

# STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABEȘ - BOLYAI

## PHILOLOGIA

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## FOREWORD

*The Department of Linguistics and Semiotics at the Faculty of Letters comes to meet the growing interest in Japanese language, literature and mentalities manifested by teachers, researchers and students, by presenting this issue of Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, entirely dedicated to Japanese studies.*

*In October 1996, our University became the second state institution of higher education in the country to offer Japanese language courses, after the University of Bucharest. Let us make a brief historical note by reminding that the very first Japanese language courses at academic level in the Romanian cultural space were offered at the University of Cluj, between 1895 and 1899, when Japanese grammar was taught for 8 semesters by dr. Balint Gabor, specialist in Oriental studies. Thus, in 1996 Babeș -Bolyai University took the first step towards reinstating a line of studies in which it had undisputed priority in the past. It did so, however, in full awareness of the challenge that such a project represents in a period of time when the Romanian educational system, as the country itself, strives for major changes in the spirit of modernisation, of European and global academic integration.*

*The Program of Japanese Studies initiated by the Department of Linguistics and Semiotics now provides regular courses in Japanese language and hosts lectures and conferences on Japanese literature and culture. Its constant dynamics of expansion has reached, in only three years, a stage which allows for the introduction, starting with the academic year 1999/2000, of Japanese Studies as a secondary specialization at the Faculty of Letters. Valuable international connections have already been set up with two prestigious institutions such as the National Institute of Oriental Languages in Paris (INALCO) and the Faculty of Cross-Cultural Studies at Kobe University, as a basis for developing and consolidating the status of teaching and research in the field.*

*We are honored and pleased to point out that the present issue of Studia is one of the first concrete results of the cooperation with the latter institution. Among the contributors we have specialists from Kobe University, as well as colleagues from the University of Bucharest, who responded promptly and open-mindedly in support of the idea of this thematic issue. The topics under investigation range from grammar semantics and lexicology to literature, traditional art and mentalities, thus reflecting the multiplicity of interest areas for the Romanian reader, and hopefully delineating a panorama of directions for further study.*

COORDINATOR'S FOREWORD

\*

*We gratefully acknowledge the support of the **Center of Text Analysis** of the Faculty of Letters in processing the manuscripts, under the dedicated supervision of Miss Cristina Varga. Special thanks to Miss Lolita Zagaievschi, Ph.D student with our department, whose help has been, as so many times before, invaluable. The contribution of several students from the general linguistics course, who typed some of the texts, also deserves to be mentioned. Last but not least, we express our thanks to Miss Hitomi Kato, Japanese lecturer affiliated to our department, who graciously accepted a task beyond her many duties, and double-checked the processed texts for accuracy, with special attention to the Japanese segments of the articles.*

**EMMA TĂMĂIANU**

*Coordinator of the Japanese Studies Program  
Department of Linguistics and Semiotics*

**INDIRECT PASSIVES IN JAPANESE AND EXTENDED DATIVES  
IN FRENCH**

**HIROSHI HAYASHI\***

**RÉSUMÉ.** *Passif indirect en japonais et datif étendu en français.* Entre le datif étendu du français et le sujet du passif indirect du japonais il y a plusieurs traits communs. D'abord ils sont des arguments non sélectionnés par le prédicat, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne sont pas sémantiquement (dans le cas du datif étendu, syntaxiquement non plus) indispensables à la construction d'une phrase, malgré leur forme typique à l'argument. Et puis la plupart des phrases dont ils sont parties ont une interprétation d'"ennui" ("adversative interpretation" en anglais) - cette tendance est plus forte dans le cas du passif indirect du japonais. Mais les conditions qui déterminent l'acceptabilité des phrases qui les contiennent sont différentes dans les deux cas. Cet article a pour objet de mettre au clair la nature de ces conditions.

Pour le datif étendu, j'ai proposé l' <hypothèse de prédication secondaire>, qui dit que le datif étendu se met en relation avec une prédication secondaire d'une phrase où il apparaît, le datif étendu présuppose ainsi l'existence d'une prédication secondaire.

Pour le passif indirect, j'ai démontré que l'acceptabilité des phrases de cette construction est déterminée par l'existence d'une partie [ACT] dans "la structure conceptuelle lexicale" proposée par Jackendoff d'un verbe que contiennent ces phrases. Cela veut dire que le prototype est [x ACT ON y] CAUSE [y BECOME [y BE AT z] ] ("Accomplishment" de Vendler) et [x ACT (ON y) ] ("Activity" de Vendler). Aussi j'ai démontré que même des phrases passives indirectes du type [y BECOME [y BE AT z] ] ("Achievement") sont acceptables si "y" est [+HUMAN] - le trait qui nous permet de considérer "y" comme pseudo-agent.

Le jugement d'acceptabilité des phrases des deux constructions dépend en grande partie d'éléments pragmatiques. Mais je pense qu'il doit y avoir un <noyau> indépendant de facteurs de cette sorte. Cet article constitue une tentative de découverte et de formalisation de ce <noyau> autant que possible. J'espère avoir réussi dans ma démarche.

## **1. Introduction**

The Japanese passive constructions are morphological (Keenan (1985)), that is, they are formed by attaching the passive morpheme "(r)are" to the verb stem as (1) and (2) show.

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- (1) consonant stem verbs  
 kak-u (write) → kak - are - ru (be written)  
 stem - PRES    stem - PASS - PRES
- (2) vowel stem verbs  
 mi - ru (see) → mi - are - ru (be seen)  
 stem - PRES    stem - PASS - PRES

And two types of passive construction are distinguished: one is the "direct passive" which has its corresponding active sentence and the other is "indirect passive" which has no corresponding active sentence.

- (3) direct passive
- (a) Seito - wa                      sensei - ni                      shikar - are - ta.  
 pupils - TOP                      teacher - BY                      scold - PASS - PAST  
 (The pupils were scolded by the teacher.)
- (b) Sensei - wa                      seito - o                      shikat - ta.  
 teacher - TOP                      pupils - ACC                      scold - PAST  
 (The teacher scolded the pupils.)
- (4) indirect passive
- (a) Hanako - wa                      hahaoya - ni                      kami - o                      kir - are - ta.  
 Hanako - TOP                      mother - BY                      hair - ACC                      cut -PASS- PAST  
 (Hanako had her hair cut by the mother.)
- (b) \*Hahaoya - wa                      Hanako - ni                      kami - o                      kit - ta.  
 mother - TOP                      Hanako - DAT                      hair - ACC                      cut-PAST  
 (The mother cut the hair on her, Hanako.)

The direct passive has the equivalents in many languages. But languages which have the same passive systems as the Japanese indirect passive are very few. For example, neither English nor French can represent the same meaning as (4a) by the passive constructions.

- (5) \*Hanako was cut her hair by the mother.  
 (6) \* Hanako a été coupée les cheveux par sa mère.

Instead, however, they have their own mechanisms to convey the meaning. English has the "have passive" construction and French has the "extended dative" construction<sup>(1)</sup>.

- (5') Hanako had her hair cut by the mother.  
 (6') La mère lui a coupé les cheveux, à Hanako.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. Leclère (1976). He distinguishes "datif possessif" which represent an owner of body parts from "datif étendu", but in this paper I will treat the two datives in the same way because their difference is solely a difference of the way of possession (i.e. inalienable and alienable possession).

On similarities and differences between Japanese indirect passive and English "have passive", we have already many studies including Washio (1993, 1998), but few attention has been paid to the relation between Japanese indirect passive (henceforth IDP) and French extended dative construction (henceforth EXD) except Wierzbicka (1985). In this paper, I will treat the problem of this relation between the two constructions and clarify their similarities and differences.

Though EXD is different from IDP in that it is one of active constructions, it has some interesting common features with IDP.

(i) Both have an "extra argument" which is an argument that is not selected by the predicate. In (4a), for example, "Hanako" is not selected by "kir-u" (cut), the argument structure of "kir-u" being [Agent, <Theme>] (< > indicates an internal argument). Agent is "hahaoya" and Theme is "kami". In (6') too, the argument structure of "couper" is [Agent, <Theme>] and "lui" is not selected by "couper".

(ii) In both constructions, this extra argument represents an entity which is affected somehow by the state or activity which denotes the rest of the sentence.

(iii) This entity must be human (in IDP this restriction is a little weaker).

(iv) Whether this entity is affected badly, beneficially or neutrally is determined by pragmatic factors as well as by lexical meanings of the predicate. But in many cases, especially in IDP, an adversative interpretation is predominant.

In spite of these similarities, however, we must keep in mind the fact that not all IDP sentences have their corresponding EXD ones. For example, (7) has no corresponding EXD sentence.

- (7) Kanojo-wa hitoban-juu kodomo - ni nak - are - ta.  
 she - TOP night - all child - BY cry-PASS - PAST  
 (Her child cried all night and she was badly affected.)  
 (7') \*L'enfant lui a pleuré toute la nuit.

We can find a reverse situation, i.e. an EXD sentence has no corresponding IDP sentence.

- (8) La petite boule de neige lui a fondu sur l'épaule.  
 (8') \*Kare-wa kata no ue de yuki-ni toke-rare - ta.  
 he - TOP shoulder GEN surface LOC snow -BY melt-PASS-PAST

So it seems that the conditions that dominate the appearance of the extended dative in a sentence are different from those that permit the formation of IDP. In what follows I will clarify the nature of these conditions.

## 2. French extended datives

In Hayashi (to appear) I proposed a "hypothesis of secondary predication" which claims that the extended dative has a close relation with the part of the secondary predication of a sentence in which it appears, that is, in other words, the extended dative presupposes the existence of secondary predication. The secondary predication is that part of a sentence which we find in (9) (resultative construction) or (10) (depictive construction).

- (9) a. We painted the wall red.  
 b. Wareware-wa kabe - o akaku nut - ta.  
 we - TOP wall - ACC red paint - PAST
- (10) a. We ate the fish raw.  
 b. Wareware-wa sono sakana-o namade tabe - ta.  
 we - TOP the fish - ACC raw eat - PAST

(9) means that after the action of painting the wall is red. This result that the wall is red is the secondary predication of this sentence. (10) means that when we ate the fish it was still raw. The state of the fish is the part of the secondary predication. Herslund (1988) uses this linguistic concept to explain the different result of pronominalization of [à + NP], i.e. "y" or "lui". He claims that if the secondary predication contains as its predicate "AVOIR", [à + NP] is pronominalized as "lui", and if the predicate is "ÊTRE", this PP is pronominalized as "y" <sup>(2)</sup>.

- (11) a. J'ai laissé mon vélo à Marie. [Marie AVOIR mon vélo]  
 b. Je lui ai laissé mon vélo.
- (12) a. J'ai laissé mon vélo à la gare. [mon vélo ÊTRE à la gare]  
 b. J'y laissé mon vélo.

This hypothesis predicts that the extended dative cannot appear in the sentences with no secondary predication and this predication is borne out by the following facts.

- (i) In sentences with stative predicates, it cannot appear.  
 (13) \*Taurenciu s'est étonné que le vieux lui sache son nom.  
 (14) \*Toute la maison lui est pleine de trésors.
- (ii) In sentences with achievement predicates, it cannot appear either.  
 (15) \*Le vase lui a cassé.  
 (16) \*L'impôt sur son revenu lui a augmenté.
- (iii) In sentences with accomplishment predicates, it can appear.  
 (17) Jean lui a cassé son verre.  
 (18) La mère lui a coupé les cheveux.
- (iv) In sentences with activity predicates, it cannot appear.  
 (19) \*Le coq lui a chanté à trois heures du matin.  
 (20) \*Je lui ai marché jusqu'à sa maison.

To make the point clearer, we would better make use of formal representations like those adopted in Jackendoff (1990) (the representation of Lexical Conceptual Structure). I will use these representations with some modifications suggested in Kageyama (1996). Here are some examples (the underline represent the part of secondary predication, DAT indicates the extended dative and <i> indicates the relation of possession (alienable or inalienable)).

<sup>(2)</sup> This explanation is not enough to explain all the distribution of "lui" and "y". Cf. Hayashi (1991, 1993).



- (i) State: [y BE AT z]  
 (14') [la maison BE AT - FULL OF trésors]
- (ii) Achievement: [y BECOME [y BE AT z]]  
 (15') [le vase BECOME [le vase BE AT BROKEN]]
- (iii) Accomplishment: [x ACT ON y] CAUSE [y BECOME [y BE AT z]]  
 (17') [Jean ACT ON verre] CAUSE  
[verre<sub><i></sub> BECOME [verre<sub><i></sub> BE AT BROKEN]]

↑  
 DAT <sub><i></sub>

(↑ indicates that DAT has a relation with the secondary predication)

- (iv) Activity: [x ACT (ON y)]  
 (19') [coq ACT]

It seems that our hypothesis coincide with the classification of verbs on the basis of aspect proposed by Vendler (1967), that is, it seems that it is only in sentences with accomplishment predicates that the extended dative can appear. But this is not the case because we can find this type of dative even in sentences with predicates other than accomplishment type.

- (21) La petite boule de neige lui a fondu sur l'épaule.  
 (achievement)
- (22) La crème lui a coulé sur la tête. (achievement)
- (23) Jules lui a tiré les cheveux. (activity)
- (24) Pourquoi pleures-tu? lui a demandé le vieux, lui caressant les  
 cheveux. (activity)

A hypothesis based on the classification of Vendler cannot explain why the extended dative can appear in sentences like (21) ~ (24) which do not have accomplishment predicates. But our hypothesis based on the existence of secondary predication can do.

Let's analyse (21) first ((22) is the same in nature). Though, in general, unaccusative verbs describe only a change of state, we can think of a secondary predication in the case of (21). Generally when snow melts it changes into water, but in the case of (21) this water stays on somebody's shoulder and perhaps makes wet this shoulder. It is just by this state that the owner of the shoulder is affected (perhaps badly affected). We can regard this state - the result of a change - as a secondary predication. And the affected owner of the shoulder is represented as dative. We can represent this situation schematically as the following.

[neige BECOME [neige BE AT WATER] CAUSE  
[BECOME [WATER BE AT - SURFACE OF épaule<sub><i></sub>]]

↑  
 DAT <sub><i></sub>

But we must add one constraint to this schema. As (25) shows, <i> must be inalienable.

(25) \*La petite boule de neige lui a fondu sur son bureau.

It is reasonable that in the case of non-prototypical secondary predication (non-prototypical because the left part of [CAUSE] does not contain [ACT]) some special constraints are added, the prototypical secondary predication being [x ACT ON y] CAUSE [y BECOME [y BE AT z]].

<Constraint>: when the left part of [CAUSE] does not contain [ACT], <i> must indicate inalienable possession.

Next let's turn to (23). "tirer" and "caresser" (of (24)) as well as "pleurer" of (7') and "chanter" of (19) are all verbs of activity, but we can see an important difference between (23) and (24) on one hand, and (7') and (19) on the other. If Jules pulls somebody's hair, the owner of the hair feels that himself is pulled. In other words the owner of the hair is affected directly through his hair. In the case of child's crying, somebody else - perhaps the child's mother - is affected rather indirectly and the child cries independently of his/her mother, that is, the action of crying does not involve his/her mother, while the action of pulling the hair involves the owner of the hair. We can represent the situation of (23) as the following.

[Jules ACT ON cheveux] CAUSE  
[cheveux <i> BECOME [cheveux <i> BE WITH-EFFECT-ON [ ]<sub>i</sub>]]  
 ↑  
 DAT<sub>i</sub> / <i>

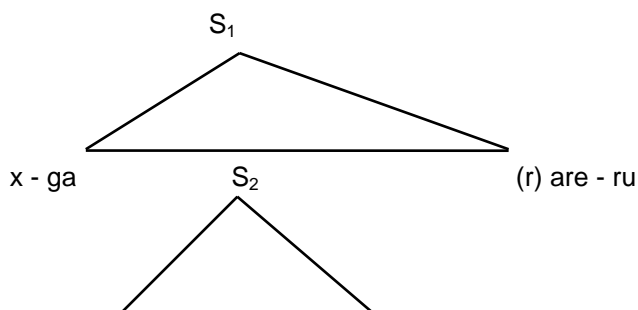
This schema means that Jules does something to the hair of somebody and this action causes the hair to have some effects on the owner of the hair. [ ]<sub>i</sub> represents the owner of the hair and "i" indicates the coreference. We can regard the semantic part that somebody is affected through his body part (i.e. the owner of the body part feels some effects on himself) as the secondary predication of the sentence. As (26) shows, the same constraint as in the case of (21) is necessary: <i> must be inalienable.

- (26) a. \*Je lui ai donné un coup de pied à sa table.  
 b. Je lui ai donné un coup de pied au cul.

At the end of this section, I conclude that the hypothesis of secondary predication can correctly explain the distribution of the extended dative in French.

### 3. Japanese indirect passive

First of all, I suppose that the underlying structure of Japanese passive for both direct type and indirect type is as follows (Uniform theory of Howard and Niyekawa-Howard (1976)).



For example, the underlying structure of (27) is (28) (I adopt a bracketting representation).

- (27) *Watashi-wa hisho-ni okane-o nusum-are-ta.*  
 I-TOP secretary-BY money-ACC steal-PASS-PAST  
 (I had my money stolen by the secretary.)
- (28) [*watashi-ga [hisho-ga okane-o nusum-u]*<sub>S2</sub> *are-ta*]<sub>S1</sub>  
 ("ga" is a nominative marker)

This thing in mind, I will examine the distribution of indirect passive in accordance with the classification of Vendler, as in the preceding section.

<State>

In Japanese lexical stative verbs are very few. Even "shiru" (know) which is a typical stative verb in many languages is not a stative verb as (29) shows.

- (29) *Kare-wa tatta 1 shuukan-de jijitu-o shit-ta.*  
 he-TOP only week-INSTR fact-ACC know-PAST  
 (He got to know the fact in only a week.)

Most stative expressions are formed by adding "-teiru/-deiru" to a certain form of a verb <sup>(3)</sup>. Here are some examples.

- shinu (die) → shin-deiru (dead)  
 huku-o kiru (wear clothes) → huku-o ki-teiru (be in clothes.)  
 clothes-ACC clothes-ACC  
 kizuku (realize) → kizui-teiru (be aware of)

Real lexical stative verbs are "aru" (be), "iru<sub>1</sub>" (be) <sup>(4)</sup>, "iru<sub>2</sub>" (be necessary) <sup>(5)</sup>, "sonzaisuru" (exist), "niau" (be well matched), "dekiru" (can), "mieru" (can be seen), "kikoeru" (can be heard) and some quite few verbs.

<sup>(3)</sup> According to the lexical meaning of each verb, [verb + teiru]<sub>v</sub> can have a progressive meaning (ex. kaku (write) → kai-teiru (be writing)).

<sup>(4)</sup> "aru" is employed with non-animate subjects and "iru<sub>1</sub>" is employed with animate subjects.

<sup>(5)</sup> "iru<sub>1</sub>" and "iru<sub>2</sub>" are homonyms.

Stative passive (of both lexical and morphological stative verbs) is impossible in Japanese except "iru<sub>1</sub>".

— lexical stative verbs:

- (30) \*Kare-wa ie-ni takaramono-de ippaidear-are-ta.  
 he-TOP house-BY treasures-WITH full-PASS-PAST  
 (He was affected by the fact that his house is full of treasures.)
- (30') Ie-wa takaramono-de ippaideat-ta.<sup>(6)</sup>  
 (The house was full of treasures.)
- (31) \*Sonna tokoro-ni nimotsu-ni ar-are-te komat-ta.  
 such place-LOC baggage-BY be-PASS-because I was annoyed  
 (I was annoyed by the baggage placed in such a place.)
- (31') Nimotsu-ga sonna tokoro-ni aru.  
 (The baggage is in such a place.)

— morphological stative verbs<sup>(7)</sup>

- (32) \*Boku-wa kanojo-ni hadena huku-o ki-teir-are-ta.  
 I-TOP she-BY showy dress-ACC wear-STATE-PASS-PAST  
 (I was affected by the fact that she was in a showy dress.)
- (32') Kanojo-wa hadena huku-o ki-tei-ta.  
 (She was in a showy dress)
- (33) \*Boku-wa sensei-ni sono jijitsu-o shit-teir-are-ta.  
 I-TOP teacher-BY that fact-ACC know-STATE-PASS-PAST  
 (I was affected by the fact that the teacher knew the fact.)
- (33') Sensei-wa sono jijitsu-o shit-tei-ta.  
 (The teacher knew the fact.)

— "iru<sub>1</sub>"

- (34) Sonna tokoro-ni ir-are-tewa komari-masu.  
 such place-LOC you be-PASS-if / when I am annoyed-POLITE  
 (I will be annoyed if you are in such a place.)

<Achievement>

The passive is generally impossible with this kind of verbs.

- (35) \*Shoojo-wa huku-ni nurer-are-ta.  
 girl-TOP clothes-BY get wet-PASS-PAST  
 (The girl was affected by the fact that her clothes got wet.)
- (36) \*Taroo-wa yuki-ni toker-are-ta.  
 Taroo-TOP snow-BY melt-PASS-PAST  
 (The snow melted and Taroo was affected by that.)

<sup>(6)</sup> In the examples below, we will show the corresponding active sentences by the number plus prime as "(X')".

<sup>(7)</sup> Without "teiru", (32) and (33) are well formed. "Boku-wa kanojo-ni hadena huku-o kirareta", "Boku-wa sensei-ni sono jijitsu-o shirareta". But they are no more stative passive.

But there are some exceptions: when "ni" phrase is [+HUMAN], the passive is possible.

- (37) Kare-wa tsuma-ni byooki-ni nar-are-ta.  
 he-TOP wife-BY sick become-PASS-PAST  
 (His wife became sick and he was affected by that.)
- (38) Kare-wa okyakusan-ni rooka-de korob-are-ta.  
 he-TOP guest-BY hall-LOC fall down-PASS-PAST  
 (His guest fell down and he was affected by that.)

We can even find a minimal pair which shows a clean opposition between [+HUMAN] "ni" phrase and [-HUMAN] "ni" phrase<sup>(8)</sup>.

- (39) Watashi-wa totsuzen dooryoo-ni taorer-are-ta.  
 I-TOP suddenly colleague-BY fall down-PASS-PAST  
 (My colleague suddenly fell down and I was affected by that.)
- (40) \*Watashi-wa totsuzen kanban-ni taorer-are-ta.  
 I-TOP suddenly signboard-BY fall down-PASS-PAST  
 (A signboard suddenly fell down and I was affected by that.)

They have both the same verb "taoreru" (fall) and the difference in [ $\pm$ HUMAN] of "ni" phrase decides their well formedness.

The next pair - (41) and (42) - is interesting in that (41) can be passivized, as (43), but (42) cannot although the verbs are the same in meaning "die".

- (41) Tsuma-ga shin-da. (My wife died.)  
 wife-NOM die-PAST
- (42) Tsuma-ga nakunat-ta. (My wife died.)
- (43) Watashi-wa tsuma-ni shin-are-ta.
- (44) \*Watashi-wa tsuma-ni nakunar-are-ta.  
 (My wife died and I was affected by that.)

Here I will not pursue the explanation of the difference, but I will point out one thing: while "shinu" can be put into imperative form, "nakunaru" cannot as (45) and (46) show.

- (45) Shin-e! (Die!)
- (46) \*Nakunar-e!

That is to say that it is possible that "shinu" does not belong to the class of unaccusative verbs though it does belong to the class of achievement verbs<sup>(9)</sup>. At least in Japanese, many verbs of well-formed passive sentences of achievement type can be put into imperative.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cf. Moriyama (1988).

<sup>(9)</sup> I am not sure if the class of unaccusative coincide completely with that of achievement. At least, I think, it is true that all unaccusative verbs belong to the class of achievement, i.e. [the class of unaccusative]  $\subseteq$  [the class of achievement].

- (47) Omaenanka            byookini    nat-te            shinde-shima-e!  
 a man like you        sick        become-and      die-PERF-IMP  
 (A man like you, become sick and die!)

It is easy to see a close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that "ni" phrase of these well-formed sentences is [+HUMAN].

<Accomplishment>

The passive is always possible.

- (48) Kanojo-wa    Taroo-ni        gurasu-o        war-are-ta.  
 she-TOP        Taroo-BY        glass-ACC        break-PASS-PAST  
 (She had her glass broken by Taroo.)  
 (49) Watashi-wa    tonari-ni        ookina    ie-o                tater-are-ta.  
 I-TOP            beside-LOC    big    house-ACC    build-PASS-PAST  
 (Someone built a big house beside my house and I was affected by that.)

<Activity>

There are two subclasses: intransitive and transitive. The passive is always possible with verbs of both subclasses.

— intransitive verbs

- (50) Kare-wa        hitobanjuu        inu-ni            nak-are-ta.  
 he-TOP            all night            dog-BY            bark-PASS-PAST  
 (A dog barked all night and he was affected by that.)  
 (51) Kare-wa        kodomotachi-ni    rooka-de            hashirimawar-are-ta.  
 he-TOP            children-BY        corridor-LOC      run violently-PASS-PAST  
 (The children ran violently and he was affected by that.)

— transitive verbs

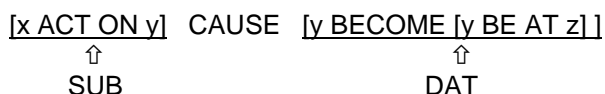
- (52) Kanojo-wa    Taroo-ni        kami-o            hippar-are-ta.  
 she-TOP        Taroo-BY        hair-ACC            pull-PASS-PAST  
 (She had her hair pulled by Taroo.)  
 (53) Kare-wa        Jiroo-ni        tsukue-o        ker-are-ta.  
 he-TOP        Jiroo-BY        desk-ACC            kick-PASS-PAST  
 (He had his desk kicked by Jiroo.)

To sum up, in the prototypical case, the passive is well formed with the verbs of the accomplishment type and activity type. And what is common in these two types is that they both have the [ACT] part in their lexical conceptual structure, i.e. [x ACT ON y] CAUSE [y BECOME [y BE AT z] and [x ACT ON y]. This explains the well-formedness of passives in non-prototypical cases-state and achievement. We saw in the preceding discussion that the passive is impossible with achievement type verbs except the case that "ni" phrase is [+HUMAN] noun. This means that we can regard this noun phrase as a kind of agent - a pseudo-agent -, because the feature [ $\pm$ HUMAN] plays an important role in considering the

agentivity of a noun<sup>(10)</sup>. And so we can interpret these sentences as if the verb contained [ACT] in its lexical conceptual structure, which in turn explains why we can put these verbs into imperative at least in Japanese. The exceptional status of "iru<sub>1</sub>" (be) in the case of stative passive can be explained in the same way: this verb takes as its subject only [+HUMAN] noun.

#### 4. Conclusion

Both in EXD (French extended dative construction) and in IDP (Japanese indirect passive construction), the prototypical case is found in the sentences which contain the verbs of accomplishment type. This situation can be represented schematically as follows (SUB represent the subject of indirect passive sentence).



As in section 2 and 3, I will compare the two constructions in accordance with the four types of verbs. Here too, I will describe the situation rather schematically. (\* indicates that EXD or IDP is not well formed)

<State> [y BE AT z]

EXD: \* (y DAT VP)

IDP: \* (SUB-ga y-ni V-(r)are-ru)

With an exception of "iru<sub>1</sub>". We should regard it as a real exception, because in the case of morphological stative verbs passive sentences which contain them are not well-formed even if "y" is [+HUMAN] (see (32) ~ (33)).

<Achievement> [y BECOME [y BE AT z]]

EXD: \* (y DAT VP)

When we can infer, logically or pragmatically, the existence of secondary predication, the sentence is well-formed. But a severe restriction is added, i.e. the constraint of inalienable possession.

IDP: \* (SUB-ga y-ni V-(r)are-ru)

When "y" (marked by "ni") is [+HUMAN], the sentence is well-formed.

Here we can see a clear difference between EXD and IDP. While in EXD the existence of secondary predication and the constraint of inalienable possession play an important role irrespective of the feature [±HUMAN] of "y", in IDP this feature plays an important role irrespective of inalienability (on the contrary, we

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. Givón (1984). He proposes a cluster of five properties which determines the agentivity of a noun. (a) Humanity, (b) Causation, (c) Volition, (d) Control and (e) Saliency. Among these (a), (c) and (d) have a close relation with the feature [±HUMAN].

may not have any relation of possession). For example, (54) and (55) below show that in IDP the inalienability plays no role and the unacceptability comes from the feature [-HUMAN] of "y" ("kuriimu" (cream) and "yuki" (snow)).

- (54)a. \*Watashi-wa kuriimu-ni atama-ni nagarer-are-ta.  
 I-TOP cream-BY head-LOC run down-PASS-PAST  
 (The cream ran down on my head and I was affected by that.)  
 b. La crème lui a coulé sur la tête.

[crème MOVE [<sub>PATH</sub> AT-SURFACE OF tête]] CAUSE

[crème BECOME [crème BE [AT-SURFACE OF tête<sub><i></sub>]]]

↑

DAT<sub><i></sub>

Condition: <i> must be a relation of inalienable possession.

- (55)a. \*Watashi-wa yuki-ni kata-de toker-are-ta.  
 I-TOP snow-BY shoulder-LOC melt-PASS-PAST  
 (The snow melted on my shoulder and I was affected by that.)  
 b. La neige lui a fondu sur l'épaule.

<Accomplishment> [x ACT ON y] CAUSE [y BECOME [y BE AT z]]

EXD: OK (x DAT V y)

IDP : OK (SUB-ga x-ni y-o V-(r)are-ru)

<Activity> [x ACT] / [x ACT ON y]

EXD: \* (x DAT V / x DAT V y)

As in <achievement>, when we can infer the existence of secondary predication, the sentence is well-formed and in this case too, the constraint of inalienable possession is necessary.

IDP: OK (SUB-ga x-ni V-(r)are-ru / SUB-ga x-ni y-o V-(r)are-ru)

In this case too, we can confirm the properties of EXD and IDP, especially the importance of the inalienability in EXD.

- (56)a. Kare-wa Jiroo-ni tsukue-o ker-are-ta. (=53)  
 b.\*Jiroo lui a donné un coup de pied à son bureau.  
 (57)a. Kare-wa Jiroo-ni shiri-o ker-are-ta.  
 he-TOP Jiroo-BY hips-ACC kick-PASS-PAST  
 b. Jiroo lui a donné un coup de pied au cul.



I think it is possible that these differences in the two constructions have something to do with the fact that while in EXD an element not selected by the verb is dative and functions as a kind of indirect object, in IDP this element is nominative (in all examples this element is marked by topic marker "wa", but at a more abstract level it is also marked by the nominative marker "ga" which is deleted - "wa" and "ga" (and "wa" and "o") cannot co-occur) and functions as subject. Our next step is to make clear the general principles along this line. But I will stop here for the time being, because any study along this line presupposes deep comprehension of the case system and the system of grammatical relations of both languages and I think that we are yet far from such a stage.

There is one more thing that I did not deal with in this paper: the problem of the semantic integration of this sort of elements into the interpretation of whole sentence. We have already many literatures on this problem (ex. Kuno (1983, 1986), Kuroda (1985), Takami (1995), Shibatani (1994), Washio (1993,1998) and so on), but every one of them has both good and bad aspects.

The judgment of acceptability of the sentences of these two constructions depends much on pragmatic factors. But I think that there must be a <core> that is independent of such factors. This paper is a trial of discovery and formalization of this <core> as much as possible. I hope that I have succeeded in this approach.

### **The List of Abbreviations**

ACC: accusative  
INSTR: instrument  
LOC: locative  
PASS: passive

PAST: past  
POLITE: polite form  
TOP: topic

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## NOMINATIVSUBJEKT UND DATIVSUBJEKT IM JAPANISCHEN

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**ABSTRACT. *Nominative Subject and Dative Subject in Japanese.*** In Japanese there are apparently not only nominative subjects but also dative subjects. This article deals with crucial data of nominative - nominative sentence pattern and of dative - nominative one. It tries to characterize the subjecthood of the initial nominative-NP in the former and of the dative-NP in the latter. Syntax and semantics of both sentence patterns are discussed.

### 1. Vorbemerkung zum Subjektbegriff

Keenan (1976) listet über dreißig Kriterien auf, die dem "Subjekt" zuzuschreiben sind und untergliedert sie in drei Gruppen; i) Coding Properties, ii) Behavior and Control Properties und iii) Semantic Properties. Zu i) gehören Kriterien wie Kasusmarkierung, Kongruenz, Initial-Satzposition usw.; zu ii) gehören Reflexivierung, Equi-NP-Deletion, Raising usw.; zu iii) schließlich gehören bestimmte thematische Rollen wie Agens usw. Wichtig an Keenans Auflistung "subjekthafter" Eigenschaften ist der Gedanke: Je mehr ein Subjekt-Kandidat von einer solchen Eigenschaften besitzt, desto subjekthafter ist es. Man sollte also von einer Bandbreite sprechen, die vom prototypischen Subjekt als Zentralem ausgeht (vgl. auch Comrie 1989 u. Palmer 1994).

In bezug auf das Japanische weisen Shibatani (1985) und Tsunoda (1991) darauf hin, daß nicht nur die Nominativ-NP, sondern auch die Dativ-NP (in bestimmten Fällen) als subjekthafter genug einzustufen sind (vgl. zum Dativsubjekt im allgemeinen Sridhar 1979). Dazu sind folgende Kriterien genannt:

- (1) a. Initial-Satzposition bei unmarkierter Wortstellung
- b. Honorifizierung
- c. Reflexivierung
- d. Arbiträre Zero-Pronominalisierung

Ziehen wir z.B. die Kasusmuster "Nominativ-Akkusativ" und "Dativ-Nominativ" in Betracht, so können wir feststellen, daß die hier jeweils genannte Reihenfolge

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unmarkiert ist<sup>1</sup>. Dazu hier einige Kontrastbeispiele:

- (2) a. Yamada-san-ga Tanaka-san-wo yoku rikaishite-iru (koto) [unmarkiert]  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Tanaka-Herr-AKK gut verstehen-Progressiv daß  
 daß Herr Yamada Herrn Tanaka gut versteht  
 b. Tanaka-san-wo Yamada-san-ga yoku rikaishite-iru (koto) [markiert]
- (3) a. Yamada-san-ni Tanaka-san-ga yoku wakaru (koto) [unmarkiert]  
 Yamada-Herr-DAT Tanaka-Herr-NOM gut verständlich sein daß  
 daß für Herrn Yamada Herr Tanaka gut verständlich ist  
 b. Tanaka-san-ga Yamada-san-ni yoku wakaru (koto) [markiert]

Honorifizierung kann an der Nominativ-NP durchgeführt werden (4b), an der Akkusativ-NP dagegen nicht (5b):

- (4) a. Sensei-ga seito-wo tazune-ta.  
 Lehrer-NOM Schüler-AKK besuchen-Präteritum  
 Der Lehrer besuchte den Schüler.  
 b. Sensei-ga seito-wo o-tazune-nina-tta.  
 Lehrer-NOM Schüler-AKK Honorifikationspräfix-besuchen-  
 Honorifikationssuffix-Präteritum  
 Der verehrte Lehrer besuchte den Schüler.
- (5) a. Seito-ga sensei-wo tazune-ta.  
 Schüler-NOM Lehrer-AKK besuchen-Präteritum  
 Der Schüler besuchte den Lehrer.  
 b. \*Seito-ga sensei-wo o-tazune-nina-tta.  
 Schüler-NOM Lehrer-AKK Honorifikationspräfix-besuchen-Honorifikationssuffix-  
 Präteritum  
 Der Schüler besuchte den verehrten Lehrer.

Honorifiziert werden kann aber auch die Dativ-NP wie in:

- (6) a. Sensei-ni Rumania-go-ga wakaru (koto)  
 Lehrer-DAT rumänische Sprache-NOM verständlich sein (daß)  
 daß für den Lehrer Rumänisch zu verstehen ist  
 b. Sensei-ni Rumania-go-ga o-wakari-ninaru (koto)  
 Lehrer-DAT rumänische Sprache-NOM Honorifikationspräfix-verständlich sein -  
 Honorifikationssuffix  
 daß für den verehrten Lehrer Rumänisch zu verstehen ist.

<sup>1</sup> Es gibt eine Reihe weiterer Kasusmuster, darunter "Nominativ-Dativ-Akkusativ" wie in *Sensei-ga seito-ni Rumania-go-wo oshieru* (Lehrer-NOM Schüler-DAT rumänische Sprache-AKK lehren: Der Lehrer lehrt dem Schüler Rumänisch). Dabei ist die Reihenfolge "Dativ-Nominativ-Akkusativ" markiert. Dieses Kasusmuster unterscheidet sich aber vom "Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster wie in (3a), wo man vom Dativ-Subjekt sprechen kann. Beim "Nominativ-Dativ-Akkusativ"-Muster kann nur vom Nominativ-Subjekt die Rede sein.

Ebenfalls kann die Reflexivierung nicht nur für die Nominativ-NP (7), sondern auch für die Dativ-NP (8) gelten. Die beiden können also jeweils das Antezedens des Reflexivpronomens sein:

- (7) Yamada-san-ga jibun-wo yoku rikaishi-teiru (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM sich-AKK gut verstehen -Progressiv (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada sich gut versteht
- (8) Yamada-san-ni jibun-ga yoku waka-tteiru(koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-DAT sich-NOM gut verständlich sein-Progressiv (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada für sich selbst gut begreifbar ist

Die arbiträre Zero-Pronominalisierung kann sowohl bei der Nominativ-NP (9), als auch bei der Dativ-NP (10) festgestellt werden, und dies im Gegensatz z.B. zur Akkusativ-NP (11) (vgl. Shibatani 1985:7ff.):

- (9) (PRO-ga) Otoshiyori-wo sonkeisuru koto-wa ii koto da.  
 (PRO-NOM) alte Leute-AKK ehren daß-Topikalisierungsmarker gute Sache sein  
 Es ist gut, alte Leute zu ehren.
- (10) (PRO-ni) Gaikokugo-ga wakaru koto-wa subarashii. (Shibatani 1985:10)  
 (PRO-DAT) Fremdsprachen-NOM verständlich sein daß-  
 Topikalisierungsmarker wunderbar sein  
 Es ist wunderbar, daß einem Fremdsprachen verständlich sind
- (11) \*Kodomo-ga (PRO-wo) sonkeisuru koto-wa iikoto da. (Shibatani 1985:7)  
 Kinder-NOM (PRO-AKK) ehren daß-Topikalisierungsmarker gute Sache sein  
 Es ist gut, daß Kinder einen ehren.

Zu bemerken sind ferner die folgenden Honorifizierungsdaten:

- (12) a. Sensei-ni Taro-ga go-hitsuyou-de-irassharu (koto)  
 Lehrer-DAT Taro-NOM Honorifikationspräfix-nötig sein-  
 Honorifikationssuffix (daß)  
 daß für den verehrten Lehrer Taro nötig ist
- b.\*Taro-ni sensei-ga go-hitsuyou-de-irassharu(koto)  
 Taro-DAT Lehrer-NOM Honorifikationspräfix-nötig sein Honorifikationssuffix  
 (daß)  
 daß für Taro der verehrte Lehrer nötig ist

Beim "Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster kann also nur die als Dativ-NP stehende Person honorifiziert werden, nicht die als Nominativ-NP stehende. Dies deutet an, daß in

bestimmten Fällen die Dativ-NP sogar subjekthafter ist als die Nominativ-NP (vgl. auch Shibatani 1985).

Anzumerken ist schließlich, daß das Japanische keine Subjekt-Verb-Kongruenz kennt. Deshalb kann diesbezüglich kein morphologischer Beweis vorgelegt werden.

## 2. Untersuchungsgegenstand

Im folgenden werde ich auf zwei Kasusmuster eingehen: "Nominativ-Nominativ" und "Dativ-Nominativ".

Das "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster ist als "Multiple-Subjekt" bekannt. Dazu hier Beispiele:

- (13) a. Yamada-san-ga kinoo-kara atama-ga itai (koto)<sup>2</sup>  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM seit gestern Kopf-NOM wehtun (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada seit gestern der Kopf wehtut  
 b. Yamada-san-ga musuko-ga Rumania-ni ryuugakushi-teiru (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Sohn-NOM in Rumänien studieren-Progressiv daß  
 daß Herr Yamada sein Sohn in Rumänien studiert

Die Behauptung, es handle sich bei der "multiplizierten" Nominativ-NP, d.h. bei der links stehenden, ursprünglich um ein Genitivattribut, läßt sich leicht widerlegen (vgl. Kuno 1983, Heycock 1993), und zwar dadurch,

- (14) a. daß das Alternieren zwischen Genitiv und Nominativ nicht einzusehen ist,  
 b. daß die beiden Nominativ-NPs diskontinuerlich stehen können (s. 13a),  
 c. daß die links stehende Nominativ-NP honorifiziert werden kann, und  
 d. daß die links stehende Nominativ-NP das Antezedens des Reflexivpronomens sein kann.

Es gibt insgesamt eine Reihe von Indizien, die die multiplizierte Nominativ-NP als Subjekt diagnostizieren. Diese Umstände werden wir später noch genauer betrachten.

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<sup>2</sup> Das Japanische verfügt auch über den sogenannten Topikalisierungsmarker *-wa*. Er allein zeigt jedoch keinen Kasus, so daß in manchen Fällen nicht festgestellt werden kann, um welchen Kasus es sich handelt. Aus diesem Grund wird im folgenden von dem Komplementierer *koto (daß)* Gebrauch gemacht, um die Beispiele einzubetten. Eingebettete Sätze lassen nämlich ihr "wahres" Kasusmuster in Erscheinung treten, da sie mit einer Topic-Comment-Gliederung grundsätzlich nicht konform sind und so *-wa* nicht dulden. Allerdings muß zugegeben werden, daß nicht-eingebettete Sätze mit *-wa* vor allem beim "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster natürlicher klingen. So sind dort in manchen Fällen Schwankungen zum Grammatikalitätsurteil festzustellen. Mein Grammatikalitätsurteil in bezug auf das "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster ist möglicherweise ziemlich liberal. Wichtig ist aber, daß selbst weniger liberale Sprecher graduelle Unterschiede bestätigen, die in sich konsequent sind und somit meine gesamten Argumentationen nicht tangieren. Über das diesbezügliche Grammatikalitätsurteil habe ich mit den Student(inn)en in meinen Pro- sowie Oberseminaren diskutiert, wofür ich ihnen danke.

Es folgen Beispiele zum "Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster:

- (15) a. Yamada-san-ni Rumania-go-ga wakaruru (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-DAT rumänische Sprache-NOM verständlich sein (daß)  
 daß für Herrn Yamada Rumänisch zu verstehen ist  
 b. Yamada-san-ni kinkyuuni okane-ga hituyou na koto  
 Yamada-Herr-DAT dringend Geld-NOM nötig sein daß  
 daß für Herrn Yamada dringend Geld nötig ist

Daß die Dativ-NP hierbei "subjekthaft" genug ist, habe ich bereits in Abschnitt 1 angedeutet.

### 3. Nominativsubjekt

Hierbei handelt es sich um das multiplizierte Subjekt beim Nominativ-Nominativ-Kasusmuster. Die Frage konzentriert sich darauf, unter welchen Bedingungen das Multiple-Subjekt möglich ist. Dazu sehen wir uns folgende Daten an (vgl. Ogawa 1997:193):

- (16) a. Yamada-san-ga onaka-ga choushiga-warui (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Magen-NOM nicht in Ordnung sein (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada sein Magen nicht in Ordnung ist  
 b. Yamada-san-ga kuruma-ga choushiga-warui (koto)  
 Yamada Herr-NOM Auto-NOM nicht in Ordnung sein (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada sein Auto nicht in Ordnung ist  
 b'. Yamada-san-ga jibun-no kuruma-ga choushiga-warui (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM sich-GEN Auto-NOM nicht in Ordnung sein (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada sein eigenes Auto nicht in Ordnung ist  
 c.?? Yamada-san-ga sono/aru kuruma-ga choushiga-warui (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM das/ein Auto-NOM nicht in Ordnung sein (daß)  
 daß für Herrn Yamada das/ein Auto nicht in Ordnung ist  
 d. \*Yamada-san-ga Tanaka-san-no kuruma-ga choushiga-warui (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Tanaka-GEN Auto-NOM nicht in Ordnung sein (daß)  
 daß für Herrn Yamada Herrn Tanakas Auto nicht in Ordnung ist

Diese Daten zeigen, daß der Faktor "Beziehung" ausschlaggebend ist. Legt man dem Nominativ-Nominativ-Muster die folgende syntaktische Struktur zugrunde,

- (17) [<sub>S</sub> NP2-Nom. [<sub>S</sub> NP1-Nom. ....]]

läßt sich behaupten: Je enger die von der NP2 zu kodierende Entität zum von S dargestellten Sachverhalt in Beziehung steht, desto plausibler kann die NP2 als multipliziertes Subjekt realisiert werden. Der Sachverhalt "der Magen tut weh" steht in engster Beziehung zu "Herrn Yamada", dessen Körperteil dieser Magen ist (16a). Eine

genug enge Beziehung weisen die Fälle (16b) und (16b') auf, denn es handelt sich bei den beiden Fällen um "Herrn Yamadas eigenes Auto". Während dies in (16b') durch das genitivisch verwendete Reflexivpronomen expliziert ist, steht in (16b) nur das artikellose "Auto". Dennoch erlaubt (16b) lediglich die angegebene Interpretation. Umgekehrt ausgedrückt: Das Multiple-Subjekt erfordert eine so enge Beziehung, daß selbst das artikellose "Auto" nur Herrn Yamada gehören kann. (16c) ist deshalb schwer möglich, weil das Demonstrativpronomen "sono" oder das Indefinitpronomen "aru" eben keine Besitzrelation impliziert, so daß die Beziehung nicht eng genug gestaltet ist. Bei (16d) schließlich handelt es sich um eine so lose Beziehung, daß folglich kein Multiple-Subjekt ermöglicht wird.

Ich spreche von der Beziehung der NP2 zu S, nicht von der Beziehung der NP2 zur NP1. Denn es gibt Daten, die die Beziehung der NP2 zur NP1 konstant halten und trotzdem ein Multiple-Subjekt unterschiedlich ermöglichen (vgl. Ogawa 1997:194):

- (18) a. Yamada-san-ga jitensha-ga kowarete-shima-tta (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Fahrrad-NOM kaputtgehen-Präteritum (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada sein Fahrrad kaputtgegangen ist  
 b.?? Yamada-san-ga jitensha-ga furui (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Fahrrad-NOM alt sein (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada sein Fahrrad alt ist

Hier spielt offenbar der Grad an "Affiziertheit" des Prädikats die entscheidende Rolle. Dies kann man anhand von (17) so interpretieren: Je größer der Affizierungsgrad des von S dargestellten Sachverhalts ist, desto enger wird die Beziehung der von der NP2 zu kodierenden Entität zu dem besagten Sachverhalt gestaltet.

#### 4. Dativsubjekt

In diesem Abschnitt beschäftige ich mich mit dem Kasusmuster "Dativ-Nominativ". Dabei werde ich aber zugleich Vergleiche mit dem "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster anstellen.

Die Frage läuft wiederum darauf hinaus, unter welchen Bedingungen das "Dativ-Nominativ"-Kasusmuster möglich ist. Dabei lege ich analog zum "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster die folgende syntaktische Struktur zugrunde:

- (19) [<sub>s</sub>[<sub>v</sub> NP2-Dat. [<sub>v</sub> NP1-Nom. .... ]]]

Semantisch nehme ich an, daß das "Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster eine äußerst enge Beziehung der von NP2 zu kodierenden Entität zum von V' dargestellten Sachverhalt voraussetzt, also eine noch engere Beziehung als die vom "Nominativ-Nominativ"-



Muster, die ihrerseits ja auch gebührend eng sein muß (s. die Daten von (16)). Diese Umstände versuche ich anhand folgender Kontrastbeispiele zu verdeutlichen:

- (20) Beispiele, in denen nur das "Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster möglich ist:
- a. Yamada-san-ni ookina yabou-ga aru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT große Ambition-NOM dasein (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada große Ambitionen hat
  - b. Yamada-san-ni Tanaka-san-no-kimochi-ga wakaru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT Tanaka-Herr-GEN-Gefühl-NOM verständlich sein (daß)  
daß für Herrn Yamada Herrn Tanakas Gefühle zu verstehen sind
  - c. Yamada-san-ni kono mondai-ga kantanni tokeru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT dieses Problem-NOM leicht zu lösen sein (daß)  
daß für Herrn Yamada dieses Problem leicht zu lösen ist
- (21) Beispiele, in denen sowohl das "Dativ-Nominativ"-, als auch das "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster möglich sind:
- a. Yamada-san-ni /ga mada kami-ga takusan aru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT/-NOM noch Haare-NOM viel dasein (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada noch viele Haare hat
  - b. Yamada-san-ni/-ga okane-ga takusan aru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT/-NOM Geld-NOM viel dasein (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada viel Geld hat
  - c. Yamada-san-ni/-ga seijinno-musuko-ga sannin iru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT/-NOM mündig-Söhne-NOM drei dasein (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada drei mündige Söhne hat
- (22) Beispiele, in denen nur das "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster möglich ist:
- a. Yamada-san-ga mou kami-ga shiroi (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-NOM schon Haare-NOM weiß sein (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada seine Haare schon weiß sind
  - b. Yamada-san-ga musuko-ga Rumania-de benkyoushite-iru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-NOM Sohn in Rumänien-in studieren-Progressiv (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada sein Sohn in Rumänien studiert
  - c. Yamada-san-ga jitensha-ga kowarete-shima-tta (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-NOM Fahrrad-NOM kaputtgehen-Präteritum (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada sein Fahrrad kaputtgegangen ist

Zum Prädikat "große Ambitionen dasein" steht "Herr Yamada" in sehr enger Beziehung, weil es sich dabei um eine seelisch-mentale handelt (20a). Deshalb kann "Herr Yamada" nur vom Dativ kodiert werden. In etwas weniger enger Beziehung steht "Herr Yamada" zu dem Prädikat "viele Haare dasein", denn die Rede ist von einer Beziehung zum Körperlichen (21a), wobei das Verb "aru" gleichbleibt. Es liegt nahe, daß (21a) beide Kasusmuster duldet. Beim gleichen Verb "aru" bleibend, erlaubt auch (21b) beide, obwohl es sich um eine Beziehung zum Umgebenden ("okane") handelt. Dies liegt daran, daß das Verb "aru", solange eine zweite NP zu realisieren ist, stets ein Besitzverhältnis impliziert, eine relativ enge Beziehung also, die neben den "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster das

"Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster ermöglicht. Bei (21c) handelt es sich wiederum um das Existenz-Verb "iru", das der ersten Nominativ-NP eine Belebtheit vorschreibt, also ein Pendant zu "aru", das das Merkmal "Unbelebtheit" verlangt. Betrachten wir (20b) und (20c), stellen wir fest, daß es sich in beiden Fällen um eine Beziehung zum Mentalen, einmal zum Verständnisbesitz, und einmal zum Fähigkeitsbesitz, also um äußerst enge Beziehungen, handelt<sup>3</sup>. Schließlich kann behauptet werden, daß die Beispiele unter (22) alle zwar jeweils eine nötig enge Beziehung zwischen Entität und Prädikat beinhalten, aber keine so enge, wie sie das "Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster voraussetzt. Dazu ist der Vergleich zwischen (21a) und (22a) aufschlußreich: Während (21a) "Herrn Yamadas" Besitzverhältnis zu den "Haaren" als solches zum Ausdruck bringt, setzt (22a) "Herrn Yamada" in Beziehung zu dem Sachverhalt "die Haare sind weiß", was dann nahelegt, daß es sich um Herrn Yamadas Haare handelt.

In diesem Zusammenhang sehen wir uns auch den folgenden Vergleich an:

- (23) a. Yamada-san-ni/\*-ga ii kangae-ga ukanda (koto)  
Yamadai-Herr-DAT/-NOM gute Idee aufsteigen-Präteritum (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada eine gute Idee einfiel  
b. Yamada-san-ga/\*-ni- kikyuu-ga tsuini ukanda (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT/-NOM Heißluftballon endlich aufsteigen-Präteritum  
(daß)  
daß Herr Yamada, sein Luftballon endlich aufstieg

Der übertragene Gebrauch von "ukabu" (aufsteigen) führt zu einer so engen Beziehung zwischen Prädikat und Entität, daß nicht das "Nominativ-Nominativ" Muster, sondern nur noch das "Dativ-Nominativ"-Muster möglich wird (23a)<sup>4</sup>. Bei wörtlich-literalem Gebrauch ist das Umgekehrte der Fall (23b).

Schließlich möchte ich folgende Kontrastbeispiele aufgreifen:

- (24) a. Yamada-san-ga/\*-ni ie-ga ookii (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-NOM/-DAT Haus-NOM groß sein (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada sein Haus groß ist  
b. Yamada-san-ni ie-ga ooki-sugiru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-DAT Haus-NOM groß sein zu (daß)  
daß für Herrn Yamada sein Haus zu groß ist  
c. Yamada-san-ga ie-ga ooki-sugiru (koto)  
Yamada-Herr-NOM Haus-NOM groß sein zu (daß)  
daß Herr Yamada sein Haus zu groß ist

<sup>3</sup> (20c) ist mit der sogenannten "Mittel"-Konstruktion vergleichbar, wie in *dieses Problem löst sich leicht* im Deutschen und *aceste probleme se rezolv<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> u<sup>2</sup>or* im Rumänischen. Dabei handelt es sich um das Verbalsuffix *-(r)e-* und folglich darum, daß diese Konstruktion produktiv ist. Zur kontrastiven Behandlung der "Mittel"-Konstruktion siehe Ogawa (1997b).

<sup>4</sup> Fälle, wo erst der übertragene Gebrauch eine Dativ-NP möglich macht, sind auch im Deutschen und im Rumänischen zu beobachten (*mir kam plötzlich eine gute Idee* vs. *\*mir kam plötzlich ein alter Freund*; *mi-a venit o idee foarte bun<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>* vs. *\*mi-a venit un prieten vechi*). Dazu zählen auch eine große Anzahl von sogenannten Phraseologismen. Vgl. dazu Ogawa (in Vorbereitung).

Es steht zunächst fest, daß der Sachverhalt, daß "das Haus groß ist", keine so enge Beziehung eingehen kann, daß eine weitere Entität wie "Herr Yamada" vom Dativ kodiert werden könnte (24a). Höchstens kann die fragliche Entität vom Nominativ kodiert werden (ebd.). Im Unterschied dazu ermöglicht aber der Sachverhalt, daß "das Haus zu groß ist" eine weitere Entität in Form eines Dativs (24b)<sup>5</sup>. Denn ein übermäßiger Zustand kann nur jemanden, der eben diese Übermäßigkeit empfindet, gebührend betreffen. Zu dem gleichen Sachverhalt nun kann zwar auch eine Entität im Nominativ in Beziehung stehen (24c), jedoch stellt sich heraus, daß sie nicht jemanden darstellt, der die Übermäßigkeit seelisch-mental empfindet, sondern denjenigen, der typischerweise das "Haus" physikalisch-sozial besitzt. Der Empfänger der Übermäßigkeit ist dabei der Sprecher oder eine arbiträre Person, und (24c) stiftet somit eine etwas weniger enge Beziehung als (24b), was sich eben in den unterschiedlichen Interpretationen niederschlägt.

## 5. Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

In diesem Aufsatz habe ich zu zeigen versucht, welche Unterschiede bei den konkurrierenden Konstruktionen "Nominativ-Nominativ" und "Dativ-Nominativ" festzustellen sind. Dabei habe ich auf die Auffassung rekurriert, daß es sich bei der links stehenden Kasusgröße jeweils um das Nominativ- und um das Dativsubjekt handelt.

Die Unterschiede zwischen diesen Nominativ- und Dativsubjekten lassen sich zusammenfassen: Das Nominativsubjekt steht in etwas weniger enger Beziehung zum Prädikat, auf das es bezogen wird, das Dativsubjekt hingegen in engerer Beziehung. Dies schließt Überlappungsbereiche nicht aus (s. Beispiele unter (20)). Anders gesagt: Das Nominativsubjekt wird von seinem Prädikat weniger stark selegiert, das Dativsubjekt stärker.

Diese Umstände korrelieren mit den angenommenen syntaktischen Strukturen (s. (17) und (19)). Denn es liegt nahe, daß eine Verbphrase ihr weiteres Komplement stärker verlangt als ein Satz sein weiteres Komplement.

Zum Nominativsubjekt muß noch geklärt werden, welcher Status denn der rechts stehenden Nominativ-NP beim "Nominativ-Nominativ"-Muster zugeschrieben werden kann.<sup>6</sup>

Zum Dativsubjekt muß noch geklärt werden, nach welchen Regeln der Dativ überhaupt zugewiesen wird. Wenn man annehmen kann, daß er syntaktisch durch V' gegeben wird (s.19)<sup>7</sup>, ist auch das Kasusmuster "Nominativ-Dativ-Akkusativ" gut zu erfassen, wobei man nicht mehr vom "Dativsubjekt" sprechen kann. Dazu hier ein Beispiel in seiner angenommenen Struktur:

<sup>5</sup> Das Deutsche kennt den sogenannten *Dativus iudicantis*. Er wird erst in Kombination mit den Gradpartikeln *zu* und *genug* möglich, was sich parallel zu den Daten im Japanischen verhält: *\*dem Peter ist das Haus groß* vs. *dem Peter ist das Haus zu groß*.

<sup>6</sup> Dazu vergleiche man die teilweise kontroversen Diskussionen von Kuno (1983), Shibatani (1985) und Mihara (1994).

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. zum Dativ im Deutschen vor allem Wegener (1991).

- (25) [<sub>s</sub> Yamada-san-ga [<sub>v'</sub> Tanaka-san-ni [<sub>v</sub> hon-wo ageru]]] (koto)  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Tanaka-Herr-DAT Buch-AKK geben (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada Herrn Tanaka ein Buch gibt.

Zu fragen ist ferner, ob und wie das noch breitere Verwendungsspektrum des Dativs im Japanischen konform erklärt werden kann. Dazu gehören Beispiele wie:

- (26) a. Yamada-san-ga Rumania-ni sunde-iru (koto) [Lokativ]  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Rumänien-DAT wohnen-Progressiv (daß)  
 daß Her Yamada in Rumänien wohnt.  
 b. Yamada-san-ga Rumania-ni iku (koto) [Ziel]  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Rumänien-DAT fahren (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada nach Rumänien fährt  
 c. Yamada-san-ga Tanaka-san-no taido-ni unzarishite-iru (koto) [Ursache]  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Tanaka-Herr-GEN Verhalten-DAT überdrüssig sein  
 (daß)  
 daß Herr Yamada Herrn Tanakas Verhalten satt hat.  
 d. Yamada-san-ga kabe-wo makka-ni nu-tta (koto) [Resultat]  
 Yamada-Herr-NOM Wand-AKK Knallrot-DAT streichen-Präterium  
 daß Herr Yamada die Wand knallrot gestirchen hat.

Mit Inoue (1989) und Takezawa (1995) nehme ich an, daß der Dativ generell einer NP zugewiesen wird, die vom Verb oder der Verbphrase selegiert wird, jedoch keinen anderen Kasus wie etwa den Akkusativ erhalten kann. Es wäre erstrebenswert, diesen syntaktischen Erklärungsansatz semantisch zu untermauern.

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## SEMANTICS OF TACHI - A FORMAL APPROACH TO JAPANESE 'PLURALS'

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**REZUMAT. Semantica lui "Tachi"- o cercetare formală a conceptului de 'plural' în limba japoneză.** Sistemul numeralelor în japoneză este alcătuit din clasificatori și pluralizatori. În limbile în care există clasificatori, cele două concepte prezintă în general o distribuție complementară; în japoneză, însă, lucrurile nu stau cu necesitate astfel. Lucrarea de față prezintă mai întâi o examinare descriptivă a sistemului numeralelor, apoi una teoretică întemeiată pe o abordare semantic-formală.

În sine, substantivul japonez este nespecificat în privința determinării și a numărului. Pentru a exprima pluralitatea se folosesc fie clasificatori, fie morfeme pluralizatoare, cum ar fi "tachi", "domo", "gata", "ra", fie ambele procedee împreună. Morfemele pluralizatoare se atașează direct substantivelor din clasa <uman>; substantivelor din clasa <non-uman> ele nu li se pot atașa direct, putându-se atașa, în schimb, demonstrativelor care precedă respectivul tip de substantive. În japoneză nu există însă acord în număr, astfel încât demonstrativele nu mai primesc marca de plural atunci când însoțesc substantive umane deja pluralizate.

O altă caracteristică a morfemelor pluralizatoare în japoneză este aceea că ele nu exprimă doar pluralitatea, ci și conceptul de asociativitate. De exemplu, expresia "Tanaka-san-tachi" poate designa fie mai multe persoane numite astfel, fie un grup de oameni căruia Tanaka-san îi aparține, fără ca ceilalți membri ai grupului să se numească astfel. Asociativele se pot forma atât de la nume proprii, cât și de la substantive comune.

Din perspectiva limbilor cu acord în număr sau cu pluralitatea indicată numai prin clasificatori, sistemul japonez al numeralelor poate părea de o complexitate ieșită din comun; pe de altă parte, însă, fenomenele complexe la prima vedere permit și constatări teoretice interesante. În ceea ce privește pluralul, există până acum controversa dacă substantivul formează, teoretic, o structură complexă cu mai multe straturi, sau o structură simplă unistratificată. Deși controversa rămâne nesoluționată în absența unor dovezi directe, dacă analiza componentială din prezenta lucrare este corectă, atunci asociativele japoneze constituie un contra-exemplu la structura simplă unistratificată.

Rămân de cercetat următoarele două chestiuni: în primul rând, cum pot fi tratate, în analiza componentială, formele de plural din limbile în

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care există acord în număr; în al doilea rând, problema globală ce privește gramatica în ansamblul ei, și anume, dacă are loc sau nu interpretarea semantică înaintea structurii de suprafață. De asemenea, se impun studiate contrastiv limbi care utilizează clasificatori (altele decât japoneza), cu limbi în care există asociative.

## I. Introduction

Japanese numeral system consists of plural markers and classifiers, and two types of numeral markers are used in isolation or combined. *Nin*, for example, is a classifier to count people, and appears with or without *tachi*, one of the common plural markers in Japanese, as in *roku-nin-no gakusei* (six students) and *roku-nin-no gakusei-tachi* (six students). Japanese lacks the systematic number agreement like English and the covert morphological marking for the singular and plural distinction is not obligatory. *Gakusei*, for example, means "a student, the student, students, the students", depending on the context. Downing (1984, 1996), however, argues Japanese singular and plural nouns are not in free variation. In this paper, we would like to discuss the plurals in Japanese, particularly their interactions with classifiers and demonstratives, and propose a formal semantic analysis of the Japanese plural system. We also would like to show our approach supports the hierarchical structure of noun phrases in the sense of Link (1983, 1984) and hopefully suggest a possibility of typological research of the semantic structures of noun phrases.

Our paper is organized as follows; in Section 2 we present a descriptive survey of Japanese bare nouns and plural nouns. In Section 3 we overview two previous analyses of plurals and classifiers. One is the functional approach by Downing (1984, 1996), as this provides necessary background to our study of plurals and classifiers in Japanese. The other is a formal approach to Japanese associatives by Kawasaki (1989). In Section 4 we propose a compositional approach to Japanese 'plurals' in general and discuss possible counterarguments. Section 5 provides a conclusion and a theoretical implication of our formal analysis of Japanese plurals.

## II. Descriptive Survey of Japanese 'Plurals'

Japanese has *tachi*, *domo*, *gata*, *ra*, as the plural markers. They all occur with human or higher animate nouns. *Tachi* is the most common one, and *domo* is the humble form, and *gata* is the honorific form of *tachi*. *Ra* is also free to appear with any human or higher animate common nouns such as *Martian*, and it also attaches to demonstratives, as in *kore-ra* (these). These plural markers are not accompanied by non-human common nouns, and the plurality of non-human nouns is expressed overtly only by the classifiers or by the demonstratives they follow, if there is one.

In addition to plurals, Japanese has associatives; all of the plural markers mentioned above have two functions. One is to denote the plural members of some animate noun they attach to, and the other is to form a group of people including

the person denoted by the common noun or the proper noun they combine with. *Taro-tachi*, for example, denotes a group of people including Taro, where no one else is named Taro. Besides plurals and associatives, Japanese has reduplicative forms, such as *hito-bito* (people). Though they are restricted in number, mono- or bimoraic words are reduplicated to mean the plural set of some human or non-human object.

Just a simple glance like this is enough to show that the Japanese plural system is complex. Let us have a closer look at Japanese 'plurals' descriptively one by one.

## II - 1. Human Plurals

Japanese has plural markers of *tachi*, *domo*, *gata*, and *ra*, whose lexical requirement is that the stem they attach to must be human or higher animate, as in (1).

- a. *gakusei-tachi*  
student-PL  
"students/the students"
- b. \**neko-tachi*<sup>1</sup>  
neko-PL

The requirement of humanness also applies to *gata* and *domo*, the honorific and the humble form of *tachi*, respectively. *Ra* cannot attach to non-human common nouns, either, but it functions to form a group of plural members of non-human common nouns when it attaches to demonstratives which modify the noun, as in *kore-ra-no neko* (these cats). *Tachi*, on the other hand, cannot be used with demonstratives; \**kore-tachi-no neko* (this-PL-GEN cat) is not allowed in Japanese. We will come back to the details of the behavior of *ra* in the following subsection.

Let us observe here that the plurality that *tachi*, *ra*, *domo*, or *gata* evokes does not require number agreement in Japanese. Consider the following.

- (2) a. *kono*                    *otokonoko*  
this                        boy  
"this boy"
- b. *kono*                    *otokonoko-tachi*  
this                        boy-PL  
"these boys"
- c. \**kore-ra-no*            *otokonoko-tachi*  
this-PL-GEN            boy-PL

Japanese does not have a definite article and the definite/indefinite distinction is not realized by articles. Instead, the demonstratives *kono/sono/ano* (this/that) are often used to show definiteness. When one of these demonstratives is attached, the common noun is not ambiguous between singular and plural, or

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<sup>1</sup> *Neko-tachi* is acceptable only to the extent the speaker anthropomorphizes the cats s/he is talking about.



between definite and indefinite any more; (2a), for example, has the unique singular denotation of the boy. When this common noun is pluralized, the plural noun does not demand the number agreement of the demonstrative with the noun and the demonstrative stays in singular, as illustrated in (2b). Notice that (2c) is not acceptable and does not denote the plural individuals of boys.

Lack of number agreement is also found with collective nouns. *San-nin-gumi-no otokonoko* (a/the trio of boys) becomes ungrammatical when *tachi* or *ra* is added to *otokonoko*; we never say \**san-nin-gum-no otokonoko-tachi/ra* in Japanese.

One might conclude with these data Japanese lacks overt number agreement, but things are not this simple. Recall that Japanese has both plural markers and classifiers in its numeral system, and nouns occurring with classifiers appear with or without plural markers, as in (3).

- (3) a. roku-nin-no                      gakusei  
       six-CL-GEN                      student  
       "six students"
- b. roku-nin-no                      gakusei tachi  
       six-CL-GEN                      student-PL  
       "six students"

Both expressions in (3) are perfect. Example (2) suggests Japanese has no number agreement, whereas example (3) suggests number agreement occurs in some cases. We will come back to this issue later, and let us have a look at the behavior of non-human common nouns first, for a better understanding of Japanese 'plurals'.

## II - 2. Non-human Plurals

As already mentioned, Japanese plural markers are attached only to human or higher-animate nouns, as in *kaseijin-ra* (Martians), but this does not mean that Japanese does not allow a plural interpretation of non-human common nouns. Japanese non-human common nouns denote plural objects when they are preceded by a classifier or a plural demonstrative, as in (4).

- (4) a. san-bon-no                      hana  
       three-CL-GEN                      flower  
       "three flowers"
- b. kore-ra-no<sup>2</sup>                      hana  
       this-PL-GEN                      flower  
       "these flowers/these kinds of flowers"

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<sup>2</sup> Only *ra* is attached to demonstratives in Japanese. Other plural markers of *tachi*, *domo*, and *gata* do not cooccur with demonstratives, as pointed out in the previous subsection.

We can say that a plural marker is attached to common nouns if they are human, and if not, a plural marker is combined with the preceding demonstrative, if there is one. Compare (4b) with (2b), which we repeat here.

- (2) b. kono                   otokonoko-tachi  
       this                   boy-PL  
       "these boys"

Both (2b) and (4b) denote the plural individuals, but (4b) has other reading; it denotes the plural kinds of flowers. The kind reading is not restricted to plural non-human common noun phrases; it is possible with singular non-humans, too. Observe the following example from Kinsui (1990).

- (5) Kono           wâpuro-wa                   tsukat-ta-koto-ga           aru.  
       this           word processor-TOP    use-PAST-thing-NOM    be  
       "(I) have used this word processor./ (I) have used a word processor of this model<sup>3</sup>."

Human common nouns do not have the kind reading; (2a), for example, has the object reading only and does not denote a group of boys of this kind.

- (2) a. kono                   otokonoko  
       this                   boy  
       "this boy"

Non-human common nouns with one or two moras are sometimes reduplicated and denote the plural kinds, as given in (6).

- (6) ki-gi (trees)/ hana-bana (flowers)/ yama-yama (mountains)/mine-mine (ranges)/  
       ie-ie(houses), etc.

Reduplicatives are restricted in number and they are non-human, with the only exception of *hito-bito* (people)/ *kata-gata* (the honorific form of *hito-bito*). Non-human reduplicatives denote not individuals but kinds.<sup>4</sup> Compare (4a) with the following.

- (7) a. \*san-bon-no                   hana-bana  
       three-CL-GEN               flower (REDUP)  
       b. san-shurui-no            hana-bana  
       three-kind-GEN             flower (REDUP)  
       "three kinds of flowers"

<sup>3</sup> The subject can be omitted when it is recoverable from the context in Japanese.

<sup>4</sup> We cannot say the human reduplicative expression *hito-bito/kata-gata* denote some kind of people, probably due to some pragmatic reason. *Tachi* is attached to *hito* to denote the plural individual members of people, but we are not sure what makes *hito-bito* different from *hito-tachi* semantically. All we know now is that the former is used alone while the latter is used only with some modifier, as in *erai hito-tachi* (people of the high status).

We summarize this subsection as (i) Japanese plural markers are not attached directly to non-human common nouns, (ii) the plurality of non-human common nouns is realized in classifiers or plural demonstratives they attach to, and (iii) non-human common nouns are ambiguous between the individual and the kind readings<sup>5</sup>. These properties of non-human common nouns show a clear contrast to human common nouns in Japanese.

### II – 3. Associatives

*Tachi* and *ra* are not only attached to human common nouns but to proper nouns in Japanese. *Tanaka-san-tachi*, for example, denotes three Tanakas, where there are three persons named Tanaka. The same expression also denotes a specific group of people that includes Tanaka, where no one else is named Tanaka. The latter reading is called associative and there is no equivalence in English. Japanese associatives are not restricted to proper nouns and common nouns form associatives as well. Observe (8)

(8) Kaishain-ra-ga                      sono        shūkai-ni                      sankashita.  
       office worker-PL-NOM            that        meeting-LOC                attend-PAST  
 "The office workers attended the meeting./ The groups of people including the group of the office worker(s) attended the meeting."

(8) is ambiguous between the plural and the associative reading, and in the second reading, the number of the office workers is unspecified; it may be one or a hundred. What this reading implies is that besides the group of the office worker(s), there are other groups of people consisting of, say, the student(s), the public servant(s), and the like. The number of the groups is unspecified, too. Japanese associatives formed by common nouns denote not only groups of individuals but also those of kinds, depending on the context. Kind-selecting verbs select kind-denoting Nps and it is a matter of course that *kaseijin-tachi* in (9) is interpreted only as associative, not plural, since *zetsumetsusuru* (be extinct) is used only with kinds, not with individuals.

---

<sup>5</sup> Chinese, another classifier language, makes use of different classifiers in the individual-related case than kind-related case.

- (i) yi    zhī        xióng  
       one CL        bear  
       "an individual bear"
- (ii) yi    zhōng      xióng  
       one CL        bear  
       "a kind of bear, a bear species"

Japanese has classifier *shurui* (kind) to specify kind, as given in (7b) but it is used with any common noun, not restricted to some common nouns only. Unlike Chinese, Japanese classifier does not use different kind-denoting classifier than object-denoting one.

- (9) Kaseijin-tachi-ga            zetsumetsushi-ta.  
 Martian-PL-NOM            be extinct-PAST  
 "The groups of higher creatures including Martians got extinct."

Summarizing this section, let us give the following list of a fragment of acceptable and unacceptable plural expressions in Japanese.

- (10) a. acceptable plurals: otokonoko ((the)boy/boys),  
 otokonoko-tachi ((the)boys), kono otokonoko-tachi (these boys),  
 san-nin-gumi-no otokonoko (a/the trio of boys), kono renchū  
 (this gang of people), san-nin-no otokonoko (three boys),  
 san-nin-no otokonoko-tachi (the three boys),  
 hana ((the)flower/flowers), hana-bana (flowers), kore-ra-no hana  
 (these flowers/this kinds of flowers), san-bon-no hana  
 (three flowers), etc.
- b. unacceptable plurals: \*kore-ra-no otokonoko (this-PL-GEN boy),  
 \*kore-ra-no otokonoko-tachi (this-PL-GEN boy-PL),  
 \*san-nin-gumi-no otokonoko-tachi (three-CL-set-GEN boy-PL),  
 \*kore-ra-no renchū (this-PL-GEN gang of people),  
 \*hana-tachi (flower-PL),  
 \*kono hana (this flower, OK with singular reading),  
 \*san-bon-no hana-bana (three-CL-GEN flower (REDUP)), etc.

Only a small fragment of these examples is enough to realize that the Japanese numeral system is complex. It is different from those of European languages, but it should not be considered unusual or exotic simply because they are unfamiliar. Let us move on to analyze the Japanese numeral system with these data at hand.

### III. Previous Analyses

Our first step to analyze the data given in Section 2 is to overview the previous analyses, but not much research has been done on the Japanese plural system. As far as we know, Downing (1984, 1996) is the only work on the interaction between classifiers and plurals in Japanese, and so is Kawasaki (1989) on the formal semantic treatment of *tachi*. These works do not deal with Japanese plurals, associatives and reduplicatives in general and in this section we would like to expand Downing and Kawasaki to form a general theory of Japanese 'plurals'.

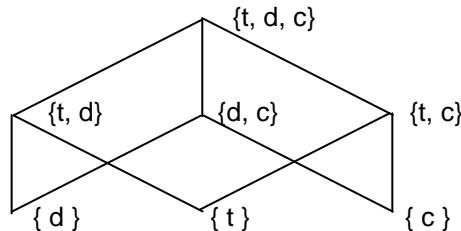
#### III - 1. Downing (1984, 1996)

The main focus of Downing (1984, 1996) is classifiers in Japanese, but she discusses the interaction between classifiers and plurals in some detail. She points out that though plural marking is not obligatory in Japanese, bare nouns and plural nouns are not in free variation. Let us observe the following example of hers.

- (11) Heya-ni            hairu-to            mishiranu        *otoko-ga*  
 Room-LOC        enter-when        strange            man-NOM  
*san-nin*            mat-tei-ta        *Sono*            *otoko-tachi-ga*  
 three-CL        wait-PROG-PAST    that            man-PL-NOM  
 chichi-o        torimak-ôto        shi-ta            toki-ni  
 Father-OBJ      surround-try        do-PAST        time-LOC  
 watashi-wa      muishikini        himei-o            age-ta  
 I-TOP            involuntarily      scream-OBJ      raise-PAST  
 "When (we) entered the room, three strange men were waiting (for us).  
 When the men moved to surround Father, I screamed involuntarily."

In (11), *otoko-ga san-nin* (three men)<sup>6</sup> is a bare noun plus numeral classifier, and *sono otoko-tachi* (those men) is a plural expression; *tachi* is not used with the first expression, and when *tachi* is deleted from the second expression, it sounds strange. Downing's analysis of examples like this is as follows; "... the referents remain constant. What changes is the relative weight the writer assigns to the category membership of the referents on the one hand, their status as individuals on the other. When the emphasis is on category identity, the plural marker is avoided; when it is on individual identity, the plural marker is used."

Downing's functional analysis reminds us of Link's formal hierarchical analysis of English noun phrases; Link (1983, 1984) assumes both atomic individuals and individual sums. Let us give an example of Landman (1989) to get an overview of Link's lattice structure; suppose Tina, David and Chris are the members of a pop group named Talking Heads. Tina, David and Chris are atomic individuals and the Talking heads is the individual sum, as illustrated in Fig.1.



**Fig.1.**

Assuming this structure, we can explain that atomic individuals and non-atomic individual sums have different properties. Compare the following pair.

- (12) a. The Talking Heads is a pop group.  
 b. \*Tina, Chris and David are a pop group.

<sup>6</sup> In Japanese, both expressions like *san-nin-no otoko* (three-CL-GEN man) and those like *otoko-ga san-nin* (man-NOM three-CL) are commonly used. The latter is called Quantifier Float in the literature. Though there are syntactic and semantic differences between these two types of classifier expressions, we ignore the differences here, since they are of no concern to our discussion here. For Quantifier Float, see Inoue (1979), Miyagawa (1989), Fukushima (1993), among others.

"Being a pop group" is a property of the individual sum, not that of atomic individuals.

On this assumption, we are also able to explain the ambiguity of examples like (13).

(13) The boys carried a piano upstairs.

It has been much discussed in the literature that this sentence is ambiguous between the distributive and the collective reading. We would like to point out that there is a third reading; (13) is acceptable in a situation where not all of the boys carried a piano upstairs. We call this reading the 'partial membership' reading, as against the 'full membership' of the so-called collective reading. On our assumption, "to carry a piano upstairs" is the property of the non - atomic individual sum in the partial and full membership reading, and it is the property of atomic individuals in the distributive reading. How to distribute the property to the partial or the full members is another problem. Though we do not go into details here, Roberts (1986) suggests a possibility of distributive subentailments. See Roberts (1986) for further details.

Returning to Japanese, we now see that Downing's individual identity parallels Link's atomic individuals and her category identity is Link's atomic sums. Applying Downing's theory of Japanese plurals to Link's framework, we are led to suspect that individual sum is devoid of plural marking whereas individuals undergo plural marking in Japanese. Example (14) of Downing (1984) illustrates a hierarchical structure of Japanese noun phrases clearly.

(14)	<i>Kanja wa</i>	<i>hyakushô-no</i>	<i>okami-ya</i>	<i>sono kodomo-ga</i>
	patient-TOP	farmer-GEN	wife-and	that child-NOM
	<i>ooi.</i>	<i>Kare-ra-wa</i>	<i>genkan-no</i>	<i>agarikuchi - ni</i>
	many	hi-PL-TOP	entrance-GEN	porch-LOC
	<i>koshi-o</i>	<i>oroshi-te</i>	....	<i>mat-tei-ta.</i>
	hips-OBJ	lower-PROG		wait-PROG-PAST

"The patients were primarily farmers' wives and children. They would wait, sitting in the entranceway."

*Kanja* (patient) and *hyakushô-no okami-ya sono kodomo* (farmer's wife and child) do not undergo plural marking, but *kare-ra* (they) is in plural, and in Link's framework, they form the hierarchical structure of Fig.2.

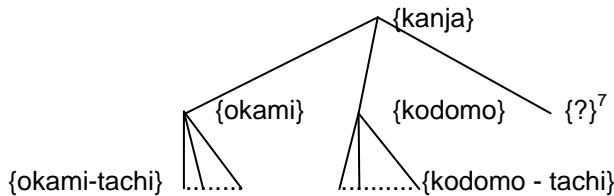


Fig.2.

We assume atomic individuals and non-atomic individual sums in the following discussion of Japanese plurals.

### III - 2. Kawasaki(1989)

Kawasaki (1989)'s main concern is *jibun-tachi* (reflective-PL), i.e. the associatives made of reflectives and plural suffixes. She assumes atomic individuals and non-atomic individual sums, and proposes the following analysis of *tachi*.

- (15) Kawasaki (1989)'s analysis of *tachi*  
 $\lambda Q \lambda \exists y [Q(y) \ \& \ \text{-Atomic}(y) \ \& \ \forall z [Q(z) \rightarrow z \Pi y] \ \& \ P(y)]$   
 where: if *tachi* attaches to  $\alpha$  of type  $\langle e \rangle$ ,  $Q = \alpha'$   
       : if *tachi* attaches to  $\alpha$  of type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ ,  $Q = h(\alpha')$

$\Pi$  is the individual-part-of relation; (15) says the atomic individuals is in the individual-part-of relation to the individual sum. In order to deal with associatives in Japanese, she proposes the function  $h$  which takes a term and gives a predicate for the property of individuals which include the individual denoted by the term.

- (16)  $h(x) = \lambda y [x \Pi y \ \& \ \text{Human}(y) \ \& \ R(x)(y)]$   
 (the property of any individual  $\beta$  such that:  
 given an individual  $\alpha$  denoted by  $x$ :  
 i.  $\alpha$  is an individual part of  $\beta$ ,  
 ii.  $\beta$  is human,  
 iii.  $\beta$  stands in a specific relation  $R$  to  $\alpha$ .)

The value of  $R$  is fixed pragmatically by the context. The predicate for the property of individuals which are human, which includes Tanaka, and which are in specific relation  $R$  to Tanaka is given in (17), for example.

- (17)  $h(t) = \lambda y [t \Pi y \ \& \ \text{Human}(y) \ \& \ R(t)(y)]$

<sup>7</sup> In this example, *okami* (wife) and *kodomo* (child) do not exhaust the patients, and there must be another kind(s) of people who are the patients. Since we cannot know who they are, we use {?} as convention here.

Kawasaki's proposal is formally explicit, but she misunderstands the facts; first, she claims only proper nouns form associatives<sup>8</sup>, but we have already observed in Section 2 that common nouns as well as proper nouns form associatives, depending on the context. Recall our example (8), which we repeat here for convenience.

- (8) Kaishain-ra-ga                      sonoshūkai ni                      sankashi-ta  
 office worker-PL-NOM              that                      meeting-LOC              attend-PAST  
 "The office workers attended the meeting. /The groups of people including  
 the group of the office worker(s) attended the meeting."

Second, she does not recognize that not only individuals but also kinds form associatives. The associatives reading of (8) denotes a plural number of groups one of which is the group made of the office worker(s). (9) provides further evidence for the kind interpretation of associatives.

- (9) Kaseijin - tachi - ga              zetsumetsushi - ta  
 Martian-PL - NOM              be extinct - PAST  
 "The group of higher creatures including Martians got extinct."

It is, however, easy to modify Kawasaki's proposal to cover these; when we delete the conditions from (15) and assume that both individuals and kinds for  $x$  in (16), her analysis works well. Let us see how they explain Japanese 'plurals' in Section 4.

#### IV. A Proposal

In this section we propose a compositional analysis of Japanese 'plurals' and then discuss possible counterarguments.

##### IV - 1. Human Plurals

We observe compositionality, the hierarchical structure of noun phrases and the individual/kind distinction in the sense of Carlson (1977). One of the purposes of this subsection is to explain why *kono otokonoko-tachi* (these boys) is acceptable but *\*kore-ra-no otokonoko-tachi* (this-PL-GEN boy-PL) is an unacceptable plural expression in Japanese.

Let us start our analysis by recalling that Japanese bare nouns are not specified in definiteness or number when they occur alone. *Otokonoko*, for example, means "a boy, boys, the boy, the boys" depending on the context. We believe we are not on the wrong track to represent *otokonoko* as in (19)

- (19) **otokonoko** =  $\lambda x$ Boy( $x$ )

---

<sup>8</sup> This claim of Kawasaki contradicts with the conditions in (15).  $\langle e \rangle$  and  $\langle e, t \rangle$  should be the other way round.



Japanese does not have a definite article and uses demonstratives *kono/sono/ano* (this/that), instead. Since the use of *kono/sono/ano* is pragmatically determined, we assume these three demonstratives are equivalent to the English definite article and have the following semantic translation (20).

$$(20) \quad \mathbf{kono} = \lambda Q[\iota y[Q(x) \ \& \ y = x]]$$

In our framework, *kono otokonoko* (this boy) is interpreted compositionally and the translation is given in (21).

$$(21) \quad \begin{aligned} \mathbf{kono \ otokonoko} \\ &= \mathbf{kono(otokonoko)} \\ &= \lambda Q[\iota y[Q(x) \ \& \ y=x]](\lambda x \text{Boy}(x)) \\ &= \iota y[(\lambda x \text{Boy}(x))(x) \ \& \ y=x] \\ &= \iota y[\text{Boy}(x) \ \& \ y=x] \end{aligned}$$

The Japanese plural markers *tachi*, *domo*, *gata*, and *ra* only attach to human nouns, but *ra* is different from other three markers in that it combines with demonstratives. We need to make this difference explicit in our framework and propose to modify Kawasaki's analysis of *tachi* to cover this fact as in (22) and (23)<sup>9</sup>.

$$(22) \quad \begin{aligned} \mathbf{tachi/domo/gata} \\ &[\lambda Q \lambda P \exists y[Q(y) \ \& \ \text{-Atomic}(y) \ \& \ \text{Human}(y) \ \& \ \lambda z[Q(z) \rightarrow z \Pi y] \ \& \ P(y)]] \end{aligned}$$

$$(23) \quad \begin{aligned} \mathbf{ra} \\ &[\lambda Q \lambda P \exists y[Q(y) \ \& \ \text{-Atomic}(y) \ \& \ \lambda z[Q(z) \rightarrow z \Pi y] \ \& \ P(y)]] \end{aligned}$$

*Otokonoko-tachi* (boys) is interpreted as follows.

$$(24) \quad \begin{aligned} \mathbf{otokonokotachi} \\ &= \mathbf{tachi(otokonoko)} \\ &= [\lambda Q \lambda P \exists y[Q(y) \ \& \ \text{-Atomic}(y) \ \& \ \text{Human}(y) \ \& \ \lambda z[Q(z) \rightarrow z \Pi y] \ \& \\ & \quad P(y)]](\lambda x \text{Boy}(x)) \\ &= \lambda P \exists y[(\lambda x \text{Boy}(x))(y) \ \& \ \text{-Atomic}(y) \ \& \ \text{Human}(y) \ \& \ \forall z[(\lambda x \text{Boy}(x))(z) \rightarrow z \Pi y] \ \& \\ & \quad \& \ P(y)]] \\ &= \lambda P \exists y[\text{Boy}(y) \ \& \ \text{-Atomic}(y) \ \& \ \text{Human}(y) \ \& \ \forall z[\text{Boy}(z) \rightarrow z \Pi y] \ \& \ P(y)] \end{aligned}$$

<sup>9</sup> We know that (23) overgenerates plural expressions like *\*hana-ra* (flower-PL). As we have observed in Section 3, non-human common nouns are not accompanied with *ra* directly, but they are interpreted to be plural when they are combined with demonstrative *+ra* or a classifier. We will suggest a possibility of the semantic interpretation before 'spell-out' below.

Moreover *ra* and *tachi* are different in nature; *ra* does not always occur with human nouns. We suspect the former is a humble form; *ko-ra* (children) is acceptable but *\*sensei-ra* (teacher-PL) is not. We assume for the time being *ra* is not restricted to cooccur with human common nouns only.

Notice that  $\lambda P \exists y [\text{Boy}(y) \& \text{-Atomic}(y) \& \text{Human}(y) \& \forall z [\text{Boy}(z) \rightarrow z \Pi y] \& P(y)]$  is equal to  $\lambda x \text{Boy}^*(x)$ , i.e. the supreme set in Link's framework. Using this convention, we translate *kono otokonoko-tachi* (these boys) into (25)

$$\begin{aligned}
 (25) \quad & \mathbf{kono\ otokonoko\ -\ tachi} \\
 & = \mathbf{kono(otokonoko\ -\ tachi)} \\
 & = \lambda Q [\iota y [Q(x) \ \& \ y=x]] (\lambda x \text{Boy}^*(x)) \\
 & = \iota y [\lambda x \text{Boy}^*(x)(x) \ \& \ y=x] \\
 & = \iota y [\text{Boy}^*(x) \ \& \ y=x]
 \end{aligned}$$

Our compositional analysis predicts the difference in interpretation of *kono otokonoko-tachi* from that of *kore-ra-no okotonoko-tachi*. In (26), the domain of the function *ra* is *otokonoko-tachi*, not *otokonoko*. This means that *ra* pluralizes a set consisting of plural objects, as illustrated in Fig.3.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (26) \quad & \mathbf{kore-ra-no\ okotonoko-tachi} \\
 & = \mathbf{ra(kono(tachi(otokonoko)))} \\
 & = \mathbf{ra(\iota y [\text{Boy}^*(x) \ \& \ y=x])}
 \end{aligned}$$

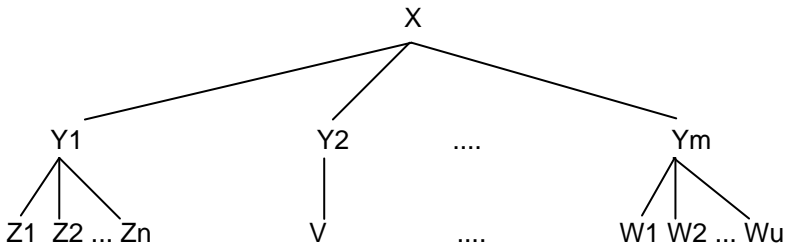


Fig.3.

This interpretation is impossible with *these boys* in English, which has only the plural reading. Japanese, however, allows the plural reading as well as the associative reading and (26) is exactly a case of the associative reading. Recall Kawasaki's function *h* in the previous section, which we repeat here<sup>10</sup>.

$$(16) \quad h(z) = \lambda y [z \Pi y \ \& \ \text{Human}(y) \ \text{and} \ R(z)(y)]$$

*h* is the function which takes a term and gives a predicate for the property of individuals which include the individual denoted by the term. Y1 in Fig.3 is produced by this process, and Y2...Ym are produced by the plural marker *ra* in (26). For a better understanding of this reading, suppose the following situation; there was held a general election. It was heated very much and the campaign was

<sup>10</sup> To match the variables in Fig.3, we use different variables from those in the original (16) in Section 3. Needless to say this change does not bring any difference of the function-itself.

very tough. Some candidate bought votes by money, which is against the law. The police came to know this fact and arrested the people who participated in the campaign. The people arrested were some talent(s), housewife/wives, students(s), office worker(s) and so on. In this situation, we can say (27).

- (27) Keisatsu-wa                      kore-ra-no-tarento-ra-o  
 the police-TOP                      this-PL-GEN-talent-PL-OBJ  
 taihoshi-ta<sup>11</sup>.  
 arrest-PAST  
 "The police arrested these people including a group of talents."

Japanese has the associative reading as well as the plural reading and these two readings are expressed by the same plural markers. Though the Japanese 'plural' system is complex, our compositional analysis explains human plurals and associatives explicitly. Let us move to non-human plurals in the next subsection.

#### **IV - 2. Non-human Plurals**

Japanese plural markers only attach to human nouns but not to non-human nouns; *neko-tachi* (cat-PL) is acceptable only to the extent the speaker anthropomorphizes the cats s/he is talking about. As human common nouns, non-human common nouns are unspecified in number or definiteness when they occur alone. They realize the plurality by classifiers or demonstratives. Recall (4), which we repeat below.

- (4) a. san-bon-no                      hana  
 three-CL-GEN                      flower  
 "three flowers"  
 b. kore-ra-no                      hana  
 this-PL-GEN                      flower  
 "these flowers/these kinds of flowers"

(4b) is ambiguous between the object reading and the kind reading. How to translate expressions like (4b) is our topic in this subsection. With compositionality and the notion of kind in mind, our analysis of (4b) should be the following.

---

<sup>11</sup> This is the sentence I heard on TV news in the situation described. Intuition is, however, vague here and some informants I asked do not accept this sentence. I suspect this is probably due to the functional mismatch of the associative reading and the demonstrative *kono*; the associative reading leaves other groups unspecified. All we know from (27) is that the arrested people include a talent or talents and we do not know anything about other people arrested. The demonstrative, on the other hand, functions to definitivize an object or a group. These functions contradict each other and this may make the acceptability of sentences like (27) low.

- (27) **kore-ra-no hana = kore(ra(hana))**  
**kore-ra-no hana<sup>k</sup> = kore(ra(hana<sup>k</sup>))**<sup>12</sup>

One might argue against this analysis, since (27) does not reflect the syntactic structure; Fregean compositionality, if we understood it correctly, gives a semantic rule for each possible type of non-terminal node. Syntactically *kore-ra-no* forms a Det, but there is no non-terminal node consisting of *ra-hana*. There are, however, a couple of reasons to suppose that *ra* (PL) is a morphological realization of the plurality of *hana* (flower), not that of *kore* (this); first, there should be no two *kore*'s (this), just like there are no two *l*'s in the universe. Second, non-human common nouns are sometimes anthropomorphized and plural marking goes on, as in *neko-tachi* (cat-PL). This suggests a possibility that a non-human common noun and a plural marker form a non-terminal node. Along the same line, Japanese has reduplicative forms like *hana-bana* (flower, REDUP). Though we are far from formalizing a mechanism to give a semantic rule to interpret reduplicative forms, one possibility is to assume some abstract REDUP marker to attach to kind-denoting non-human nouns so that we deal with reduplicative forms and plural forms in a uniform way.

We have to admit our evidence is not strong, and when we consider languages with number agreement, our compositional analysis does not work well in the present framework of syntax-semantics interface. We cannot, for example, translate *these boys* into (28) in the same way as we analyze Japanese plurals.

- (28) **\*these boys = (these (boys)) = (PL (this(s(boy))))**

Examples like (28) suggest there need some 'feature checking' before 'spell-out'<sup>13</sup>, we do not interpret two plurals in the semantic component. This means the traditional view to set semantics after spell-out or the surface structure needs reconsideration. If morphological features are arranged on surface after the semantic interpretation, our analysis of Japanese plural saves. We know this is a big change as to affect the whole system of grammar and we leave it for a future research.

### IV-3. Further Counterarguments

In the discussion above, we assume the hierarchical structure of noun phrases in the sense of Link, but this very assumption has been cast doubt. In the literature there has been a heated discussion between the sets theory (cf. Link (1983, 1984), Landman (1989), among others) and the union theory of plurals (cf. Schwarzschild (1992, 1994, 1996), van der Does (1993), among others). The former assumes higher order entities and the latter assumes first order entities

<sup>12</sup> K stands for kind here.

<sup>13</sup> This is pointed out to me by Koichi Tateishi (p.c.). Lin (1998) is also interesting in suggesting that strong quantificational (and/or distributive) features need to be checked before spell-out in Chinese.

only, and the discussion broke out on the so-called denotation problem; suppose there are young and old cows and young and old pigs and there are no other animals. On the approach where only first order entities are assumed, the noun phrase subjects of (29a) and (29b) have the same denotation and would mean that if (29a) would be true, then (29b) would also have to be true.

- (29) a. The cows and the pigs were separated.  
 b. The young animals and the old animals were separated.

In order to avoid this undesirable consequence, Link (1983) proposes the higher order entities; the denotation of *the cows and the pigs* is  $\{\|cows\|^M, \|pigs\|^M\}$  and that of *the young animals and the old animals* is  $\{\|young\ animals\|^M, \|old\ animals\|^M\}$ , and thus the subject noun phrases of (29a) and (29b) are translated into a set of sets and have different denotations.

So far, so good. But Schwarzschild (1992) asks if there is any 'direct' evidence to assume a set of sets. His answer is No. Schwarzschild (1992, 1994, 1996) discusses that, in spite of assuming higher order entities, the union theory with first order entities and the notion of Cover, which is, roughly speaking, a set of subsets can deal with the denotation problem. The subject of (29a) is then translated into  $\|cows\|^M \cup \|pigs\|^M$ . Schwarzschild's union theory avoids the denotation problem successfully without assuming higher order entities. Though we do not go into his arguments in detail here, we'd like to see what his theory predicts; in his discussion of collective nouns, Schwarzschild (1996:183, 192) says the union theory would be counterexemplified by a plural of plurals. Let us recall here Japanese plurals and associatives like (25) and (26), repeated here for convenience.

- (25) kono otokonoko-tachi  
 this boy-PL  
 "these boys"  
 (26) kore-ra-no otokonoko-tachi  
 this-PL-GEN boy-PL  
 "these people including a group of boys"

Japanese associatives are exactly the case of a plural of plurals (cf. Fig.3 in the previous subsection). Moreover, Japanese requires some notion to group first order entities like *otokonoko-tachi* (boys) in (25). Otherwise the difference between *kono* and *kore-ra-no* in the above pair would not be explained.

With these reasons we assume higher-order entities to deal with Japanese.

## V. What was Discussed and What was Not Discussed

In this paper, we have first observed the descriptive properties of Japanese 'plurals'; Japanese has plurals, associatives and reduplicatives and their

distributions are controlled by humanness. The Smith-Stark animacy hierarchy below suggests us a way to interpret Japanese 'plurals'; the higher the rank of a noun on the scale is, the more likely it is interpreted as associative. The speaker and the addressee are interpreted as associatives whenever they are accompanied by plural markers of *tachi*, *domo*, *gata* and *ra*. Kin, rational and human nouns are ambiguous between associatives and plurals when they occur with plural markers. Animate nouns with plural affixes are interpreted to be anthropomorphized, and inanimate nouns made of one or two moras are reduplicated to express plurality.

- (30) The Smith-Stark Animacy Hierarchy
- |             |             |                      |            |           |           |               |
|-------------|-------------|----------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| Speaker >   | Addressee > | Kin >                | Rational > | Human >   | Animate > | Inanimate     |
| associative |             | associative / plural |            | anthro-   |           | reduplicative |
|             |             |                      |            | morphized |           |               |
|             |             |                      |            | plural    |           |               |

Second, we have proposed a formal analysis of Japanese 'plurals'. We assume the hierarchical structure of Link and argue against the first order approach on the basis of the properties of Japanese plurals and associatives. It is interesting to us that the hierarchical structure is originally proposed to deal with the mass/count distinction but Japanese, which has no such distinction, provides independent support for higher order entities.

We have not dealt with the interaction of plurals with classifiers in Japanese. Japanese is a classifier language and it expresses plurality by plural markers, or by classifiers, or by both. As far as we know, not much work is done on the interaction of plural markers with classifiers in Japanese and we can only suggest here that some discourse factor may be involved when two markers overlap. The following example is found in *Kaguyahime*, a Japanese fairy tale, and we see that *go-nin-no otoko* (five men) appears first and then *gonin-no otoko-tachi* (the five men) occurs, and not vice versa.

- (31)
- |                        |       |                    |                       |
|------------------------|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| ...mibun-no            | takai | <i>go-nin-no</i>   | <i>otoko-ga</i>       |
| status-GEN             | high  | five-CL-GEN        | man-SUBJ              |
| tazune-te-ki-te,       |       | "Kaguyahime-o      | oyomesan-ni           |
| visit-and-come-and     |       | Kaguyahime-OBJ     | bride-LOC             |
| itadaki-tai,"-to       |       | ii-mashi-ta.       |                       |
| have(POLITE)-hope-COMP |       | say-POLITE-PAST    |                       |
| ... sassoku            |       | <i>go-nin-no</i>   | <i>otoko-tachi-wa</i> |
| immediately            |       | five-CL-GEN        | man-PL-TOP            |
| Kaguyahime-ni          |       | tanoma-re-ta       | shinamono-o           |
| Kaguyahime-LOC         |       | ask-PASSIVE-PAST   | goods-OBJ             |
| sagashi-ni             |       | dekake-mashi-ta.   |                       |
| search-LOC             |       | go out-POLITE-PAST |                       |
- "Five men of the high status visited and said, "(I) want to marry Kaguyahime."... The five men immediately went to search for the goods they were asked to by Kaguyahime (*Kaguyahime* (modern translation by

Shogo Hirata). 1987. Popura-sha.)

Japanese is likely to definitivize nouns with classifiers by adding plural markers, and it is in the realm of future research.

It is often pointed out in the literature that plural markers and classifiers are in complementary distribution (cf. Chinese, Korean, among others). Future typological work will show whether Japanese is an exception or not.

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## FROM TIME TO SPACE?: ON CONSTRUING A UNIVERSE<sup>1</sup>

TOSHIYUKI SADANOBU

**REZUMAT. De la timp la spațiu?: despre construcția unui univers.** În cazul unităților lexicale care au atât o utilizare temporală, cât și una spațială, se consideră în general că utilizarea spațială este mai fundamentală, în timp ce utilizarea temporală ar deriva din prima. Există însă situații ce par să invalideze ideea de mai sus: în japoneză, de pildă, anumite lexeme temporale par a fi utilizate pentru a exprima spațiul. Lucrarea de față își propune să explice acest fenomen și să examineze dacă el contrazice într-adevăr teoria general acceptată. Investigația noastră aduce lumină, în parte, și asupra procesului cognitiv al vorbitorului. Lucrarea susține următoarele teze;

(i) Fenomenul menționat cunoaște două tipuri -anume, tipul simplu și tipul complex;

(ii) Tipul simplu apare drept semantic firesc în japoneză, engleză și chineză, în timp ce tipul complex este nefiresc în chineză, dar firesc în japoneză și engleză. Diferența dintre limbi poate fi atribuită diferențelor în modalitatea de cogniție a evenimentelor;

(iii) Fenomenul în cauză nu încalcă teza generală a trecerii unidirecționale de la UTILIZAREA SPAȚIALĂ la UTILIZAREA TEMPORALĂ, însă contrazice teza, nu mai puțin răspândită, că SPAȚIUL ar fi mai fundamental decât TIMPUL. Astfel, în cazul explorării SPAȚIULUI necunoscut, TIMPUL este adesea mai fundamental decât SPAȚIUL;

(iv) Fenomenul cercetat indică faptul că procesul cognitiv uman ar trebui considerat ca fiind mai activ, dincolo de indiciile de natură perceptuală, decât s-a crezut până acum.

### 1. Introduction

It has been repeatedly maintained by many Japanese scholars that the spatial usage of a lexical item is more basic and its temporal usage derivational from the spatial one.<sup>2</sup> According to this idea, when a lexical item has both the spatial usage and the temporal usage, from not only the diachronic but also the synchronic standpoint, we are liable to regard the spatial usage as more basic, and the temporal usage as a derivational from it. In recent years cognitive linguistics supports this view as part of "grammaticalization".<sup>3</sup> Many cognitive linguists think that the extension from the spatial usage to the temporal one is not accidental but well-motivated and natural. They think

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<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Ikegami (1975), Makino (1978), Yamada (1981), Kunihiro (1990), and Momiyama (1995).

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Sweetster (1990), Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991), and Hopper and Traugott (1993).

that it is more difficult for human beings to grasp the notion of time than the notion of space, therefore human beings choose the spatial usage, the easier one, as their base.

Indeed this view seems valid concerning many polysemous expressions which have both the spatial usage and the temporal usage. However, I would like to point out that the phenomenon which violates the view does exist. For example, the basic usage of the modern Japanese word "tokidoki (i.e. sometimes)" is, as its constituent "toki (i.e. time)" shows the temporal one. In spite of that, this word sometimes looks as if expressing space, as shown in the next section. Some cognitive linguists accept that time can be more basic than space<sup>4</sup>, but they do not argue about how to deal with such a word as "tokidoki". As far as I know, this phenomenon has never been argued, except for the preparatory consideration of my own<sup>5</sup>. This paper elucidates the part of the speaker's cognition through the explanation of this phenomenon (henceforth "spatial expression in terms of temporal words").

## 2. Spatial expression in terms of temporal words

This section will argue the phenomenon of "spatial expression in terms of temporal words". To begin with, I will show the ordinary (i.e. temporal) usage of temporal words. The time adverb of modern Japanese "tokidoki" usually expresses the frequency of events' or states' realization, namely, the temporal distribution of them. Take the sentence (1) below for example.

- (1) Kare-wa tokidoki chikokusuru.  
 he-TOPIC sometimes come late "Sometimes he comes late."

The sentence (1) means that "as for him, the event of coming late occurs occasionally". In this case, "tokidoki" means this frequency, namely, the temporal distribution.

Now let us see the spatial usage of "tokidoki". It is exemplified in the sentence (2) below.

- (2) Touji, machi-ni-wa mada, entoukei-no  
 in those days town-LOCATIVE-TOPIC still cylinder-GENITIVE  
 posuto-ga tokidoki at-ta.  
 public mail-box-NOMINATIVE sometimes exist-PAST

[The general meanings of this Japanese sentence are given below.]

The sentence (2) has two meanings, therefore it is ambiguous. The difference between its two meanings corresponds to the difference between the usage of "tokidoki", that is to say, whether it expresses the temporal distribution or the spatial distribution.

<sup>4</sup>For example, see Givón (1979) and Langacker (1987). See also Matsumoto (1988), although it is not directly concerned with the spatial and the temporal usage of lexical items.

<sup>5</sup>See Sadanobu (1993a), Sadanobu (1995), and Sadanobu (1998).

We will begin with the explanation of the case in which "tokidoki" means the temporal distribution. Let us imagine that all the cylindrical public mailboxes are removed from that town, and after that, new ones are placed there, and they are removed again, and after that new ones are set there again – this is repeated over and over. As a result of the repetition of the cylindrical public mailboxes' existence and inexistence in that town, the sentence (2) can express the meaning that the state "there are cylindrical public mailboxes in that town" was realized sometimes in those days. Of course, the sentence (2) is rarely uttered or interpreted in such a meaning, because, in the real world which we often choose as a topic, the repetition of cylindrical public mailboxes' existence and inexistence does not usually happen.

The sentence (2) has another, and much more natural meaning than shown above. It can be roughly described as "in those days, sometimes there still were cylindrical public mailboxes here and there in that town". In this case, it is possible that in those days some cylindrical public mailboxes were constantly set in that town. When the sentence (2) expresses this meaning, "tokidoki" does not express the temporal distribution of the state "there were cylindrical public mailboxes". Here "tokidoki" expresses the spatial distribution that there were the objects of cylindrical public mailboxes here and there in that town. This is an example of what I call "the spatial expression in terms of temporal words". The sentences (3) below provide other examples.

- (3)a. Hontouni kowai tokoro-mo tokidoki at-ta-ga,  
 really scary place-too sometimes exist-PAST-ADVERSATIVE  
 maa tanoshikat-ta.  
 so so enjoyable-PAST

"Sometimes there were really scary points, but I enjoyed myself so so."

- b. Koe-no yataru ookina hito-tte,  
 voice-GENITIVE much big person-TOPIC  
 tokidoki iru-yone?  
 sometimes exist-TAG QUESTION

"Sometimes there are people who are too loud, aren't there?"

The sentence (3a) is natural as the comment of a person who enjoyed a roller coaster in an amusement park. The points where this speaker was really scared constantly exist in the course of the roller coaster ride. Therefore, in this case, "tokidoki" expresses the spatial distribution that the really scary points exist here and there in the course of the roller coaster ride.

The sentence (3b) is a similar example. It is possible for the sentence (3b) to have a meaning of historical reminiscence, based on long-term observation of people's repetitive generation and extinction who are too loud. As you know, however, people who are too loud are not easy to exterminate, and probably they have constantly existed since the beginning of human existence. Nevertheless, the sentence (3b) is not strange. The reason for this is that the sentence (3b) has another different meaning. In other words, the temporal word of the sentence (3b) "tokidoki" can refer to the spatial distribution that people who are too loud exist here and there in the present world.

"Toki doki" is not the only temporal word which can express the spatial distribution. When we observe other words, we can see that such other words as "tamani (i.e. occasionally)", "mettani (i.e. seldom)", and so on express not only the temporal but also the spatial distribution. The sentences (4) below are an example of "tamani".

- (4) a. Kare-wa tamani chikokusuru.  
 he-TOPIC occasionally come late  
 "Occasionally he comes late."
- b. Touji-no machi-ni-wa afurohea-no  
 those days-GENITIVE town-LOCATIVE-TOPIC Afro-coif-GENITIVE  
 hito-mo, mada tamani i-ta.  
 person-too still occasionally exist-PAST

"In those days, occasionally there still were Afro-coiffed people in the town."

"Tamani" in the sentence (4a) expresses the temporal distribution of the event "he comes late", whereas "tamani" in the sentence (4b) does not usually express it. The sentence (4b) expresses not that Afro-coiffed people generate and get extinguished repeatedly but that in those days the certain number of them constantly existed in the town. The sentences (5) below provide an example of "mettani".

- (5) a. Kare-wa mettani chikokushi-nai.  
 he-TOPIC seldom come late-NEGATIVE  
 "He seldom comes late."
- b. Ano haiyuu-ni niteiru hito-nante,  
 that actor-DATIVE resemble person-TOPIC  
 mettani i-nai-darou.  
 seldom exist-NEGATIVE-PUTATIVE

"Maybe there are seldom people who resemble that actor."

"Mettani" in the sentence (5a), in accordance with "nai" in the rear, expresses that the temporal distribution of the event "he comes late" is nearly zero, whereas "mettani" in the sentence (5b) does not usually express it. The sentence (5b) expresses not that people who resemble that actor reiterate the generation and the extinction with certain frequency but that the distribution of them is nearly zero.

Does the phenomenon of "the spatial expression in terms of temporal words" exemplified above really violate the common view of "from space to time"? Why on earth does this phenomenon happen? In order to answer these questions, we need two conceptions. We will call them "bodily sensation (TAIKAN, in Japanese)" and "state-cutout". Section three will explain the notion of bodily sensation, and section four will explain the notion of state-cutout. Section five and six, based on these two conceptions, will explain "the spatial expression in terms of temporal words", and elucidate the connection between it and the common view mentioned above. Section seven will shed light on part of a human being's cognition on the basis of our earlier discussion. And section eight will show the conclusion.

### 3. Bodily sensation (TAIKAN)

"Bodily sensation" in this paper means human being's most directive action of getting information. This is different from indirective action of getting information through a report by others (for example, reading books) in various aspects although these two are continuous. We can observe many linguistic differences caused by bodily sensation, and the most famous difference is known as "the personal restriction on the subject of emotional predicates". See the sentences (6) below.

- (6) a. Anotoki-wa                      iroiro                      goshinsetsunishiteitadakimashite,  
           that time-TOPIC                in many ways        be kind to me  
           watashi-mo                      ureshikat-ta-desu.  
           I-EUPHEMISTIC                glad-PAST-POLITE

"I was glad about your many kindnesses at that time."

- b. ??Anotoki-wa                      iroiro                      goshinsetsunishiteitadakimashite,  
           that time-TOPIC                in many ways        be kind to me  
           otouto-mo                                      ureshikat-ta-desu.  
           my brother-EUPHEMISTIC                glad-PAST-POLITE

??"My brother was glad about your many kindnesses at that time."

- c. Anotoki-wa                      iroiro                      goshinsetsunishiteitadakimashite,  
           that time-TOPIC                in many ways        be kind to me  
           otouto-mo                                      ureshi-gattei-mashi-ta.  
           my brother-EUPHEMISTIC                glad-BEHAVIOR-POLITE-PAST

"My brother expressed his feeling of gladness about your many kindnesses at that time."

The sentence (6a) is natural, whereas the sentence (6b) is unnatural, because the sentence pattern of (6a,b) is for expressing one's bodily sensation. What the speaker can sense directly is limited to his/her own feelings, perceptions, and physiological states. He/she cannot sense directly others' feelings, perceptions, and physiological states however closely he/she may be related to his/her brother. Of course, the feelings of the speaker's brother can be inferred through the brother's words such as "I am glad", or his smile, or his happy appearance, but the speaker cannot sense it directly. "A domain of bodily sensation" is a tentative name of a region of mind and body which a cognizer can sense directly through bodily sensation. As mentioned above, the notion of bodily sensation is not discrete but continuous, so it is a matter of degree whether some information is within the cognizer's domain of bodily sensation or not. A speaker's feelings are within his/her domain of bodily sensation, and the scene which he/she sees, the sound which he/she hears, and the objects which he/she licks, smells, and touches also tend to be within it, whereas the feelings of the speaker's brother are out of it. This makes (6a) natural and (6b) unnatural. The sentence (6c) is natural, because its sentence pattern is not for expressing one's

bodily sensation, but for expressing someone's behavior of expressing his/her feelings.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of the notion of bodily sensation for linguistic study is not limited to the phenomenon of "the personal restriction on the subject of emotional predicates" mentioned above. Bodily sensation has a decisive influence on the conception of events.

For example, in the case of modern Japanese, what an apodosis of a conditional sentence expresses is, as a general rule, only an event. In other words, just a state usually cannot be expressed as the apodosis.<sup>7</sup> See the sentences (7) below.

(7) [Pointing to a regulating button on a TV set]

- a. Kono suicchi-o oshitara,  
 this switch-ACCUSATIVE push-CONDITIONAL  
 terebi gamen-jou-no senbun-ga nagakunaru-yo.  
 TV picture-on-GENITIVE line segment become longer-INSTRUCT

"(Lit.) If you push this button, the line segment on the TV picture will become longer."

- b. ??Kono suicchi-o oshitara,  
 this switch-ACCUSATIVE push-CONDITIONAL  
 terebi gamen-jou-no senbun-ga nagai-yo.  
 TV picture-on-GENITIVE line segment be longer-INSTRUCT

??"(Lit.) If you push this button, the line segment on the TV picture will be longer."

[Pointing to a regulating button on a massage machine]

- c. Kono suicchi-o oshitara, kimochiyokunaru-yo.  
 this switch-ACCUSATIVE push-CONDITIONAL become better-INSTRUCT

"(Lit.) If you push this button, you will become better."

<sup>6</sup> For "the personal restriction of the subject of emotional predicates", see Kuroda (1973), Kinsui (1989), Nitta (1992), and Masuoka (1987). I think that "the personal restriction of the subject of emotional predicates" is not the phenomenon peculiar to Modern Japanese and that we can observe it in various languages though the degree of its clarity is different among them. For a discussion of Spanish, see Tiersma (1982).

<sup>7</sup> The less a conditional sentence is typical, the more exceptions this principle has. For example, unless the meaning of the apodosis is distinct from that of the protasis, this principle has many exceptions. The sentence "Kondo maketara sanrenpaيدا (i.e. if we lose a game next time, we will suffer three successive defeats)" is natural, and the apodosis "sanrenpaيدا (i.e. we will suffer three successive defeats)" expresses just a state, therefore this is an exception to the principle. In this case, our suffering three successive defeats has been realized at the same time as our next defeat. In other words, the apodosis expresses another side of the meaning of the protasis. In this respect, this conditional sentence is not a typical one.

- d. Kono suicchi-o oshitara, kimochiii-yo.  
 this switch-ACCUSATIVE push-CONDITIONAL be better-INSTRUCT

"(Lit.) If you push this button, you will be better."

The sentence (7b) is, unlike the sentence (7a), unnatural because "nagakunaru (i.e. become longer)" in (7a) expresses an event, while "nagai (i.e. be longer)" in (7b) expresses not an event but a state. However, this difference between (7a) and (7b) is not parallel to (7c) and (7d). This unparallel relation can be explained if we take into consideration the notion of bodily sensation. The degree of bodily sensation of "kimochiii (i.e. be better)" in (7d) is much higher than that of "nagai (i.e. be longer)" in (7b), since cognizing the length of the line segment on the TV picture requires a kind of visual calculation. Hence it is easy to interpret "kimochiii" in (7d) as an event expression, and it is not easy to interpret "nagai" in (7b) as an event expression, rather than just a state expression.

When we observe sentences of causal relationship, we can also see the same unparallelism as seen in (7). See the sentences (8) below.

(8) [Pointing to a regulating button on a TV set]

- a. Terebi gamen-jou-no senbun-ga nagakunaru-kara,  
 TV picture-on-GENITIVE line segment become longer-CAUSAL

kono suicchi-o osu.  
 this switch-ACCUSATIVE push

"(Lit.) I push this button, because the line segment on the TV picture will become longer as the result of it."

- b. ??Terebi gamen-jou-no senbun-ga nagai-kara,  
 TV picture-on-GENITIVE line segment be longer-CAUSAL

kono suicchi-o osu.  
 this switch-ACCUSATIVE push

??(Lit.) I push this button, because the line segment on the TV picture will be longer as the result of it."

[Pointing to a regulating button on a massage machine]

- c. Kimochiyokunaru-kara, kono suicchi-o osu.  
 become better-CAUSAL this switch-ACCUSATIVE push

"(Lit.) I push this button, because I will become better as the result of it."

- d. Kimochiii-kara, kono suicchi-o osu.  
 be better-CAUSAL this switch-ACCUSATIVE push

"(Lit.) I push this button, because I will be better as the result of it."

The sentence (8a) can naturally mean "I push this button, because the line segment on the TV picture will get longer as the result of it". Besides that, (8a) can also mean "I push this button, because the line segment on the TV picture will get longer if I do not", but the latter meaning is irrelevant to the discussion here. The sentence (8b) has only the latter type of meaning, which is to say, it can naturally mean "I push this button,

because the line segment on the TV picture will remain long, if I do not", but (8b) cannot mean "I push this button, because the line segment on the TV picture will become longer as the result of it". (The double question mark "???" put in front of the sentence (8b) expresses this.) This difference between (8a) and (8b) is not parallel to (8c) and (8d). The sentence (8d) can express the same meaning as the sentence (8c). Again, this unparallelism can be explained by the degree of bodily sensation. "Kimochiii (i.e. be better)" in (8d) is an expression of a psychosomatic feeling, which can be easily sensed directly by the cognizer. On the contrary, the meaning of "nagai (i.e. be longer)" is less likely to be sensed directly. In other words, the meaning of "kimochiii", unlike that of "nagai", is much easier to be taken as an event rather than a state.

As mentioned above, as to conditional sentences and sentences of causal relationship, when the expression of just a state is unnatural in principle, the expression of a sensed state is natural as well as an ordinary event expression. We should pay more attention to bodily sensation which changes states into events.

It is common that a context has much effect on the degree of bodily sensation. For example, see the sentence (9) below.

- (9) Momiji-no                      iro-wa                      azayakana                      aka-da.  
 maple-GENITIVE                      color-TOPIC                      bright                      red-COPULA

"The color of the maple leaf is bright red."

The sentence (9) is vague about whether the state "the color of the maple leaf is bright red" has been acquired as knowledge or it has been directly sensed. If this sentence is murmured in a situation such as that the speaker was looking up at the color of a maple leaf in autumn in an encyclopedia and he/she finally finds that it is bright red, this is the former case. On the other hand, if the sentence (9) is a part of the travel notes which lively expresses the experience of tramping over the hills, this is the latter case. What has to be noticed here is that if the state "the color of the maple leaf is bright red" has been acquired as knowledge, it is just a state, however, if it has been directly sensed at the scene, it is not just a state for the speaker but the interaction between him/her and the maple leaves, namely, an event<sup>8</sup>.

Finally, I will supplement the explanation of the notion of bodily sensation by showing the difference between it and a similar conception. At first sight, the notion of bodily sensation looks like "subjective construal" stated in Langacker (1990), etc. It is true that we can see related parts between them, but they are different from each other. "Subjective construal" indicates a construal such as the expresser himself/herself disappears from the target of the expression. For example, see the sentences (10) below.

- (10) a. Emiko is sitting across the table from me. [objective construal]  
 b. Emiko is sitting across the table. [subjective construal]

In the sentence (10a), the expresser is explicitly expressed as "me", namely, he/she is in the on-stage state, therefore, the construal is objective, while in the sentence (10b), the expresser is not explicitly expressed, namely, he/she is in the off-stage state,

<sup>8</sup> Useful insights on this point are given by Masuoka (1987).



therefore, its construal is subjective. The notion of bodily sensation is relevant to, but is not the same as "subjective construal". Let us see the example (11).

(11) a. Aitsu-wa      watashi-yori      ni-kiro-mo      ushiro-da.  
           he-TOPIC    I-than                    two-kilometer-no    less    than      behind-  
 COPULA

"(Lit.) He is no less than two kilometers behind me."

b. Aitsu-wa      ni-kiro-mo      ushiro-da.  
           he-TOPIC      two-kilometer-no less than      behind-COPULA

"(Lit.) He is no less than two kilometers behind."

c. Watashi-no      ashimoto-wa      hana-no      umi-da.  
           I-GENITIVE      under foot-TOPIC      flower-GENITIVE      sea-COPULA

"(Lit.) There are many flowers at my feet."

d. Ashimoto-wa      hana-no      umi-da.  
           under foot-TOPIC      flower-GENITIVE      sea-COPULA

"(Lit.) There are many flowers at the feet."

The sentences (11a,b) are natural as an utterance by, for example, a runner in a marathon race. (Imagine the situation that the runner was told from his/her coach the position of himself/herself and of his/her rival, and he/she is trying to calm himself/herself down.) Like in case of the sentences (10) mentioned above, the construal of (11a) is objective, and that of (11b) is subjective, although, both the sentences are not so high in the degree of bodily sensation. Moreover, the sentences (11c,d) are natural as the travel notes expressed lively by a traveler who goes up a mountain in autumn. The construal of (11c) is objective, and that of (11d) is subjective, although, both the sentences are high in the degree of bodily sensation. The differences of the degree of bodily sensation among the sentences (11a-d) are ascertained by, for example, conditional sentences. See the sentences (12) below.

(12) a. Watashi-ga      supiido-wo      age-teike-ba,  
           I-NOMINATIVE      speed-ACCUSATIVE      raise-gradually-CONDITIONAL  
           aitsu-wa      watashi-yori      san-kiro-mo      ushiro-ni-naru.  
           he-TOPIC    I-than                    three-kilometer-no less than      behind-DATIVE-  
 become

"(Lit.) If I raise the speed gradually, he will become no less than three kilometers behind me."

b. ??Watashi-ga      supiido-wo      age-teike-ba,  
           I-NOMINATIVE      speed-ACCUSATIVE      raise-gradually-CONDITIONAL  
           aitsu-wa      watashi-yori      san-kiro-mo      ushiro-  
 da.  
           he-TOPIC      I-than                    three-kilometer-no less than      behind-COPULA

"(Lit.) If I raise the speed gradually, he will be no less than three kilometers behind me."

- c. ??Watashi-ga supiido-wo age-teike-ba,  
 I-NOMINATIVE speed-ACCUSATIVE raise-gradually-CONDITIONAL  
 aitsu-wa san-kiro-mo ushiro-da.  
 he-TOPIC three-kilometer-no less than get behind-COPULA

??"(Lit.) If I raise the speed gradually, he will be no less than three kilometers behind."

- d. Takeyabu-wo ippo nukere-ba,  
 bamboo grove-ACCUSATIVE one step go outside-CONDITIONAL  
 watashi-no ashimoto-wa hana-no umi-ni-naru.  
 I-GENITIVE under foot-TOPIC flower-GENITIVE sea-DATIVE-become

"(Lit.) If I take one step outside the bamboo grove, there stretch many flowers at my feet."

- e. Takeyabu-wo ippo nukere-ba,  
 bamboo grove-ACCUSATIVE one step go outside-CONDITIONAL  
 watashi-no ashimoto-wa hana-no umi-da.  
 I-GENITIVE under foot-TOPIC flower-GENITIVE sea-COPULA

"(Lit.) If I take one step outside the bamboo grove, there will be many flowers

at

my feet."

- f. Takeyabu-wo ippo nukere-ba,  
 bamboo grove-ACCUSATIVE one step go outside-CONDITIONAL  
 ashimoto-wa hana-no umi-da.  
 under foot-TOPIC flower-GENITIVE sea-COPULA

"(Lit.) If I take one step outside the bamboo grove, there will many flowers at the feet."

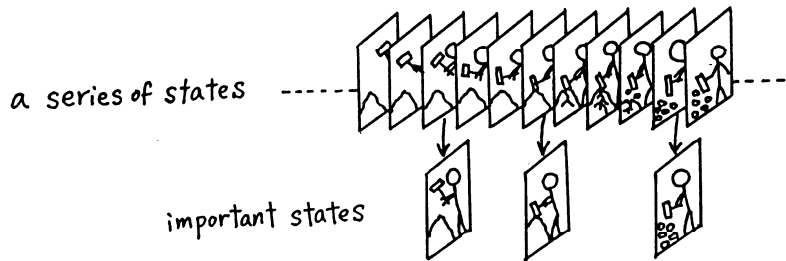
The apodosis of the sentence (12a) is expressed as an event, as is indicated by the predicate "naru". However, the sentences (12b,c) are unnatural as the expression synonymous with (12a). By contrast, the apodosis of (12d) is expressed as an event, as is indicated by the predicate "naru". Moreover, the sentences (12e,f) can naturally express the same meaning as (12d). Among human being's action of getting information, bodily sensation is the most basic one and it is opposite to other indirective ones such as books. Bodily sensation is different from subjective construal with indicates that the expresser is off-stage.

#### 4. State-cutout

In order to explain "the spatial expression in terms of temporal words", we need to hypothesize a human being's other action besides the bodily sensation. We call it "state-cutout" in this paper. The state-cutout is a kind of filtering action by which a

human being scans a series of states and picks out the essential state in order to cognize an event.<sup>9</sup>

For example, let us consider the case of "he breaks a stone with a hammer." See Figure 1 below.



**Figure 1:** State-cutout (the case of "he breaks a stone with a hammer")

To begin with, let us explain the upper half of Figure 1. In the upper half of Figure 1, many parallelograms are lined up. Each parallelogram shows the momentary state of the world which the cognizer is trying to cognize. In this case, what the cognizer is trying to cognize is the world where he, the hammer, and the stone occupy the central positions, therefore, each parallelogram is the momentary state for him, the hammer, and the stone. The process of his breaking the stone with the hammer is consisted by a series of these momentary states. The changes of the states of him, the hammer, and the stone lie in a series of these states. Imagine that we put each movie frame in a line, and see them from an oblique position. The movie frames are rectangles, however, if we see them from the oblique position, they will look the parallelograms as Figure 1 shows.

What is important here is that all states are not equally important for cognizing events. There are two different kinds of states in such a series of the states, namely, the state important to the cognition of events and the one unimportant to it. For example, in case of "he breaks a stone with a hammer", the important states are the following four states: "the state that he has energy", "the state that the hammer has the energy", "the state that the stone has the energy", and "the state after the stone has broken (namely, the state that no energy has been left)". Without acquiring these states (by real perception or interpolation<sup>10</sup>), we cannot cognize the event "he breaks a stone

<sup>9</sup> For details of the state-cutout, see Sadanobu (1995).

<sup>10</sup> A cognizer need not cognize all of these states actually. For example, in order to cognize the event "he breaks a stone with a hammer", the cognizer do not have to gaze at all the process. Even if some perception is lost because of a blink or looking aside, the lost part can be interpolated from the perceived part. This is just as we can easily interpolate the two limited straight lines into a single one. See Figure (i) below.

with a hammer". On the other hand, the unimportant state is, for example, the state "the hammer is located in the air (by his hands' power of supporting it)". Even if we do not cognize this state, it is fully possible to cognize the event "he breaks a stone with a hammer". For instance, even if he breaks a stone by means of throwing the stone at the hammer which is put still on the ground, it is possible to cognize the event "he breaks a stone with a hammer".

The existence of the two kinds of states, in other words, the important states and the unimportant states tell us that what the event is. An event does not consist of a dense series of states in which only important states are crammed. Rather, it consists of a few, limited important states. The event "he breaks a stone with a hammer" has a framework of its own, and it is considerably different from, for example, the framework of the event "the pond is frozen over". Whether two events are equal or not depends on these frameworks. The question whether the hammer moves in the air does not concern the framework of this event, neither does the question how the hammer moves in the air. No matter what their answers are, they are not directly related to the cognition itself of the event "he breaks a stone with a hammer".

It follows from what has been said that the most important thing to the human being's cognition of events is the cognition of frameworks. In order to cognize the framework, we need the mental action that we screen a series of states, shake the unimportant states off them, and pick out only the important states. For example, in case of the lower part of Figure 1, it shows that the four important states mentioned above are picked out. It is this mental action that I tentatively call the state-cutout in this paper.

The validity of the state-cutout hypothesis to the explanation of various language phenomena has already been shown by Sadanobu (1993), Sadanobu (1995), Sadanobu (1998), and so on. Further I should like to add that the proto-image of the state-cutout comes from Yukinori Takubo (personal communication).<sup>11</sup>

## 5. The explanation of "the spatial expression in terms of temporal words"

Let us explain "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" by using the two conceptions mentioned above, namely, the bodily sensation and the state-cutout. I will take the word "tokidoki (i.e. sometimes)" which expresses the spatial distribution for the example of explanation. If we make use of the two conceptions mentioned above, we can explain not only the ordinary "tokidoki" which expresses the temporal distribution but also "tokidoki" which expresses the spatial distribution. The detailed account of the explanation is given below.

For example, the sentence (13), whether it expresses the temporal distribution or the spatial distribution, expresses that it is possible to cut out in a given pattern the important state that "cylindrical mailboxes exist" from a series of states. See Figure 2 on the next page.

(13) Touji, machi-ni-wa mada, entoukei-no

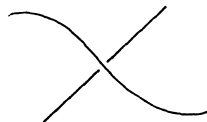


Figure (i): Interpolation

<sup>11</sup> For Takubo's idea of "event slice", see Takubo (1993).





- (16) Hontouni            kowai tokoro-mo tokidoki    at-ta-ga,  
 really                scary place-too sometimes exist-PAST-ADVERSATIVE  
 maa                    tanoshikat-ta.  
 so so                   enjoyable-PAST

"Sometimes there were really scary points, but I enjoyed myself so so." = (3a)

Let us imagine the situation that the owner of the amusement park rides in a roller coaster in commemoration of finishing the roller coaster, and he made three rounds of it nonstop because of a special service. There was only one point through the course where the owner was really scared. But, because he made three rounds, there were three points through all the course where he was really scared. In this situation, the sentence (16) is unnatural. In case that there is only one point where the speaker is really scared per round, the sentence (16) is unnatural even if he makes dozens of rounds in it. On the other hand, in case that there are actually three points where the speaker is really scared per a round, the sentence (16) is natural even if he makes dozens of rounds in it.

As shown above, "tokidoki" in question does express the spatial distribution of thing (such as the cylindrical mailboxes and the point where the speaker is really scared) more than expected from the explanation propounded in section five. Unless we explain this point, we cannot accept the explanation shown in section five and cannot decide whether the principle "the spatial usage is basic, and the temporal usage is derivational" does fail in regards to "tokidoki", and so on.

What I wish to say as to this point is that the bodily sensation is a kind of searching action. As is this case of "tokorodokoro-ni at-ta (i.e. there were the things here and there)", in order that the expresser expresses the spatial distribution of thing spatially as it is, he/she must know the whole area of that space. The less the expresser knows about that space, the more difficult the expression such as "tokorodokoroni atta (i.e. there were the things here and there)" is, and the more easily he/she can tell the distribution of things through the experience of his/her own searching action, namely, the bodily sensation. The experience that the expresser has a close look at one cylindrical mailbox in that town has nothing to do with the searching action of the space of that town, therefore the speaker does not pick out states of the experience. In case of (16), the owner must know that in the course of the roller coaster there is only one point which really scares him. The experience of the searching action of the space is not told because he knows the whole course (i.e. the whole area of that space) well.

If we accept the thought that bodily sensation is a kind of searching action, we can also explain the sentence such as (17) below.

- (17) ??Touji,            uchi-no                    kinjo-ni-wa                    mada,  
 in those days   my house-GENITIVE   neighborhood-LOCATIVE-TOPICAL   still  
 entoukei-no                    posuto-ga                    tokidoki                    at-ta.  
 cylinder-GENITIVE            mailbox-NOMINATIVE   sometimes   exist-PAST

?? "In those days, sometimes there still were cylindrical mailboxes in my neighborhood."

The sentence (17), unlike (15), is unnatural (as is shown by the double question mark "??" at the top of (17) ). The sentence (17) cannot mean that there were cylindrical mailboxes in the expresser's neighborhood. We can also explain this difference between (15) and (17) by using the thought that bodily sensation is a kind of searching action. The less the expresser knows that space, the more difficult the expression such as "tokorodokoro-ni at-ta (i.e. there were the things here and there)" is, and the more easily he/she can tell the distribution of things in terms of the experience of his/her own searching action, namely, the bodily sensation.

In case of the vast space such as a town, it is easy to assume that the expresser does not know that space well, whereas it is not easy to assume that the expresser is a stranger in his/her neighborhood. This brings about the difference in the degree of naturalness between the sentences (15) and (17). The more the degree of the expresser's strangeness increases, the more easily "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" arises. Take (18) below for example.

- (18) a. Koe-no                                   yatara ookina hito-tte,  
voice-GENITIVE                   much big person-TOPIC  
  
tokidoki                                   iru-yone?  
sometimes                           exist-TAG QUESTION  
  
"Sometimes there are people who are too loud, aren't there?" =(3a)

- b. Ano   haiyuu-ni           niteiru                   hito-nante,  
that actor-DATIVE resemble                   person-TOPIC  
  
mettani                                   i-nai-darou.  
seldom                                   exist-NEGATIVE-PUTATIVE

"Maybe there are seldom people who resemble that actor. " =(5b)

It is for this reason that this phenomenon arises easily in the sentences such as the sentences (18) which express the distribution of things in the whole world without any explicit restriction.

To sum up, the phenomenon "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" does not violate the common view of unidirectionality from SPATIAL USAGE to TEMPORAL USAGE. Therefore, the name "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" itself is just a tentative name on the grounds of superficial impression. However, through the discussion of this phenomenon, it has been proved that TIME can be more basic than SPACE. In case of searching strange SPACE, TIME is often more basic than SPACE, as shown in this chapter. "Spatial expression in terms of temporal words" does violate the common view that SPACE is more basic than TIME.

## 7. Another kind of "spatial expression in terms of temporal words"

There is another kind of "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" that I have not discussed so far. For example, the sentence (19) below is completely natural as the utterance of the passenger who was looking out of the window on the running bus.

- (19) Sakki                                   michi-no                   hidari-gawa-ni  
a little while ago                   road-GENITIVE                   left-side-LOCATIVE



shokudou-ga                      at-ta-kedo,                      asoko-wa  
 restaurant-NOMINATIVE   exist-PAST-TOPIC                      that place-TOPIC  
 oishii-no?  
 delicious-INTERROGATIVE

"A little while ago there was a restaurant on the left side of the road. Are the dishes good there?"

Of course, in this case, what the expresser wants to express is not that the restaurant existed on the left side of the road a little while ago (but it is gone now), but that he/she saw the restaurant on the left side of the road a little while ago. By means of expressing the bodily sensation which the passenger in the running bus felt a little while ago, as a result, the temporal word "sakki (i.e. a little while ago)" expresses the space where the bus passed a little while ago. Henceforce, I will call this kind of "spacial expression in terms of temporal words" the simple type, and I will call what I have discussed earlier the complicated type.

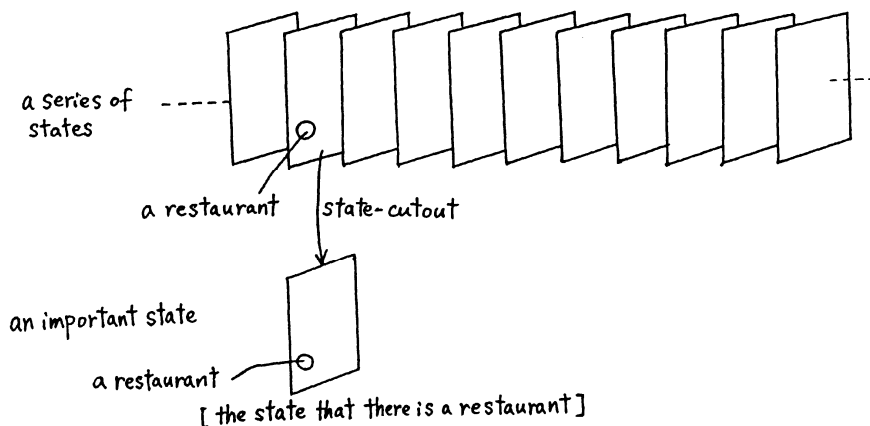
Alike the complicated type, we can regard the simple type as also based on the searching action of scanning. For the sentence (19) above to be natural, the speaker must be a stranger (typically a traveler) who has to search that area. In this respect, there is no difference between the simple type and the complicated type.

However, the distinction between the simple type and the complicated type is cross-linguistically useful. In modern Japanese and modern English, both types of "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" are acceptable. On the other hand, in modern Chinese, only the simple type is acceptable and the complicated type is unacceptable (at least to many native speakers). The sentences (20) below provide an example.

- (20) a. Koe-no                      yataru                      ookina                      hito-tte,  
 voice-GENITIVE                      much                      big                      person-TOPIC  
 tokidoki                      iru-yone? =(18a)  
 sometimes                      exist-TAG QUESTION
- b. Sometimes there are people who are too loud, aren't there?
- c. Youshihour                      you                      shengyin                      hen                      da-de                      ren,  
 sometimes                      exist                      voice                      very                      big-MODIFIER                      man  
 duibudui?  
 TAG-QUESTION
- d. Youshihour                      kandao                      shengyin                      hen                      da-de                      ren,  
 sometimes                      come across                      voice                      very                      big-MODIFIER                      man  
 duibudui?  
 TAG-QUESTION

The sentence (20a) in modern Japanese is the same as the sentence (18a) mentioned at the end of section six. The sentence (20b) is the sentence in modern English which corresponds to the Japanese sentence (20a), and the sentence (20c) is the modern Chinese which corresponds to the sentence (20a). As already shown, "tokidoki" of the sentence (20a) has the spatial usage. "Sometimes" of the sentence (20b) also has it. On the other hand, "youshihour" in the Chinese sentence (20c) does not have this usage for many native speakers of modern Chinese. The only meaning





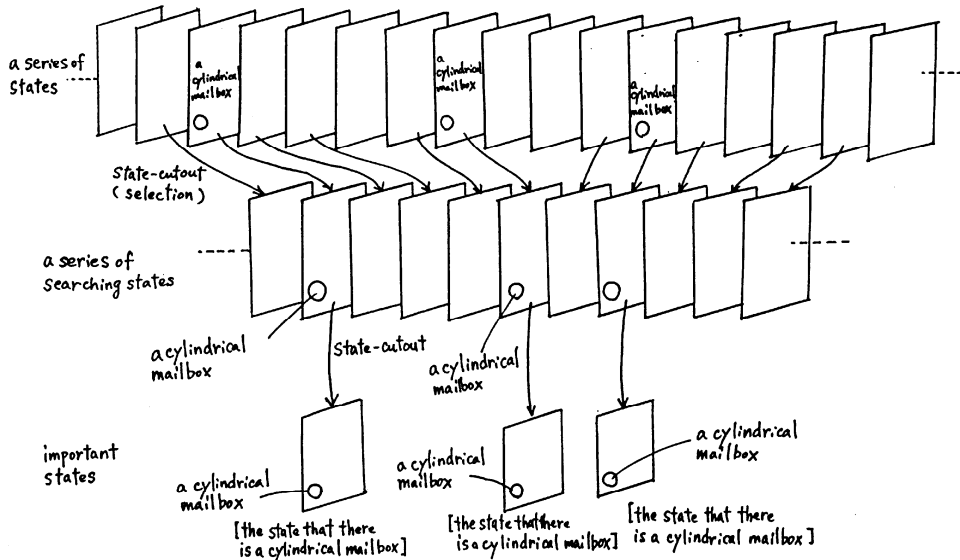
**Figure 3:** A series of states of the simple type (the case of the sentence(21))

On the contrary, in case of the complicated type, a series of states is not made automatically, therefore, the expresser must arrange it by himself/herself. Of course each state which constructs a series of states is obtained by his/her bodily sensation, which is the same as the case of the simple type. But, the sequence cannot be gained automatically. In case of the simple type, as given in Figure 3 above, each state is tied to one another by an external factor (namely, by the moment of the bus) in temporal sequence, whereas in case of the complicated type, it is not. It is the speaker's internal action that ties states together, arranges them, and makes up a series of states. There is no external support in this case. In a series of states of the domain of the expresser's bodily sensation, he/she must pick out only the states of searching the space in question, and arrange them. For example, see (22) below.

- (22) Touji, machi-ni-wa mada, entoukei-no  
 in those days town-LOCATIVE-TOPIC still cylinder-GENITIVE  
 posuto-ga tokidoki at-ta.  
 public mail box-NOMINATIVE sometimes exist-PAST

"In those days, sometimes there still were cylindrical mailboxes in that town." =(15)

In case of the sentence (22), the speaker must first discard many states, for example, a state when he/she was relaxing in his/her home, and then makes a series of states from the rest. See Figure 4 below.



**Figure 4:** A series of states of the complicated type (the case of the sentence(22))

In Figure, 4 the speaker picks out only the states such as [when he/she walked on the east side of that town half a year ago], [when he/she drove through a certain main street in that town three months ago], [when he/she ran through other main street in that town by the same drive], [when he/she walked on the some part of that town last week], [when he/she walked around the station front yesterday], and so on, and makes a series of states out of them.

The difference between the simple type and the complicated type mentioned above can be attributed to the difference in the ways of producing things<sup>12</sup>. There are mainly two ways in which we produce events. What I have discussed is the way that the cognizer only cuts out the important states from a series of states. This is what I called the KABIHAE Model (Moldgrowth Model) in Sadanobu (1995)<sup>13</sup>. There is another way of event production called the Billiard-ball Model which is different from the way of the KABIHAE Model. According to that way, the cognizer, after cutting out the important states, produces the event by focusing on the energy transfer from thing to thing on states.<sup>14</sup> The degree of the use of each way depends on languages. In modern Japanese, the event production in terms of The KABIHAE Model is widely carried out. The cognizer of modern Japanese can cut out the important states even from a series of states which consists of the states arranged by himself/herself, and he/she can produce events. In this regard, the cognizer of modern English is the same

<sup>12</sup> "Production" in this context is equal with "cognition". Cognition is not a passive acceptance of the object but a positive production of the object.

<sup>13</sup>For details of The Moldgrowth Model, see Sadanabu (1995)

<sup>14</sup>See Talmy (1985), Croft(1991), and Langacker (1991).

as that of modern Japanese. On the other hand, in modern Chinese, this way of the event production is not widely carried out. To put it plainly, in modern Chinese, the cognizer cannot produce events from a series of states which is not arranged automatically. Alike the sentence (21d) above, the event production in terms of the Billiard-ball Model is prominent in modern Chinese.<sup>15</sup>

## 8. Conclusion

In this paper, we have paid attention to the simple type and the complicated type of the phenomenon of "spatial expression in terms of temporal words", and discussed how they are constructed. Throughout the arguments I showed that the simple type is natural in Japanese, English, and Chinese, whereas the complicated type is natural only in Japanese and English, but unnatural in Chinese. And, I also showed that this variation among languages was ascribable to the variation of the way of event-cognition.

According to the discussion above, the temporal expressions such as "tokidoki" (the complicated type) and "sakki" (the simple one) have a special temporal usage based on the expresser's bodily sensation, besides the ordinary temporal one. They do not have any spatial usage. Therefore the name "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" itself is only a tentative name on the grounds of superficial impression. Therefore, the phenomenon "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" does not originally contradict the directionality from SPATIAL USAGE to TEMPORAL USAGE. This phenomenon is not the counterexample to the directionality from SPATIAL USAGE to TEMPORAL USAGE.

However, through the process of considering the phenomenon "spatial expression in terms of temporal words", the limit of the directionality from SPACE to TIME has been clarified. The thought that space is always basic and time is always derivational for human beings is not always valid. As "spatial expression in terms of temporal words" shows, in case of searching strange SPACE, TIME is often more basic than SPACE. In this case, human beings indicate the strange SPACE often by TIME. SPACE can be unknown to human beings, so we sometimes search SPACE. On the other hand, TIME cannot be unknown to human beings so we do not search TIME.

Moreover the discussion of "spatial expression in terms of temporal words", has a significant effect on the view of events. Up to now events have been defined in various ways, but the definitions of events tend to have two states and the time flow between them as essential factors. In fact, however, as I have discussed in section three, events do not always need two states. If the cognizer senses even one state,

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<sup>15</sup>Of course, the event of "kandao" expressed in the sentence (21d) is not typical of energy transfer. However, it is still regarded as the energy transfer from the subject to the object in point that the subject makes the object which was out of the subject's sight come in his/her sight. For an explanation of this point see Jacobsen (1992).

that state becomes an event. In order that human beings construe events, we do not always need energy, the change of states, and the flow of time. Events do not need energy, change, and time. The reason for this is that it is possible to change one state into an event by the action of bodily sensation. This indicates that we need to think about human's cognitive process as more active than it has been thought to be, beyond perceptual clues.

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## **STUDIA LITTERARIA**

### **IPOSTAZE ALE CONCEPTULUI DE FRUMUSEȚE ÎN PROZA LUI YASUNARI KAWABATA ȘI YUKIO MISHIMA**

**Temple, ikebana, cești de ceai, kimonouri și femei-flutur**

**RUXANDRA CESEREANU**

**ABSTRACT.** *Hypostases of the Beauty Concept in the Novels of Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima (Temples, Ikebana, Cups of Tea, Kimonos and Butterfly-Women).* Compared with the European mentality which, saturated by the delicate shivers of Romanticism, erupted, sometimes, in several "feasts" of demonism, favouring "the flowers of evil" until the twentieth century, the Japanese mentality was always a taster of beauty in a strong sense. This concept never became voided. But apart from external beauty, Japanese beauty became an infrastructure, an almost neuronic nexus of bodies, objects and other things. In fact, Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima inherited this art from lace-artists of immemorial times.

Spre deosebire de mentalitatea europeană care, saturată de fiori romantici diafani, a erupt, la un moment dat, în cursul unul traseu cultural cu urcușuri și coborîșuri, în adevărate sărbători ale demonismului, cultivînd "florile răului" și prelungindu-le farmecul malefic pînă în secolul XX, mentalitatea japoneză a fost întotdeauna o degustătoare a frumuseții în sens **tare**, concept care nu s-a golit niciodată, nici chiar atunci cînd, arareori, el s-a manifestat necumpătat și năvalnic, riscînd să ardă prea repede. Pe lîngă mantaua exterioară a frumuseții, însă, atît la Yasunari Kawabata, cît și la Yukio Mishima, frumusețea a ajuns să fie o infrastructură, o rețea aproape neuronală a oricăror corpuri, obiecte sau stări. Frumusețea ca detaliu, ca infinitezimal. Kawabata și Mishima nu sînt excepții în proza japoneză, ei continuă arta miniaturilor moștenită de la niște imemoriali dantelari. De altfel, pentru a evita o eventuală dogmatizare a frumuseții, ca să o coboare în real, dar și ca să o absolutizeze, Mishima o mai numește și **splendoare**.

Cel mai important instrument nipon de revelare a frumuseții este lumina, element proteic și polimorf care conține nu doar dimensiunea văzului, ci și a altor simțuri. În funcție de diferitele clipe ale zilei și ale nopții, lumina modelează atît frumusețea, cît și fantasmalele acesteia, adulmecîndu-i cîinește urmele, pînă la



epuizare. Aerul devine un ecran strălucitor care irealizează, norii reflectă lumina razant, lumina lunii este spectrală și năucitoare mai ales atunci când cade pe chipuri, întunericul este o lumină neagră a cărei obscuritate are calități tainice, razele soarelui devin falduri în jurul obiectului contemplat (lumina are proprietăți specifice anotimpurilor și momentelor zilei: ea este lăptoasă dimineața, aurie la amiază și apus, este compactă vara, pierzând detaliile și păstrând doar contururile, este orbitoare de la zăpadă și are impact fotografic pe contrast alb-negru, este anamorfotică de la lampioane). Unul și același peisaj se modifică în funcție de lumina care îl străbate. Tehnica aceasta folosit-o și Katsushika Hokusai în cele treizeci și șase de imagini ale muntelui Fuji, de pildă. Tot de tărîmul luminii țin spectacolele ignice, numitele sărbători ale focului, unde torțele, ploaia de scînteii, jerbele sclipitoare proiectează templele, munții și cerul într-o cromatică specială. În sfîrșit, un alt avatar al luminii este umbra. Templul de aur, pe marginea căruia glosează obsesiv Mizoguchi, personajul lui Yukio Mishima din romanul cu același titlu, are o superbă umbră reflectată în lac, care, efemer, ajunge să fie mai frumoasă decît templul însuși. Înrudită cu umbra este oglinda, respectiv oglinda de bronz ruginit a lacului în care se reflectă același templu de aur. Atunci cînd oglinda lacului malformează, frumusețea templului suferă și ea, fiind dependentă de instrumentul de reflectare. Altădată, Mizoguchi oglindește templul de aur în capul său ras de preot-ucenic, ca și cum frumusețea edificiului ar fi trebuit să-l pătrundă pe aici. Capul ras este o altă oglindă și un alt lac în care templul s-ar putea reflecta, dar printr-o stimulare în același timp carnală și cerebrală. Umbra și oglinda, însă, nu preiau decît în condiții speciale funcționalitatea luminii.

Pentru Yukio Mishima și personajul său, Mizoguchi, etalonul absolut al frumuseții este templul de aur, care funcționează ca "filtru" de purificare a realității. Antrenîndu-se spre a privi templul de aur la diferite ore ale zilei, Mizoguchi consideră că frumusețea (văzută ca scop prim al vieții, înaintea lui Dumnezeu și a morții) se travestește pentru a-și ascunde adevărata frumusețe și a o face inaccesibilă. Așa-zisele straturi de urîțenie din exteriorul templului sînt, astfel, doar niște camuflaje, pentru că frumusețea înseamnă și întunecare. Frumusețea templului, însă, poate fi percepută cu adevărat doar în absența lui. Nevăzut, doar în amintire, frumusețea templului devine deplină. Dar nu amintirea este cea care îl daurește, și nici imaginația, ci reducerea templului la scheletul său esențial, dincolo de straturile de camuflaj. Pentru Mizoguchi, obsesia frumuseții templului de aur este legată de propria sa urîțenie: bilbiiiala, infirmitate resimțită ca abominabilă și evidențiată maladiv de perfecțiunea și muțenia templului. În logica personajului, dialectica frumusețe-urîțenie este esențială tocmai pentru că sporește impactul frumuseții. De aceea, Mizoguchi este atras de urîțenia altui coleg infirm, Kashiwagi, simțindu-se solidar în urîțenie cu acesta. Kashiwagi își construiește existența doar pentru a macula frumusețea, adorînd **inutilitatea frumuseții**: îi place să oucidă și să aibă controlul asupra ei, pentru ca aceasta să nu aparțină nimănui. Spre deosebire de Kashiwagi, Mizoguchi simte, în fața frumuseții (templului de aur), ceva asemănător cu **catharsis-ul** provocat de tragedia greacă, dar nu spaimă și milă, ci splendoare care tulbură și trupul, și sufletul, și spiritul. Considerîndu-se urît, adică opus frumuseții templului, percepția acestuia va fi cu ațit mai deplină. În același timp, însă, frumusețea templului este cea care îl face pe Mizoguchi să nu

se poate bucura de viață, întrucât personajul nu poate iubi decât frumusețea absolută (a se citi templul de aur) iar nu resturi ale frumuseții (femeia). Din această clipă, templul de aur, în ciuda perfecțiunii sale sau tocmai de aceea, devine un fel de umbră jungiană a lui Mizoguchi. Atunci când tânărul bărbat încearcă să posedă o femeie, sînul acesteia se transformă în templul de aur, trupescul și corporalitatea impregnîndu-se de spiritualitatea aurie a templului și împiedicînd trăirea clipei în carnal. Virginitatea lui Mizoguchi are ca centură de castitate inviolabilă tocmai templul de aur. Odinioară, personajul înțelesese că frumusețea templului sporește odată cu posibilitatea distrugerii lui; treptat, frumusețea devine un concept legat ombilical de neant, iar cele două componente, frumusețea și neantul își cuceresc dreptul de a fi maeștrii iluminării lui Mizoguchi. Chiar și în pragul distrugerii sale, templul de aur îi provoacă ucenicului beția frumuseții, dar, ca după orice beție, urmează apoi mahmureala și răul de a doua zi. Cu puțin înainte de incendierea templului, Mizoguchi decretează în frumusețe un dușman de moarte, pentru că frumusețea absolută a templului apare într-o lumină pe care Mishima o numește "a timpului" care "nu e nici zi, nici noapte"; templul însuși este lumina și aceasta poate fi percepută nu de către văzători, ci de către orbii metafizici. Revelația lui Mizoguchi este frumusețea ca neant; alcătuită dintr-o suită de frumuseți care se umbresc una pe alta, în șir, splendoarea templului de aur nu mai ajunge să existe de fapt, pentru că se autodistruge prin implozie. În cele din urmă Yukio Mishima a vidat conceptul nipon de frumusețe, dar nu prin golirea sensului său **tare**, ci prin distrugere.

Kawabata și Mishima privesc natura ca și cum ar fi paradisul veșnic: exuberanța vegetală, proteismul cromatic, polimorfismul olfactiv pledează pentru aceasta. Natura, prin ciclul ei vegetal, prilejuiește frumusețe vie (splendoarea înfloririi) și frumusețe moartă (ofilire), iar ikebana devine un lucru egal cu iubirea și moartea, cele două mari teme naționale nipone. Uneori, ikebana, chiar substituie simbolic iubirea și moartea, conținîndu-le sau sublimîndu-le. Peisajele nu mai sînt decoruri, ci frumusețe în sine, palpabilă, fiecare anotimp cultivînd un anumit tip de splendoare. Există chiar ritualuri de despărțire a anotimpurilor care prilejuiesc stări sufletești și o vestimentație aparte. Olfactivi și vizuali, Kawabata și Mishima oficiază ikebana chiar în scrierile lor: florile și arbuștii sînt combinate după o estetică interioară, în funcție de anotimp. Există astfel o **ikebana mică**, cea a artei aranjamentului floral propriu-zis, și o **ikebana mare**, cea a naturii cu combinațiile sale întîmplătoare (o clopotniță înconjurată de pruni înfloriți, un ogor multicolor de lalele, un bătrîn arțar cu scorburi din care cresc viorele, mixturi cromatice purificatoare: roșul florilor de cireș combinat cu verdele pinilor și cu albul tufelor de rododendron). Dar planta cea mai elogiată este floarea de cireș. Sărbătoarea cireșilor înfloriți din grădina templului Heyan din Kyoto, de pildă, creează un spectacol roșu-alb, contrastul stabilindu-se între culoarea aprinsă a florilor și tenul nipon extrem de alb. Primăvara cireșilor este întotdeauna un corespondent al sufletelor celor îndrăgostiți, senzualitatea florilor fiind un echivalent al erotismului care crește în trupurile iubiților. Între ikebana mică și cea mare, un loc aparte îl ocupă grădina, fie că plantele sînt lăsate să crească sălbatic, iar grădina este luxuriantă, fie că plantele sînt crescute ordonat, fiind croite estetic, grădina reprezintă întotdeauna la Kawabata și Mishima sau partea vizibilă a sufletului, sau partea sa ascunsă.

Tot de ritualurile frumuseții ține arta ceaiului, splendoarea putînd fi produsă și de o ceașcă de ceai. Frumusețea simplității ceștilor de ceai, a recipientelor pentru apă, a bastonașelor de bambus ține de o lumină interioară (aceste obiecte posedă sufletul celor care le folosesc); de pildă, urma rujului de buze al femeii iubite pe o ceașcă de ceai emană un erotism spectaculos și diafan în același timp. Întregul roman **Stol de păsări albe** al lui Yasunari Kawabata structurează tema iubirii prin intermediul artei ceaiului. Ceașca de ceai este aici și o icoană a iubiților dispăruți. Iubirea doamnei Ota pentru bărbaiții Mitani (tatăl și fiul) este delicat simbolizată prin ceașca veche de ceai, dăruită odinioară lui Mitani tatăl; după ce fiul bea, la rîndu-i, din ea, doamna Ota vrea să bea din aceeași ceașcă de parcă iubirea ei ar parcurge conturul unui șarpe Ouroboros care-și mușcă coada, întorcîndu-se acolo de unde a pornit. În realitate, așa se și întîmplă: doamna Ota devine iubita fiului, după ce fusese a tatălui, dintr-un fel de prelungire a dragostei sale față de primul Mitani (mort acum). După sinuciderea domnei Ota, Kikuji (Mitani fiul) are revelația că aceasta fusese o "capodoperă de frumusețe feminină", perfectă ca o ceașcă de ceai. Tot acum Kikuji și Fumiko (fiica doamnei Ota) beau ceai exact din ceștile folosite odinioară de părinții lor și devin la rîndul lor amanți. Astfel, ceașca de ceai este nu doar icoană a celui iubit, ci chiar un etalon pentru ierarhizarea frumuseții.

Kimonourile reprezintă apoi o altă mostră a frumuseții. Imprimeurile lor se adaptează la anotimp, iubire și moarte și sînt dependente de această triadă. Asortarea lor se face dintr-o dorință de perfecțiune estetică și de potrivire sufletească. O eșarfă sau cingătoare pot fi și ele adevărate opere de artă. Confecționarea unei eșarfe pentru Chieko din romanul **Kyoto** de Yasunari Kawabata reclamă pretențiile unei capodopere minuțioase: mai întîii desenarea modelului, apoi țeserea stofei și croiul ei. Țesătorul este un estet și un creator cu geniu sau nu este deloc. De timpuriu, țesătorii învață să depene, apoi treptat ajung la stadiul de inițiați. Modelul țesut trebuie să aibă întotdeauna suflet, altfel este mort sau mediocru. De fapt, kimonoul reprezintă al doilea trup - este celălalt trup diafan, pentru suflet, de aici exteriorul eteral, de fluture.

Imaginea femeii-fluture, înveșmîntată în kimonou, figurină grațioasă construită pe contrastul alb-negru-roșu este, însă, cea mai pilduitoare ilustrare a conceptului nipon de frumusețe (firește, nu intră aici "coleoptera" lascivă, acea femeie a nisipurilor a lui Kobo Abe sau bătrînele demonese, moștenite din povestirile și legendele chinezești). Măștile Nô au început să existe poate (nu teatral, ci simili-trupește, să spunem), în clipa în care carnația specific niponă a fost considerată o culme a sublimului: în aceasta constă de fapt splendoarea măștilor Nô. Femeile-fluture (pe care le numesc astfel nu doar datorită acestor urme de aripi care sînt kimonourile, ci și din pricina siluetei care se încadrează în tipologia **mignonne**) sînt florale, gingașe, de o albețe orbitoare a tenului. Sidefiul lor are multe în comun cu luna, fără a face însă din aceste făpturi niște lunatic. Obsedat de amintirea lui Uiko, Mizoguchi din **Templul de aur** de Yukio Mishima va păstra în minte în întreaga sa adolescență prospețimea, înmiresmarea, diafanitatea lui Uiko. Toate femeile pe care le va întîlni vor avea ochii adînci și dinții proaspeți de animal mic ai primei femei iubite. Albețea tenului, gingășia trăsăturilor, gîtul-lujer, brațele florale, pielea lăptos-scintilantă, părul noptatic, mîinile miniaturale de magiciene

sînt specifice feminității japoneze, frăgezimea liniilor fiind obținută după o îndelungată alchimie. Cel mai tulburător la aceste femei este însă contrastul cromatic: roșu-alb (buze, piele) în cazul prostituatei maltratate de Mizoguchi, sifiediu-rozaliu, atunci cînd Fumiko din **Stol de păsări albe** (Kawabata) roșește din pudoare creînd un contrast îmbătător și cu efect afrodisiac, roșu-alb în cazul lui Kikuko din **Vuietul muntelui** (Kawabata), cînd pînă și sîngele este estetic, contrastul stabilindu-se între epiderma palidă și roșul vijelios-delicat al sîngelui zărit pe sub piele, roșu-alb și roșu-negru în cazul lui Komako din **Țara zăpezilor** (Kawabata), constrastul stabilindu-se între tenul de crin sub care se zărește sîngele pulsînd, între roșeața obrazilor, zăpadă și părul negru al fetei, roz-alb de la contrastul îmbujorării și al gîtului alb în ceea ce privește gemenele Chieko (frumusețe nobilă) și Naeko (frumusețe rustică) din **Kyoto** de Yasunari Kawabata. Există, însă, multe alte detalii ale corpului feciorelnic, cel mai adesea, care declanșează spectacolul frumuseții: genele dantelate ale lui Komako (**Țara zăpezilor**), coafura complicată a lui Kikuko din **Vuietul muntelui**, adevărat castel de pieptănături cultivînd o estetică a părului, umerii aceleiași Kikuko, prospețimea domnișoarei Inamura din **Stol de păsări albe**, emanată de toți porii săi, sprîncenele lui Hatsue și pielea ei chihlimbarie (în **Tumulul valurilor** de Yukio Mishima). Uneori, o parte a trupului concentrează frumusețea la nivel cosmic aproape, așa cum se întîmplă cu sînul lui Hatsue din **Tumulul valurilor**, care are o structură galactică, sau cu sînul de zeiță al femeii care picură lapte din el în ceaiul pregătit pentru bărbatul iubit (în **Templul de aur**) într-o ceremonie a ceaiului care este una a iubirii, a morții și a despărțirii. Splendoarea feminină se prelungește și la maturitate: Kazu, din **După banchet** de Yukio Mishima, încarnează o frumusețe sănătoasă, dar în același timp senzuală; cazul cel mai exemplar îl reprezintă doamna Ota, din **Stol de păsări albe**, a cărei voluptate senină stîrnește un eros cu o boare maternală, o desfătare și un farmec somnolente. Frumusețea matură a doamnei Ota (gît suplu, gură mică, nas desenat, ochi de Modigliani) este impersonalizată și ridicată la rangul de a face din ea, Femeia absolută (esența femininului, principiul însuși), astfel încît chiar și după sinuciderea ei, Kikuji îi mai simte mental trupul delicios, de parcă frumusețea femeii iubite ar fi devenit o aromă a universului. Mishima, dar mai ales Kawabata, au fost impregnați de imaginea feminină proiectată în picturile lui Suzuki Harunobu și Kitagawa Utamaro, o feminitate surprinsă în toate ipostazele ei animice, al cărei lirism, însă, nu împiedică să răbufnească o senzualitate unduioasă. Nu doar gheișele aparțin aceastei feminități, ci toate femeile-fluturi, fie ele făpturile aparent infantile ale lui Harunobu, fie maturele sofisticate ale lui Utamaro. Alcătuite din linii arcuite sau frînte, dar întotdeauna suple, cu buze de cireășă și urechi delicate, femeile japoneze sînt **giocondice**, inefabile adică, niște sfioase prințese interioare, locuind în ultima încăpere a sîngelui lor.

## ON A SENSE-CONSTITUTIVE SIGN RELATION: EVOCATION OF JAPANESE SIGNIFICATIONS IN AN ENGLISH TEXT

EMMA TĂMĂIANU

**REZUMAT.** *Despre o relație semnică textual-constitutivă: evocarea de semnificații japoneze într-un text englezesc.* Înscrisă în viziunea integralistă (E. Coseriu) asupra procesului de articulare a sensului textual, cercetarea de față urmărește câteva strategii semantice dominante în *Zen Inklings* de Donald Richie, prin prisma conceptului coserian de **evocare**. Este identificată în primul rând o strategie de tip iconic, de macro- și micro-structurare a textului pe dimensiunea relației "imitative" între semne și "lucruri". În al doilea rând, este investigată strategia de evocare a unor configurații semantice (lexicale și sintactice) specifice limbii japoneze prin structuri ale limbii engleze, care astfel se validează drept componente-cheie în dinamica creației de sens.

### **1. Theoretical framework. The concept of 'evocation' and its dominant instances in the analysed text.**

**1.1.** This paper investigates the fundamental sense creation strategies in a corpus of 19 short stories by Donald Richie, collected under the title *Zen Inklings*<sup>1</sup>. The analysis was carried out within the framework of Coseriu's *integral linguistics*, where text/discourse is defined as an autonomous level of *s p e e c h* (*Ebene des Sprachlichen*), through its specific type of linguistic content, the sense (*Sinn*)<sup>2</sup>. The textual functioning of linguistic signs is conceptualised in the form of five species of sign relations: (1) relations with other signs (namely, with individual signs, with sign groupings and with entire sign systems); (2) relations with signs from other texts; (3) relations between signs and 'things' ("*Sachen*");

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<sup>1</sup> For the sake of easier reference, as well as for reflecting the unity of each story, quoted fragments are identified through a number that indicates the text's order position in the succession of the volume and the page number, in square brackets. E.g. [4:21] = quotation from the fourth story, "The Nature of Fish", to be found on page 20 of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of terminological precision, throughout this paper the fundamental concepts of 'Bezeichnung', 'Bedeutung' and 'Sinn' are consistently indicated by the English equivalents *designation*, *signification* and *sense*, while the undifferentiated term *meaning* is used only as a correspondent of the general concept of 'linguistic content' ('sprachlicher Inhalt').

(4) relations between signs and the 'knowledge of things' ("*Kenntnis der Sachen*"); (5) relation between signs and the 'contexts' (*Umfelder, entornos*) (Coseriu 1981:68-101). These relations, that go beyond idiomatic semantics, and the totality of which is termed 'evocation', contribute to the constitution of textual sense.

"Ich nenne die Gesamtheit dieser Funktionen, die sich nicht direkt auf die Darstellungsfunktion reduzieren lassen, *Evokation*. Die Evokation trägt besonders viel zum Reichtum der Sprache bei, durch sie entsteht jene Mehrdeutigkeit, die man nicht immer nur negativ als "Vagheit" sehen sollte, sondern durchaus positiv als eine Bereicherung. ... Der Sinn entsteht aus der Kombination der Bühlerschen Funktionen (also der Darstellung, der Kundgabe und des Appells) und der Evokation." (Coseriu 1981:102)

It follows that the process of sense creation in each individual text cannot be explained without investigating its unique configuration of preminent evocative functions.

**1.2.** Ostensibly about the Zen view on man and the world, Richie's collection of "stories, fables, parables and sermons" is constructed on an overall strategy that draws upon what Coseriu calls "Relationen zwischen Zeichen und 'Sachen'", namely "die direkte Nachahmung der bezeichneten Sache durch das *signifiant* eines einzelnen Zeichens bzw. durch die *signifiants* einer Zeichenkette", further discriminated as 'imitation through the substance', and 'imitation through the form' of the signifier (Coseriu 1981:82). While instances of 'imitation' through the substance of the signifier do appear in our text as local strategies, it is our point to demonstrate that the dominant strategy of text constitution can be recognized in the iconic relation between textual structures and their designata<sup>3</sup>. Thus, we state that Zen concepts and views<sup>4</sup> do not constitute, in and by themselves, the sense of Richie's text; the text is "about" them precisely in the understanding that textual sense is constructed about them in the dominant manner indicated above. The various components of the iconic strategy of sense creation are outlined and illustrated in Section 2 of this paper.

Another important strategy is founded upon a species of what Coseriu defines as the relation of signs in the text with entire systems of signs, namely upon the "Nachahmung einer Sprache mit den Mitteln einer anderen Sprache" (1981:75). In this case, Japanese significations are evoked through English lexical and syntactic signs that fulfill key functions in the dynamics of sense creation. It is these instances that are dwelt upon in Section 3.

<sup>3</sup> As an example of such relation, relevant to the strategy we have identified in Richie's text, Coseriu (1981:88) highlights the approximate 1:1 rapport between time of narration and narrated time ("das Verhältnis von *Erzählzeit* zu *erzählter Zeit*") in Joyce's *Ulysses*.

<sup>4</sup> We have in mind concepts such as *satori* and the way to *satori*, *dō* (the Way), the 'true nature' of things, unifying the mind, experiencing the fleeting moment in full awareness, and so on.

## 2. *"Things are defined by what they are not".*

**2.1.** Richie places his "stories" in a tradition of Zen texts "the meaning of which lies in what is not stated" [0:vii]. The macrostructure of each text is explicitated in this sense by the narrator's voice in a consistent series of 'interpretation clues' or, more properly termed, 'reading instructions' that interrupt the sequence of narrated "facts". These 'instructions' have a twofold function. First, they repeatedly call the reader's attention that the stories are not "about" facts or events, but "about" the significance bestowed upon them by the participants. Since this significance is entirely an inner reality, the attempt to retrieve it triggers a never-ending spiral of hypothetical interpretations, which ultimately indicate different hypothetical versions of the events themselves. Therefore, secondly, the 'reading instructions' bring to the foreground the reality of the 'other story', the alternative story ostensibly untold, which inherently contradicts both the primary story, and the reading directions which it supposedly instantiates.

Thus, for example, the story of Shigo the Butcher [12] is articulated in five steps. First, the narrator stages the story with the indication: "There was once a butcher named Shigo. We know about him because he wrote a poem. This is about how he came to write the poem and what it means." [12:57] The second step is the omniscient narration of a chain of events that, according to the indication, we expect to have led causally to the writing of the poem. However, the causal chain abruptly ends with the moment that Shigo renounces his trade and retreats to solitary life in the mountains. At this point, the narrator's voice intervenes again, to mark a syncope in narrated time and reproduce the poem itself: "Years later he wrote the poem that became famous and for which we remember him" [12:59]. Thus, this third segment implicitly points out that section 2 only explains, so to speak, how Shigo came to choose another path in life, whereas "how he came to write the poem" is hidden in the interstitial space of the story untold. The fourth step focuses on the other 'topic', namely what the poem "means", as announced by the narrator's voice: "This poem has been variously interpreted. The church [...] Lay authorities [...] The tender-hearted [...]" [12:59]. In the final section, the narrator again directs the reader to relativize the path of interpretation followed up to this point, or even question its validity altogether: "The poem may be about such things, but it is also about something else" [12:59].

Thus, the development of the story parallels the Zen strategy of collapsing the underlying principles of 'rational' thinking through insoluble contradictions, while insisting, at the same time and in the same spirit, that in doing so the Zen path does not lead out of the contingent and into a transcendent reality, but merely brings to light the immediate experience of "the texture of reality" [4:21].

Further illustration is provided by the destiny of the ghoulish priest [17]. It constitutes 'fact' related in omniscient narration ("This is what happened" [17:80]), and at the same time, as indicated by the syntactic parallelism in copulative coordination, it constitutes 'fiction' (i.e. semantic creation): "Thus did the master describe the love of the priest, and thus did Ueda [the embedded narrator] invent the words he used." [17:81]

Let us conclude at this point that all texts under discussion develop an overall configuration in iconic relationship to the fundamental Zen concept we epitomized above in the formula "things are defined by what they are not"<sup>5</sup>.

The formula is taken up from Richie (1966), on the basis of an intertextual reference. *Zen Inklings* is "dedicated to the memory of Daisetsu Suzuki", thus symbolically 'borrowing' the voice of the revered Zen teacher, "without [whom] none of them [the stories] would ever have been written" [0:ix]. The essay on Suzuki clarifies the nature of the master's voice:

"Dr. Suzuki often defined things by what they were not. His descriptions of Zen were almost entirely negative. [...] he would talk and I would listen. It was always about Zen, and I never understood a word. Or rather, it was the words alone I understood. Each word, even each sentence, made sense, but none of the paragraphs did." (Richie 1966:101-102)

**2.2.** This points directly to another aspect mentioned above, namely that the quest for experiencing the true "texture of reality" is consubstantial to understanding how we, as human beings, "make sense" of reality by "building a story or a probability upon it" [2:13]. Thus, a basic principle for following the Zen path implies blasting apart ordinary 'logical' thinking fostered by the ordinary techniques of linguistic expression, and train, instead, for immediate, spontaneous action: "Inner growth does not thrive on talk [...] You are *not to talk*. You are *to do*." [19:98; italics mine, E.T.] However, as far as the human mind is concerned, stopping the world that is maintained in existence by our usual linguistic descriptions, i.e. stopping inner language, can only be achieved with the resources of language itself. The "monkey mind", "chattering and restless", can be stopped only and merely "by telling it to stop". "Easier said than done, you say, but *to say is to do* it." [2:12; italics mine, E.T.]

As a consequence, the texts consistently relativize themselves in a cycle of procedures for 'making' sense and 'un-making' it, as signalled by the narrator in his 'reading instructions'. In what follows, we shall outline the main components of this process, in what appears to us as their organic ordering.

**2.2.1.** Events become relevant for narration only to the measure that they partake in the sense creation. We only develop the personality of Shigo the butcher in retrospect, because "he wrote the poem that became famous" [12:59]. Whether "the earnest acolyte" did or did not attain *satori* remains unknown, and the narrator

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<sup>5</sup> We find a direct development of this strategy in the tale of "the swordsman" Tajima. Out of the "shadows of history", the positive actions of Tajima never really emerge to define him. We do not know what he did, "but we know what he did not do. He never fought, never displayed himself, and never unsheathed his samurai sword" [19:111] It is in the battles that he *did not fight* that Tajima defined himself as "The Swordsman".

And it is in the same way that the narrator defines his relation to Zen: he has virtually no "real experience", no "theoretical knowledge", no "understanding", no "comprehension" of Zen. Yet, in the course of encounters with Daisetsu Suzuki, "the training that I did not have was of the best" [0:viii].



does not strive to solve the mystery, because "in any event, it has nothing to do with this story" [9:43]. Conversely, in reconstructing the destiny of "the holy demon", out of all the diverging "versions of the tale", the narrator favours and dwells extensively upon the version which "is not popular and is not often heard" [15:71]. Similarly, in the destiny of Tajima the swordsman, a crucial meeting with the famous master Kanjin is related, although it "did not perhaps occur"; "but we will say that it did", decides the narrator, because it is indispensable in the order of sense creation [19:104].

**2.2.2.** The narration presents itself as a story in the second degree, because the narrated events are modulated as primary 'stories'. A striking case in point is the story of Tajima, where all the original events are "drawn from questionable sources" [19:93]. Therefore, they appear either introduced by the formula of mediated narration ("he is said to have...", "they say" "some say", "others say", "he is supposed to have...", "there was later talk of..."), or framed in a structure of self-negating narration ("So Yagoro spoke. Or, perhaps he did not." [19:102]; "I will put you to work, he is said to have said. Perhaps he did not say it. There is no knowing." [19:103]; "This conversation really did take place.[...] But perhaps it did not occur with Tajima." [19:109]).

There are also spectacular instances of narration in the third and fourth degree. "The Ghoul-Priest" [17] is a "commentary" to the story "Aozukin" told "nearly two hundred years ago" by Ueda Akinari, which in turn is the mediated account "of something that had happened three hundred years before that" [17:79]. Inside this, there is embedded yet another story narrated in the voice of a character (the master of the house).

**2.2.3.** Although inserted in a discursive "tradition", the texts do not build up upon any "sources", understood as identifiable products of previous discourses: "where they came from is not important" [0:viii]. Nevertheless, the narrator attempts "to be scrupulous", and lists, with full bibliographical data plus metatextual explanations, the 'sources', both oral and written, for each of his stories. It is our understanding, however, that the "Notes and Commentaries" [20] are integral part of the global text, and in them we recognize the same dominant strategy of defining things by what they are not. The "source", or "original" as Richie puts it, is sometimes not "known", "perhaps something that I made up" [20:114]. If we examine, for instance, "The Ghoul-Priest" [17] in relation to Ueda Akinari's "Aozukin", we find the segments of faithful translation interpolated with alternative stories that are posited as "perhaps" untold parts of the "original": "Here Ueda pauses.[...] This is the level of the story that interested Ueda's readers, and it is for them that he wrote. There could, however, have been more." [17:85-86]. "Thus Ueda concludes his tale. But perhaps there was more to the story." [17:89].

**2.2.4.** The "process" is preeminent with regard to the final (and finite) results. As the narrator is "interested in the process of Zen and not in its attainments" [0:vii], his indications conduct the interpretation process in such a way that the reader is never allowed to round up the story or any of its segments in a finite product. We

can best follow this mechanism in "The Kōan" [6], which puts in explicit key the underlying theme of all texts, namely the experience of "making sense", as the foundation of what man is, and indeed of all that man can become, on the path of Zen or elsewhere.

The rōshi presents the acolyte with a 'semantic product'. He "gives" an "ordinary kōan, which one is not important", to be "taken away" by the acolyte. It is a "thing", an "object", "inert as a rock", and at the same time as familiar as a rock "embedded" in its (and our) usual natural context. "Irrational, illogic, senseless" on the surface, it ostensibly posits itself with the solidity of a shell wherein finite "meaning" is concealed in the form of an "answer". We therefore see the acolyte design and follow a sequence of interpretive steps proceeding from this initial assumption. First, he seeks for a "secret door through which he could enter and extract the meaning" [6:25]. Finding no such breach in the opaque semantic object, he applies analogy, "associating the kōan with other things of its class" [6:25]. Finding that there is in fact no "class", and the kōan stands as a singular existence, he applies inferential leap: "indication... regarding it from unexpected angles" [6:25]. Finding himself unable to "creep up on it", the acolyte sees all resources of "thinking" exhausted, and returns to the beginning of the interpretive circle. He declares the kōan "absurd", without an "answer", "an impossible formulation" [6:25-26]. Yet, impossible as it may be, the kōan has indisputable existence - and, in the realm of man's creations, existence equals significance. Since the kōan's existence cannot be disregarded, his ultimate resort is to abandon all "thinking", and merely regard it, accepting that the kōan is proof to itself ("has no context") and must be tackled afresh. From this point on, the kōan begins to develop by virtue of inner forces from "opaqueness" to "translucence", until "it becomes itself" [6:26]. Closing the second circle, the acolyte presents his new understanding to the rōshi: "The meaning of the kōan is not in the kōan", and, more radically, "There is no kōan, and which one is unimportant" [6:27]. Narration of the interpretive quest had proceeded from the assumption that there was a finite product awaiting exploration. It now recoils to the disclosure that there never was, in fact, any such thing, and the narration suddenly reveals itself as mere alternative to the real story, the one suspended in the realm of the untold, the story about how the acolyte comprehended the kōan that was not given to him. And even at the moment when the reader is ready to settle for a sense arising from the dynamics of the existent non-existent, the text warns him through the voice of the rōshi: "Good... Push forward. You are now getting somewhere." [6:27].

The treatment of "sources" goes in the same direction of articulating the text on a semantic dynamics that can never be arrested in finite products. We have already discussed above the strategy of valuating the 'alternative story untold', which appears as an 'interpolation by addition', that splits the narrative thread in diverging paths. Another strategy in this sense could be termed 'interpolation by omission'. Thus, "A Singular Animal" [18] is the faithful translation of a story

originally told (and written) by D.T. Suzuki, with the crucial difference that the original develops from the nuclear metaphoric equation 'the animal'= *satori* ("satori to iu dōbutsu ga arawareta" [Suzuki 1950:85]), whereas Richie's text suppresses this indication, lest the Western reader be tempted to mistake the metaphor for an analogy and objectify the sense as 'a parable about reaching satori'.

### 3. "Not in an ordinary fashion to be solved"<sup>6</sup>.

"It will be noticed", announces the narrator in the preface, "that no English approximations are used for Zen terms. Zazen is given as zazen and not as meditation. This is because there are no English equivalents for these terms." [0:viii]. And indeed, the reader "notices" terms like *zazen*, *sanzen*, *zendō*, *rōshi*, *satori*, *dō*, *kōan*, *kenshi*, *kata*. Having set up a horizon of expectation with this 'reading instruction', the text proceeds to dismantle it according to the dominant strategy delineated in Section 2.

**3.1.** First, "English approximations" are in fact given when the term in question is focal in the design of sense creation. Such is the case when the names or descriptions of characters express their essential nature. Bobo Roshi's name reflects his true nature, so the narrator, who, like his distant ancestor Ueda Akinari, writes "for his readers", decides to explain: "*Roshi* is a high word meaning 'venerable teacher', and this is what he was..." [1:3]. The old master Tanka receives his new name, Tennen, after he turns the statue of Buddha on the main altar into firewood to make the main hall of the temple "nicely warm". To the outraged resident priest he motivates that he is merely trying to gather the *sarira* ("bones and ashes of a cremated saint") of the Buddha, and if no *sarira* is to be found in the wooden statue, it might as well be burned down. Pleased by Tanka's seemingly "sacrilegious behavior", his old *rōshi* names him Tennen, "which means 'natural', or 'spontaneous', or 'inherent'" [5:24]. When the actions of the "industrious young acolyte" lead him astray in the course of *sesshin*, the narrator construes them as contradictory to "the meaning of *sesshin*, which is, literally, the joining of mind to mind" [11:55]. The progress of Tajima in the art of swordsmanship is indicated through the Japanese names of the successive levels and their significant "English approximations": *kan*, "intuitive perception"; *gyō*, "technical precision"; *shugyō*, "technique" doubled by "intuition"; and finally one further level, "which has a name, *dō*, but is otherwise inexplicable." [19:94-95].

**3.2.** These are all instances where the tentative correspondence between concepts in the two languages is "solved", so to speak, "in an ordinary fashion", in the sense that Japanese significations are circumscribed in definition/translation style on the surface layer of the text. Of special interest in the present investigation, however, are peculiar instances "not in an ordinary fashion to be solved", instances which

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<sup>6</sup> Formulation referring to the *kōan*, in [6:25]. As argued above, this particular text performs, in the global development of the story collection, the function of explicating the narrator's view on the nature of meaning and interpretation.

arise from the evocatory strategy of "imitating" a Japanese semantic nexus with the lexical and grammatical means of English.

### 3.2.1. Evocation of lexical significations.

Not once in the 19 texts and 2 paratextual units do the fundamental terms *isshin* and *mushin* - for which there are indeed "no English equivalents"<sup>7</sup> - make their appearance. We do encounter, instead, the concocted lexical units "one mind", "the no-mind", "the without-mind", surreptitiously weaved into the surface structure: "Whatever you do you must do with one mind" [1:6]; "The way to one mind lies ahead" [2:13]; "It is not the distraction of the mind, nor the distraction of the no-mind. It is the simplicity of the without-mind" [19:108].

Other times, entire discursive developments can be traced back to the nucleus *isshin* - *mushin*. Thus, the story where narrated events picture a quest for "the meaning of *sesshin*" [11] culminates in the final dialogue of the acolyte with the *rōshi*:

"- Do you know what *sesshin* means? asked the *roshi*.

- It means to collect your thoughts.

The *roshi* smiled.

- It means to scatter your thoughts, be said." [11:55]

If "collect" and "scatter" the "thoughts", apparently situated in mere oppositional relation, are recognised as textualisations of *isshin* and *mushin*, a more complex relation emerges and redirects the dynamics of sense creation: by "collecting his thoughts", which can be equated, in regressive 'translation', to 'kokoro wo hitotsu ni suru', or *isshin*, the disciple "scatters" all thoughts and thus reaches the state of without-thoughts, *mushin*.

Similarly, the entire text "A Singular Animal" [18:91-92] is built on key-structures that evoke the pair *isshin* - *mushin*. Being based upon an "original" by D.T. Suzuki, we have the possibility to engage in a direct contrastive analysis with the Japanese version (Suzuki 1950:85-86). The story in question has a different global status in the two cases, and Richie's poignant transformations, that undermine and dissolve the illusion of 'faithful translation', can be said to proceed from this basic difference, typologic in nature. Suzuki's story appears as a textual segment performing the function of metaphoric illustration in an apophantic discourse on Zen concepts. Consequently, it is framed with (a) the introductory formulation "Tsugi no hanashi ni yotte, 'mushin' to iu mono wo setsumeishi-yō" ('Let us *explain* the concept of 'mushin' by means of the following story'), and (b)

<sup>7</sup> First of all, SHIN (*kokoro*) covers a semantic area that dictionaries present as 'equivalent' to the English 'heart', 'mind', 'spirit', 'idea', 'thought', 'feeling' (see, for instance, Nelson, s.v. SHIN (1645)). Namely, <kokoro> conceptualizes as an undifferentiated continuum the designational area that English dissociates along the opposition <affect> vs. <rational thinking> ('heart' vs. 'mind', or 'feeling' vs. 'thought'/'idea'). The dual structuring of the English micro-field also becomes visible in the possible designational equivalents for the unitary *isshin*: 'single-minded(ness)' and 'whole-hearted(ness)'. Secondly, for *mushin* the lexical nexus of English offers no correspondent at all, since the negative affix closest to *mu-*, '-less', would yield the terms 'mindless' or 'heartless', which have totally different meanings. Thirdly, on the level of categorial significata as well, the Japanese nominal functioning can only be paralleled indirectly and imperfectly, by an artifice of derivation.

the conclusive formulation "Ikura dokushin no chie wo motteita kono dōbutsu demo 'mushin' no kokoro made yomu wake ni wa yukanakatta no da" ('No matter how apt a mind-reader this animal was, even he could not go as far as reading the "mushin" mind'). Furthermore, the nuclear metaphor is made explicit by identifying the "strange animal" ("mezurashii ikimono", "fushigina dōbutsu") with *satori* ("satori to iu dōbutsu"). Both textual strategies are saliently omitted in Richie's story, which is an autonomous discourse in the poetic mode.

The English text develops from the nuclear terms of <thinking>/<thought>, <want>/<wish> and <mind>, in the following configuration. The dominant term is the first, while the second is a more restricted variant of it: the woodcutter's encounter with the strange animal is a battle over 'thoughts'. During the first part of the confrontation, the man acts by virtue of his power to think: he "is thinking", "finds himself thinking", "wants" or "wishes" to overcome the animal. The animal, on the other hand, counteracts by virtue of his power to "know his thoughts/what he was thinking" or "read all of his thoughts". Only when the woodcutter changes course and acts "with no thought in his head" does his action "strike the animal dead". The transition between the two moments is signified by means of the third term, being effected spontaneously by the man's shift to "single-minded" action. The process of sense creation can thus be seen to move along the path:

*Preliminary state*: disjunct identities of woodcutter and animal → *Initiating a process of unification* through action dominated by THOUGHT → *Failure of unification* → *Abandoning the process of unification* by THOUGHT and *shift* to SINGLE-MINDED action → *Reaching the new state* of NO THOUGHT → *Unification accomplished*.

The triad THOUGHT / SINGLE-MINDED(NESS) / NO-THOUGHT thus becomes a textual "English approximation" of the sign nexus that the Japanese text puts forward as a lexically homogeneous development from the nucleus SHIN (kokoro). In the first act of the confrontation, the strange animal "kare no kokoro wo yonda" (lit. "read his *kokoro*"); in the transition moment, the woodcutter acts "isshin ni" (lit. "in one *kokoro*"); in the final act, the woodcutter wins by reaching "mushin no kokoro" (lit. "the *kokoro* without *kokoro*").

### 3.2.2. Evocation of syntactic significations.

On the level of syntactic structure, this strategy reveals itself more directly as 'Nachahmung', all the more so as it functions not in the narrator's, but in the characters' speeches. For instance, emphatic run-on English constructions like "I think you are mad is what the abbot said. To this Zoga replied with a shout. It is not I but you who are mad is what he said." [7:31] or "Why am I doing this? was the way the doubt phrased itself." [11:54] evoke the systemic Japanese construction of the indirect reported speech, where the reported content comes in initial position, followed by the specialized complementizer *to* and the *verbum dicendi* in final position. The emphaticizers "is what" or "was the way [+attributive clause]" thus appear as functionally equal to the complementizer *to*, rendering it possible to parallel the full Japanese construction.

In other instances, sentences are constructed according to "imitative rules", i.e. with English lexical units structured through Japanese syntactic rules. Such is the systemically deviant word order in the phrase that we chose as an

epitome for this section: "[The *kōan*] was not in an ordinary fashion to be solved" [6:25], where we recognize the Japanese rule of anteposition of all determiners, including the ones with intrapositional connectives - here, preposition + noun (phrase) for what would be noun (phrase) + particle in Japanese.

#### 4. Concluding remarks.

Carried out within the *integralist* view on the dynamics of (textual) sense articulation, the present analysis brought forward dominant semantic strategies in *Zen Inklings* by Donald Richie, through the grid of Coseriu's concept of **evocation**. First, we identified an 'iconic' strategy, of micro- and macrostructuration of the texts on the dimension of the "imitative" relation between signs and their designata. Secondly, we identified the strategy of evoking lexical and grammatical Japanese semantic configurations by means of English structures, which thus reveal themselves as key-components in the process of sense creation.

The results of such an investigation can be regarded as relevant from two angles. On the one hand, they illustrate the general possibilities of sense constitution as defined by Coseriu, in what seems to be, at present, the only theoretical vision apt to explain the specificity of textuality in its complex relations with idiomatic and elocutional semantics. On the other hand, they confirm the poignancy of this grid of investigation in capturing the unique sense processes put forward by each individual text.

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## SATORI IN HEIAN, KAMAKURA JAPANESE PROSE

FLORENTINA TOMA\*

**REZUMAT. Conceptul de satori în literatura epocilor Heian, Kamakura.** Ca o modalitate de cunoaștere, literatura poate fi interpretată ca o producție de *satori*-uri artistice, rezultate din încercarea surprinderii raportului dintre sine și lucruri, mergând până la identificarea totală a eului creator cu acestea. Articolul urmărește în ce fel este reflectată ideea de iluminare în raport cu activitățile mundane obișnuite, în câteva opere reprezentative ale genului epic din perioada medievală.

About Ariwara no Narihira (825-880)'s last poem, one of the most representative from the first imperial poetry anthology *Kokinshū*:

Some time ago	"tsui ni yuku
I heard there is a way	michi to wa kanete
But I didn't think	kikishikado
It could be	kinofu kefu to wa
Yesterday or today	omowazarishi wo"

the Japanese critic Kobayashi Akeo says that it is an "enlightenment poem" - "*satori* no uta"- for concentrating in it the very truth of human feelings: "This poem shows the very essence of the human being . But not only this. It also shows us a kind of *satori*. It is not about a deep pain; because we cannot call this a sad poem. Those are the words of a man who won even against his own death. It is a poem of a man who lost everything, even his own death."

"Kono uta wa ningen no makoto wo arawashite iru. Tada makoto wo arawashite iru dake dewa nai. Isshū no *satori* wo misete iru. Kūtsū dewa nai. Kore wa kanashii uta dewa nai. Jibun no shinu koto ni katta hito no uta da. Shinu koto ga nandemo nakunatta hito no uta da."

A concept so hard to be explained theoretically as "*satori*" seems to be very difficult to comprehend by the Western mind, used to thinking according to many philosophical systems by which it had been influenced for several centuries. It is even more difficult to discover in poetry or in other literary genre the spirit which stands for a *satori*-like expression.

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Anyway, what kind of relation is there between literature and *satori* and how deep is it?

At the beginning, *satori* was a religious concept, another term for the Enlightenment (annutara-samyak-sambodhi), term used by Buddha and his disciples to express the revelation experienced by Buddha under the Bodhi tree, on Nairanjana river. According to the way Buddhism understands it, *satori* means the cosmic experience of the universal unity. *Satori* also means to reach the essence of human nature co-substantial with Cosmic nature and the nature of all things, a state of mind called by Buddhism "the state of Buddha".

I do not intend to analyze *satori* in its religious aspect, but to analyze how it appears in some Japanese literary works from Heian, Kamakura and Muromachi periods, when the activity of writing and its result – which today we use to consider literature – were thought of as Ways (Höben) to reach spiritual Enlightenment.

The idea that literature, as an art, is a way of getting to absolute knowledge, a way of revealing the Absolute is not a new one, and it can be found both in Oriental and Western thinking systems. Professor D.T. Suzuki, one of the greatest analysts and theorists of Zen states the following (1988: 222): "Generally speaking, *satori* appears when someone is at the end of his powers and feels that there is still a flow to his work without knowing either where or what it is. This has nothing to do with technique, but if he is indeed devoted to his field and honest to himself, he must feel that something from his subconscious tries to move into the opened area of conscious".

Reaching *satori* is becoming aware of subconscious (mushin) and that is why art regardless of its form is an appropriate means for this because it always has something of the subconscious. That is why reaching *satori* by ordinary teachings is impossible and relying on logical concepts for this is an error. Logical concepts may be useful for naming the Truth, but they can't reveal it. The conceptual knowledge provides a certain kind of wisdom, but this is a superficial one because there is no creativity in it, it is just a mass of more or less important theoretical problems. As an art, literature cannot be understood in terms of conceptual knowledge, because it is an instrument of revealing what the inner eye can see beyond things. Therefore, *satori* can be defined as an insight into the nature of things in contrast with logical comprehension.

In Japanese, *satori* comes from the verb "satoru" and an ordinary dictionary definition of the term shows the following meanings: knowing something thoroughly (fukaku shiru koto); comprehension (rikai), knowledge (chishiki). Having the above meanings the word can be found in the following fragments from *Genji monogatari*: "Hachi no Miya was very smart and had a very deep understanding of Buddhist works that received people's admiration."

("Hachi no Miya no ito kashikoku, naiken no zae *satori* fukaku mono shitamaekeru kana" – chap. *Hashihime*). Or: "Buddhism is wonderful in its essence and the way towards understanding it is called Höben. Those who don't know this way would make great misunderstanding. "

("Hotoke no ito uruwashiki kokoro nitte, toki ochitamaeru mi nori mo, höben to ifu koto arite, *satori* naki mono wa, kokokashiko tagafu uginahi wo okitsu beku namu". – chap. *Hotaru*).



*Satori*, therefore, means knowledge, knowledge of things, self-knowledge, as well as a supreme meaning in Buddhism, the knowledge of Buddha nature. As one of the means of producing the awakening of the self, at the beginning *satori* characterized the religious field, being the aim of some Buddhist sects. Without Enlightening (already reached or to be reached somehow, somewhere, sometime), there is no Buddhism, and Zen also makes no exception.

By the end of the Heian age, more and more common was the conviction that the world has entered *mappō* (the declined epoch of Buddhist teachings), when salvation was possible only by believing in Amida's teachings, *nyōrai* situated in the Pure Land from across the West Ocean. According to Honen, two were the ways for Buddhist believers: the search for Enlightenment by individual efforts and austerity or trying to be reborn directly on Jōdo (the supreme state of fusion with the ultimate reality) relying on Amida's sympathy. Honen makes the second option for himself. He admits that in *mappō*, as a decline epoch, ordinary people can not get salvation by their own efforts (*jiriki*) and have to beg somebody else's power (*tariki*), namely Amida's power. In that situation, meditation, rituals and ceremonies may be abandoned, the only way left to reach Enlightenment being the repetition as frequently as possible of Amida's name (*namu Amida-butsu*).

The Jōdo form of Buddhism that appears in *Genji Monogatari* (1004?) the oldest Japanese novel and maybe the oldest universal one, is known from Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* (The Fundamentals of Salvation – 985). This text had a great impact on Murasaki Shikibu's contemporaries and was still under the influence of Tendai Buddhism meditative practices.

In *Ōjōyōshū*, Genshin the monk claims that the individual religious life begins with an abhorrence of this world and the Buddhist Hell, the eternal place of greed, lust, pleasure and other human vices. Getting away from those vices is getting close to Pure Land, the place of eternal perfection, blessed by Amida's light, life and love. Since Enlightenment is something that can be found in this world, (an idea that will be proposed later) there was also the conviction that the Pure Land can be discovered even during this life.

Thinking that the beauty of the Pure Land can be tasted even in this very life, in the chapter *Hotaru* of *Genji Monogatari* the author compares the beauty of Murasaki's spring residence and the whole Rokujō-in to the land of Amida Buddha.

In the second part of *Genji Monogatari* the emphasis on the psychological aspect by presenting the inner life of the main character is closely related with the importance given by Jōdo Buddhism to individual fate and self-salvation. The tragic events that hit Genji in the second part of the novel – the apparition of Lady Rokujō's ghost, finding out of Kashiwagi and his wife relationship, the birth of Kaoru, and finally the death of Lady Murasaki – there are not a karma work – as some Buddhist-oriented scholars claimed – but facts that offer the hero another measure of time and past, of fate and need of salvation.

The dreadful meeting with Lady Rokujō's spirit, after her death, rise in Genji the fear of vice` danger. Among all the events in the second part, Lady Murasaki's death has the deepest impact on Genji. "I was born with a high rank and I had almost everything. But I have always been aware of having destined a fate gloomiest than others. It seems that the Blessed One decided to show me the

restlessness and the impermanence of this world. Even I understood this, I ignored it and now, when I came at the end of my powers, I live in absolute restlessness..." ("Tataki mi ni wa umarenagara, mata hito yori koto ni kuchi ashiki chigiri ni mo arikeru kana, to omofu koto tahezu. Yo no hakanaku uki wo shirasubeku, Butsu nado no okite tamaheru mi naru beshi. Sore wo shihite shiranu kawo ni nagarafureba, kaku ima ha no yufube chikaki suwe ni imijiki koto no tojime wo mitsuru ni sukuse no hodo mo ...").

In the same time Genji had to face the death of his mother, grandmother, of his father, of Aoi, of Lady Rokujō, of Fujitsubo and at last of Lady Murasaki. The notion of "sukuse" turns here into another meaning. Genji takes his misfortune and suffering not only as a result of previous sins, but also as a way or vehicle (Hōben) of spiritual awakening. In the first chapters, Genji embodies those qualities that M. Norinaga in *Shibun Yōryō* (1763) associated to "mono no aware": the capacity of being deeply moved and a sensibility for everything, especially for love and nature. The ideal of renunciation that Genji fights for at the end of his life demands, by contrary, analysis, stoicism and self-detachment. At the end of *Maboroshi* chapter, Genji with a resigned and peaceful attitude prepares his farewells to the worldly things, but as he quotes in one of his poems, the problem of being able to break with reality still remains:

Following the one  
Who passed  
the mount of death  
I wander looking at what  
Is left behind

Shide no yama  
koenishi hito wo  
shitafu tote  
ato wo mitsutsu mo  
madou kana

Seeing the traces left behind (Lady Murasaki's letters) Genji expresses his emotions that deepen the spiritual confusion inside his heart.

Murasaki Shikibu does not focus her novel upon how to get salvation although she deals with the difficult path of Enlightenment in many chapters of the long narration. What the author emphasizes are the emotional conflicts that create the aspiration to reach Enlightenment. Throughout her novel, Murasaki Shikibu shows that the human being is characterized by emotional intensity in perceiving the world and not by reason and action. In a good Tendai tradition, even if this world is one of non-dualism, the conviction that everybody has the natural ability of reaching Enlightenment during this very life and that Nirvana is within us and undivided from Samsara exists. The characters who chose the religious path in *Genji Monogatari*, (especially Kaoru or Ukifune) are unable to reach Enlightenment by themselves through asceticism or meditation, and at the same time they do not offer themselves entirely to Amida's grace, as some characters of *Konjaku Monogatari* do. All they are doing is walking in darkness and uncertainty.

Returning to the Kamakura period, when the believe that mappō is nearer and nearer, there appear new suggestions of getting Enlightenment – such as isolation of the world (sukke) or searching artistic ideals (suki).

In Japanese traditional culture, *Hōjōki* (1212) by Kamō no Chōmei and *Tsurezuregusa* by Yoshida Kenkō are the two works considered being the classical expression of the monk who renounced the world.

Living in a period troubled by natural disasters, Chōmei shows in *Hōjōki*, an attitude of ironic detachment, sometimes a dreamy one, characteristic for the man who abandoned society to search "the coming into being" through art and meditation. This "going out of the world" has two main reasons: the escape, which implies keeping away from the world – on the one side – and the revolt against reality – on the other side. This kind of monks – whom Stanca Cionca called "homo religiosus japonesis" somehow have a rebellious attitude as the ones who turned their back to the world:

Renouncing the world	yo wo sutebito no
I am wandering, but	tabi no sora
Where to am I going?	koshikata izuku naruran

First, to be detached from the world means to be physically separated from it, and in the real world's terms, to deny it. The monk's cell is situated far away from ordinary homes, somewhere high up in the mountains. It is isolated so nobody can get there easily. Moreover it has a position exposed to bad weather, wild beasts, robbers. The monk is faced with a lot of restrictions in a privative environment. The cell means closing of horizons and a closing of self inside, without any connection to the world outside, that is a sine-qua-non condition of true inner fulfillment. Therefore the cell becomes a sort of "spiritual nucleus"(in C. Noica's terms). For Kamō no Chōmei, his own little cell is rather a prolongation of his own body – a silk worm's cocoon: "I have turned 60 and the cell where I am going to spend the last years of my live, as transitory as dew, seems a precarious one-night shelter of a traveler or a silk worm's cocoon".

Despite its tiny proportions, the cell breathes into its master's intellectual aristocratic air, being painted with Amida, Fūgen and Fūdo's images. Chōmei also has poem books (tanka), Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū*, a koto and a biwa. Thinking about his soon-to-come death, Chōmei asks himself if this close attachment to his cell is not a sin (according to Buddhist laws, a man should not grow very fond of anything in this world) and if silence is not an obstacle on the path of spiritual Enlightenment. He asks if poverty as *inga* or poverty of the spirit is the real cause of suffering. He doesn't answer, but whispers the name of *Amidhabutsu*.

The transitory and illusory character of the world as detached from the Buddhist teachings is coined in Japanese by the term *mujō*. It can also mean that everything is transformation or even necessary changing. Kamakura period along with monks' literature imposes the idea of a *mujō* of the dwelling. As W. LaFleur asserted, *mujō* came to be conceived not only as impermanence – in temporal terms- but also as instability – in spatial ones. The cell itself is seen as a transitory space: once built, it is no longer repaired. Chōmei sees in his attachment to his cell – a symbol of appearances – a sin and in his love for loneliness an obstacle against an appropriate rebirth. But as LaFleur further observes, a sentence from the end of the work offers the key of interpretation: "In the silence of the morning, thinking about the sense of things, I said to myself: You have turned your back to the world, you have taken mountains and forests as your company in order to find the peace of heart and to follow the path of Buddha. But even if your look is like a

saint's, your soul is still dirty. If your dwelling defiles Vimalakirti's memory, what you have accomplished is not comparable at least to what Suddhipanthaka did. Would it be the poverty that torments you or would it be the heart's blindness?"

("Shizukanaru akatsuki, kono kotowari wo omohitsuzukete, mizukara kokoro ni tohite, ihaku, 'Yo wo nagarete, sanrin ni majiwaru ha, kokoro wo wosamete, michi wo okonahan to nari. Shikaru wo, nanji sugata ha hijiri nite, kokoro ha nigori ni shimeri. Sumika ha, sunahachi, Jōmyō Koji no ato wo kegaseri to ihedomo, tamotsu tokoro ha, wazukani Shurihandoku ga okonahini dani oyobazu. Moshi, kore hinsen no mukui no, mizukara nayamasu ka, hatamata, moshin no itarite kyoesru ka'").

The fragment from *Hōjōki* inspired by Yuimagyō (Vimalakirti nirdesa sutra – a classical Mahayana Buddhism text) shows Hōnen identifying himself with Suddhipanthaka, the laziest and dullest among Buddha's disciples. It may seem paradoxical: even if unable to surpass his attachment to the hermit life, he comprehends the sense and the implications of Mahayana's non-dualism so well that he can turn to the hermit life with a profounder understanding. This is in fact his method of surpassing the ordinary world and reaching Enlightenment.

The other work quoted above – *Tsurezuregusa* – has a totally different structure. Here the cell is no longer a symbol of ascetic isolation, but a place that allows the opportunity to spend a carpe-diem life: in stead of "body-mortification" through ascetic practices there are fine country pleasures and spiritual games that have long gone beyond the bounds of meditation and prayer.

In Japanese culture, *Tsurezuregusa* is the first work written as a direct reception of Chinese Sung culture, being the finest illustration of sui-pi (jap. Zui-hitsu) literary genre. According to Hung-Mai (1123-1203) who used the term for the first time, zui-hitsu-literary writings have no systematical structure, the author putting down everything that crosses his mind. Another characteristic of sui-pi style is the interest for intellectual problems, and of course among these the Enlightenment couldn't be avoided.

Kenkō Hōshi doesn't enumerate techniques and practices of reaching Enlightenment, but he stresses the practical importance of actions which prepare the inner awakening, influenced by the "ri" concept, affirmed by neoconfucianism during Sung period. The using of "ri" concept can have double interpretation: on the one hand it shows our actions as steps in a self-fulfillment and on the other hand presents some acceptable paradoxes about the every-day actions and routine. Here is an example:" In everything, no matter what it is, uniformity is undesirable". ("Subete nanimo mina koto no totonohoritaru ha, ashiki koto nari"). Chapter 38 is focus on the futility of fame and wealth, as obstacles on the path of Enlightenment. "To wish to become famous is to lose the peace of mind and so to turn life into torment". ("Myōri ni tsukawarete shizuka naru itoma naku, issō wo kurushimuru koso ōkare"). Finally, Kenkō concludes:" everything is not reality; nothing is worth discussing and wishing for".

To wish to be famous is a capital error: to be known by others doesn't mean that you truly know something. What is knowledge then? – asks Kenkō. And he answers: "the really enlightened person does not have education, virtue, skills, fame because from the beginning he is beyond any distinction between wisdom and stupidity, between profit and loss".

*Tsurezuregusa* has many such chapters, containing questions about how someone who chose the path of Enlightenment should behave. Symbols like: the pine – a sign for a long life; the dew – the sign for worldly transitoriness; and the Moon as a metaphor of Enlightenment –do not need to be translated.

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## CHRISTIAN ART OF 7th - 8th CENTURIES AND JAPANESE ESOTERIC BUDDHIST ART: A THEOLOGY OF THE IMAGE

ANCA FOCȘENEANU\*

**REZUMAT. *Arta creștină din secolele 7-8 și arta budistă esoterică din Japonia: o teologie a imaginii.*** Arta și religia merg împreună, dar dacă la început religia accepta arta așa cum este ea, în timp își elaborează o concepție proprie despre artă căreia aceasta trebuie să i se supună. Un astfel de moment când rolul artei pentru religie este bine definit apare în orice religie. În creștinism acest moment este situat în secolele 7-8, culminând cu disputa iconoclastă, terminată prin Conciliul de la Nicea II când se elaborează o teologie a icoanei, forma specifică de artă. În budismul japonez coincide cu apariția esotericismului care la rîndul lui definește de asemenea o formă specifică de artă: mandala.

Deși au apărut și s-au dezvoltat în condiții total diferite icoana și mandala, forme de artă sacră, exprimă de fapt aceeași tendință spirituală și reprezintă simbolic universul constituind un intermediar între divinitate și credincios.

Art and religion always went together, and always the religious leaders felt that art can serve their goals. But if at the beginnings religion used art as it was, gradually it elaborated its own conception of the art. It seems that in any religion there comes a time when the role of the art for the religion and the way this art should be is clearly defined.

In the Christian art there is such a period in the 7th - 8th centuries when a theology of the image is established and art is codified to express religious meanings. The characteristic form of art born from this theology is the icon.

How did the Christian art reach such a moment? The Christian art is born in the times when Christianity was persecuted in Rome. At the beginning this art was a funeral art, serving to decorate the Christian tombs in the catacombs. In that early art the decorative element is abundant and any anthropological representation of Christ is absent.

When Christianity was recognized as a legitimate religion, naturally the art received too a strong impulse, becoming more and more rich to glorify this triumph and the peoples who died for it. Imposing churches and monasteries were built and on their walls narrative big representations were painted. In these paintings the saints and even Christ were depicted. For the people such paintings became the object of a true cult [5].

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From that time some theologians begin to accuse art saying that it is nothing but a physical, material thing and we cannot pretend, as human beings that we are able to make the figure of god with physical materials. More than this, it is a profanation to believe that between the picture and God there is any essential relation and treat the image as it would have the powers only God has.

In the 7th century the dispute of the defenders and accusers of images reached the highest point. The fight is known as the iconoclastic dispute. The accusers of images went as far as destroying sacred images and churches. On the other hand the adepts of images tried to defend their position by writing in favor of images, building a real theology of the religious image.

The fight ends with a concilium (Nicaee II, 787 AD) [1] when the participants formulated a clear conception of the sacred images. We can make images of the other world and they will remember us the prototype but between the prototype and its representation there is not a substantial, essential relation. If there is any relation between them it is only an analogical one.

From that conception follows a set of rules [6] to be applied in the art. In the icons, the form of art specific for that period, we can clearly identify these regulations: frontal representation of the personage, inscription of personage's name on the picture, specific form of fingers, abundance of gold color, absence of any realism.

For example in the group representations in the icon the faces of the saints are very similar, all frontally represented and we can identify them never by the faces but only by the fingers forms or the symbolic objects they have with them.

At a first view an icon is a very naïve picture, which shocks by the violation of perspective, realism, dimensions. However this art is a mental art without any attempt to represent visual appearances. Such an image can not be created by anyone, but only after a profound meditation, receiving inspiration from God.

A similar tendency to clarify and define the role of art for the religion is to be found in the Japanese Buddhism, in the time of rising of esotericism.

The Buddhism was formally transmitted to Japan from China and Korea in the 6th century, and from its inception it engaged the concern and patronage of ruling interests and became a state creed.

Big monasteries were built and the Buddhism flourished in Heijōkyō, the capital, especially as a court religion. Gradually the monks became worldly and involved themselves in Court intrigues.

As a reaction to this situation was the emergence into prominence of the Esoteric Buddhism, mikkyō ("the secret teachings") which stressed inner spiritual discipline.

What is called esoteric Buddhism was formulated in India around 6th century AD but it was never an organized school. So it gradually declined but it was to implant itself elsewhere, at first in China and Tibet and a little later in Japan.

In fact it is the Tiantai School in China which sought to reconcile all aspects of Buddhist doctrine in a single discipline, and significantly to provide solace for the common man. Till then the approach to Enlightenment for the common people was considered to require infinite life-times. In Tiantai School salvation was no longer the prerogative of the rich and learned and would not be achieved only by scriptural study.

In Japan the Esoteric Buddhism was first propounded by Saichō and Kūkai [4]. They established two schools of Buddhism which were to have lasting influence on Japanese religion.

Saichō (767-822), after one year spent at Mount Tiantai in China, where he studied the Tiantai learnings, founded the Tendai School at Mount Hiei [8]. He advocated the reading of the Lotus Sutra. It assures the salvation not only for men, but also for women, and stresses the importance of the art.

Kūkai (774-835) [2] also studied in China and in 826 built a monastery on Mount Kōya, establishing the Shingon (True Word) School.

The Esoteric Buddhism considers that the essence of Buddhism is never directly understandable to mankind, but it holds that man is capable of attaining Buddhahood on this earth. In order to do so he must meditate in his heart on the images of certain Buddhas and perform certain rites. Therefore from its earliest stages Esoteric Buddhism held that painting and sculpture were very important means of transmitting religious meanings. Only the art can convey the deeper meaning of the scriptures. Kūkai stresses the role of art:

*"Truth is neither word nor color and form. Although words may be used in transmitting truth, people can be made to feel the truth only by means of forms and colors. Esoteric teachings hold that profound truths are difficult to express in written or spoken words. For those who find enlightenment difficult it is essential to resort to pictorial representations to inspire a sense of hidden meanings."* [3]

This belief encouraged both graphic and sculpted representations of the deities which are intended to be more than aesthetical pleasing. They embodied the deep mysterious forces of the deity. Any representation of the Divine contains the essence of the God and must be treated as the bearer of essential forces.

Esotericism believe that those forces are transferable through meditation from the deity in its representational form to the believer. So contemplation is a key to understand esotericism. Contemplation means intently observing, actually "seeing" the Buddha and interiorizing him. The real Esoteric master must possess the ability to envision the Buddha and the scholars were trained in "envisioning exercises".

This transfer of powers endows Esoteric art with an importance not usually attached to the sacred images.

But if art is so important in esotericism that doesn't mean it is a free art. Its goal is not only to produce an aesthetic feeling, but more than this to express the faith. So it is regulated in form and color by traditional canon.

We can see these regulations in the form of art which is central in the esoteric ritual and symbolism, mandala. This is a highly abstract and complicated form of art, which can not be understand if we don't know the doctrine and canon.

The teachings focus on the essential unity of the noumenal and the phenomenal, or of the spiritual and physical world. The visual representation of this unity takes the form of mandala. Mandala is a symbolic and concrete representation through images of the process of human enlightenment.



The word mandala, in Japanese mandara, is a transliteration of the Sanskrit mandala which means at its origin magic circle, disk. It was drawn upon the ground or painted on a pedestal to represent the universe. It generally was presented in the symbolic shape of an Indian castle, fortress against invasion and repository of power. It had its spiritual symbol of strength in the center, surrounded with walls.

Then it becomes to mean graphic representation, portraying deities or their symbols arranged in a hierarchic order. In meditation mandala is used as a projection of the interior life, a revelation of the subjective universe. Contemplating the mandala one attains or experiences the essence.

Esotericism sets its doctrine in two great mandalas cosmograms [7]:

- Diamond Mandala, symbol of spiritual things that are durable as the diamond.
- Womb Mandala, symbol of the material world.

The Womb (phenomenal) World is represented by a series of concentric squares, the innermost of which contains an eight-petaled red lotus with a Buddha on each petal. Dainichi Nyorai is in the center; the other deities are ranked in decreasing size about the central square.

The Mandala of the Diamond (noumenal) World has nine equal-sized square mandalas forming a single large square. The divinities are shown frontally, therefore the contemplator perceives an image as if projected from himself.

The focus of worship is Buddha Dainichi (Great Sun), greatest of all Buddhas. He is most often represented. But even if he is the central figure, great faith and interest are directed toward many other deities too. For example Fudo Myō-ō (The King of Light) is widely depicted. As a bringer of light, he was a popular household icon and the prayers invoke his spectacular powers.

Iconographically the deities are represented in symbolical, fixed ways:

- their functions are symbolized by specific colors.
- they are represented by conventional forms or symbols associated with them.
- their activities are represented by various hand signs.

Surprisingly these regulations are very similar with the regulations in the icon. We can say the mandala is a correspondent of the icon.

For example in the Womb mandala, just as in group representations in the icons, all the Buddhas are represented frontally and the faces are very similar. We cannot identify the deities by the face, but by the hand signs or specific objects they have with them.

And just as in the case of the icon, the believer's task in Esotericism is to contemplate aspects of the mandalas and by means of such meditation and other rites to realize Buddhahood.

**Conclusions:** So we can identify in Christianity and Buddhism a similar tendency of considering that art can express the most adequately the deepest meaning of the scriptures. The art can be adapted to such goals and we can see the effort of this adaptation and stylization in the two religious arts. More than this they built a real theology of the sacred image which is not a simple work of art but has some relations with the sacred world depicted in it. Some of the Christian priests surely thought the nature of this relation is one of essence but they didn't affirm it directly because they could be accused of encouraging idolatry. In the Christian world this problem gave birth to much fight and discussions dividing the church in two parts. Finally the art was accepted as a part of religion but not without receiving a strong shock of this fight between defenders and enemies of the sacred images.

In Buddhism, the Esoteric art was installed without fight. While in Christianity the acceptance of art as an organic element of the doctrine involved all the church in Buddhism the Esotericism coexisted with other tendencies. For this reason it affirmed openly that between image and the sacred person depicted in it is a relation of essence and the image contains the mysterious forces of the prototype.

But inspite of these differences, icon and mandala are tapped into similar human needs: the need of the prayers to "see", to "feel" the presence of the Divinity.

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***Dicționar japonez - român*** (Fundăția Japonia) [Japanese-Romanian Dictionary (Japan Foundation)], București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 1998, 956 p. Translated into Romanian by Angela Hondru.

0. ***The publication of the Japanese - Romanian Dictionary*** compiled at the Department of Japanese Studies of the Japan Foundation is indeed an event worthy of serious attention. First of all, as noted by the authors in the introduction, the volume fills an editorial gap that has been a constant source of frustration for Romanian students and teachers of Japanese alike. Although in recent years the number of Japan-related books translated into Romanian (more often than not via an English intermediary) increased spectacularly, among these, materials for Japanese language education have remained notoriously scarce. As far as dictionaries are concerned, it is safe to say that the one under review is the first and, as yet, the only tool of its kind available to the Romanian user. Secondly, both the Japanese part of the work (selection of lexical items, formulation of sentence examples to cover main areas of usage, treatment of grammatical information indispensable for a correct use of words, indications about the level of formality, referencing to synonyms and antonyms), and its Romanian part (choice of lexical equivalents or approximations, translation and adaptation of sample sentences) bear the mark of their respective authors' professionalism. Among these, the Romanian user will recognize at least the name of the translator Angela Hondru, with well-known contributions over the years, which have imposed her as an important figure in the field of Japanese-language education, and the name of Atsushi Naono, who warranted the scientific revision of the Romanian text, himself the author of a première dictionary, which is, regrettably, less easily available to the Romanian buyer.

1. ***General description.*** *The Japanese - Romanian Dictionary* is intended for beginner use, so the 2873 entries are selected according to the criterion of frequent standard usage, thus covering the vocabulary area favored by institutions that offer elementary-level courses to foreigners. Each entry comprises explanations of the word's various meanings, illustrations of usage in sentence examples, and, when necessary, compounds and idiomatic phrases, stylistic indications, cross-references to semantically related words. Words are given both in rōmaji transcription and in the usual Japanese script (kanji with furigana, kana), and ordered alphabetically.

The Romanian translation of illustrative sentences is worth noting as fully natural, capturing in a very accurate manner the sense of the original examples, and skillfully avoiding the stiffness of 'textbook' propositions.

The dictionary itself is also provided with other useful study tools: a chart of hiragana - katakana correspondence with their rōmaji transcription, an introduction to basic Japanese grammar composed by Nobuko Mizutani, and a map of Japan - all presented in remarkable graphic conditions.

Even from such a brief description, the value of the work is unmistakable and need not be further demonstrated here. In what follows we shall take the liberty to discuss in some detail only a few aspects where the solutions adopted in the *Dictionary* require a more discriminating examination. Most of the instances analysed below do not impede profitable use by the student oriented mainly to practical purposes. Nevertheless, it is our

belief that the *Dictionary* will be used by a wider range of readers, - readers who have proceeded in the study of Japanese beyond elementary level, and/or approach language study in a broader (theoretically relevant) linguistic horizon. It is with such prospective users in mind that we put forward the observations that follow.

2. **Semantic information.** The fact that the dictionary is oriented towards beginner use is visible mainly in the strategy for choosing lexical equivalents in Romanian. Faced with the obvious difficulties arising from the fundamentally different semantic conceptualization in the two languages, the translator adopted a solution suited for practical purposes. Thus, the Romanian counterpart does not circumscribe the actual Japanese *signifié* in definition or explanation style, but provides *designational equivalents* for the various contextual acceptations of the Japanese word. Although the enumeration of such equivalents is inevitably heterogeneous, the examples are meant to clarify, at least in part, the verbal context in which each designation is actualised:

e.g. **-kei** [suf.] sistem; obîrşie;  
façtune; clică; secţie  
bunkakei - absolvent (?!) al *secţiei*  
umaniste  
rikakei - absolvent (?!) al *secţiei* reale  
taiyōkei - *sistemul* solar  
nikkeijin - persoană de *obîrşie*  
japoneză (născută în altă țară)  
[italics mine - E.T.]

We are aware this is a strategy to which bilingual dictionaries often resort, for want of an alternative solution that is both easy to apply practically, and more in keeping with the nature of the lexical-semantic structuring of languages. Let it be noted, however, that this strategy has its dangers. Thus, it is questionable if *ningen* has two "meanings" ('hito' - 'ființă umană' and 'hitogara' - 'character, fire'); the examples in fact make proof of one and the same signification ("Ningen wa kangaeru dōbutsu desu" - "Ființele umane sînt creaturi

înzestrate cu gîndire" and "Ano hito wa shōjikina ningen desu" - "Este cinstit din fire"), quite similar to the Romanian word 'om' (cf. an alternative translation: "Oamenii sînt ființe înzestrate cu gîndire" and "E un om cinstit"). Here the separation is artificial, implying primary semantic distinctions where they do not exist.

This is particularly true when a lexical unit is used in constructions which not only designationally specify the unit's *signifié*, but also generate further meanings, *proper to the construction with the unit integrated in it*. Let us consider one such instance.

**yō da** [aux.] ca, la fel cu, asemănător cu;  
ca, asemenea; a se părea, a avea impresia; precum; mod, cum, în ce fel; a avea obiceiul să; ca să; a ajunge să, a putea de-acum să

In a strict semantic analysis, *yō* itself has the lexical meaning of 'way, manner, aspect of an action or state' - approx. Rom. 'mod, modalitate, manieră', which, integrated with the lexical and grammatical meaning of other construction components, may yield the global meanings of: 'la fel cu, asemănător, ca, asemenea, precum' (i.e. 'în același mod cu') - only one lexical meaning, not three or four separate ones!; 'a-și face un obicei din' ('yō ni suru' - i.e. 'a face / a te strădui să faci în așa fel încît să'), 'a ajunge să' ('yō ni naru' - i.e. 'a ajunge într-un anumit fel') etc. For the sake of clarity, and thus for the benefit of the beginner, it were perhaps more profitable to give, as an equivalent, an approximation of the unitary *signifié*, and then the list of constructions - with their respective integrated meanings-illustrated by sample sentences.

### 3. **Grammatical information.**

Grammatical indications in entries are suitably kept to a minimum: lexico-grammatical class without further subcategorizations, except for verbs and adjectives (where morphological subclass is indicated: type I, II, III for verbs, -i/-na type for adjectives). Transitivity, for instance, is not specified; nevertheless,

given the potential difficulties for native speakers of Romanian, syntactic behavior of verbs with respect to transitivity is alternatively shown in two ways. First, it is made intuitively recognizable by equivalence to the same Romanian verb in the active voice (for the transitive member of the Japanese pair) and the passive or the accusative-pronoun reflexive voice (for the intransitive member of the pair).

e.g. **akeru** [vb. II] a deschide  
(tr.- indication mine, E.T.)

**aku** [vb. I] a fi deschis, a se  
deschide (intr.)

**shimaru** [vb. I] a se închide  
(intr.)

**shimeru** [vb. II] a închide (tr.)

This intuitive procedure, however, is not systematic. Compare, for instance:

**agaru** [vb. I] a urca; a crește ...  
(intr.)

**ageru** [vb. II] a ridica, a crește,  
a mări ... (tr.)

or:

**sagaru** [vb. I] a scădea ... (intr.)

**sageru** [vb. II] a coborî, a scădea ...  
(tr.)

In these cases, we note the positive fact that example sentences highlight the types of construction formed with the respective verb, in each of its basic meanings.

#### 4. **Romanian equivalents and examples.**

In the vast majority of entries, the translation of examples is well-inspired and illuminating. Nevertheless, in several instances the translator gives uninformative equivalents or chooses to oversimplify the Japanese paraphrases/ explanations of the meanings, thus putting forward variants which are too vague for the beginner - supposedly unable to read and understand the Japanese definition. May we be allowed to point out some such instances, for the reader (and authors) to ponder upon.

(a) **mirai** [s.] viitor

**shōrai** [s.] viitor

We can assume that the average user is inescapably pre-oriented by the mother tongue, where the linguistic concept of 'future' is not differentiated according to the distinction <objective (physical, social) time /vs/subjective (personally experienced/ valued) time>. It is therefore unlikely that such a user will notice this pertinent semantic difference only from the examples, or from the cross-reference of *mirai* to *genzai* and *kako*, which, in fact, do not present a similarly structured semantics, but are, instead, undifferentiated from this point of view, much like the Romanian 'prezent' and 'trecut'.

(b) **(-te) kuru** expresie ce indică  
diferite situații (*sic!*)

From the enumeration of semantic acceptations, ("apropierea", "arată că o acțiune a atins un anumit punct", "arată începutul unei acțiuni", "arată transformarea treptată a unei situații, stări de lucruri", "indică apariția a ceva"), the user will have difficulty grasping the unitary underlying *signifié* of the compound form, all the more so as these "senses" are unjustifiedly dispersed.

(c) **(-te) iku** indică mișcare, progres,  
schimbare etc.

(sense 1): [indică mișcare] -

cf. [dōsa ga aru hōkō e susumu

koto wo arawasu]

Although the Japanese explanation itself is incomplete, the Romanian leaves it even more indeterminate as to the direction of movement in relation to the speaker's point of reference, which is a pertinent feature in the semantics of *-te iku*.

*Note. In the grammar compendium at the end of the Dictionary, '-te shimau', '-te iku' and '-te kuru' are clearly and correctly treated (pp. 951-2).*

(d) **(-te) shimau** a termina, a duce la  
bun sfârșit; a se termina cu ceva, a  
dispărea

(sense 2): [a se termina cu ceva, a dispărea, a muri] - cf. [jibun no ishi ni hanshite aru dōsa, sayō ga okonaware zannenda to iu kimochi nado wo arawasu]

It is obvious that **-te shimau** never means 'a dispărea' or 'a muri'; such senses arise from the lexical meaning of the verb stem to which it is attached ("tokei o *nakushite shimaimashita*", "tori ga *shinde shimaimashita*")

(e) **to** [part.] și; cu

"Se folosește într-o înșiruire a unor elemente, obiecte din aceeași categorie" - cf. "Ikutsuka no monogoto no *subete* o taitō no kankei de narabete iu toki ni tsukau"  
Compare with the treatment of *ya*:

**ya** [part.] și

"**Ya** se folosește într-o înșiruire de elemente asemănătoare" - cf. "ikutsuka aru mono no naka kara, sono *ichibu* o rekkyosuru baai ni tsukau" (italics mine - E.T.)

Certainly, the user could grasp the basic semantic difference between *to* and *ya* (complete/incomplete enumeration) by reading the Japanese explanations, provided his knowledge of the language is sufficient, or, if gifted with poignant linguistic awareness, by inference from the sample sentences. Nevertheless, as in all the other instances above, an explicit contrast would seem more in keeping with the purpose of the dictionary.

5. The "**Introduction to Japanese grammar**" is less of an introduction, and more of a compendium or outline of grammatical 'reminders' for the student already familiar with the basic structural characteristics of the language. Its purpose, as emphasised by the author, is merely that of an "aid" that cannot replace reference books on the Japanese grammatical system. As such, it is, we believe, a useful appendix to the dictionary. In spite of their conciseness, many of its segments provide clear and poignant orientation on grammatical meaning. It is worth noting, for instance, all the segments on

morphological formation rules, or the paragraphs on the passive, causative and conditional. In other details, however, a critical reading is in order. As the grammar outline is given only in Romanian, we have no possibility to compare with the Japanese version, but judging by the nature of the imperfections, we can assume that they do not belong to the Romanian translation, but to the original itself. What follows is a brief enumeration of the immediately noticeable imperfections, which future editions will hopefully remedy.

(a) *Descriptions in which relevant information is missing*

"Cuvintele și expresiile sînt întotdeauna însoțite de particule." (p. 927); "Particulele de legătură leagă expresii și propoziții." (p.929) Obviously, not *all types* of words and 'expressions' (?) are accompanied or linked by particles, so restrictive relevant features must be specified.

(b) *Improper terminology*

Under the heading "Alte cuvinte folosite ca pronume" (pp. 931-2) we find alternative words used in reference to a person. The explanatory phrase inside the paragraph, "folosite *in locul* pronumelor" ('used instead of pronouns'), is certainly better than "folosite *ca* pronume" ('used as pronouns'), although it is also inaccurate. The words in question pertain to a stylistically adequate procedure of reference to a person in Japanese, as coded *in the norm* of the language, and they do not "replace" pronouns simply because pronouns *could not* adequately occur in those contexts. If a contrastive perspective is intended, then the formulation should read something like: "In contexts where Romanian (sometimes) uses pronouns, Japanese normally uses alternative means of reference, such as..." Although the information in this paragraph is in itself correct, at least the paragraph heading needs to be rephrased.

(c) *Inaccurate structural rule*

"Ca modificatori, verbele se folosesc la forma de dicționar.", illustrated by "kore kara *yomu* hon" (p. 938). How would the construction "watashi ga *mita* hana" (p.927) be explained by the above rule? Certainly, it should indicate not the 'dictionary form', but the 'plain/informal form' (rather infelicitously translated in the *Introduction* as "forma simplă").

(d) *Tautologic formulation*

"Forma în *-ta* (sau *-da*) a verbelor indică fie (1) o acțiune care a avut loc în trecut, fie (2) o acțiune încheiată." (p. 939) We suppose the author has in mind two functional values of the *-ta* form, namely the past tense and the perfect aspect, although the examples do not illustrate this distinction with too much clarity. It will be noted, however, that in Romanian phrasing "o acțiune care a avut loc în trecut" is with necessity "o acțiune încheiată" and "o acțiune încheiată" refers only to an action

which took place in the past. Alternative formulations are not difficult to find; for instance, "Forma în *-ta* (*-da*) a verbelor indică fie (1) o acțiune trecută, fie (2) o acțiune care este sau va fi încheiată înaintea unui moment de referință, indiferent de situarea temporală a acestuia."

6. **Concluding remarks.** Beyond somewhat debatable aspects like the ones we brought to the foreground, inevitable in a volume of such scope and dimensions, the *Japanese-Romanian Dictionary* stands out as a well-devised, systematic and 'user-friendly' lexicographic work. All those involved in Japanese language education in Romania can only hope that its publication will not remain a singular event\*.

**EMMA TĂMĂIANU**

\* I wish to express my gratitude to Takafumi Nakajima for his careful reading of this text and the valuable suggestions that ensued. Responsibility for all value judgments and any faulty viewpoints is entirely my own.

Shuichi Kato, *Istoria literaturii japoneze (De la origini pâna în prezent) - L'histoire de la littérature japonaise*, 2 volumes, Ed. Nipponica, Bucarest, 1998.

Publiée en 1975 dans la langue japonaise et puis traduite en anglais, français, allemand et italien et encore en coréen et chinois, *L'histoire de la littérature japonaise* de Shuichi Kato a paru en 1998 en roumain dans la traduction de Kazuko Diaconu et Paul Diaconu. L'importance de cette traduction ne peut plus d'être mise en discussion, d'autant plus que cet ouvrage continue à être le plus connu de la culture japonaise à l'extérieur du pays.

*L'histoire de la littérature japonaise* de Shuichi Kato offre au lecteur roumain non seulement une voie d'accès à une culture différente de la culture européenne mais, par la manière d'interprétation du phénomène littéraire japonais qui garde une forte liaison avec les concepts essentiels de l'esthétique européenne, facilite la compréhension d'une littérature peu accessible jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Dans une préface à l'édition publiée en roumain, Shuichi Kato explique les principes de recherche de sa méthodologie et met en évidence les repères théoriques de l'ouvrage. Le critique japonais rejette dès le début l'opinion préconçue selon laquelle la littérature japonaise serait un monde fermé pour le lecteur européen à cause des concepts esthétiques spécifiques. Ces concepts ne devraient plus limiter la compréhension du phénomène littéraire japonais si on les avait expliqués à l'aide des concepts de l'esthétique européenne. C'est ce que fait Shuichi Kato dans *L'Histoire de la littérature japonaise*.

Son ouvrage est en même temps une critique des histoires littéraires japonaises antérieures qui se limitaient à mentionner les dates et les événements suivant une chronologie acceptée sans interpréter les mouvements littéraires. L'intention de Shuichi Kato a en vue la compréhension du

rapport entre les événements non seulement dans une vision diachronique

mais en les situant aussi dans leur dimension synchronique. La mise en relation des événements ne se limite pas seulement à l'espace littéraire mais se prolonge vers toute la culture et l'histoire du Japon.

Ayant comme point de départ l'idée que la littérature ne se produit pas indépendamment du contexte de l'histoire intellectuelle des idées, un contexte qui fonctionne dans un cadre historique, politique et social bien donné, Shuichi Kato réussit à élaborer la plus justifiée histoire de la littérature japonaise dès le début jusqu'à présent.

Dans un chapitre introductif Shuichi Kato définit les traits généraux de la littérature japonaise. Selon son opinion il y a un nombre de cinq facteurs essentiels qui différencient la littérature japonaise de la littérature chinoise et de celle européenne. En expliquant le rôle essentiel que la littérature a eu dans la culture japonaise Shuichi Kato fait la comparaison avec la place inférieure réservée en Europe à la littérature dans le Moyen Age en rapport avec la philosophie et la religion. Pour la culture japonaise l'histoire de la littérature représente une vraie histoire de la pensée et de la sensibilité en même temps. Etant une culture liée directement aux réalités de la vie la mentalité japonaise ignore la pensée philosophique, abstraite. En comparaison avec la culture chinoise qui aborde la réalité en partant des principes universels la culture japonaise se situe de l'autre côté de la pensée philosophique dans son intérêt d'approfondir la connaissance du monde en partant du particulier vers l'universel.

Une autre caractéristique propre à la littérature japonaise vise le concept du "nouveau" en ce qui concerne la genèse



des formes esthétiques. Dans la littérature japonaise un concept esthétique nouveau ne remplace jamais un concept ancien, le développement de la littérature japonaise s'adapte en permanence à l'accumulation des concepts qui ont survécu dans le temps.

Un troisième aspect important qui particularise la littérature japonaise tient du rôle déterminant de l'usage et de l'adaptation de la langue chinoise au système phonétique japonais. La langue chinoise a joué dans la culture japonaise le même rôle que les langues sacrées, le latin et le slavon, ont eu au Moyen Age en Europe, mais on ne l'a abandonnée en faveur du japonais, comme il s'est passé dans l'Europe avec les langues liturgiques, que dans la période Meiji, c'est à dire au début des temps modernes. L'ouvrage de Shuichi Kato a aussi le mérite d'inclure dans la culture japonaise tous les textes écrits en chinois sur le territoire du Japon.

Le contexte social dans lequel s'est développé la littérature constitue aussi l'une des plus importantes caractéristiques de la culture japonaise. Attachée aux valeurs éthiques et morales propagées par les classes sociales, la littérature japonaise était produite conformément aux codes culturels bien déterminés. Shuichi Kato met en évidence dans son commentaire le caractère urbain de la littérature japonaise. Dès les premières manifestations culturelles les plus actifs centres de création artistique ont été les villes, situation qui a favorisé la naissance des formes littéraires spécifiques. Ainsi la littérature japonaise était-elle liée parfois à la nécessité de maintenir ou de transférer le pouvoir politique d'une ville à l'autre se constituait comme une réponse aux valeurs éthiques et morales sur lesquelles chaque groupement social avait bâti son pouvoir politique. A cause de cette forte liaison entre la culture et la politique les écrivains japonais font appel dans les textes littéraires aux concepts philosophiques qui correspondaient à la classe sociale dont ils provenaient. La séparation en des castes et

groupements littéraires des écrivains continue à fonctionner jusqu'à nos jours.

Un autre facteur qui détermine le développement de la littérature japonaise est aussi la façon de concevoir le monde par la mentalité japonaise. Selon l'opinion de Shuichi Kato quatre ont été les systèmes de pensée philosophique qui ont joué à un moment donné un rôle déterminant dans la culture japonaise : il s'agit du Bouddhisme, du Confucianisme, du Christianisme et du Marxisme. Tous ces systèmes philosophiques ont eu une forte influence sur la mentalité autochtone à cause de l'impact visible sur la pensée pragmatique des Japonais. Le procès complexe de "nipponisation" représente l'un des concepts essentiels de l'argumentation théorique de Shuichi Kato. Par "nipponisation" Shuichi Kato comprend le procès d'intégration dans la pensée autochtone des influences étrangères et de les adapter au monde immédiat dans une originale philosophie de la vie. *L'histoire de la littérature japonaise* de Shuichi Kato peut être vue ainsi comme une histoire des interactions culturelles.

Chronologiquement structurée sans être une simple description des oeuvres littéraires *L'histoire de la littérature japonaise* est jalonnée par quatre moments historiques liés aux changements structurels de la société japonaise et déterminés par l'impact que les importations culturelles ont eu sur la mentalité autochtone. Le premier moment historique correspond à la fin de la période Nara et au début de la période Heian, c'est à dire le fin du VIII-ème siècle et le début du IX-ème, moment qui impose l'ascension du pouvoir impérial et se manifeste dans le domaine de la pensée par l'influence de plus en plus forte du bouddhisme. Le deuxième moment correspond du point de vue politique au moment à l'affirmation du double gouvernement dans la période Kamakura, le fin du XII-ème siècle, quand le pouvoir été partagé entre les empereurs en retraite et "bushi" en pleine ascension. Dans cette période le Bouddhisme est soumis à une réforme religieuse d'essence,

réforme qui détermine en bonne partie la littérature de l'époque. Le troisième point marque la moitié du XVI-ème siècle par une forte influence occidentale déterminée par les échanges commerciaux et par l'intense activité des missions catholiques. Ce moment correspond dans le plan politique à la descentralisation du pouvoir des "bushi" et dans le plan économique à une hiérarchisation stricte de la société japonaise. Dans cette période les valeurs éthiques et morales des classes sociales déterminaient non seulement la thématique des oeuvres littéraires mais imposaient aussi des formes littéraires spécifiques. Le début de la période moderne du Japon est le quatrième moment crucial de la culture japonaise, moment qui correspond à l'importation des valeurs occidentales

unanimement acceptées à tous les niveaux de la société.

Dans toute l'histoire du Japon la littérature a joué un rôle essentiel à côté des autres manifestations artistiques qui accomplissent dans la mentalité japonaise un vrai *modus vivendi*.

Ainsi, *L'histoire de la littérature japonaise* de Shuichi Kato représente non seulement une évolution nécessaire du point de vue esthétique à l'égard des ouvrages similaires parus dans l'espace nippon mais, par sa modalité comparativiste d'interprétation du phénomène littéraire, elle fait aussi la relation nécessaire avec la culture occidentale dans un vrai dialogue des idées.

**FLORINA ILIȘ**

***Constituția Japoniei (The Constitution of Japan)***, Bucharest, All Educational Publishing House, 1997, 74p. Historical presentation, translation of the texts from Japanese and edited by Eleodor Focșeneanu.

Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the latter has been

In Romania the majority of the publications related to Japan have been literary works. But we can also find books of other fields. As far as the historical studies which appeared after 1989 are concerned, we should mention: *Japonia: Un secol de istorie (1853-1945) (Japan: A Century of History (1853-1945))*, written by Constantin Bușe and Zorin Zamfir (Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1990), and *Japonia: Introducere în istorie, cultură și civilizație (Japan: Introduction to history, culture, civilization)*, published by Constantin Vlad (Bucharest, "Romania of tomorrow" Foundation Publishing House, 1998). The former describes Japanese modern history based mainly on the foreign studies and the documents from the

elaborated as a textbook of Japanese history for the students of "Spiru Haret" University in Bucharest, which has a specialization of Japanese language.

Also, Eleodor Focșeneanu is one of the Romanians who have a profound knowledge of Japanese history. He has learned Japanese almost by himself and has studied Japanese names. Being a lawyer by profession, he is interested first of all in constitutional history. Thus, he published *Istoria constituțională a României (1859-1991) (The Constitutional History of Romania (1859-1991))* (Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1992), which is presented by the Publishing House as a single treatise of Romanian constitutional

history. In this work the author asserts that the Constitution of 1923 remains in force also today. This point of view provoked much controversy, but anyway it is remarkable that he has fought against communism consistently for several decades. Also after 1989 he opposes the neocommunist which took over the government, contributing to the newspaper *România liberă* (*Free Romania*). He writes also for *Lumea liberă* (*Free world*), a Romanian weekly newspaper appearing in New York. It should be underlined that he is in close contact with Mihai I, a former sovereign of the Romanian Kingdom, who lives in Switzerland. He describes minutely how he was forced to abdicate the throne in his work: *Două săptămîni dramatice din istoria României(17-30 decembrie 1947)* (*Two Dramatic Weeks in the History of Romania (December 17-30, 1947)*) (Bucharest, All Educational Publishing House, 1997). This book was published in 1997, namely exactly 50 years after this event.

Eleodor Focșeneanu published also *Constituția Japoniei* in 1997, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary. The Constitution was promulgated on November 3, 1946, but went into effect on May 3, 1947, namely, 6 months after the promulgation according to Article 100(1). Thus, "kenpōkinenbi" (Anniversary of the Constitution), which constitutes one of the national holidays, is not November 3 but May 3. The Constitution of Japan remains in force up to now without suffering any modifications, which contrasts sharply with the fact that in the postwar Romania there are four constitutions, namely, the Constitutions of the Romanian People's Republic of 1948 and of 1952, the Constitution of the Romanian Socialist Republic of 1965 and the Constitution of Romania of 1991.

It should be mentioned that he took the initiative in making up a series of "Constituțiile statelor lumii" (constitutions of the whole world) together with Aurel Ciobanu-Dordea and Marian Florescu. He also translated the Constitution of Germany

(*Legea fundamentală pentru Republica Federală Germania*) of May 23, 1949, which appeared in the spring of 1998 on the occasion of the International Book Fair of Frankfurt, in which Romania took part. Aurel Ciobanu-Dordea, in his turn, published in 1998 *Constituția Republicii Franceze* (*The Constitution of the Republic of France*) of October 4, 1958. The size of these publications is 16,6x11,5 cm, so they are portable. In the middle of the cover there appears the national flag of the respective country, which is very chic. Thus, they are splendid also from a graphical point of view.

*Constituția Japoniei* is made up of the following seven parts: Historical presentation of constitutional orders in Japan (pp.1-19); The Emperor's Declaration of Disavowal of his Divinity (p. 20); the Constitution of Japan (pp.21-48); Analytic index of the Constitution of Japan (pp.49-55); "A new life began in Japan. The oath of loyalty on the Constitution" (an article from the newspaper *Yomiuri*) (pp.56-57); The Imperial House Act (pp.58-67); Analytic index of the Imperial House Act (pp.68-71).

"Historical presentation of constitutional orders in Japan" is a reproduction of the conference held at the Romanian Society of Nipponology (Societatea Română de Niponologie) on July 13, 1993. This begins with Jūshichijō no Kempō (Seventeen Article Constitution) of 604. This "Constitution" addressed itself mainly to powerful clans, which were expected to become state servants, and urged them to submit themselves to the authority of the emperor, to respect harmony and to think highly of Buddhism. It is interesting that making a comparison with medieval Europe where there were no written laws, Focșeneanu appreciated that Japan was in advance (p.1). On the other hand, as far as the modern ages are concerned, he compares Japan and Romania and considers that the latter was in advance with a decade for the reason that Convențiunea pentru organizarea definitivă a principatelor dunărene (the

Convention for the definitive organization of the Danubian Principalities), which can be considered the first Constitution of Romania, was issued on August 19, 1859, while the Meiji Restoration took place in 1868 (p.2).

As for "Seitaisho" issued in 1868, some people, especially foreigners, including Focșeneanu, regard it as a constitution (p.2-3), but they constitute a minority. If we translate it literally, it means a document concerning political organization. Indeed, it referred only to "Dajōkansei", which was a kind of ministerial organization. There were giseikan, gyōseikan, jingikan, kaikeikan, gunmukan, gaikokukan and keihōkan, which were a kind of Ministers of Politics, Administration, Cult, Finance, Military Affairs, Foreign Affairs and Justice. Dajōkan stood at the head of these seven persons. This organization aimed at the separation of the three powers (of administration, legislation and judicature). We should notice that the government of those days issued also "Gokajō no goseimon" (Five Article Oath) and "Gobō no keiji" (Five Board Notice) almost at the same time. The former, presented by the emperor, mentioned that "evil customs of the past shall be broken off, careers shall be open to all people equally, and knowledge shall be sought throughout the world", etc. On the other hand, the latter was addressed to the common people and prohibited them from making a collective petition, Christianity, and so on. Therefore, Seitaisho was not a comprehensive law like a constitution. Generally, "Meiji Constitution" refers only to that of 1889.

Focșeneanu explains that Seitaisho turned out inapplicable, being abandoned next year. He appreciates that its importance remains purely historical for the reason that it was the first attempt to define state's organs and prerogatives, but it does not present any interest for explaining the actual constitution (p.3). Unfortunately, this viewpoint is a little bit superficial. Indeed, the organization prescribed by Seitaisho did

last but one year, but this does not mean that it was abandoned completely in 1869. The government modified this organization and the names of these departments. Thus, for example, the name "gaimushō" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) appeared for the first time. But the chief of these Ministries continued to be called "dajōkan" till 1885, when it became "shushō" (Prime Minister), the first one being Itō Hirobumi, who played an important role in elaborating the Constitution of 1889.

As far as this constitution is concerned, we do not share his opinion that "the Meiji Constitution of 1889 is the result of the compromise between those in power who were interested in maintaining the prerogative of the emperor and the liberal circles concentrated around Jiyū Minken Undō (the Movement for freedom and people's rights), and that it seems that the former turned out to be more advantaged due to the existent social situation of that time and the Japanese traditional spirit" (p.5), because of the following two reasons. First, this constitution did not result from the deliberation of the Parliament. The drafting was done in secret with the help of a small committee, and Hermann Roesler, a German professor of jurisprudence at the Tokyo Imperial University, was often asked for advice. In the course of 1888, the final draft was deliberated and ratified at meetings of a specially convened privy council, consisting of members of the government and other high dignitaries. So, a few people engaged in drafting the Constitution. The Parliament was not yet existent at that time. Therefore, the Constitution of 1889 was the one imposed almost unilaterally from the top. Second, it should be noticed that much later, above all in Shōwa era, they discovered about 40 drafts of constitution in various parts of the country, the majority of which were democratic, progressive and fairly different from the Constitution of 1889, thinking much of people's rights and the legislative power of the Parliament. It is known that at

the time the government tried to procure them in secret, but adopted almost none of their democratic provisions. Therefore, it is hard to say "the result of the compromise".

The Constitution of 1947 is presented in detail. Readers can easily grasp the outline of the elaboration, the contents, as well as the problem of revision of this constitution. Focșeneanu describes these things concisely without overlooking essential matters, which must be highly appreciated.

It would be even better if he would insert some differences between the Constitution of Japan and that of Romania. In this respect, he mentions only one thing, namely, the competence of the Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of laws (p.16). Being compared with the present Constitution of Japan, we can say that the Romanian one is in advance, being clearer and more comprehensive, since it stipulates also the national flag (Art.12(1)), the official language (Art.13), the capital of the country (Art.14), the support of the state over the Romanians abroad (Art.7), the status of foreigners living in Romania (Art.18), international human rights treaties (Art.20), the normal duration of a working day (Art.38(3)), and many more other things. The Constitution of Japan does not mention such matters. In addition, there is no article which says that Japan is a sovereign, independent, unitary and indivisible national state just like Article 1(1) of the Romanian Constitution. But we are people who do not say all things, so generally we do not think it necessary to add such stipulations to the existent constitution.

As regards the cases of Sunagawa and Naganuma (pp.18-19), we had better add the following. The former refers to the incident that when the local authority of Tokyo began to survey land in Tachikawa Airport used by the United States army on the morning of July 8, 1957, around one thousand people entered this place illegally in protest against the army. It is to be noticed that in March 1959 the Tokyo Local Court pronounced the stationing of the U.S.

army unconstitutional in the first trial. But later, the Supreme Court sent back this judgement for the reason mentioned by Focșeneanu. Then, the Tokyo Local Court judged the accused guilty and fined them. On the other hand, the latter happened in Naganuma city in Hokkaido, where the Minister of Agriculture and Forests ordered them to cut down the forest in order to construct an air base of the Self-Defense Forces. The local inhabitants sued the Minister for withdrawing this measure, pointing out that it would be against Article 9 of the Constitution. But this suit was likewise rejected. In this way, the U.S. army continues to station in Japan and the Self-Defence Forces of Japan continues to exist de facto.

We shall supplement the actual position of the emperor with the following results of a public-opinion poll (*Seiji keizai shiryō*, edited by Tadao Toda, Tokyo Horei Publishing House, 1997, p.96). In 1959, 60% of the Japanese expressed their sympathy with the Imperial Family. This proportion increased to 67% in 1993. And 39% of the people wish the Imperial Family to become more friendly with the people, 30% to offer more informations about them, 9% to respect their dignity and tradition, 8% want the guard around them not to be too strict, 6% hope the Imperial Family to be moderate, and 8% wish other things or do not answer. With respect to the status of the emperor, 56% of the people pronounced in favor of the status quo in 1952. This number dropped and reached 48% in 1956, but after that increased more and more, getting to 83% in 1989. On the other hand, 27% inclined to strengthening his authority in 1952. Such people increased to 33% in 1958, after which they decreased, reaching 4% in 1989. Thus, we can appreciate that the monarchy is deeply rooted in Japan and the actual constitutional system will last long. That is why it is important for us to understand the Constitution of 1947.

As far as the translation itself is concerned, some words are not appropriate. For example, "jogen" (Art.3)

should be "sfat" (advice) in place of "aviz" (notice, approval). "Kuni oyobi sono kikan" (Art.20(3)) should not be translated "statul și celelalte organisme ale sale" (the State and its other organisms) but "statul și organismele sale" (the State and its organisms). Then, "kanri" (Art.73(4)) is not "serviciul public" (public service) but "funcționari publici" (public servants).

There can be found some omissions. Article 24(1) says, "marriage should be arranged only through the consent of these two persons..." (kon-in ha ryōsei no gōi nomini motozuite seiritsushi...), but we can not find the word "numai" (only) in this Romania version, which mentions: "Căsătoria ia naștere prin consimțământul celor doi viitori soți". Besides, one of the affairs conducted by the Cabinet is not "acordarea amnistiei, grațierii, reducerii pedepselor, scutirii de executare a pedepsei, precum și a reabilitării" (to grant an amnesty, a pardon, a reduction of penalties, an exemption of penalties' execution, as well as a rehabilitation) (Art.73(7)), but to decide these things. Thus, "wo kettei surukoto" is not translated here.

Another problem is that he misunderstands some modifying phrases. To give some examples, "Seijiteki, keizaiteki mataha shakaitekikankei ni oite" (Art.14(1)) should be translated "în relațiile politice, economice sau sociale" (in the political, economic or social relations) instead of "sau decurgînd din relații politice, economice sau sociale" (or resulting from the political, economic or social relations).

In addition to that, "kojin no songen to ryōsei no honshitsutekibyōdō ni rikkyakushite" (Art. 24(2)) does not mean "pe baza egalității fundamentale a demnității individuale a celor două sexe" (on the basis of fundamental equality of individual dignity of the two sexes), but "pe baza demnității individuale și a egalității fundamentale a celor două sexe" (on the basis of individual dignity and fundamental equality of the two sexes).

Although there are such minor mistakes, we appreciate the high quality of the translation as a whole. Above all, we should notice his appropriate treatment of the word "kokumin", which can be translated not only "popor" (people), but also "națiune" (nation) or "cetățean" (citizen). The translator makes proper use of these three words, considering their respective contexts. This demonstrates that he has full knowledge of Japanese. We remember that at one time he personally asked us to procure the text of Seventeen Article Constitution, which confirms that he translated the texts directly from Japanese. We eagerly hope there will appear many more publications translated directly from Japanese, not through another language like English. In this sense, we recommend this work also to those who do not specialize in law or history.

**TAKAFUMI NAKAJIMA**

Kazuko DIACONU et Paul DIACONU, ***Japonezii despre ei înșiși (Les Japonais sur eux-mêmes)***, Bucharest, Ed. "Nipponica", 1994, vol.I. 326p., vol.II. 330p.

Dans l'admirable livre d'interviews réalisé par Kazuko Diaconu et Paul Diaconu, *Les Japonais sur eux-mêmes*, l'une des personnalités de la société japonaise contemporaine cite les paroles de Confucius: "J'accueillerai avec un grand plaisir l'ami qui vient de loin". Nous croyons que la citation puisée dans la sagesse du philosophe chinois représente le message initial du livre qu'on vient de mentionner. Le Roumain arrivé dans "le pays du Soleil-Levant" ou le Japonais animé par le désir de voyager à travers le pays latin du bord de la Mer Noire aurait certainement expérimenté cette hypostase -unique par sa richesse d'émotions- de l'invité.

Dès le chapitre intitulé *De la part des auteurs*, on est avertis que les deux volumes comprennent 58 interviews réalisées avec des noms de marque de la société nipponne contemporaine, tels: Leo Esaki, président de l'Université de Tsukuba, lauréat du Prix Nobel en Physique (1973), Shigeo Motoike, rédacteur en chef du département international du quotidien Yomiuri Shimbun, Shinichiro Asao, président de la fondation Japon, Takeshi Nagano, président de la Fédération Japonaise des Associations des Patrons (Nikkeiren), Hiroyuki Yoshikawa, président de l'Université de Tokyo, Kenzo Tange, architecte etc.

La gamme d'activités des personnalités interviewées est diverse: étudiants, jeunes hommes au début de leur carrière, artistes consacrés déjà sur les scènes japonaises ou étrangères, hommes d'affaires célèbres dans le domaine économique, professeurs, traducteurs de langue roumaine (tels: Atsushi Naono - d'une grande renommée-, Kazuko Baisho, Haruya Sumiya), prêtres *shinto*, maîtres d'écoles de la cérémonie

du thé, *ikebana*, présidents de musées (le Musée de la soie de Yokohama ou celui des Poupées, de la même ville), directeurs de théâtre (Théâtre de Marionnettes PUK), auxquels on ajoute, naturellement, le propriétaire d'un restaurant à spécificité marin ou un vieil homme de 90 ans.

Au fur et à mesure qu'il s'avancera dans la lecture, le lecteur comprendra facilement que ce livre présente le Japon, tel qu'il apparaît tant à un intellectuel qu'à une femme casanière, tant à un jeune homme sur le point d'achever ses études qu'à un retraité, aussi bien à un homme d'affaires qu'à un polisseur d'épées.

Inévitablement prolix, le contenu de ce livre trace les contours de l'univers culturel et de civilisation japonais. Par endroits, on offre même des "clés" possibles pour la compréhension de ce qu'un Européen appelle le "mystère nippon", en commençant par sa naissance mythique d'Amaterasu O-Mikami et en finissant par le miracle économique actuel.

La structure du livre (le premier volume présenté aux lecteurs avec une couverture de couleur noire, le deuxième avec une couverture rouge, rappelant les traditionnels bols de bois, avec l'extérieur peint en noir et l'intérieur en rouge), est envisagée, croyons-nous, comme une tentative de définir le Japon et le sentiment japonais de l'intérieur du système, évitant ainsi les faux ou les clichés que pourrait provoquer, à la rigueur, une approche européenne.

Le Japon est devenu une superpuissance. Il occupe, si l'on considère le niveau du produit national brut, la deuxième position mondiale. Le rythme terriblement rapide dans lequel, dans une période brève depuis la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale, ce pays de l'Extrême Orient a parcouru les étapes du développement industriel, a fait du Japon un modèle dans le domaine. A cela s'ajoute aussi la tradition d'une culture

multimillénaire, ce qui explique l'intérêt de plus en plus accentué des étrangers pour la culture et la civilisation japonaises et, implicitement, pour la langue japonaise.

D'autre côté, il se manifeste aussi l'opinion des Japonais que leur pays devrait avoir des institutions similaires à celles d'autres pays, telles l'*Institut culturel Goethe* et le *Conseil Britannique*, institutions qui pourraient ouvrir la perspective du développement des relations interculturelles.

En ce sens, le 2 octobre 1972, on met les bases de la Fondation Japon, structurée en quatre sections, notamment: la section de langue japonaise, la section d'art, la section de l'audiovisuel et la section pour la promotion des études japonaises à l'étranger. Dans son interview, le président de cette fondation démontre que l'activité de la dernière de ces sections se manifeste à divers niveaux. Premièrement, il s'agit de l'envoi de professeurs et de spécialistes de langue japonaise. Ensuite, sont invités au Japon des étrangers qui seront aidés à enseigner le japonais. Dans ce but, on a fondé un centre d'études de la langue japonaise à Urawa, non loin de la capitale Tokyo, où sont invités chaque année de 400 à 600 étrangers. Le même centre, servant la même cause de la promotion du japonais à l'étranger s'occupe de l'impression de textes pour l'enseignement de la langue japonaise et réalise des matériaux vidéo (I, p.19-30).

Nous espérons que l'exemplification ci-dessus ait déjà suggéré que l'interview - comme méthode de travail - dans *Les Japonais sur eux-mêmes* a été rigoureusement conçue. Après avoir marqué les coordonnées spatio-temporelles du dialogue, l'exactitude scientifique du journaliste nous propose un plan de questions très bien structuré.

D'une manière toute naturelle, l'interviewé commence par la présentation des données personnelles, pour préciser, après, sa spécialité dans le large contexte de l'art, de la culture ou de la sphère du social et de l'économique, sur le plan interne ou international. La personne

interviewée continue par des aspects plus ponctuels, liés au spécifique de son métier, informations que seul un spécialiste est à même de mettre en évidence, essayant de montrer si l'on pourrait établir un point de contact entre le profil de sa profession et son équivalent dans la société européenne et celle roumaine.

L'architecte Kenzo Tange, par exemple, a participé effectivement à l'édification du Japon des trois dernières décennies. Le début, comme tout début, s'est réalisé sous le signe des recherches. Après une période d'approximations et de tentatives, Kenzo Tange, l'auteur du Centre De La Paix de Hiroshima a compris que son intérêt portait sur l'antique agora grecque, comme lieu de "rencontres ou d'espace de communication" (I, p.224). Un autre thème qui a attiré l'attention du maître architecte a été "la mobilité en ville" (I, p.224). La perspective originale de compréhension et d'application de l'architecture, le plan proposé par Kenzo Tange a réorganisé structurellement la ville. La tendance centripète, close de celle-ci a évolué vers "une structure ouverte linéairement et en expansion" (I, p.230). Il est apparu donc le concept structural d'"axe civique" (I, p.230), qui a rapidement fait une carrière mondiale. La nouvelle ville construite par Kenzo Tange (créateur de fameux édifices, il est aussi l'ingénieur qui a projeté le nouveau complexe du Gouvernorat Métropolitain de Tokyo) est une ville de la communication, de la relation directe entre "un être humain et ses semblables" (I, p.234).

L'interview glisse ensuite vers la vie privée des personnalités questionnées, pour offrir de cette façon au lecteur l'image de la vie quotidienne d'un homme qui édifie l'histoire de la société japonaise contemporaine. On tente par cela de donner la réponse à une question inévitable: en quelle mesure peut et réussit une personne responsable dans la vie sociale à réconcilier la vie de famille avec un emploi de temps surchargé...

Ceux qui désireront vraiment connaître l'univers de l'archipel nippon



trouveront ici des données intéressantes concernant la manière dont la société japonaise s'organise en associations gouvernementales et non-gouvernementales, le système de fonctionnement de celles-ci. Le lecteur qui s'intéresse au succès d'une firme ou d'une petite société a à sa disposition des confessions directes sur ce thème de la part de ceux qui les ont créées et leur ont assuré jusqu'à présent les conditions de fonctionnement et d'efficacité.

L'excellente interview accordée par Leo Esaki, président de l'Université de Tsukuba, lauréat du Prix Nobel en Physique (1973) met en évidence le rôle que joue l'éducation dans le progrès de la civilisation en général, et dans le spectaculaire développement de la société nipponne en spécial. Prenant comme point de départ l'étymologie du terme, celle de "former ou d'élever quelqu'un", Leo Esaki accorde à l'éducation la noble mission de modeler et de former des individus, en leur conférant un "caractère de haute culture" (I, p.50) et une personnalité créatrice.

L'éducation a été et continuerait à rester pour le recteur de l'Université de Tsukuba l'une des solutions réformatrices des divers secteurs de la société nipponne. Leo Esaki propose que Janus, le dieu romain à deux visages, qui a donné son nom au mois de janvier soit appelé "le dieu de l'internationalisation" (I, p.53), puisqu'il montre la tendance de l'homme à se manifester différemment, parce que "de la confrontation ou de la compétition" de ces deux visages résulte la "source de la vitalité" (I, p.52).

L'assoiffé de culture trouvera dans *Les Japonais sur eux-mêmes* l'explication des principes qui se trouvent à la base du code de la cérémonie du thé, *wa, kei, sei et jaku* (I, p.205). Les intéressés trouvent une explication étymologique du terme *ikebana*, provenu du verbe *ikeru* qui signifie "maintenir quelqu'un ou quelque chose en vie" et le nom *hana* "fleur", et apprend aussi que l'arrangement du bouquet floral se fait selon trois principes: le ciel, l'homme et la terre, avec des racines dans la philosophie

chinoise, selon laquelle "l'homme se trouve à mi-chemin entre le ciel et la terre, c'est-à-dire au centre de l'univers" (II, p.317).

Sono Uchida, le président de l'Association Internationale de Haïku définit pour le lecteur roumain le *haïku* comme "la plus concentrée forme poétique lyrique" (I, p.254), montrant que cette sensibilité propre à la culture nipponne s'est répandue dans d'autres langues aussi, comme le français, l'anglais, le roumain. Après la présentation, dans le premier volume, de données générales sur le haïku (définition, évolution historique), le thème du poème en 17 syllabes est repris dans le deuxième volume, dans l'interview accordée par le surveillant du Musée Basho de Tokyo, Junko Satori, et publiée dans le volume sous le titre *Ici a habité Basho, dans une hutte couverte de roseau* (II, p.208), Basho étant considéré comme le plus grand créateur de haïkus.

Toujours sous le signe de l'ancienne culture japonaise se trouve le motif de la "poupée". Il y a un chemin très court du Musée des Poupées jusqu'au Théâtre de Marionnettes...

Et après avoir compris le symbole de la poupée et le rôle qu'elle joue à l'occasion de fêtes comme *ohinamatsuri*, on apprend que l'épée ne symbolise pas "le militarisme ou la guerre", mais tenant compte du fait qu'elle est vue comme "l'art d'allier l'acier avec le feu et l'eau", elle devient l'apanage de la vertu qu'un polisseur d'épées s'efforcent de maintenir en vie.

Et lorsqu'on trace les contours du cadre culturel japonais, dans son évolution, on n'omet pas non plus la soie ou l'évocation du fameux Chemin de la soie que prenait l'Européen Marco Polo pour se diriger vers l'Asie...

Et au-delà de tout cela, les racines de cette fascinante culture, qui a sa source profonde, depuis 3000 ans, dans la foi *shintô*, dont les prêtres des sanctuaires de la plus ancienne religion japonaise essaient de définir le sens. "*Shintô* signifie la continuité de la vie" (II, p.256), explique Katsushi Toyama, viceprésident, directeur responsable du Grand Sanctuaire Meiji.

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Nous avouons franchement que la dernière question adressée par la famille Diaconu à ses interlocuteurs: "Etes-vous heureux d'être Japonais?", nous a un peu déconcertés au début. Elle pourrait être justifiée par le fait que le sentiment national des Japonais est bien connu dans le monde entier, et la réponse à cette question ne saurait être qu'affirmative, comme par exemple: "Je suis Japonais, j'aime l'être et j'aime le Japon" (I, p.268). L'opinion de Haruya Sumiya, professeur,

traducteur de littérature roumaine, nous a confirmé ce que nous avons, intuitivement, compris de la formulation de cette question: "J'ai l'impression que les Roumains ont perdu un peu de leur amour du pays, de leur amour du peuple.(...) J'espère qu'ils retrouvent la confiance en eux-mêmes et dans l'avenir de leur pays" (II, p.231).

**RODICA FRENȚIU**



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