Translationese-Specific Linguistic Characteristics:

A Corpus-Based Study of Contemporary Japanese Translationese

Yukari Fukuchi Meldrum

Modern Language and Cultural Studies, University of Alberta

1. Introduction

There is almost no descriptive research done on contemporary Japanese translationese in fiction. Translation scholars who study Japanese translationese tend to focus on the Meiji, Taisho and early Showa periods and their influence on the Japanese language (e.g., Furuta, 1963; Morioka, 1968, 1999; Sugimoto, 1983; Yoshioka, 1973). Since there was a great deal of translation activity during these periods due to the need to translate Western materials, scholarly interest in translationese of that time period is understandable.

I believe, however, that study of the current situation of translationese in popular fiction will contribute to a better overall understanding. I have chosen to focus on only one genre of popular fiction because there exists too great a variety of genres to render a coherent and effective study. In addition, fiction potentially draws on a wider variety of styles including its narrative strategies and representation of speech. This is because other genres of texts[1] tend to have prescribed styles that translators must follow.

Descriptive studies of contemporary Japanese translationese in fiction are an almost untouched area in Translation Studies. There is much to be done that may be important for translations' practice, education, and publication. The research findings will also contribute to theoretical discussions. For example, they may provide more information for Toury's notion of translation as a norm-governed activity (1978/2004, 1995, 1999) and for Polysystem Theory (Even-Zohar, 1979, 1978/2004[2]; Dimic & Garstin, 1988).

Scholars have argued that the following are some of the characteristics of translationese: 1) use of overt personal pronouns (Yanase, 2000; Miyawaki, 2000; Nakamura, 2001); 2) more frequent use of loanwords (Yanabu 1982, 1998; Yoshioka, 1973); 3) use of female specific language (Ohmori, 2006; Kono 1999); 4) use of abstract nouns as grammatical subjects of transitive verbs (Morioka, 1988, 1997, 1999; Yoshioka, 1973); and 5) longer paragraphs

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[1] For example, specific styles are prescribed for writings in business, technical, legal, and institutionalized texts such as newspaper articles; therefore, translators have to follow the prescribed style according to the genre that they are working in.

[2] This essay was originally written in 1978, and revised in 1990.

(Miyawaki, 2000). For the examination of features of translationese in this paper, the features mentioned above are considered. The comparative corpora can reveal evidence for these features of translationese or prove otherwise.

2. Features of Japanese Translationese

2.1 Personal Pronouns

A number of books on translations suggest that third person pronouns such as *kare* 'he' and *kanojo* 'she' are used more often in translation (Yanase, 2000; Miyawaki, 2000; Nakamura, 2001; Tsujitani, 2004; and Anzai, Inoue, & Kobayashi, 2005). Since Japanese does not require the use of these third person pronouns, Miyawaki (2000) writes, "it is not favorable to overuse personal pronouns such as 'she' and 'he' when one translates a novel" (p. 20; my translation)[3]. Saito (2007), in the chapter entitled "Using Natural Japanese," recommends that avoiding third person pronouns is one of the ways to translate into natural Japanese.

The example below shows one passage from an original text and one from a translated text. In the first, there are no third person pronouns used in reference to a person. The passage is about a person whose name was brought up in the previous paragraph. When I translate the passage into English, on the other hand, five personal pronouns need to be supplied due to grammatical constraints[4].

1. A passage from *Shitsurakuen (Paradise that was Lost)*[5]:

Romanized Japanese:
Buchoo no toki ni wa shuu ni ichido no wari de itte ita noni, hima ni nattekara no hoo ga kaisuu ga hette iru. Muron shigoto-joo no *gorufu* ga hetta sei mo aru ga, ichiban no mondai wa, taishite shigoto mo shite inai noni gorufu o yattemo, ima

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[3] "小説を翻訳するとき，「彼女」「彼」といった人称代名詞を多用するのは好ましくない，といわれている．" (Miyawaki, 2000, p. 20)

[4] In other words, English requires grammatical subjects indicated in order for a sentence to be grammatical. For example, "He gave me the candle." is a complete sentence while "Gave me a candle." is not considered grammatical.

[5] This two-volume novel is entitled *Shitsurakuen 失楽園 (Paradise that was Lost)* written by Watanabe Jun'ichi. It was a serialized novel on Nihon Keizai Shimbun (The Nikkei) and was published in 1997. It made the bestseller list of the same year. This novel was made into a movie and a TV series. The story deals with a love affair between a middle-aged male editor and a slightly younger female character. In Japanese:
部長のときには週に一度のわりで行っていたのに、閑になってからのほうが回数が減っている。むろん仕事上のゴルフが減ったせいもあるが、一番の問題は、たいして仕事もしていないのにゴルフをやっても、いまひとつ楽しめないからである。やはり遊びごとは、忙しい仕事の合い間にやってこそ、面白いのかもしれない。(Watanabe, 2000, p. 59)

hitotsu tanoshimenai kara de aru. Yahari, asobigoto wa, isogashii shigoto no aima ni yatte koso, omoshiroi no kamo shirenai. (Watanabe, 2000, p. 59)

English translation (my translation):
When <u>he</u> was a section chief, <u>he</u> went [golfing] at the rate of about once a week; however, the number of times has decreased since <u>he</u> gained more free time. Of course, it is because of the decrease of golfing opportunities related to work, the prominent problem is that <u>he</u> cannot really enjoy golfing when <u>he</u> isn't really working all that hard. After all, diversions make one feel the fun only during spare moments from work.

The passage from the translation, *Madison-gun no Hashi (The Bridges of Madison County)*, on the other hand, shows four explicit personal pronouns (*kare* "he" and *kanojo* "she") which are underlined.

2. A passage from *Madison-gun no Hashi:*[6]

Romanized Japanese:
<u>Kare</u> ga mi o kagamete *guroobu-bokkusu* ni te o nobashita toki, ude ga kasukani <u>kanojo</u> no hiza ni fureta. Nakaba *furonto-garasu* o, nakaba *guroobu-bokkusu* o minagara, <u>kare</u> wa meishi o toridashite, <u>kanojo</u> ni watashita. "Robaato kinkeido, shashinka/*raitaa*" to ari, juusho to denwa-bangoo ga insatsu shite aru. (Waller, 1992/1997, p.58)

English original:

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[6] *The Bridges of Madison County,* written by Robert James Waller and published in 1992, was translated by Matsumura Kiyoshi and published as *Madison-gun no Hashi* マディソン郡の橋 in 1993. This translation was on the bestseller lists of both 1993 and 1994. The story deals with a love affair between an Italian war bride in Madison Country, Iowa, and a traveling photographer who works for National Geographic. The English novel was made into a movie in 1995. In this sense, the Japanese readers read the translation before they watched the movie. The books *Madison-gun no Hashi (The Bridges of Madison County*) and *Shitsurakuen (The paradise that was lost)* have many similarities. The main characters in each are a middle-aged man and woman who engage in extramarital relationships. The stories involve much description of feelings and narrations of what a man and a woman in love go through.
In Japanese:
彼が身をかがめてグローブボックスに手を伸ばしたとき、腕がかすかに彼女の膝にふれた。なかばフロントガラスを、なかばグローブボックスを見ながら、彼は名刺を取り出して、彼女に渡した。(ロバート・キンケイド、写真家＝ライター)とあり、住所と電話番号が印刷してある。(Waller, 1992/1997, p.58)

He [7] leaned over and reached into the glove compartment, his forearm accidentally brushing across her lower thigh. Looking half out the windshield and half into the compartment, he took out a business card and handed it to her. "Robert Kincaid, Writer-Photographer." His address was printed there, along with a phone number. (Waller, 1992, p.36)

2.2 Katakana Loanwords

More frequent use of loanwords is also thought of as one of the characteristics of translationese (Yanabu 1982, 1998; Yoshioka, 1973). In Japanese, as with any other of the languages in the world, various loanwords have made their way into the language. Most of the time, when the loanwords are from languages other than Chinese, the words are written with a set of characters called *Katakana* in modern writing conventions. In the example passages from *Shitsurakuen* and *Madison-gun no Hashi* above, loanwords are shown in italics. They are all loanwords from English. In addition, some examples of other Katakana loanwords include the following.

3. Examples of Katakana loanwords:

(a) king (English) → キング kingu
(b) tacos (Spanish) →タコス takosu
(c) Energy (German) →エネルギ ー enerugī

Miyawaki (2000) points out the difficulty of dealing with loanwords written in Katakana since what is accepted by the readership at a given point in time keeps on changing. In examples of translations with too many Katakana loanwords, he gives a few pointers such as "not using Katakana loanwords that are verbalized"[8] and "try not to use words that are Katakana loanwords in case for adjectives as well"[9] (p. 33). In other words, translators are discouraged to use loanwords in verbs and adjectives because readers are more accustomed to reading nouns in Katakana but not verbs and adjectives[10].

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[7] The underlined pronouns in the original are translated explicitly in Japanese as *kare* "he" and *kanojo* "she."

[8] "動詞化したカタカナの外来語は使わない" (Miyawaki, 2000, p. 33)

[9] "形容詞の場合も，できるだけカタカナ外来語形の言葉は使わないようにする．" (Miyawaki, 2000, p. 33)

[10] In Japanese, nouns do not have any grammatical declensions due to its case system. On the other hand, Japanese verbs and adjectives both conjugate. In other words, nouns do not change the forms while verbs and adjectives do. This may be the difference that affects the comfort levels of the readers in terms of accepting noun loanwords.

2.3 Female Specific Expressions

In Japanese, there are variations in expressions depending on the gender of the speaker (Shibatani, 1990). Translation is criticized for overuse of female-specific expressions (Ohmori, 2006; Kono 1999). Female-specific expressions include many different aspects; for example, female speakers tend to use specific first person pronouns and to "assume a higher politeness level than men in that they use more polite language than men to describe the same situation" (Shibatani, 1990, p. 374). Some prominent characteristics that are targets for criticism in translation are sentence final particles such as shown below (Shibatani, 1990; Kinsui, 2003).

4. Examples of female-specific sentence final particles:

Verb/Adj-*wa* (〜わ)
Verb/Adj -*no* (〜の)
Verb/Adj -*wayo* (〜わよ)
Noun-*yo* (〜よ)
Verb/Adj -*teyo* (〜てよ)
Verb/Adj -*noyo* (〜のよ)

In other words, when sentences end with these final particles, the speaker of the sentence is most likely be a female or a male who wants to present himself as a female. Below are some examples of actual uses in translations.

5. Examples of sentences with female-specific sentence final particles (SFPs):

(a)
Sugu	soba	**yo**.
right	close	**SFP**

'(It's) right there close by.' (Waller, 1992/1997, p. 56)

(b)
Watashi	niwa	dekinai	**wa.**
I	to	cannot do	**SFP**

'(To me) I can't do it.' (Forsyth, 1979/1982, p. 185)

(c)
Anata no	ie	o	sagasu	**noyo.**
Your	house	OBJ[11]	search	**SFP**

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[11] OBJ = direct object (accusative) marker

'Look for your house.' (Sheldon, 1990/1992, p. 98)

Kono (1999) cautions those who are training to become translators against stereotyping the way conversation is carried out depending on a character's race, occupation, sex, and age (p. 189)[12]. Additionally, Yanase (2000) states that one of the basics of translation is to avoid the use of *-wa*, *-yo*, and *-no* at the end of sentences in conversations, and he goes on to say that if one comes across a translated book with many of these sentence-final particles, it is best not to purchase the book (p. 128)[13]. Nornes (1999/2004) also warns that the use of female-specific sentence final particles can alter the representation of female characters in translations of movie subtitles.

2.4 Abstract/Inanimate Nouns as Agents of Transitive Verbs

Another characteristic of translationese is the use of abstract or inanimate nouns as grammatical agents of a transitive verb (Morioka, 1988, 1997, 1999; Yoshioka, 1973). In Japanese, there is a rhetorical device of personification in which a simple comparison is achieved by making the agent of an intransitive verb inanimate. However, in translation, abstract nouns and inanimate nouns are made into agents of transitive verbs as well. Below is an example from Morioka (1999).

6. An example of an abstract/inanimate noun as the grammatical agent of a transitive verb:

(a) Original English sentence:
"Nature has given him wonderful strength and beauty."

(b) Translation into Japanese:
Shizen wa kare ni odorokubeki chikara to bi O **ataetari.**
Nature TOP[14] him to wonderful strength and beauty OBJ **gave**
(Morioka, 1999, p. 151)

In this sentence, *shizen* (nature) is the agent of the transitive verb *ataeru* (to give). While this construction is natural in English, it is rather questionable in Japanese. Yoshioka (1973)

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[12] "登場人物の人種・職業・性別・年齢などで、会話の調子を画一化してはいけません。" (Kono, 1999, p. 189)
[13] "会話の語尾の「わ」と「よ」の氾濫を避けるのが翻訳技法の初歩であることはさきにちらりとふれた。書店で翻訳小説を開き、会話語尾に「わ」と「よ」と「の」が目立ちすぎたら、買わないほうがよろしい。" (Yanase, 2000, p. 128)
[14] TOP = Topic marker

argues that this use is already integrated into Japanese but Suzuki (1995) claims that it is not totally accepted as Japanese and encourages staying away from this sentence structure[15].

2.5 Longer Paragraph Length

Yet another characteristic of translationese is that paragraphs are longer than in non-translation (Miyawaki, 2000; Ohmori, 2006)[16]. Longer paragraphs in Japanese translation originate from the tendency of translators to adhere to paragraph structures from the original text. This is perhaps because of the idea that the translation should be as literal as possible. In addition, Honda (1982) mentions that even Japanese fiction editors, as a rule, do not change the length of paragraphs and the paragraph structures[17].

While Miyawaki (2000) treats longer paragraph length as just another characteristic of translationese and advocates adhering to this tendency, Ohmori (2006) has a rather negative attitude toward long paragraphs in translations. In his discussion of Science Fiction translation into Japanese, Ohmori points out a decrease in the number of fans who read translated Science Fiction in recent years. He attributes this decrease of Science Fiction translation readership to the current translators' tendency to keep the original paragraph length as opposed to a few decades ago when the translators freely changed the paragraph length[18].

3. Methods

Since translated texts need to be compared with non-translations (i.e., texts originally written in Japanese), comparable corpora are useful. In order to identify and substantiate specific characteristics of translationese in English-Japanese translation, linguistic features deemed to be characteristic of translationese should be checked in both the translation corpus and the non-translation corpus (e.g., Baker, 1993; Laviosa-Braithwaite, 1995).

If one wishes to test the hypothesis that third person pronouns are used more frequently in translationese, one needs to compare the corpora in order to extract the frequency of the personal pronouns in question. The investigation would be easier if corpora of translated literature and non-translated literature were already available, as in similar projects in English (Baker, 1996,

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[15] "…外国語の直訳調や英語の無生物主語が日本語のスタンダードな表現として定着したとは、まだ言い切れないと思います。" (Suzuki, 1995, p.37)

[16] "改行が少なく，ひとつの段落が長い，というのは翻訳小説の特徴の一つで，場合によっては，改行なしに2ページぐらい黒々とひとつの段落がつづくこともあり，本を開いただけで，日本の小説とはだいぶ印象が違う.” (Miyawaki, 2000, p. 57)

[17] "どういうわけか小説家の文学作品の場合は、段落を勝手に編集者がいじらぬ常識がけっこうゆきわたっている。" (Honda, 1982, p. 192)

[18] "かつて、SFファンと言えば日本のSFも翻訳SFも分けへだてなく読んでいたものだが、いまやソノラマ文庫や角川スニーカー文庫の読者で、翻訳SFを読もうという人はごく少数。出版点数の飛躍的増加など、理由はいろいろあるにせよ、ぎっしり字のつまった翻訳SFの読みにくさがその一因であることは間違いない。" (Ohmori, 2006, p. 88)

1999, 2004) and in Finnish (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2002; Puurtinen, 2003a, 2003b). However, in Japanese, there are currently no ready-made corpora that fulfill the needs of this type of research. As a result, such sets must be developed.

For the corpus of this study, I have compiled and digitized a corpus. As anyone who has created a digitized corpus knows, this is a time-consuming process which involves scanning, processing with the OCR (Optical Character Recognition) program and editing. I have scanned 10% of each book contained in the selections of translated books and books originally written in Japanese. I could scan only 10% of each book for two reasons. The first is because of quantity. There are a total of 34 books in the selection. The second is that copyright law imposes restrictions on the amount of reproductions that can be made for research purposes. The numbers of pages, therefore, varies from book to book depending on their length. The next step involved using an OCR program[19] to digitize the text. Although OCR technologies have advanced in recent years, there still occurs a considerable amount of errors in conversion from the image files to the digitized text files. This necessitated another step in the creation of a digitized corpus since every page of the digitized file had to be checked for any possible errors and, then, manually corrected.

In the corpora used for this investigation, texts from bestsellers (1980-2006) were chosen. As previously stated, the texts are from contemporary popular fiction. The translation corpus includes texts from 16 books, containing 377,591 characters, or approximately 944 Japanese writing sheets with 400-character spaces[20]. The non-translation corpus contains texts from 18 books with 282,369 characters which is about 706 Japanese writing sheets with 400-character spaces. Tables 1 and 2 show the titles used for compilation of the corpora used for this study[21].

Table 1 Texts used for the translation corpus:

Year	Ranking for the year shown	Original Titles	Authors	Number of characters
1980	8	Shogun	James Clavell	38112
1980	8	Shogun	James Clavell	35250
1980	8	Shogun	James Clavell	32895
1980	5	The Devil's Alternative	Frederick Forsyth	22576
1980	5	The Devil's Alternative	Frederick Forsyth	19202
1984	7	The Fourth Protocol	Frederick Forsyth	19949
1984	7	The Fourth Protocol	Frederick Forsyth	20340
1992	4	Memories of midnight	Sidney Sheldon	13376

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[19] The program I have purchased for this study is called "One Touch OCR Ver. 3 for Excel and Word (ワンタッチ OCR Ver. 3 for Excel and Word)" by A.I.Software, SEIKO EPSON Conrporation. This software allows the user to import processed data directly into a Micrsoft Word or Excel file.

[20] 400 字詰原稿用紙

[21] Refer to Appendix A for the Japanese versions of the tables.

1992	4	Memories of midnight	Sidney Sheldon	17582
1993/4	1	The Bridges of Madison County	Robert J. Waller	11969
1995	2	Forrest Gump	Winston Groom	16767
2001	1	Who moved my cheese	Spencer Johnson, Kenneth H. Blanchard	40407
2001	7	Twelfth Angel	Og Mandino	13758
2002	1	Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire	J. K. Rowling	59975
2002	12	The Great Blue Yonder	Alex Shearer	11654
2004	5	La Buena Suerte	Alex Rovira & Fernando Trias de Bes	3779

Table 2 Texts used for the non-translation corpus:

Year	Ranking for the year shown	Titles	Authors	Number of characters
1981	9	Jūmanbun no Ichi no Gūzen	Seicho Matsumoto	18786
1983	3	Tantei Monogatari	Jiro Akagawa	10457
1984	4	Mikeneko Hōmuzu no Bikkuri Bako	Jiro Akagawa	10340
1985	2	Toyotomi Hidenaga I	Taichi Sakaiya	16978
1985	2	Toyotomi Hidenaga II	Taichi Sakaiya	17587
1985	5	Shuto Shōmetsu I	Sakyo Komatsu	21035
1985	5	Shuto Shōmetsu II	Sakyo Komatsu	24793
1989	9	Ippai no Kakesoba	Ryoichi Kuri	4405
1989	9	Gokyu Shōsetsu	Kenichi Sakami	15244
1995	5	Parasite Eve	Hideaki Sena	26146
1997	1	Shitsuraku-en I	Junichi Watanabe	15360
1997	1	Shitsuraku-en II	Junichi Watanabe	15283
1997	3	Poppoya	Jiro Asada	14684
2001	10	Battle Royal I	Koushun Takami	23659
2001	10	Battle Royal II	Koushun Takami	21224
2003	2	Sekai no Chūshin de Ao Sakebu	Kyoichi Katayama	10530
2004	10	Ima Ai ni Ikimasu	Takuji Ichikawa	12927
2006	10	Kagami no Hōsoku	Yoshinori Noguchi	2931

All of the translation books in bestseller lists from 1980 to 2006 were included in the corpus. In order to choose the books to include in the non-translation corpus, non-translation books were categorized by their contents. These categories were based on categories and reviews

by on-line bookstores and reviews posted on various on-line bulletin board posts and blogs by Japanese readers[22]. Below are tables showing the titles and categories for both corpora.

Table 3 Translation texts and categories:

Titles	Authors	Categories
Shogun	James Clavell	Historical
Shogun	James Clavell	Historical
Shogun	James Clavell	Historical
The Devil's Alternative	Frederick Forsyth	Thriller
The Devil's Alternative	Frederick Forsyth	Thriller
The Fourth Protocol	Frederick Forsyth	Thriller
The Fourth Protocol	Frederick Forsyth	Thriller
Memories of midnight	Sidney Sheldon	Mystery
Memories of midnight	Sidney Sheldon	Mystery
The Bridges of Madison County	Robert J. Waller	Romance
Forrest Gump	Winston Groom	Life drama/ adventure[23]
Who moved my cheese	Spencer Johnson, Kenneth H. Blanchard	Self-help[24]
Twelfth Angel	Og Mandino	Self-help
Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire	J. K. Rowling	Fantasy
The Great Blue Yonder	Alex Shearer	Fantasy
La Buena Suerte[25]	Alex Rovira & Fernando Trias de Bes	Self-help

Table 4 Non-translation texts and categories:

Titles	Authors	Categories
Jūmanbun no Ichi no Gūzen	Seicho Matsumoto	Thriller
Tantei Monogatari	Jiro Akagawa	Mystery
Mikeneko Hōmuzu no Bikkuri Bako	Jiro Akagawa	Mystery

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[22] Amazon Japan, BK1, Japanese Wikipedia on books, Yahoo Japan Bulletin Boards, and various personal websites and blogs by Japanese readers were chosen to determine the categories of the books. Sometimes overlapping categories were observed, but most of the time, they were consistent.

[23] The category "adventure" is chosen here because of the explanation given by the publisher. The explanation of this story reads, "It is a delightful tale of adventure that has become a social phenomenon (世界中に社会現象を巻き起こした痛快な冒険談。)" (Groom, 1986/1994, on the cover). This novel was first published by Winston Groom in 1986 in English and was made into a movie in 1994 in the United States of America. The novel was translated into Japanese in December, 1994 before the movie was made available in Japan in February, 1995. In other words, this novel was translated because a movie was being made.

[24] These self-help books are not presented as a textbook but they provide clear lessons for life in the forms of fiction.

[25] This book was originally written in Spanish by Spanish authors, but the Japanese translation was made from the English translation of this book.

Toyotomi Hidenaga I	Taichi Sakaiya	Historical
Toyotomi Hidenaga II	Taichi Sakaiya	Historical
Shuto Shōmetsu I	Sakyo Komatsu	Thriller
Shuto Shōmetsu II	Sakyo Komatsu	Thriller
Ippai no Kakesoba	Ryoichi Kuri	Self-help
Gokyu Shōsetsu	Kenichi Sakami	Historical
Parasite Eve	Hideaki Sena	Thriller
Shitsuraku-en I	Junichi Watanabe	Romance
Shitsuraku-en II	Junichi Watanabe	Romance
Poppoya	Jiro Asada	Fantasy
Battle Royal I	Koushun Takami	Thriller
Battle Royal II	Koushun Takami	Thriller
Sekai no Chūshin de Ai o Sakebu	Kyoichi Katayama	Romance
Ima Ai ni Ikimasu	Takuji Ichikawa	Romance / Fantasy
Kagami no Hōsoku	Yoshinori Noguchi	Self-help

In addition to using computer technology for compiling the corpora for the study, other computer assistance was required in this project. First of all, a concordance program called ConcApp was used to extract those expressions and words in question. For example, if one is looking for the word "he" in a corpus, ConcApp creates a list of instances called KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance. ConcApp is a freeware program downloadable at http://www.edict.com.hk/PUB/concapp/. ConcApp was chosen for this project after many different programs were tried out. With regards to Japanese characters, ConcApp provided the most easy-to-use system with Unicode. In order to feed the data to ConcApp, the corpus, first compiled in a MicroSoft Word document format, had to be converted into a text format. ConcApp was satisfactory because it could perform word searches. Therefore there was no need to purchase expensive concordance programs for this purpose.

Secondly, strings of words written in Katakana characters had to be extracted. This initially posed a problem. With the concordance program mentioned above, I could look for a set of words (or a string of characters) by typing the exact word in a search box. However, the concordance program could not produce a list of all the strings of characters that were written in a particular character set, in this case, Katakana. I searched for programs that would extract Katakana from a given corpus online but to no avail. After consulting a few colleagues, a friend volunteered to develop a program that would extract the string of characters written in Katakana and their frequencies[26].

In addition, it was necessary in some cases to rely on human eyes for analysis because there is a limit to what computers can do effectively. For example, to search the vaguer category of abstract/inanimate nouns acting as agents of a transitive verb, two set of eyes, mine and a

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[26] I would like to thank Mr. V. Prosolin for helping me with development of this program.

friend's, performed the searches throughout the entire corpora. This involved reading every line of each corpus and taking note of the sentences containing abstract/inanimate nouns as agents of a transitive verb. Since my friend used to be a teacher of Japanese, she understood my instructions readily to perform the searches.

In order to measure the length of paragraphs, Microsoft Word's "word count" function was used. In other words, I highlighted the paragraph and used the "word count" function to note the number of characters in each paragraph of the corpora. Microsoft Excel and a calculator were also used to keep track of and calculate the basic statistics of the data collected by the use of ConcApp and the Katakana extracting program. Raw data produced by these programs need to be manually checked and corrected for errors. Sometimes finding out whether or not a suitable program exists and taking necessary steps in obtaining and learning the program, if it exists, can be more time and energy consuming than it is worth not to mention the financial burden associated with it[27].

4. Results and Discussions

The results of the investigation indicate that some of the claims about the features of Japanese translationese are indeed true and that others were not quite so. In the following sections, I show and discuss the results for each feature.

4.1 Third Person Pronouns

Third person pronouns were shown to occur more frequently in translated texts than in texts originally written in Japanese. This is shown below in Table 5. Since the sizes of the corpora are different, the figure shown first is standardized as the number of occurrences per 10,000 characters. The figure in parentheses is the actual number of occurrences, or the number of each token.

Table 5 Comparisons of occurrences of third person pronouns:

	Translation	Non-translation
kare 彼 (he)	8.1 (305)	5.5 (154)
kanojo 彼女 (she)	**19.4** (733)	0.3 (7)
karera 彼ら (they)	**1.9** (70)	0.4 (12)

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[27] There were some programs that I sought on the Internet and obtained. However, many of them were not able to function due to technical difficulties such as incompatibility in fonts and the operation systems.

Unit: per 10,000 characters; () token

As can be seen in the table, all of the third person pronouns occur much more frequently in translations than in non-translations. This may be attributed to interference from the original texts. Simply put, it was probably the case that the third person pronouns were translated just because they were in the original text. In other words, source-based translations that are common in Japan tend to have all words in the original translated.

Kare 'he' is used about 50% more often in translation compared to the uses in non-translation. On the other hand, *kanojo* 'she' and *karera* 'they' are used much more frequently in translation than in non-translation (i.e., 19.4 vs. 0.3 and 1.9 vs. 0.4 respectively). This difference may be accounted for in a couple of different ways. The first explanation is that newer words are used more often in translation because the translators are more fascinated with them unconsciously. The second is the translators' conscious avoidance of *kare* 'he' but not of *kanojo* 'she' and *karera* 'they' due to the fact that they are aware that *kare* has been the target of criticism.

Criticism of *kare* can be explained from the history of the word. *Kare* is older than its derivatives, *kanojo* and *karera*. *Kare* is written in the character 彼, while the derivative forms have another character added to them: *kanojo* 彼女and *karera* 彼等. 女 is the character for 'woman, female' and 等 is a suffix denoting plurality. The pronoun *kare*, in fact, existed before the importation of Western materials; however, it was used in a slightly different meaning. Morioka (1999) provides a more detailed explanation for the development of the pronoun *kare* [28]. It did not have the meaning of a male third person pronoun but rather two main meanings of the impersonal pronoun "it" and the demonstrative "that" as opposed to "this." The meaning of the third person male pronoun is thought to have been assigned due to the influence of translation. The female pronoun *kanojo*, however, became established in Japanese later on (Kindaichi, 1988; Morioka, 1999) [29]. Morioka (1999) estimates that *kare* was established in the early 20s of the Meiji Period (around 1887) and *kanojo* in the 30s of the Meiji Period (1897-1906) [30].

Translators may be avoiding the use of *kare* more consciously than the other two third person pronouns. Translators may have been taught at a translation school, or by a textbook, to

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[28] "「彼」には，第一に指示代名詞（it）の用法があり，第二に「我」にたいする「彼」の用法があり，意味的にはコチラとアチラの対応なので，仮に人称・指示代名詞としておいた。… おそらく he と同様の第三人称代名詞として「彼」が定着するについては，欧文翻訳の影響があったのではなかろうか。" (Morioka, 1999, p. 161)

[29] "「彼女」という第三人称単数女性代名詞の定着は，「彼」にくらべると相当に遅れる。" (Morioka, 1999, p. 163)
"いま三人称につかっている「彼」というのは、古い遠称指示代名詞であり、「彼女」は、明治になって she の翻訳語として急に作った早成の単語だった。" (Kindaichi, 1988, p. 167)

[30] "筆者は，これらの人称代名詞が，欧文の訓読によって生じたことを認めるとともに，用例の現れ具合から見て，「彼」は，指示代名詞の用法を退けて，明治 20 年代初めにほぼ三人称男性代名詞の地位を獲得し，「彼女」は 20 年台の後半から使われ，30 年代になってほぼ一般に三人称女性代名詞として公認されるようになったということで満足したいと思う。" (Morioka, 1999, p. 167)

avoid *kare* which is the older, more representative form of the third person pronouns. Thus, at the same time, they neglect to pay attention to the other forms, *kanojo* and *karera*.

Since personal pronouns are used more often in translation than in non-translation, especially *kanojo* and *karera*, a higher degree of "naturalness" may be achieved by reducing the use of pronouns, as has been suggested by Miyawaki (2000).

Another interesting point to consider is the degree of incorporation of the third person pronouns into the Japanese language. The use of *kare* was less frequent in non-translated texts compared to *kanojo* and *karera*. This may indicate the extent of language change in Japanese. In other words, the form *kare* is not as fresh in the Japanese language but the other two forms are. Native Japanese writers are employing *kare* 5.5 times per 100,000 characters, while they used the others less than once per 100,000 characters. This may suggest that *kare* is more natural to use in Japanese. In order to claim this with more confidence, an extensive study on the use of *kare* over a long period of time is required.

4.2 Frequent Katakana Loanwords

Loanwords written in Katakana are considered a negative feature of translationese. When the total of Katakana words is presented, it is clear that Katakana loanwords occur more in translation than in non-translation (Table 6). There are about 2.7 times more Katakana words in translation than in non-translation.

Table 6 Comparison of total Katakana words:

	Translation	Non-translation
Katakana words	**224.7** (8481)	82.4 (2297)

Unit: per 10,000 characters; () token

However, when the Katakana words categorized and counted, a different picture emerges. Four kinds of Katakana words were identified in the analysis: loanwords, proper nouns, various onomatopoeic words, and plant/animal names. Below are examples of these four kinds of Katakana words that appear in the corpus.

Table 7 Examples of the most frequent Katakana words in each category:

	Translation	Non-translation
Loanwords	ドア (door)	ホテル (hotel)
	ビッグ (big)	ドア (door)
	チーズ (cheese)	ベッド (bed)
	マダム (madame)	クレーン (crane)
	テーブル (table)	メートル (meter)
	テープ (tape)	テーブル (table)

Proper nouns	ハリー (Harry) ブラックソーン (Blackthorn) キャサリン (Catherine) イギリス (England) アメリカ (America)	セシャーミン (Seshamin) イヴ (Eve) アメリカ (America) ニューヨーク (New York) ワシントン (Washington)
Onomatopoeic words	ニッコリ(smiling) クスクス (chuckling) スーッ (the way something moves smoothly, etc.) イライラ (irritated)	シーッ (shoo, to bring about silence) パチン (snapping) スーッ (the way something moves smoothly, etc.) ポッポー (choo choo, the sound of a train)
Plant/animal names	ネズミ (mouse) トカゲ (lizard) バラ (rose) スイレン (water lily)	ペンギン (penguin) カラマツ (larch, a kind of tree) ゴボウ (burdock, a root vegetable) ネギ (green onion)

Noteworthy was that loanwords which occur frequently in both translation and non-translation are sometimes the same words. In the table above, Japanese loanwords for 'door' and 'table' both occur frequently. Other examples of loanwords that occur more than ten times in the both translation and non-translation include the following words: 'hotel', 'meter', 'bed', and 'class'. Proper nouns of the main characters are expected to occur frequently, which is indeed the case in both translation and non-translation. Also, the names of countries and well-known cities are among the most frequent in the category of proper nouns. Onomatopoeic words differ between the translation corpus and non-translation corpus.

Overall, occurrences of loanwords do not differ greatly between translation and non-translation. While the translation corpus has 72.9 loanwords per 10,000 characters, non-translation has slightly more at 74.4 loanwords per 10,000 characters. Larger differences are found in the occurrences of proper nouns and onomatopoeic words. This is shown in Table 8 below.

Table 8 Comparison of three kinds of Katakana words:

	Translation	Non-translation
Loanwords	72.9 (2751)	74.4 (2072)
Proper nouns	**146.2** (5520)	6.7 (189)
Onomatopoeia	**5.6** (210)	1.3 (36)
Plant/animal names	**1.53** (19)	0.67 (58)

Unit: per 10,000 characters; () token

Since proper names in the original texts are usually maintained as loanwords in Katakana, it is understandable that there are many more Katakana proper nouns in translation than in non-translation[31]. However, grouping together both kinds of loanwords and criticizing translations because of a more frequent use of loanwords is unreasonable since the actual loanwords were used only slightly more often in non-translation than in translation.

Another phenomenon that stands out is the use of onomatopoeic words scribed in Katakana[32]. There are more than four times as many onomatopoeic words written in Katakana in translation than in non-translation. "In comparison to English, many Japanese verbs have very general meanings. … This lack of specificness of the verb meaning is compensated by the presence of onomatopoeic words" (Shibatani, 1990, p. 155). As a result, it is technically difficult to translate English verbs that have more specific meanings into Japanese without the use of onomatopoeic words. According to Kono (1999), as a rule one should avoid onomatopoeic words in translation, and he goes on to show an example with numerous onomatopoeic words to criticize the translation[33]. In his opinion, onomatopoeic words can be used where they are really necessary but should be avoided so as to avoid making the translation sound "cheap" [34] (Kono, 1999, p. 138).

Also, names of plants and animals tend to be written more in Katakana[35]. Tobita (1997) instructs translation learners to write the plants and animal names in Katakana. Along with onomatopoeic words, most names of plants and animal are of Japanese origin (with some exceptions), so they do not qualify as loanwords. In light of this information, translation critics and educators need to reconsider their criticism of the overuse of loanwords written in Katakana.

4.3 Overuse of "Female" Language

Another mixed result is obtained from the analysis of the use of female expressions. Many translation textbooks encourage translation learners to refrain from the use of female

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[31] There is a set of guidelines, the Notation of Borrowed Foreign Words (外来語の表記), and it provides information on how loanwords can be written down. This is a current Cabinet notification by the Japanese Language Council (文化審議会国語分科会) within the Agency for Cultural Affairs (文化庁) set in June 1991 (http://www.konan-wu.ac.jp/~kikuchi/kanji/gairai.html). This notation is only a guide, and it does not prescribe the way these words are written. However, one cannot ignore its potential for setting the norms in using Katakana to transcribe loanwords.

[32] Onomatopoeic expressions are Japanese words and are not loanwords; however, they tend to be written in Katakana. There are no guidelines set by the Japanese Language Council (文化審議会国語分科).

[33] "原則として、日本語に数多い擬声語・擬態語のたぐいはできるだけ使わないようにすることが大切です。" (Kono, 1999, p. 137)

[34] "じかに読者の感覚に訴える表現ですから、要所要所に使えば効果的な手法なのですが、擬声語・擬態語を多用すると、とたんに安っぽい浮ついた調子の文章になってしまいます。" (Kono, 1999, p. 138)

[35] This is because of the convention adopted to write words related to natural sciences. For example, the Ministry of the Environment encourages the use of Katakana for names of plants, animals and other biological creatures (http://www.env.go.jp/nature/yasei/hozonho/transfer/tebiki_rev0710.pdf).

specific expressions, particularly the sentence final particles chosen for this analysis. As can be seen in Table 9, four out of the six sentence-final particles chosen for this study were used more often in non-translations than in translations. For the use of Verb/Adj-*wa* and Verb/Adj-*wayo*, the use was slightly more frequent in translation, but overall, one can say that non-translations exhibit more occurrences of female specific sentence-final particles.

Table 9 Comparisons of female sentence-final particles:

	Translation	Non-translation
Verb/Ajd-*no* (～の)	2.2 (81)	**5.3** (150)
Verb/Adj-*wa* (～わ)	1.4 (52)	1.2 (35)
Verb/Adj-*wayo* (～わよ)	0.19 (7)	0.18 (5)
Noun-*yo* (～よ)[36]	0.2 (8)	**0.7** (20)
Verb/Adj-*teyo* (～てよ)[37]	0.13 (5)	**0.25** (7)
Verb/Adj-*noyo* (～のよ)	0.9 (35)	**1.3** (36)

Unit: per 10,000 characters; () token

This finding is contrary to the common perception of translation's overuse of female language. Why is translation being blamed for overt female language use? This could perhaps be explained by the concept developed by Kinsui of "Role Language" or "*yakuwarigo*" [38] (Kinsui, 2003). Translation critics have ignored or are unaware of this phenomenon of Role Language which is a role-specific language used by characters in Japanese fictional works (including novels, comics, movies, and so on) that enables the reader/viewer to imagine the type of character in terms of his/her age, sex, occupation, social class, historical era, appearance, or personality[39]. While warning about the ideological problems[40] that Role Language can pose, Kinsui states that Role Language is so naturally used that Japanese readers do not question anything about it.

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[36] The following cases were eliminated from the count:
- *masu/desu+yo* (This can be used by both male and female speakers in polite forms.)
- *da+yo* (The word "da" here is a copular verb in its plain form. This can be used by both male and female speakers in casual conversations.)
- When the speaker is obviously a male speaker. (Verb/Adj+*yo* can be used in different intonations by males. Such as *Iraneeyo*. いらねえよ。 'I don't need it.')
- Verb/Adj+*noyo* and Verb/Adj+*wayo* (These are separately counted as individual variables.)

[37] Verb/Adj-*teyo* was used only in imperative such as the following:
- *Ii kagen ni shiteyo.* いい加減にしてよ。 'Enough already'
- *Nee, yameteyo, futari tomo.* ねえ、やめてよ、二人とも。 'Hey, stop it, you two.'

[38] 役割語

[39] "ある特定の言葉づかい(語彙・語法・言い回し・イントネーション等)を聞くと特定の人物像(年齢、性別、職業、階層、時代、容姿・風貌、性格等)を思い浮かべることができるとき、あるいは特定の人物を提示されると、その人物がいかにも使用しそうな言葉づかいを思い浮かべることができるとき、その言葉づかいを「役割語」と呼ぶ。" (Kinsui, 2003, p. 205)

[40] For example, a type of Role Language used for Chinese people in pre-WWII time in Japan may be considered to reflect the prejudice and discrimination that was and has been present in Japanese people's mind (Kinsui, 2003, 203).

Knowledge of Role Language is part of Japanese readers' reading competency. In other words, Role Language is used without being questioned in non-translation written by Japanese writers. The translation critics or educators may need to reconsider the role of Role Language once more.

In a more recent publication, Ohmori (2006) shows his awareness of that the Role Language; however, he cautions against overuse of this type of language. On the other hand, there is a positive side for the female specific language: it can help identify characters in the story especially when the conversation is complicated (Ohmori, 2006, p. 10).

At the same time as Ohmori (2006) warns against the overuse of female language, he also notices that the "real" conversation cannot be written down to represent conversations in fiction, because it really does not make any sense. In other words, a conversation that is written down is necessarily a representation of the real conversation and not the conversation itself[41]. Since it is, in fact, impossible to make conversation in fiction "authentic," perhaps use of female language for the sake of convention is not completely negative.

In light of the above discussion, it is necessary to mention the possibility that the results could have been influenced by the gender of the authors and translators. In the corpora used in this study, there are three female translators out of eleven translators, while the authors of non-translation are all males (fourteen authors in total). Female translators may have been more aware of this tendency of female Role Language, thus paying more attention to avoid over-stigmatized female specific expressions. This cannot be concluded without further studies with more samples of female translators' texts.

Another point[42] should be considered as a possibility in future research. Ihara (2008) points out the different ways by which discourse, or conversations, are expressed in Japanese and English novels. While English tends to utilize "indirect discourse" and "free indirect discourse", Japanese relies more on "direct discourse" (Ihara, 2008). In other words, Japanese fiction tends to include character's voices or lines more directly using verb endings and sentence final particles compared with English fictions where indirect quotes are used more frequently[43]. Therefore, it

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[41] For example, Banfield (1982) deals with the types of language used in fiction. She focuses on free direct discourse which she calls 'represented speech and thought' and claims that 'represented speech and thought' as well as direct quotation are products of fictional composition. Fiction writers *represent* characters' speech using techniques such as direct/indirect quotes and free direct discourse. In this representation, what is reflected is what the writer perceives as speech of the characters.

[42] I owe my sincere thanks to Dr. N. Ihara for bringing this to my attention at a JAIS Annual Conference in September 2008. This point was not considered when the analyses were made; in other words, an assumption of this portion of the project was that there were no differences in numbers of turns in conversations that characters utter. This is a point for future research since it involves more than merely checking the corpus with a computer program. Because of the size of corpora used in this project, it is no easy task to check individual instances of speech representations in both corpora of translations and non-translations.

[43] The examples are provided by Ihara (2008): "i) The small boy could not understand. He said to himself, "Why is Mommy always working? It's my birthday today. – 直接話法 [direct discourse] ii) The small boy could not understand why his mother was always working. He complained to himself that it was his

appears natural that there are fewer female sentence-final particles in translations. This is indeed supported in the findings of this study; however, more detailed investigation is necessary to make clear the nature of the findings.

4.4 Abstract Nouns as Grammatical Agents of Transitive Verbs

In order to analyze this so-called feature of translationese, I asked another person[44] to join me in reading through the corpora to extract the incidents of abstract nouns used as grammatical agents of transitive verbs. This is because there are no computer programs that can detect the parts of speech in my untagged corpus. A tagged corpus, as opposed to an untagged corpus, contains information for each word that appears in the corpus. The information contained can be grammatical information such as parts of speech or functions of the word. There is a program called ChaSen that was developed by Nara Institute of Science and Technology and is available for free distribution for researchers[45]. This program separates Japanese sentences, which normally are written without word breaks, and add tags (parts of speech). However, using this program takes time to set up, and it is not always 100 per cent accurate. Therefore, with rather small corpora such as mine, it is more time efficient to rely on human eyes and brains to extract the examples.

The results of counting show that abstract nouns used as grammatical agents for transitive verbs actually occur more frequently in non-translations than in translations.

Table 10 Comparison of abstract nouns used as grammatical agents of transitive verbs:

Translation	Non-translation
0.48 (18)	0.78 (22)

Unit: per 10,000 characters; () token

The reason non-translation uses more abstract nouns as grammatical agents of transitive verbs may be that this type of sentence construction has indeed become "natural" in modern written Japanese. Because translators are aware of being criticized for using this type of structure, they may be refraining from using it more often, compared to Japanese writers.

There is a difference in uses found in abstract nouns as grammatical agents. Abstract nouns appear to be used with causative verbs in non-translation more often than in translation. This may indicate that this grammatical structure developed so that the use of abstract nouns as agents of a causative verb is more common. Some words are shown to develop their own

birthday today. – 間接話法 [indirect discourse] iii) The small boy could not understand. *Why was mommy always working? It was his birthday today.* – FID [free indirect discourse]" (p. 156)

[44] I would like to express my gratitude to Ms. Y. Kazuhara for spending time reading through the entire corpus for this portion of the study.

[45] This program is available at http://chasen-legacy.sourceforge.jp.

meaning (Yanabu, 1982, 1998). For example, words now used for translation of 'he' and 'she' also contain the meaning of 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend.' If translationese can gain a specific meaning in the words, or at the lexical level, it is possible that additional uses can be gained in grammar of sentence, or at the structural level, as seen in this case. Table 11 shows the number of occurrences of abstract nouns used as grammatical agents of causative structures.

Table 11 Comparison of abstract nouns used as grammatical agents of causative verbs:

	Translation	Non-translation
Occurrences	2 out of 18 (11%)	6 out of 22 (27%)
Examples	*hassei-saseru* 'relieve one from ~' *kanji-saseru* 'make one feel'[46]	*zōfuku-saseru* 'to make something amplified (to amplify something) *takabur-asesu* 'make one excited/nervous' *shizumikom-aseru* 'make one dipressed' *hakyū-saseru* 'make an influence on ~' *shikujir-aseru* 'make one fail' *anshin-saseru* 'make one feel relieved'[47]

Note: A hyphen indicates a break between a verb and an auxiliary verb that make up a verb.

4.5 Longer Paragraph Length

The feature of longer paragraphs in translation is supported by the results. In other words, paragraph length was overall longer in translation than in non-translation. The paragraph lengths were measured using a "word count" tool in a word processing program that determines the number of characters in a selected area. The counts were based on the number of characters in a paragraph. As can be seen in Table 12, showing the average length of paragraphs, the difference is clear.

Table 12 Comparisons of average paragraph length:

	Translation	Non-translation
Overall	**138.3**	79.95
Narrations	**232.2**	123.1
Dialogues	**43.7**	32.2
Narrations & Dialogues	**87.27**	66.31

Unit: characters

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[46] The examples in Japanese are as follows:
　　　発生させる　感じさせる
[47] The examples in Japanese are as follows:
　　　増幅させる　高ぶらせる　沈みこませる　波及させる　しくじらせる　安心させる

The overall result is a total average of paragraphs of translation and non-translation where no distinctions were made between narrations and dialogues. Translation paragraphs are about twice as long as paragraphs in non-translations. In paragraphs where only narrations are made, the result is very similar – translation paragraphs are about twice as long. Translators tend not to change paragraph structures in contemporary fictional works (Ohmori, 2006, p. 88). The longer paragraph length may also be accounted for by the tendency of translations to be longer than the original that has been noted as a tendency of translation (Berman, 1985/2004; Baker, 1996)[48]. However, this claim cannot be clearly supported by the results shown in this study, because no original texts were analyzed to compare the length. A future study can investigate this point thoroughly in conjunction with a parallel corpus of source language and target language.

"Dialogues" in the table show the length of each turn of dialogue or conversation, which reveals that even the dialogues or conversations are longer in translation than in non-translation. A "turn" is a conversational convention defined as "a single contribution of a speaker to a conversation" (Crystal, 1987); in other words, the alternating participation of each speaker in the conversation (Levinson, 1983). Conversational turns have been studied mostly in the linguistic fields of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis, and it has been argued that turn-taking patterns can differ depending on the language of the conversation (Tanaka, 2000). The length difference between translation and non-translation may be a result of the differences in turn-taking patterns between Japanese and English.

Also, as seen in example number 8 below, dialogues are often embedded in paragraphs in translation (shown underlined), rather than beginning a new line for each conversational turn as in example 7, a non-translation. In other words, these variations may point to differences in speech representations in literature between translations and non-translations. This may have caused the differences in the length of the paragraphs, shown in the row "Narrations & Dialogues" above, which is another aspect that needs further investigation.

7. A passage from non-translation, *Shitsurakuen*:[49]

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[48] For example, Berman (1985/2004) speaks of "expansion" in which "every translation tends to be longer than the original" (p. 282). Baker (1996) terms the similar concept "explicitation" that is "an overall tendency to spell things out rather than leave them implicit in translation" (p. 180). In addition, she claims that many people have mentioned this tendency without empirical evidence.
[49] A passage from non-translation, *Shitsurakuen*, in Japanese:
「とにかく、いまはなにをやっても難しい。それにくらべて、お前は気楽でいい」/「そんなことはない……」
　閑職は閑職なりに辛いこともあるのだが、それをいってはただの愚痴になる。そう思って黙っていると、衣川がひとつ溜息をついて、
「会社ってところは、あくせく働いても暢んびりしていても、給料はあまり変らない」
　たしかにそれは事実で、久木も以前とくらべて役職手当が減っただけで、総額としてはさほど減ったわけではない。
「でも、こちらは好んで閑になったわけではない」(Watanabe, 2000, p. 63)

Romanized Japanese:

　　　"Tonikaku, ima wa nani o yattemo muzukashii. Sore ni kurabete, omae wa kiraku de ii."[50]

　　　"Sonna koto wa nai…"

Kanshoku wa kanshoku narini tsurai koto mo aru no da ga, sore o ittewa tada no guchi ni naru. Soo omotte damatte iruto, Ikawa ga hitotsu tameiki o tsuite,

　　　"Kaisha tte tokoro wa, akuseku hataraitemo nonbiri shite itemo, kyuuryoo wa amari kawaranai."

Tashika ni sore wa jujitsu de, Hisaki mo izen to kurabete yakushoku teate ga hetta dake de, soogaku to shite wa sahodo hetta wake dewa nai.

　　　"Demo, kochira wa kononde hima ni natta wake dewa nai." (Watanabe, 2000, p. 63)

English translation (my translation):

　　　"In any case, right now, everything is hard to do for me. On the other hand, I'm envious that you seem happy enough."

　　　"Not necessarily so…"

Being a victim of downsizing and having not much work to do has its own difficulties; however, if he talks about them, it will only become complaints. Thinking like this, he kept his mouth shut. Then, Ikawa sighed and said,

　　　"A workplace. No matter how much you work or how little, your salary really does not change all that much."

This indeed was true. For Hisaki, even though he did not receive his executive allowance any longer, the total amount of salary is not very much less than before.

　　　"But, I didn't ask for any free time at work."

8. A passage from *Madison-gun no Hashi (The Bridges of Madison County):*[51]

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[50] In Japanese print conventions, a paragraph is indicated with one full empty space for a character. However, a conversation paragraph is often offset by a half-size blank followed by a quotation mark (「) that signifies the beginning of the paragraph of dialogue. To show clear examples of change of the paragraph, these examples are shown with a full-size tab here. A footnote just above this footnote shows the Japanese paragraphs with this printing convention.

[51] A passage from non-translation, *Madison-gun no Hashi*, in Japanese:
土埃を巻き上げ、クラクションを鳴らして、車が通りすぎた。シヴオレーの窓からフロイド・クラークが褐色の腕を突き出し、フランチェスカはそれに応えて手を振ってから、見知らぬ男のほうに向き直った。「すぐそばよ。ここからその橋までは、せいぜい三キロくらいね」それから、二十年も閉ざされた生活をしてきたあと、田舎の文化の要求に合わせて行動を慎み、感情を押し殺して暮らしてきたあと、自分がこんなふうに言うのを聞いて、フランチェスカ・ジョンソンは驚いた。「よろしかったら、わたしが案内してあげましょうか？」(Waller, 1992/1997, p. 56)

Romanized Japanese:

Tsuchibokori o makiage, kurakushon o narashite, kuruma ga toorisugita. Shiboree no mado kara Furoido Kuraaku ga kasshoku no ude o tsukidashi, Furanchesuka wa sore ni kotaete te o futtekara, mishiranu otoko no hoo ni mukinaotta. "Sugu soba yo. Koko kara sono hashi made wa, seizei 3 kiro kurai ne." Sorekara, 20 nen mo tozasareta seikatsu o shite kita ato, inaka no bunka no yookyuu ni awasete koodoo o tsutsushimi, kanjoo o oshikoroshite kurashite kita ato, jibun ga konna fuu ni iu no o kiite, Furanchesuka Jonson wa odoroita. "Yoroshikattara, watashi ga annai shite agemashoo ka?" (Waller, 1992/1997, p.56)

English original:

A car went past on the road, trailing dust behind it, and honked. Francesca waved back at Floyd Clark's brown arm sticking out of his Chevy and turned back to the stranger. "You're pretty close. The bridge is only about two miles from here." Then, after twenty years of living the closed life, a life of circumscribed behavior and hidden feelings demanded by a rural culture, Francesca Johnson surprised herself by saying, "I'll be glad to show it to you, if you want." (Waller, 1992, p.29)

5. Conclusion

In the West, translationese in general has traditionally been regarded as a sign of bad translation. However, a more neutral view has appeared in the works of Baker (e.g., 1993, 1996, 1999, 2004) and Toury (1995) that translationese is a natural part of translation products and is worthy of description. On the other hand, Japanese translationese has followed a different path. Japan's long history of documented written materials provides valuable data in understanding how different types of translationese over the centuries have influenced the Japanese language at various times. It is only recently that we hear more about the notion of more fluent or domesticated translation. Furuno (2002, 2005) has made the very first step toward further understanding by analyzing the changing attitudes of Japanese readers toward translationese in non-fiction writings, while Yanabu (1982, 2003) made his contribution by proposing a translation theory based on the phenomena of words in translationese. This study adds to the previous efforts: it provides concrete findings on what are regarded as features of translationese, utilizing corpora of translations and non-translations.

Although only small-scale comparative corpora, this study nonetheless revealed some differences in the language used in translation and non-translation. Some features (third person pronouns and longer paragraphs) are proven to be characteristic of translationese, while others

were proven otherwise or questionable (loan words, female language, abstract nouns as subjects of transitive verbs). The findings in this study can shed light on what is happening in the language of translation and in modern Japanese. For instance, the findings may indicate incorporation of "translationese" forms into modern Japanese in the third person pronoun *kare* (he) and abstract nouns as subjects of transitive verbs. The results of this study suggest that Japanese critics or even translation textbook developers may need to reconsider what is actually "translationese" and "natural" Japanese.

To conclude, as demonstrated above, it was possible to substantiate some features of translationese. I believe that this study has contributed to descriptions of translation phenomena in Japanese. This is one of the first attempts to carry out Descriptive Translation Studies in Japanese contemporary popular fiction.

著者紹介：Yukari Fukuchi Meldrum (メルドラム由香理) She is a Certified Translator (Canada) and a Ph.D. Candidate at the Department of Modern Language and Cultural Studies at the University of Alberta. She also teaches Japanese-English translation courses at the Department of East Asian Studies. Her main research interest is the Japanese language that is used in translation. Contact her at ymeldrum@ualberta.ca.

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