3

Different Forms of 'Address Terms' in Yama no Oto (The Sound of the Mountain)

Addressee Speaker		Ogata Family					Outsiders				
		Shingo	Yasuko	Shuichi	Kikuko	Fusako	Satoko	Eiko	Mrs. Ikeda	Kinu	Suzumoto
Ogata Family	Shingo		omae KT	omae FN	FN	omae FN	—	kimi	anata	anata	kimi
	Yasuko	anata KT		FN	FN	omae FN	—	—	—	—	—
	Shuichi	KT	KT		FN	KT	—	△	—	—	—
	Kikuko	KT	KT	—		KT	—	—	—	—	—
	Fusako	KT	KT	FN	FN		—	—	—	—	—
	Satoko	—	—	—	—	KT		—	—	—	—
Outsiders	Eiko	KT	—	△	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Mrs. Ikeda	KT	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	anata	—
	Kinu	KT	—	anata	—	—	—	—	anata	—	—
	Suzumoto	kimi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

— = No contacts or conversations within the sample

△ = Address terms are always omitted

FN = First name / First name + suffix

KT = Kinship term

members. First names or first names with suffixes are used from old family members to younger family members. This table covers almost all real 'functions' of the Japanese address system, which Suzuki pointed out.

Excerpts from some of the dialogues between Shingo and Kikuko will illustrate some of the complexities of the Japanese usage of second person pronouns.

- Shingo to Kikuko:

"Kikuko wa ima hajimete kiga tsuita no ka?" (J: 60)

"You've only just noticed?" (E: 53)

- Kikuko to Shingo:

"Otōsama, otsukare nan deshō." (J: 31)

"You must be tired." (E: 27)

Shingo uses Kikuko's first name when addressing her, whereas Kikuko uses a kinship term to Shingo. A person can address inferiors by their first name, but she/he cannot do so with superiors. A person usually calls superiors by kinship terms (Suzuki 1973:151-153). Thus, second person pronouns are rarely used when speaking with superiors. Both the first name 'Kikuko' and the kinship term 'otōsama' are what Suzuki calls 'terms of address' (Suzuki 1973:146).

By avoiding addressing Kikuko by second person pronouns and always using her first name, Shingo shows his subtle longing toward

Kikuko who reminds him of his secret love for Yasuko's older sister. He may also be maintaining a slightly formal relationship with Kikuko, who is a relatively new family member. 'Otōsama' is a very polite form of 'otōsan' (father). The regular usage of 'otōsama' by Kikuko indicates she is also from the upper-middle class, and wishes to show special respect to her father-in-law. However, both are translated into English 'you' as functions of the second person pronouns.

Shingo and Yasuko are the only members of the family who use second person pronouns to other family members. Eiko, Mrs. Ikeda, and Kinu, although outside the family all address Shingo as 'otōsama' which is the polite form of 'Father.' The reason for this is because all of them have close contact with Shuichi, Shingo's son; therefore, they refer to Shingo from the same point of view as their close friend Shuichi.

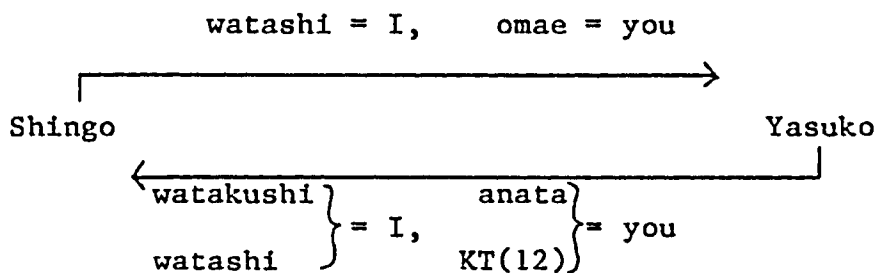
All the implications of these Japanese 'address terms' (Suzuki 1973:146), disappear when they are translated into only one level, 'you,' in English.

1.8 First and Second Pronouns in the Selected Relationships

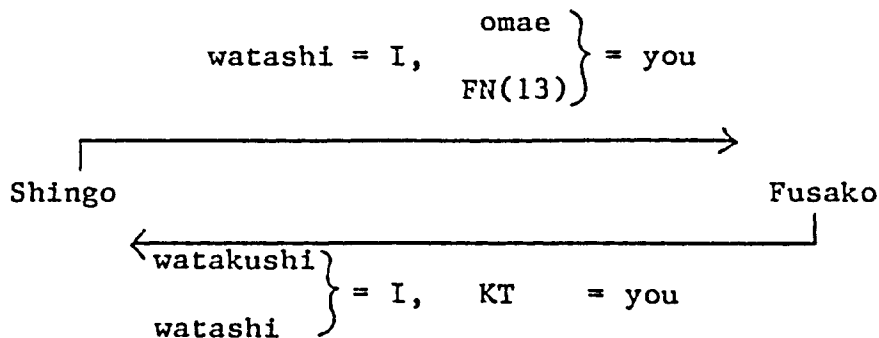
The following diagrams indicate how each speaker refers to himself/herself and addresses the other party, in both the original and English translation.

Within the Family

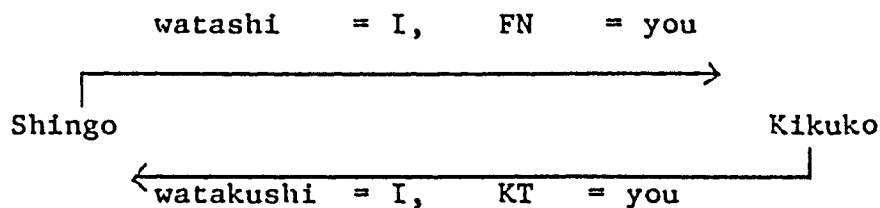
(a) Shingo and Yasuko (husband and wife)



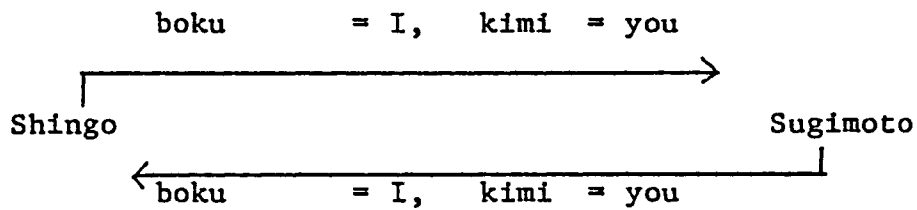
(b) Shingo and Fusako (father and daughter)



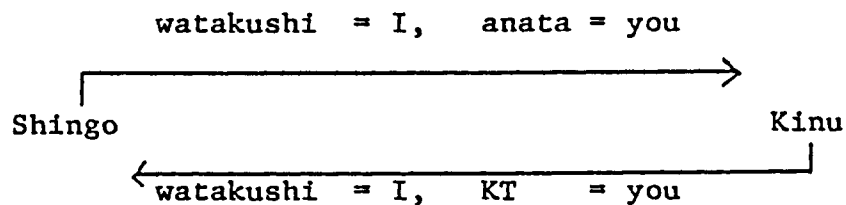
(c) Shingo and Kikuko (father and daughter-in-law)



(h) Shingo and Sugimoto (two male colleagues)



(i) Shingo and Kinu (father and his son's mistress)



The way each person is addressed reveals their superior or inferior social position within the family. In the English translation however, those subtle nuances cannot be expressed and therefore the relationships appear to be more equal. The only case in which the relationship is actually equal — and therefore not distorted by the English translation — is (h), between old friends, like Shingo and Sugimoto 'boku' and 'kimi' are used.

The relationships between Kikuko and Shingo or Yasuko are much different from the relationships between Fusako and Shingo or Yasuko. Both Shingo and Yasuko use 'omae' to Fusako, but they never use it to Kikuko. By avoiding the use of a pronoun to Kikuko, both Shingo and Yasuko display distance between them and their daughter-in-law. It also shows politeness to Kikuko, who is originally an outsider.

However, in the English translation, both Shingo and Yasuko use 'you' to both Kikuko and Fusako. This English pronoun does not reveal the subtleties in meaning in the Japanese original. The special relationship between Kikuko and her in-laws cannot be distinguished from Fusako's relationship with them.

Within the family, Shingo is in a superior position, and uses 'omae' to every family member except Kikuko. To Eiko, who is a younger female worker in his office, Shingo is also in a superior position, but he also has to be politer to her than to his family members, so he uses 'kimi' to her.

Shingo is in an equal position with his old friend; however, with Kinu, he is in an inferior position. Shingo's position varies in each relationship. Although this can be clearly expressed in Japanese pronouns, in the English translation most of this becomes distorted and presents "flat" relationships.

It seems clear that in Japanese, unlike English, people always have to make explicit decisions about the relationship between the speaker and the addressee when using first and second person pronouns.

1.9 The Special Usages of Pronouns in the Novel

Characters sometimes use different pronouns when talking to the same addressee. By switching the pronouns they are expressing their emotional change.

Fusako usually uses 'watakushi'. For example:

Fusako to Shingo:

"Watakushi wa chanto wakatte ta wa." (J: 203)

This is translated into:

"I knew all about it." (E: 176)

However, when she is upset, she uses 'watashi.' Thus, in the chapter of 'A Garden in the Capital' when Fusako suddenly complains to her father about his nicer attitude to Kikuko, she says to him:

"Watashi ga waruin des kara" (J: 209)

Its English translation is:

"I was wrong." (E: 181)

By using 'watakushi' regularly, Fusako tends to speak politely to her father. When she wants to complain, however, she uses the standard form 'watashi.' The regular usage of 'watakushi' by female family members indicates that they have upper-middle class status and traditional family relationships. Within this type of family, using the standard form, 'watashi' is quite impolite. Yasuko also occasionally uses 'watashi' to Shingo. 'Watashi' is used more often after a long conversation which begins with her using 'watakushi.'

In sum, by using different pronouns in Japanese, characters can express changes in their emotions. In addition, by choosing impolite forms of address, the speaker can indicate he/she wishes to insult the addressee. The English translation for both 'watakushi' and 'watashi' is 'I.' In English the subtle feelings which make the characters use different Japanese pronouns are distorted.

1.10 Translation Difficulties from Japanese into English

According to Suzuki's theory (Suzuki 1973:146-158), in Japanese personal pronouns are used to address inferiors of the family, but are not used to address superiors. To address superiors, kinship terms are always used.

Section 1.8 focused on various relationships within and outside the family which are presented by the usage of Japanese 'address terms.' Most of these become distorted into equally flat relationships when translated into English. Section 1.9 focused on how different characters use different Japanese personal pronouns depending on the situation and the characters' emotional states. Most of these implications are also distorted when translated into English.

By comparing the following diagrams (Figures 1-1 and 1-2), we can investigate in more detail how these translation distortions occur in the case of a particular character. (14)

Figure 1-1 The first and second person pronouns used by Shingo in Yama no Oto (The Sound of the Mountain).

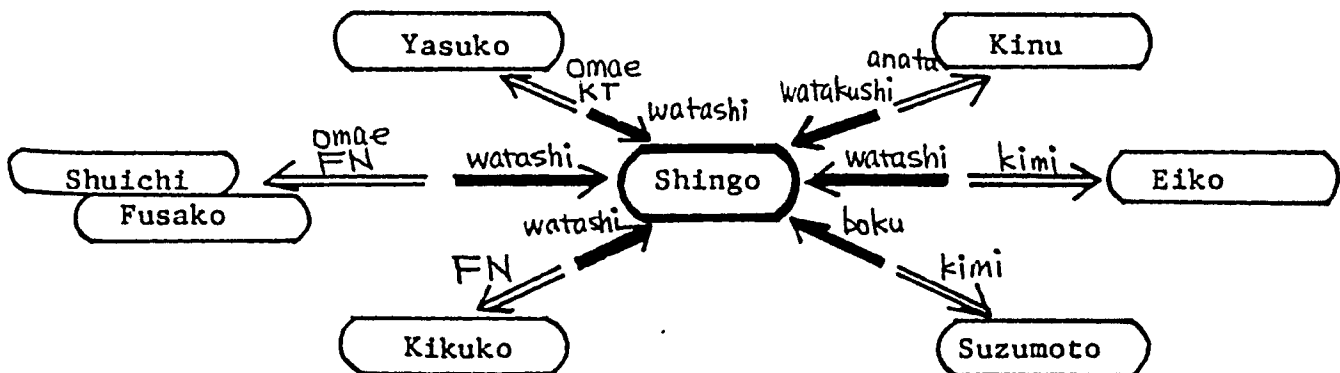
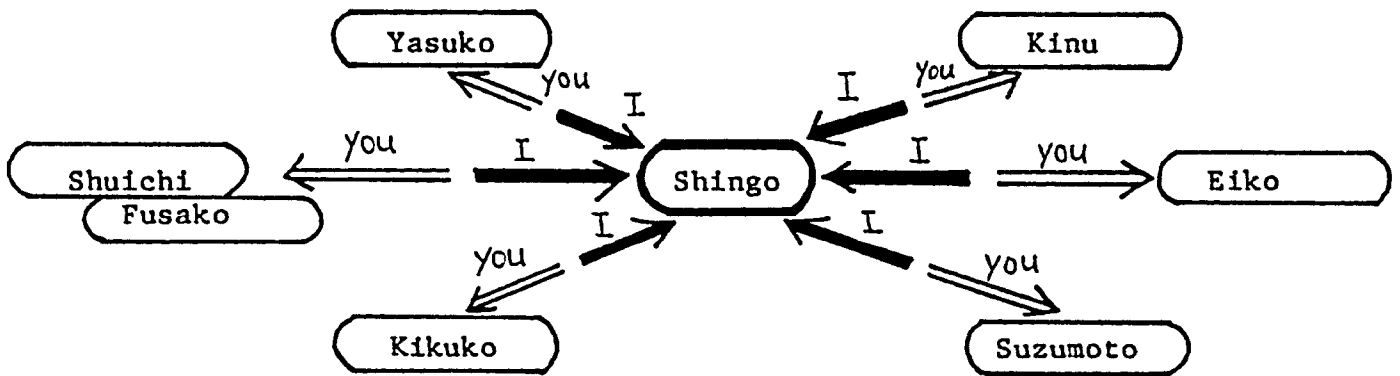


Figure 1-2 The first and second person pronouns used by Shingo in the English translation of Yama no Oto (The Sound of the Mountain).

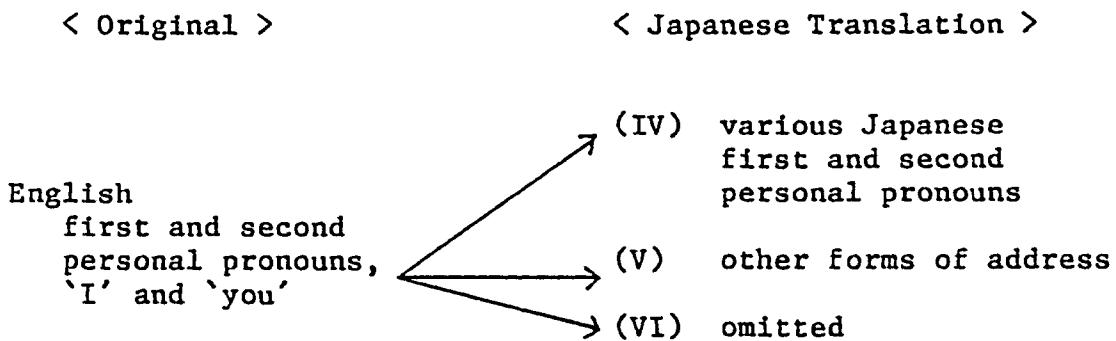


Shingo addresses every family member except Kikuko by the personal pronoun 'omae.' This indicates that his position within the family is superior to everyone else, and that he has some respect for Kikuko. When he uses personal pronouns to other family members, he uses the same pronoun forms equally. However, when he addresses outsiders, he uses different pronouns. By these acts he verbally expresses different statuses depending on the social relationship and the degree of intimacy between him and the addressee. Shingo has to use different forms of pronouns in each case. However, in the English translation (Figure 1-2), no matter who the addressee is, there is no choice of pronominal form for the translator to retain the nuances of the Japanese which are dependent on these pronominal forms. The different position of Shingo within and outside the family and different degrees of intimacy he has with the outsiders - all of these are distorted in English translations, and relationships tend to become levelled.

2. THE GRAPES OF WRATH

The main purpose of this section is to discover how first and second person pronouns used in the English original The Grapes of Wrath are translated into Japanese. The English first and second person pronouns 'I' and 'you,' are traced within the original dialogues, and then compared with their Japanese translation.

There are three possible Japanese translations of the English pronouns, 'I' and 'you':



Type IV is the case in which English pronouns are translated into Japanese pronouns, and Type V is the case in which English pronouns are translated into other forms of address. Type IV and Type V are what Suzuki (Chapter III) refers to as the true Japanese first and second person pronouns which have the same 'pronoun function' as English. Type VI is the case in which pronouns might be omitted in the Japanese translation. All three types are investigated. Type VI will often occur when the speaker and addressee are obvious, since in Japanese sentences can be constructed without having a subject. However, for purposes of this research, emphasis is placed primarily on how English 'I' and 'you' are translated into the various Japanese

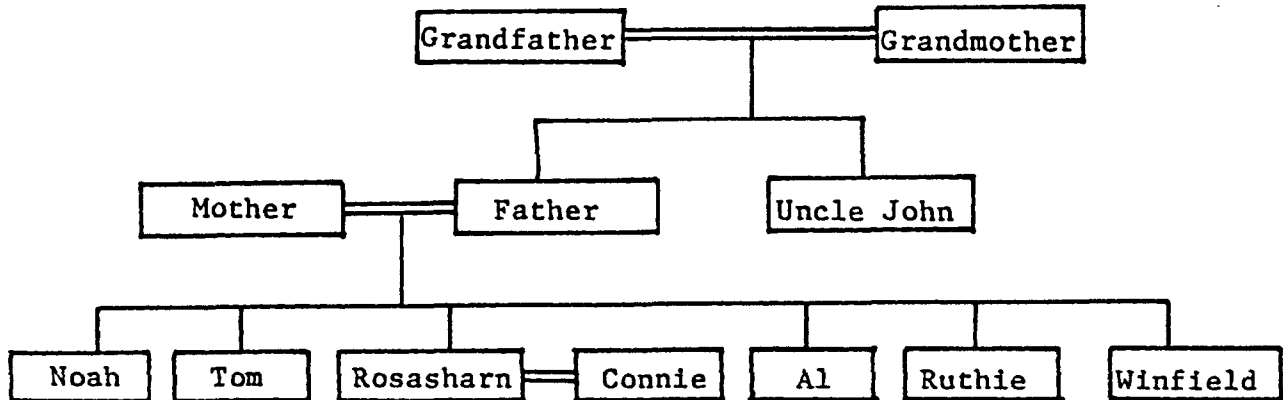
forms. How relationships between characters unfold is carefully investigated within the Japanese translation.

2.1 A Synopsis of the Novel

This is the story of the tragic fate of a farming family, the Joads, in Oklahoma who lose their farm to the bank as a result of the severe erosion and widespread dust storms which plagued large areas of the Great Plains in the 1930's. The family members include two grandparents, two parents, Uncle John, the oldest son Noah, the second son Tom, who is on parole after committing murder, the daughter Rosasharn, who is pregnant, her husband Connie, and the third son Al. The younger children are Ruthie who is twelve years old, and Winfield who is ten years old. A preacher named Casy who travels with them is also an important character. These thirteen people, the Joads and Casy, are the focal point of the story.

Because of a handbill, stating that laborers are needed in California to pick fruit for good wages, the Joads move west to begin a new life. With a few clothes, blankets and cooking utensils in their old truck, the Joads travel two thousand miles to California. However, when they reach their final destination point, their expectations are shattered. It is not the paradise they had imagined. There are already so many immigrant families there that it is very difficult to find a job. They are called 'Okie' and treated badly. This story reveals fundamental human relationships and shows how the Joad family struggles to regain its independent life-style.

2.2 The Joads' Family Unit in the Novel



Other important characters in the story:

Casy: a preacher who travels with the Joads.

A truck driver: a man who gives Tom a ride when Tom first goes back from McAlester to his home..

Muley: an old friend of the Joads.

Ivy and Sairy Wilson: a couple who help the Joads when Grandfather dies, and later travels with the Joads.

A stranger in Needles: a man who has returned from California and informs Father about California.

A policeman: he insults Mother by calling her 'Okie.'

2.3 The Style of the Novel

There are thirty chapters. Every odd-numbered chapter, with the exception of chapter 13, and with the addition of chapters 12 and 14, is independent from the story line and tells about the historical and geographical background. They are brief and rather lyrical. The major development of the story takes place in the remaining chapters.

The events and characters are described directly and precisely in these chapters, which are full of dialogues.

Because this study focuses on human relationships through conversation, chapters 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16 and 18 provide the sample sentences for this paper's textual analysis. The reason for focusing only on the first half of the book is that no new interpersonal communication patterns among the family members occur in the second half.

2.4 First Person Pronouns

The following sentences are taken from the dialogues within The Grapes of Wrath and their Japanese translation is written below:

- Father to Al:

"I'll ask 'im about that." (E: 106)

"Washi kara Tom ni kiite miyō." (J: 182)

- Mother to Al:

"Course I dunno." (E: 134)

"Atashi datte yoku wa shiranai kedo ne." (J: 226)

- Tom to Al:

"I know some." (E: 110)

"Ore mo, ikuraka shitteru ze." (J: 188)

Each of these characters uses 'I' to refer to himself/herself when addressing Al. However, in the Japanese translation each 'I' takes on a different form. Father uses 'washi,' whereas Mother uses 'atashi' and Tom uses 'ore.' 'Washi' used by Father indicates he is an older person. 'Washi' also suggests the speaker is something of a country yokel. 'Atashi' used by Mother is a quite common form used by women in informal situations. Tom's use of the first pronoun 'ore' generally shows a person of a younger generation in a casual situation. All of these various Japanese first person pronouns are translations of 'I.'

Table 2-1 shows this visually.

2.5 Description of Usage

As mentioned earlier, in Japanese syntax, a sentence can be formed without having a subject. A subject which refers to the speaker is usually dropped out when the speaker is obvious. Therefore, there are many examples of Japanese translations which have no first person pronouns although they appear in the original (Type VI). (15) However, our sample has no examples where 'I' is translated into non-pronoun forms (Type V). This study focuses on examples where 'I' is translated into various Japanese first person pronouns (Type IV), because in examples where first person pronouns are omitted, no differentiation in meaning can be determined between the English and Japanese versions.

'I' used by Grandfather, Father, Uncle John, Casy and Ivy Wilson is consistently translated into 'washi' which, as before, suggests the

Table 2-1

Different Translations of 'I' in the Japanese Translation of
The Grapes of Wrath

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family			
		Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother
Joad Family	Grandfather		—	washi	washi
	Grandmother	—		—	watashi
	Father	△	—		washi
	Mother	—	—	atashi	
	Noah	—	—	—	—
	Tom	—	—	ore	ore/ oira
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	atashi
	Connie	—	—	—	—
	Al	—	—	ore	ore
	Ruthie	—	—	—	atashi
	Wintiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	washi	—
	Outsiders	Casy	—	washi	washi
Muley		—	—	ore/oira	oira
A Truck Driver		—	—	—	—
Ivy Wilson		—	—	—	—
Sairy Wilson		—	—	—	watashi
A Stranger in Needles		—	—	asshi	—
A Policeman		—	—	—	△

— = No occurrences of 'I' in the English original

△ = 'I' in the English original omitted in the Japanese translation

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family				
		Noah	Tom	Rosasharn	Connie	
J O A D F A M I L Y	Grandfather	—	washi	—	—	
	Grandmother	—	—	—	—	
	Father	washi	washi	—	—	
	Mother	—	watashi atashi	atashi	—	
	Noah	/	ore	—	—	
	Tom		—	△	—	
	Rosasharn		—	atashi	—	atashi
	Connie		—	—	ore	—
	All		—	ore	—	—
	Ruthie		—	—	—	—
	Winfiel		—	—	—	—
	Uncle John		—	—	—	—
	O U T S I D E R S		Casy	—	washi	—
Muley			—	ore	—	—
A Truck Driver			—	ore	—	—
Ivy Wilson			—	washi	—	—
Sairy Wilson			—	—	—	—
A Stranger in Needles		—	—	—	—	
A Policeman		—	—	—	—	

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family				
		Al	Ruthie	Winfiel	Uncle John	
Home Life	Grandfather	washi	—	—	—	
	Grandmother	watashi	—	—	—	
	Father	washi	—	—	washi	
	Mother	atashi	—	—	—	
	Noah	—	—	—	—	
	Tom	ore	—	—	—	
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	—	
	Connie	—	—	—	—	
	Al		—	—	—	
	Ruthie	—		atashi	—	
	Winfiel	—	oira		—	
	Uncle John	—	—	—		
	Outsiders	Casy	—	—	—	washi
		Muley	—	—	—	—
A Truck Driver		—	—	—	—	
Ivy Wilson		—	—	—	—	
Sairy Wilson		—	—	—	—	
A Stranger in Needles		—	—	—	—	
A Policeman		—	—	—	—	

Addressee Speaker		Outsiders			
		Casy	Muley	A Truck Driver	Ivy Wilson
H O O B L E R Y	Grandfather	—	—	—	—
	Grandmother	watashi	—	—	—
	Father	—	washi	—	washi
	Mother	watashi	—	—	—
	Noah	—	—	—	—
	Tom	ore	ore	ore	—
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	—
	Connie	—	—	—	—
	A1	—	—	—	washi / ore
	Ruthie	—	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	washi	—	—	—
O U T S I D E R S	Casy		washi	—	—
	Muley	ore		—	—
	A Truck Driver	—	—		—
	Ivy Wilson	—	—	—	
	Sairy Wilson	atashi	—	—	—
	A Stranger in Needles	—	—	—	—
	A Policeman	—	—	—	—

Addressee Speaker		Outsiders		
		Sairy Wilson	A Stranger in Needles	A Policeman
H o u s e h o l d e r s	Grandfather	—	—	—
	Grandmother	—	—	—
	Father	—	washi	—
	Mother	atashi	—	atashi
	Noah	—	—	—
	Tom	—	—	—
	Rosasharn	—	—	—
	Connie	—	—	—
	Al	—	—	—
	Ruthie	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—
	O u t s i d e r s	Casy	washi	—
Muley		—	—	—
A Truck Driver		—	—	—
Ivy Wilson		—	—	—
Sairy Wilson		—	—	—
A Stranger in Needles		—	—	—
A Policeman		—	—	—

speaker is something of a country yokel and shows the speaker is from an older generation. 'I' used by Grandmother and Sairy Wilson is translated into the women's standard form, 'watashi.' Also, the mother's 'I' is also usually translated into 'watashi,' but when she is upset it is translated into a rather informal form, 'atashi.' 'I' used by Noah, Tom, Al and the truck driver is constantly translated into 'ore,' which is a casual form used by younger people. However, Tom's 'I,' when he is speaking to his mother, sometimes becomes 'oira' which sounds slightly childish and suggests the speaker is from a unsophisticated rural background. Also Al's 'I' sometimes becomes 'washi' when he speaks to Ivy Wilson. Since 'washi' is usually used by older people, Al appears to be trying to seem mature as befits a person who takes care of Mr. Wilson's car. Winfield's 'I' is translated into 'oira,' as well as Muley's, though the latter's 'I' sometimes becomes 'ore' too. Rosasharn and Ruthie's 'I' is translated into the casual women's form, 'atashi.' The stranger in Needles uses 'asshi,' the accented form of 'washi,' which clearly shows the occupation of the speaker is considered to be lower class.

In this sample most characters' English first person pronouns are translated into one form of Japanese first person pronoun; these speakers use the same form to every addressee. Mother, Tom, Al and Muley, however, use either of two different forms depending on the setting.

All that these Japanese first person pronouns indicate has been created by the translator. In other words, the translator is forced to add many social and cultural implications by translating from a

pronoun system which indicates little or nothing about human relationships into one which must indicate a good deal.

2.6 Second Person Pronouns

When 'you' refers to Father, it is translated into various forms depending on who is the speaker. Examples follow:

- Grandfather to Father:

"I ain't sayin' for you to stay." (E: 121)

"Omē mo koko ni iro to wa itte ya shinē da." (J: 207)

- Mother to Father:

"Ain't it up with you?" (E: 135)

"Omaesan no toko e agete okana katta dakane?" (J: 229)

- Tom to Father:

"If you was to rush her one side" (E: 186)

"Otossan ga socchi kara okkā ni tobikakari," (J: 315)

Grandfather's 'you' referring to Father is translated into 'omē,' whereas Mother's 'you' to Father is translated into 'omaesan.' Tom's 'you' to Father becomes the kinship term 'otossan' which means something like 'Pa.' A person usually calls superiors by kinship terms (Suzuki 1973:151-153). Therefore, Tom's 'you' referring to Father is translated into a kinship term, because Father is his

superior. By using 'omē' for the translation of Grandfather's 'you,' the translator shows Grandfather's superiority to Father. The polite form 'omaesan' used by Mother is a somewhat countrified but standard form of address from a wife to a husband. However, all of these various 'address terms' (Suzuki 1973:146) are translations of 'you.'

Table 2-2 shows the variety of Japanese translations of English singular 'you.' (16)

2.7 Description of Usage

As in the case of 'I,' there are many examples of Japanese translations which have no second person pronouns although in English 'you' is present. As in the case of the first person pronouns, this study will focus on those cases in which 'you' is translated into one of the various Japanese second person pronouns (Type IV) or other forms of address such as first names or kinship terms (Type V). The examples which follow show how the translator has chosen different replacements for 'you' for different characters. All of these are summed up in Table 2-3.

Grandfather: His 'you' is usually translated into 'omē' which is rural dialect and is slightly pejorative. In one instance, however, 'you' is translated into 'omae' which is a slightly more polite form than 'omē' when he addresses Al and praises him.

Table 2-2

Different Translations of 'you' in the Japanese Translation of The Grapes of Wrath: Specific

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family			
		Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother
Joad Family	Grandfather		—	① omē	—
	Grandmother	① omaesan		—	—
	Father	① omēsan ② Jīsama	—		① { omē omae
	Mother	② Jīsama	—	① { omaesan anta	
	Noah	—	—	—	—
	Tom	② Jīsama	—	② Otossan	① anta ② Okkasan
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	② Okkasan
	Connie	—	—	—	—
	A1	—	—	—	② Okkasan
	Ruthie	—	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—	—
Outsiders	Casy	—	△	① omaesan	① anta
	Muley	—	—	△	—
	A Truck Driver	—	—	—	—
	Ivy Wilson	—	—	△	—
	Sairy Wilson	△	—	—	① anta
	A Stranger in Needles	—	—	① omaesan	—
	A Policeman	—	—	—	① omae

— = No occurrences of 'you' in the English original

△ = 'You' in the English original omitted in the Japanese translation

① = Pronoun

② = Other forms of address

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family			
		Noah	Tom	Rosasharn	Connie
Joad Family	Grandfather	△	① omē	—	—
	Grandmother	—	△	—	—
	Father	① omē	① { omē omae	—	—
	Mother	① omae	① omae	① omae	—
	Noah	① { omē omae		—	—
	Tom			① omē	① omē
	Rosasharn	—	△	① anta	
	Connie	—	△		
	Al	—	② { Nīsan Aniki, Tomu	—	—
	Ruthie	—	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—	—
	Outside Persons	Casy	—	① omaesan	—
Muley		—	① omē	—	—
A Truck Driver		—	① omē	—	—
Ivy Wilson		—	—	—	—
Sairy Wilson		—	—	—	—
A Stranger in Needles		—	—	—	—
A Policeman		—	—	—	—

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family			
		Al	Ruthie	Winfiel	Uncle John
Joads Lammey	Grandfather	⓪ omae	—	—	—
	Grandmother	—	—	⓪ omae	—
	Father	⓪ omē	—	—	⓪ { omaesan lanta
	Mother	⓪ omae	—	—	—
	Noah	—	—	—	—
	Tom	⓪ { omē omae	—	—	—
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	—
	Connie	—	—	—	—
	Al	/			
	Ruthie				
	Winfiel				
	Uncle John				
	Uncle John				
Ostranders	Casy	—	—	—	⓪ omaesan
	Muley	—	—	—	—
	A Truck Driver	—	—	—	—
	Ivy Wilson	—	—	—	—
	Sairy Wilson	—	—	—	—
	A Stranger in Needles	—	—	—	—
	A Policeman	—	—	—	—

Addressee Speaker		Outsiders		
		Sairy Wilson	A Stranger in Needles	A Policeman
H O M E	Grandfather	—	—	—
	Grandmother	—	—	—
	Father	—	Ⓛ omaesan	—
	Mother	Ⓛ anta	—	Ⓛ anta
	Noah	—	—	—
	Tom	—	—	—
	Rosasham	—	—	—
	Connie	—	—	—
	A1	—	—	—
	Ruthie	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—
O U T S I D E R S	Casy	Ⓛ anta	—	—
	Muley	—	—	—
	A Truck Driver	—	—	—
	Ivy Wilson	—	—	—
	Sairy Wilson	—	—	—
	A Stranger in Needles	—	—	—
	A Policeman	—	—	—

Table 2-3

Different Translations of 'you' in the Japanese Translation of
The Grapes of Wrath: General

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family			
		Grandfather	Grandmother	Father	Mother
In- ter- na- tional	Grandfather		—	omē	—
	Grandmother	omaesan		—	—
	Father	omēsan KT	—		omē omae
	Mother	KT	—	omaesan anta	
	Noah	—	—	—	—
	Tom	KT	—	KT	anta KT
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	KT
	Connie	—	—	—	—
	A1	—	—	—	KT
	Ruthie	—	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—	—
Out- siders	Casy	—	△	omaesan	anta
	Muley	—	—	△	—
	A Truck Driver	—	—	—	—
	Ivy Wilson	—	—	△	—
	Sairy Wilson	△	—	—	anta
	A Stranger in Needles	—	—	omaesan	—
	A Policeman	—	—	—	omae

— = No occurrences of 'you' in the English original

△ = 'You' in the English original omitted in the Japanese translation

FN = First name

KT = Kinship term

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family			
		Noah	Tom	Rosasharn	Connie
Joad LBJ-11-3871	Grandfather	Δ	omē	—	—
	Grandmother	—	Δ	—	—
	Father	omē	omē omae	—	—
	Mother	omae	omae	omae	—
	Noah		omē omae	—	—
	Tom	omē		omē	—
	Rosasharn	—	Δ		anta
	Connie	—	—	Δ	
	A1	—	FN KT	—	—
	Ruthie	—	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—	—
	Orris- pears	Casy	—	omaesan	—
Muley		—	omē	—	—
A Truck Driver		—	omē	—	—
Ivy Wilson		—	—	—	—
Sairy Wilson		—	—	—	—
A Stranger in Needles		—	—	—	—
A Policeman		—	—	—	—

Addressee Speaker		Joad Family			
		Al	Ruthie	Winfiel	Uncle John
Joad Family	Grandfather	omae	—	—	—
	Grandmother	—	—	omae	—
	Father	omē	—	—	omaesan anta
	Mother	omae	—	—	—
	Noah	—	—	—	—
	Tom	omē omae	—	—	—
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	—
	Connie	—	—	—	—
	Al		—	—	—
	Ruthie	—	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—	—
	Outsiders	Casy	—	—	—
Muley		—	—	—	—
A Truck Driver		—	—	—	—
Ivy Wilson		—	—	—	—
Sairy Wilson		—	—	—	—
A Stranger in Needles		—	—	—	—
A Policeman		—	—	—	—

Addressee Speaker		Outsiders			
		Casy	Muley	A Truck Driver	Ivy Wilson
JORD LAW-Y	Grandfather	—	—	—	—
	Grandmother	omaesan	—	—	—
	Father	—	omē	—	omaesan anta
	Mother	omaesan anta	anta	—	—
	Noah	—	anta	—	—
	Tom	omēsan	omē	omē	omaesan
	Rosasharn	—	—	—	—
	Connie	—	—	—	—
	Al	—	—	—	anta
	Ruthie	—	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—	—
	Uncle John	omaesan	—	—	—
O U T S I D E R S	Casy	/		omaesan	—
	Muley			omēsan	—
	A Truck Driver			—	—
	Ivy Wilson			—	—
	Sairy Wilson			anta	—
	A Stranger in Needles			—	—
	A Policeman			—	—

Addressee Speaker		Outsiders		
		Sairy Wilson	A Stranger in Needles	A Policeman
J o a d F a m i l y	Grandfather	—	—	—
	Grandmother	—	—	—
	Father	—	omaesan	—
	Mother	anta	—	anta
	Noah	—	—	—
	Tom	—	—	—
	Rosasham	—	—	—
	Connie	—	—	—
	A1	—	—	—
	Ruthie	—	—	—
	Winfiel	—	—	—
	Uncle John	—	—	—
O u t s i d e r s	Casy	anta	—	—
	Muley	—	—	—
	A Truck Driver	—	—	—
	Ivy Wilson	—	—	—
	Sairy Wilson		—	—
	A Stranger in Needles	—		—
	A Policeman	—	—	

Grandmother: Her 'you' which referring to Grandfather or Casy is translated into the polite form 'omaesan,' but referring to Winfield, it is translated into the form used for an inferior, 'omae.' (17)

Father: When his 'you' refers to Grandfather, it is translated into the polite form 'omēsan' or the kinship term 'jīsama' which means something like 'Grandpa.'(18) When his 'you' refers to his wife or children, it is translated into 'omae' or 'omē' which are forms for a person of equal or lower status. When it refers to his brother, Uncle John or Ivy Wilson, however, it becomes 'omaesan' or 'anta,' polite forms. When it refers to his old friend Muley, it becomes 'omē,' whereas when addressing a stranger in Needles it becomes 'omaesan.'

Mother: Her 'you' referring to Grandfather becomes the kinship term 'jīsama,' to her husband and Casy the polite form 'omaesan' or the rather casual form 'anta,' and to her children 'omae,' the form used by women for a person of lower status. When referring to Muley, Sairy Wilson or a policeman, it becomes the casual form 'anta.'

Noah: When his 'you' refers to Tom, it becomes 'omae' or 'omē,' whereas when addressing Muley it becomes the slightly polite form 'anta.'

Tom: His 'you' referring to Grandfather is translated into the kinship term 'jīsama,' to Father the kinship term 'otossan' which means something like 'Pa,' and to Mother the kinship term 'okkasan' which means something like 'Ma.' Occasionally, when he is upset with his mother, it becomes 'anta.' Referring to his brothers and sister

it becomes 'omē,' although sometimes it becomes 'omae' to Al. His 'you' referring to Casy is consistently translated into the polite form 'omēsan.' For Ivy Wilson it becomes 'omaesan,' and for Muley or a truck driver it becomes 'omē.'

Rosasharn: Her 'you' referring to Mother becomes the kinship term 'okkasan.' To her husband Connie it becomes 'anta,' a common form of address from a wife to a husband among the younger generation in rural areas.

Al: His 'you' referring to Mother also becomes the kinship term 'okkasan,' as is the case with the other children. When referring to Tom, it becomes the kinship term 'nīsan' or 'aniki,' both of which mean 'older brother.' Occasionally it becomes his first name 'Tomu' which means 'Tom.' For Ivy Wilson, it becomes 'anta.'

Uncle John: His 'you' referring to Casy is translated into the polite form 'omaesan.'

Casy: His 'you' when referring to Father, Tom, Uncle John, or Muley is translated into the quite polite form, 'omaesan,' whereas when addressing Mother or Sairy Wilson it becomes the slightly casual form, 'anta.'

Muley: His 'you' when it refers to Tom is translated into the somewhat countrified pejorative form 'omē,' whereas when referring to Casy it becomes the polite form 'omēsan.'

The truck driver: His 'you' referring to Tom is translated into 'omē.'

Sairy Wilson: Her 'you' referring to Mother or Casey is translated into 'anta.'

The stranger in Needles: His 'you' referring to Father is translated into 'omaesan.'

A policeman: His 'you' referring to Mother is translated into 'omae.'

When elder family members address younger family members 'you' is usually translated into a second person pronoun. Also, each elder member's 'you' when addressing younger members, is translated consistently using the same form regardless of the younger member's rank in the social hierarchy. Thus Father uses both 'omae' and 'omē' equally to every other family member who is younger than he. When referring to outsiders, however, 'you' is translated into various forms of pronouns depending on the level of relationship between the speaker and addressee.

Kinship terms are used by younger family members addressing their elders. However, pronouns are used among elders — e.g., Mother's 'you' to Father and Father's 'you' to Grandfather. While using pronouns between wife and husband in Japanese is common, using pronouns from son to father is very unusual (Suzuki 1973:151-153). Still, by using the respectful pronoun 'omēsan' to his father, which is different from what he usually uses to the other family members,

Father manages to show politeness and respect to Grandfather.

Al's 'you' to his elder brother Tom is sometimes translated into the first name 'Tomu' (Tom). According to Suzuki's theory a younger member of the family usually calls an elder member by the kinship term (Suzuki 1973:151-153), just like Al usually calls Tom 'nīsan' (elder brother). Although it would be very unusual for Al to call his elder brother by his first name in Japanese culture, the translator may be trying to indicate the American life style by doing so. Since there are also many instances in which Al calls Tom by his first name in the original work which are translated directly into the first name in the Japanese work, the first name as a translation of 'you' seems proper. In contrast, in Tom's infrequent conversations with his older brother Noah, his 'you' is always translated into the pronoun 'omē.' This is probably because both Tom and Noah are already adults and also because Tom is the more responsible character within the family.

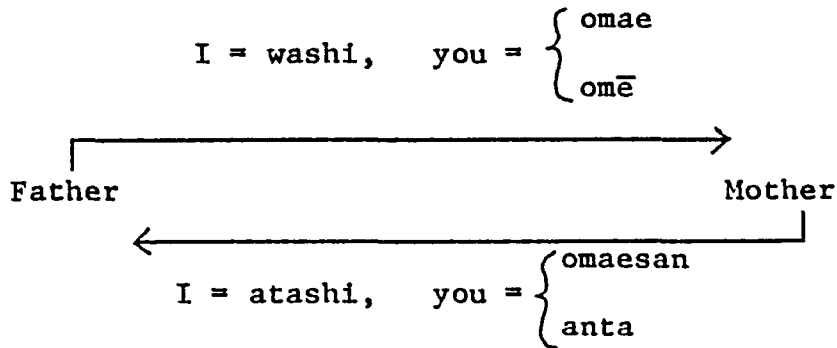
In sum, in translating 'you,' all of what Japanese second person pronouns, kinship terms, and first names indicate must necessarily be created by the translator.

2.8 First and Second Pronouns in the Selected Relationships

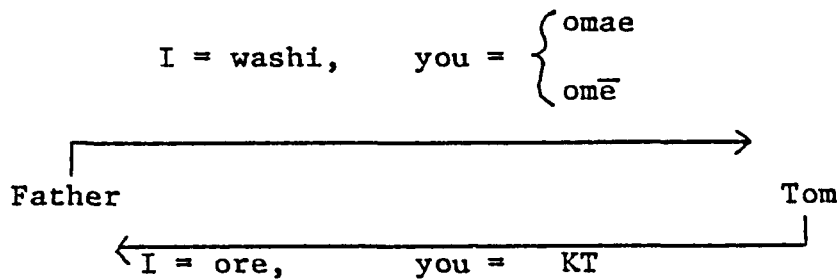
The following diagrams indicate how each speaker refers to himself/herself and addresses the other party, in both the original work and its Japanese translation.

Within the Family

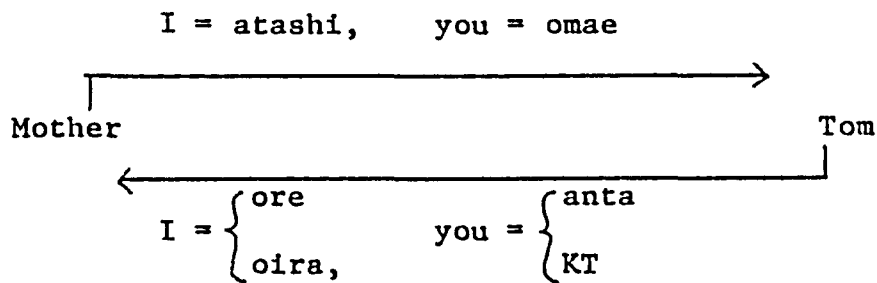
(j) Father and Mother (husband and wife)



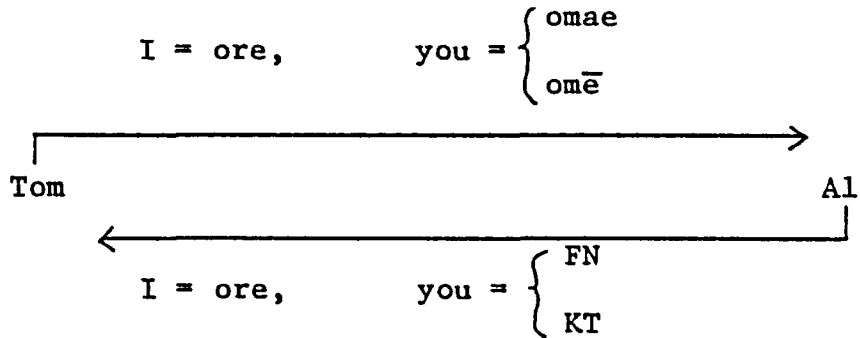
(k) Father and Tom (father and son)



(l) Mother and Tom (mother and son)

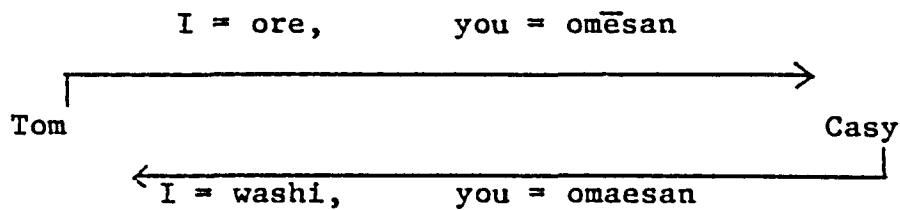


(m) Tom and Al (elder brother and younger brother)

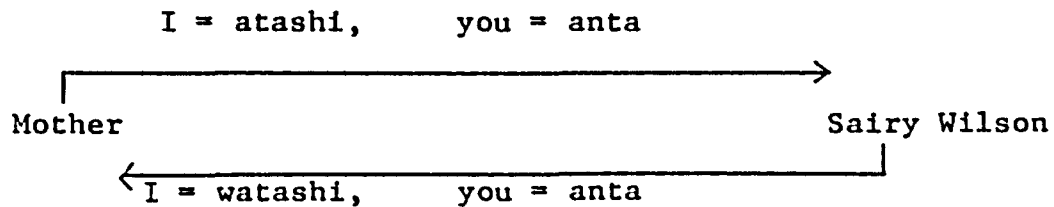


Outside the Family

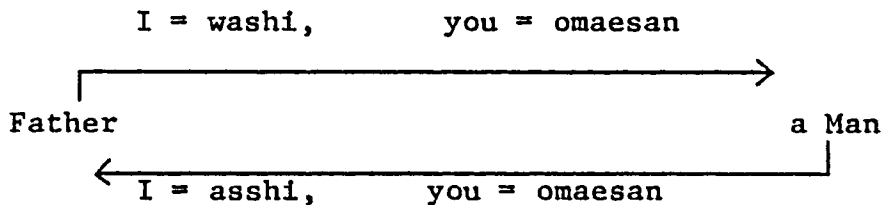
(n) Tom and Casy (a man and a former preacher)



(o) Mother and Sairy Wilson (two women of approximately equal status)



(p) Father and a stranger in Needles (two men of approximately equal status)



The pronouns used by family members — case (g) to case (m) — are made to indicate superior-inferior relationships when translated into Japanese. On the other hand, the pronouns used to outsiders — case (n) to case (p) — are made to indicate equal relationships in the Japanese translation. In the latter cases the person on the left side of each diagram uses the same second person pronoun used by the person in the right side. Even so, this reciprocal usage can indicate relationships on different levels. For example, (p) is more formal than (o).

In the Japanese translation Tom's pronoun usage clearly varies depending on his position in each situation. When he speaks to Al his 'you' is translated into 'omae' or 'omē.' This is because Tom is the elder brother of Al, and is, therefore, superior to Al. When he speaks to Casy his 'you' is translated into a polite form, since Casy has been a preacher in the past. On the other hand, his 'you' to Father is translated into the kinship term 'ottosan' (Pa) as is customary when a junior member of a Japanese family addresses a senior member (Suzuki 1973:150-154).

In summary, most of the equal relationships embedded in the English pronouns, from (j) to (p), in the original become transformed into hierarchical relationships in the Japanese translation.

2.9 The Special Usages of Pronouns in the Novel

The pronouns used by the same speaker to the same addressee are sometimes translated into different forms. In the Japanese translation, the translator has used various pronouns to express the emotional feelings of the speaker towards the addressee in that particular situation. For example, 'omē' is an accented form of 'omae' and slightly impolite. Both 'omae' and 'omē' are used to translate 'you' from the same male speaker to the same addressee on numerous occasions. 'Omē' is used more in frank, fast speech, whereas 'omae' is used more often in a little more serious, slower paced conversations.

For example, when Noah meets Tom for the first time after four years, Noah is excited and says to Tom:

How a' you? (E: 86)

Omē wa dō dai? (J: 148)

Later, when Noah decides not to go with the family to Needles, Noah confesses what he really thinks and tries to make Tom understand.

Noah says to Tom:

You know how it is. (E: 229)

Omae nyā wakarū darō. (J: 386)

Sometimes the choice of 'omae' or 'omē' is irregular and perhaps the use of both 'omae' and 'omē' by male characters indicates both choices as alternatives. But more often than not, the choice depends on the flow of the conversation as in the above examples.

The choice of whether 'omaesan' or 'omēsan' is used also follows the same criteria as 'omae' or 'omē.' Casy constantly uses 'omaesan,' and never uses 'omēsan,' although there are enough samples in this analysis. This indicates that Casy's way of speaking is both warm and gentle, which is the way he spoke when he was a preacher.

Mother's 'you' referring to Father is usually translated into the polite form, 'omaesan,' which is the normal form from a wife to a husband. But once when she gets really angry with him, she uses the quite informal form, 'anta' to Father. For example:

Mother says to Father:

"Ain't it up with you?" (E: 135)

"Omaesan no tokoro e agete okana katta dakane." (J: 229)

Mother says to Father (when extremely angry):

"I'll knock you belly up with a bucket." (E: 185)

"Baketsude anta o buchi nomesu da." (J: 312)

'Anta' is an informal form of 'anata,' but does not deliver more intimacy than 'anata' does. It sounds too casual and rather rude. By switching 'omaesan' to 'anta' in translation, the translator tries to reveal Mother's strong anger more clearly.

There is another clear example. Tom's 'you' when referring to Mother is usually translated into the kinship term 'okkasan.' This accords well with Suzuki's theory: a person rarely addresses superiors with personal pronouns, but he/she does call superiors by kinship terms (Suzuki 1973:151-154). In one case, however, 'you' is translated into the second person pronoun 'anta.' Using a pronoun is an unusual form of address from a son (inferior) to a mother (superior) in Japanese. The example follows:

Tom said to Mother,

"You win." (E: 186)

"Anta no kachi da yo." (J: 315)

This conversation occurs when they are arguing about whether they should go together or not when Wilson's car is broken. Mother is the only one who insists that they go together. After a heated argument, they recognize that there is no alternative to following Mother's idea since she is so insistent. Although 'anta' used by a male shows a close casual relationship, and is more usually used when addressing equal or inferior people, the fact that the son addresses his mother by the second person pronoun is important. By translating 'you' into 'anta' the translator tries to show that Tom is surprised at his

mother's unusual behavior, and is really impressed. The translator also tries to reveal that Tom sees his mother objectively, as a strong older woman.

2.10 Translation Difficulties from English into Japanese

It is true that the Joads in The Grapes of Wrath act like a traditional hierarchical family unit when they discuss their departure at the beginning: "Casy got to his feet. He knew the government of families, and he knew he had been taken into the family. Indeed his position was eminent, for Uncle John moved side ways, leaving space between Pa and himself for the preacher" (Steinbeck 1939:112). However, still there are only the pronouns 'I' and 'you' used when each addresses the other. Vertical relationships between the family members are not embedded in the pronoun usages.

Section 2.8 has shown that: 1) no matter whether the addressee is a family member or not, no matter what the degree of intimacy between the speaker and the addressee is, in English the speaker can only use 'I' and 'you.' 2) In the Japanese translation, however, the translator obviously uses pronouns to differentiate between addressees who are family members and those who are not. Moreover, the usage of personal pronouns shows the degree of intimacy between the characters. 3) The distinctions between superior-inferior relationships within the family are made by the way the personal pronouns are translated into Japanese 'address terms.'

Section 2.9 has shown how the translator is obliged to use different Japanese pronoun forms depending on the situation and the character's emotional state.

By comparing the following Figures 2-1 and 2-2 below, we can see in more detail how a character's particular pronoun usage varies in the Japanese translations compared to the original English.(19)

Figure 2-1 The first and second person pronouns used by Tom in the original The Grapes of Wrath.

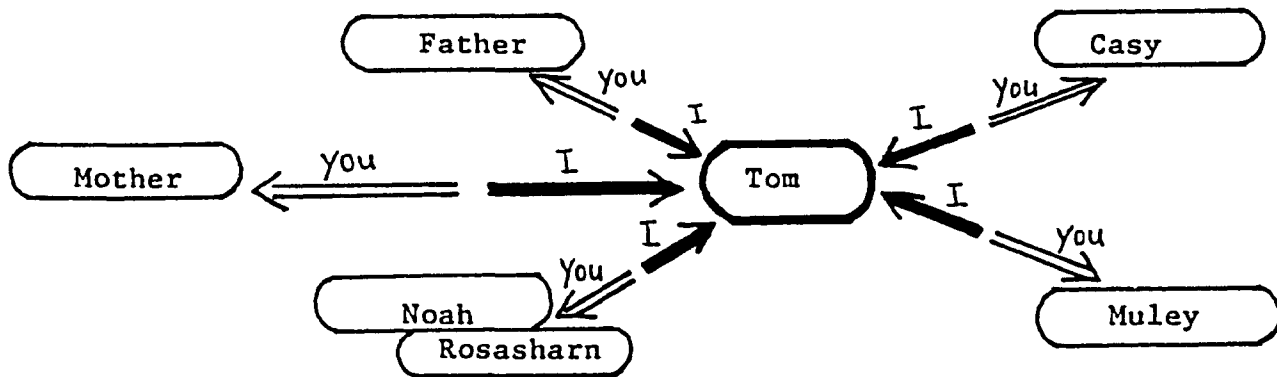
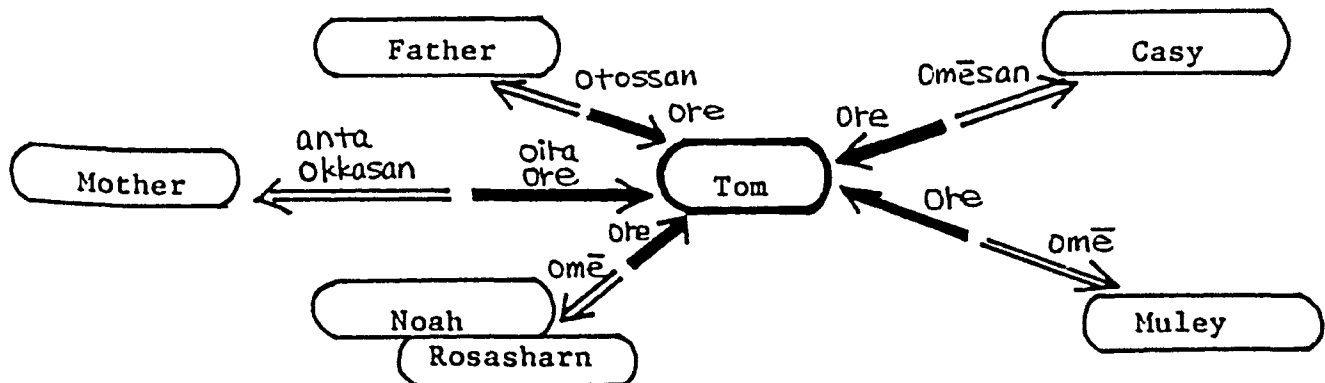


Figure 2-2 The first and second person pronouns used by Tom in the Japanese translation of The Grapes of Wrath.



One of the most important factors in a Japanese conversation is the awareness of the comparative status of each speaker, i.e., superior-subordinate or equal (Suzuki 1973:129-206). In the Japanese translation (Figure 2-2), attempts to show superior-inferior relationships within the family are made by the way the pronouns are used. The pronoun 'you' when it refers to a superior member of the family is usually not translated into a Japanese pronoun, but rather into a the kinship term. In a few special situations, however, when 'you' refers to a superior, a polite form of the pronoun is employed. When the pronoun 'you' refers to an inferior, it is translated into a Japanese pronoun.

In the Japanese translation, speakers obviously differentiate between addressees who are family members and those who are outsiders. The speaker's pronoun, when speaking to an inferior family member, is translated into the same level of the form, whereas when the speaker is speaking to an outsider the pronoun is translated into a different form depending on the intimacy between the speaker and the addressee. Depending on who the addressee is, the translator is obliged to add extra levels of meaning in Japanese. The different positions of Tom within, and outside, the family, and the different degrees of intimacy between himself and outsiders — all of these are created in the Japanese translation, and relationships tend to become multi-dimensionalized. These new dimensions of relationships which the translator is forced to create might or might not be what the original author intended.

Japanese translations follow the laws which Suzuki described (Suzuki 1973:146-158). It is clear how important it is for translators to know the proper pronoun usage, and they must be sensitive to the usage of Japanese pronouns if they are to communicate successfully across cultures.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

1. TRANSLATION DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR RELATION TO THE BACKGROUND CULTURES

In conclusion, it is important to point out the main obstacles to accurate translation, i.e., the different interpersonal communication patterns within the family units which are reflected in the pronouns of each language.

The vertical organization of the pronoun system in Japanese — a reflection of the vertically ordered Japanese society — is one of these obstacles. As the Japanese sociologist Chie Nakane observes, nearly all interaction takes place within a vertically oriented social structure in Japan (Nakane 1970). The word 'hierarchy' is also employed to explain most interpersonal relations.

People in Japan are encouraged to respect a person who is older than themselves. Respect toward an older family member, especially a grandfather or father, is an example of this clear norm. At meal times in a majority of households, for example, younger family members wait to eat until the older members come to sit with them. Dishes are usually served to the grandfather or father first. After them, the

oldest son, who is also respected and treated as special and different from other children of the family, is served. He is the one who usually succeeds as the family head.

Nakane also introduces the concept of 'ie' in Japanese society: the 'ie' is a social group constructed on the basis of a common residence or of a common workplace (Nakane 1970:5). The term 'ie' is similar to the English words 'household' or 'family,' but implies more of the structure of a corporate residential group. Thus, the 'ie' comprises household members and is clearly distinguishable from any other social group. Nakane explains that within the 'ie,' human relationships among the members of the unit are more important than any other human relationships (Nakane 1970:5).

Thus, employing kinship terms or names in the role of pronouns, which we have seen is typical of the Japanese address system, is not only due to the vertical social structure in Japan but also to this concept of 'ie.'

The usage of 'I' and 'you' tends to make people more conscious of the individual person in the United States. In Japan, on the other hand, the role of the individual within the group is stressed more than individual identification. The core of the Japanese family is the parent-child relationship and not that between husband and wife (Nakane 1970:128). Before being an individual human being one has to be a part of the group. The basic grouping of human beings is the family. Within the 'ie,' members have to take a role — father, mother, 'onīsan' (elder brother), 'onēsan' (elder sister).

The concept of the 'ie' refers to another Japanese cultural characteristic: the group identity. This study only focused on the family as the most fundamental human group in Japanese society. But this concept can also refer to other secondary groups such as the company, the school, and the community. Within these secondary groups, titles or specific occupations take the place of the pronouns in much the same manner that kinship terms often take the place of pronouns within the family.

An interesting question arises. How would a student who is taking a course from his/her father who is a teacher at his/her university address him? The researcher has a couple of American friends who are taking courses from their fathers. They can address him by using 'you.' However, in Japanese they would have to choose between 'otōsan' (father) and 'sensei' (teacher), because customarily people do not use the second person pronoun to a superior person whom they know.

By using the same pronoun Americans can easily transfer relationships from one environment to another, for example, from home to classes or offices. On the other hand, among Japanese the relationships depend mainly on one's role within a particular group. Thus, it becomes very difficult to change the relationship from one group environment to another, once the appropriate relationships have been established and the particular forms of address or pronouns have been employed. As a matter of fact, in Japan, people tend to avoid situations in which they have to switch relationships with persons within a particular group.

It can be said that both the honorific language displayed in pronoun usage as well as the various roles of pronouns reflect the vertically ordered relationships and the group identity of Japanese society. In Japan, people are usually consciously aware of this vertical ordering and group identity. To speak Japanese, people have to be sensitive to these elements in order to use pronouns in the proper way. These characteristics of Japanese culture, which are reflected in the usage of Japanese pronouns, are in sharp contrast with the culture which English pronouns represent, and make accurate translation very difficult.

2. THE INEVITABLE DISTORTIONS IN TRANSLATIONS

This study has shown the different interpersonal communication patterns of Japanese and Americans, which are clearly seen from the translation difficulties inherent in the different pronominal forms and usages. Japanese pronominal usage displays the basic components of relationships within Japanese society: hierarchy, intimacy and group identity (the concept of 'ie' for example). On the other hand, English pronominal usage is simply a way of providing a necessary element for syntactical functions.

As a result, translating Japanese into English distorts these characteristics of Japanese interpersonal communication by collapsing them into a one-dimensional pronoun framework. Conversely, translating English into Japanese distorts American interpersonal communication patterns by expanding them into a multi-dimensional

pronoun framework which reflects characteristics of Japanese society. It is impossible for translators to translate English into Japanese without creating or inventing new levels of interpersonal relationships which the original author may not have intended. This produces a problem of quality: the difference between good translations and poor translations depends on how accurately the translator interprets the author's original intentions which may or may not be understood from the context. Translation problems are not only a matter of the preservation of meaning across two different languages, but also a matter of the interpretation of the author's original intentions as expressed in a different cultural context. Readers of the translation depend on the restatement of the original as a means to touch the original. The correctness of the translation can not be perfect, because Japanese translators may have to guess at the author's intentions and add perhaps unintended dimensions to the original meaning.

In this study we have focused on only verbal communication as a means to investigate each relationship. It may still be possible to grasp more subtle features of Japanese interpersonal communication in other ways, because verbal communication is not the whole of communication, but only a part of it. Descriptions of the characters' attitudes, motives, interests, responses and conflicts, can also illuminate patterns of interpersonal communication. Therefore, translated literature can still help to accurately represent the original work, but only when the translator appreciates the cultural context of that work.

Nevertheless, dialogues are important parts of everyday activity and sometimes in literature dialogues contain great meaning. For example, Kawabata's literature is famous for his originalities. His works are full of dialogues and each dialogue has deep meanings. When literature is full of dialogues, the role of pronouns becomes very important.

According to Kakutani's research (Kakutani 1978:49-52), the number of pronouns in the Yama no Oto (The Sound of the Mountain) is as follows:

- First Person Pronouns

form	number
watakushi	118
watashi	50
boku	30
Total	198

- Second Person Pronouns

form	number
anata	22
anta	6
kimi	34
omae	46
Total	108

(Source: Kakutani 1978:49-52)

The table above shows how many times in representing the scenarios of everyday life the translator was obliged to simplify what was implied by the original pronouns. In total, there are 198 first person and 108 second person pronouns. All of them become simplified when translated into English pronouns. Also, in each case (306 all together) the translator is forced to try to convey the nuances implied. (Of course, we do not wish to suggest that the only translation difficulties are those of attempting to maintain the original meanings of pronouns; there is also, for example, the problem of conveying the original meaning of the entire story line).

Another book by Kawabata, Snow Country, shows the development of a relationship between a man and a woman. In the first part of the story (told in the form of recollected scenes) the woman usually uses 'anata' towards the man, but later she uses 'anta' when addressing him. Employing the polite pronoun 'anata' at the beginning of the relationship, and the quite informal one 'anta' later, clearly illustrates its development. In this and other works, particular pronoun usage implies much about the situation and the characters' relationships as well as their social class. Moreover, by changing the usage of pronouns between the same characters, the story strongly suggests the development of their relationship. Sometimes, as in the case of Snow Country, this is the main theme of the novel.

These untranslatable elements of pronouns can make translated literature dry and difficult to understand. Again, pronouns are obstacles to translation. They cannot be avoided, but should be considered seriously from the point of cultural context in order to

minimize distortion. Translators are forced to eliminate distinctions (Japanese to English) or to create them (English to Japanese). All they can do is to minimize these problems as much as possible.

3. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

This study has focused on pronoun differences between Japanese and English, the former having various levels of pronouns and the latter having only one level. Translation problems would be even more complicated between Japanese and some other languages, e.g. Hindi, which also have various levels of pronouns.

As I discussed in Chapter II, language is a part of culture. Each society has its own address system which both reflects and is part of its structure. The rules governing Japanese pronouns are different from those governing Hindi, for example. These rules have to be carefully explored in order to translate from one language into another. Ideally, the pronoun systems of the source language and the target language would be as similar as possible, but in many cases distortion is inevitable.

In the 19th century, the American family unit was more similar to the Japanese vertical family unit. During the past century, the family unit has been changing in the United States in the direction of a more egalitarian, horizontal structure. Even within the 19th century family unit, however, people used only one form of first and second person pronouns. Thus, American pronoun usage does not seem to correlate with American family structure.

On the other hand, the Japanese family unit is changing now. It may be that the Japanese family structure will become more horizontal during this century. However, at present there is a vertical Japanese pronoun system. It will be interesting to see how the traditional Japanese family unit will change and also how the usage of the pronouns may change to accommodate the change in the structure of the family.

4. INTERCULTURAL IMPLICATIONS

Technological advances have brought about an international information era. Great efforts have been made to invent computer systems for translation. At present, however, the only reliable, and ultimately the fastest translator is a human being (Nakamura 1983). Although computers may easily transfer a linguistic code into another linguistic code, it is impossible for them to carry many subtleties of the meanings. Let us return to the example of Japanese pronouns: to translate the English word 'I' into Japanese, the computer cannot choose whether 'watakushi,' 'watashi,' 'boku,' 'ore' or 'washi' is the best fit for the context. Apparently, only human beings can produce reliable translations with the smallest distortion.

Many English novels, academic books, and magazines have been translated into Japanese. This may be because Japan has tried hard to get Western information. From Western press information available in Japanese, the American perspective is relatively well known among the Japanese. On the other hand there have been only a small number of

Japanese works available in English. The Japanese perspective has not been well known. But during the past five years, the number of English translations of Japanese novels as well as academic books in various areas has been increasing. This means that the number of items which are reported about Japan from a Japanese perspective, available to native English speakers is rapidly increasing. Ideally these materials should contribute to enhanced intercultural communications between Japan and English-speaking countries.

To promote awareness of the problems of translation, accurate translations of concepts from one culture to another are of great importance. This point applies not only to people who work as translators and language educators, but also to the general public. To appreciate the culture of others and to promote successful intercultural communication, accurate translations are essential. The sociolinguistic approach should be emphasized to make clear the cultural contexts of the source language and the target language.

Although those problems are most serious when languages and cultures are maximally different, similar problems exist in some measure even within a monolingual culture. Between children and adults, females and males, non-educated and educated people, employee and employer, students and professors, for example, similar, though lesser, cultural and linguistic differences exist. There are various sub-cultures within any one culture, and still further differences between those sub-cultures. Between people from these different sub-cultures there are also intercultural communication problems, even though they are using the same language. The lexicon of technical

words is quite different, as are manners, jokes, taboos and so forth, all of which make for linguistic variation.

While this study has only focused on the problem of translation of pronouns between Japanese and English, the awareness of translation problems should help us to appreciate the value of understanding other cultures. This point is important not only between cultures which use different languages, but also within individual monolingual cultures. We have to think about 'intercultural communication' in a broad sense.

To promote 'intercultural communication' in this sense, the 'emic' view is important. This view introduces us to the need to look at others from their own point of view. Using this approach should make us more sensitive to our own language and culture as well as to others' languages and cultures, and enhance intercultural communication on the interpersonal level. The key to the enhancement of communication is to respect and appreciate others from different cultures.

ENDNOTES

- (1) The romanization system adopted for transliteration in this study is the 'Hyōjunshiki' (standard system), which is an adaptation of the Hepburn system.
- (2) By 'epoché,' phenomenologists mean one's interior stream of consciousness which we become aware of by interior separation.
- (3) Adapted from Yoshida 1976:19.
- (4) Adapted from Yoshida 1976:19.
- (5) In the previous section I tried to explain the brief characterizations of the situations under which each first and second person pronoun is used. However, many factors are involved in the speaker's choice of the best pronoun to fit the circumstance. There is no systematic chart which technically helps the speaker to choose pronouns.
- (6) Honorific language appears not only in pronouns, but also in verbs, adjectives, and some other parts of speech. In this study, however, only first and second person 'pronouns' are focused upon.
- (7) In English respect or formality can be shown by means of different vocabulary items or sentence structure, however, there are no honorifics as a system in the first and second person pronouns.

(8) There are varieties in forms. For example, for Father, 'otōsan,' 'otōsama,' 'otōchan' can be used, just like English 'Father,' 'Pa' and 'Daddy.' Here, however, I list only standard forms.

(9) According to Suzuki's theory (Chapter III), first and second person pronouns in English cannot be adequately substituted for the Japanese address system, especially in terms of its syntactical function. When investigating the translation from Japanese into English, Japanese first and second person pronouns will be focused upon. This emphasis may not, however, cover all functions of Suzuki's inclusive categories of 'terms for self' and 'address terms.'

(10) Henceforth "J" refers to the Japanese version and "E" the English version. The number following each letter refers to the appropriate page number.

(11) All samples are from the novel; therefore, the number of samples are limited. Nevertheless, I strongly feel that the author intentionally has Shingo avoid addressing Kikuko by a pronoun so as to indicate his feelings towards her. Therefore, even a much larger number of samples would probably show little or no change in this pattern of usage.

(12) KT is used for the kinship terms.

(13) FN is used for both the first name and the first name with suffix.

(14) Both Figures 1-1 and 1-2 are adapted from Suzuki 1973:148.

(15) For example, Tom says to Muley:

"I ain't huffy." (E: 57)

Its Japanese translation is:

"Haranzano tateteya shi nē yo." (J: 97)
(huffy am not)

(16) In The Grapes of Wrath, characters often use 'ya' instead of 'you.' The usage of 'ya' is random and it is an accepted common colloquialism; therefore, in this study 'ya' and 'you' are treated equally.

(17) 'Omaesan' is the polite form of 'omae.'

(18) 'Omēsan' is also the polite form of 'omē.'

(19) Both Figures 2-1 and 2-2 are adepted from Suzuki 1973:148.

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