

Translation of Jugaku Akiko (1983): "Nihonjin no kiiwaado '*rashisa*'" from Kokugogaku 133:45-54.

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Translator's Introduction

日本語の母語ではない日本に関して研究する学者が日本人に作られた理論を熟考することが望ましいことである。そのため、国語学の学問であった寿岳章子（じゅがくあきこ）の名うってない重要な作文の一つを翻訳する。ジェンダー学や認知言語学などにつき重要な可能性のある、思考を刺激させる作文をそれぞれ出しましたが、寿岳氏は国語学の学問に所属されたため、その作文が国内・国外でも値する注目を受けられなかったことである。

Researchers on Japan who are non-native users of Japanese do well to consider native theorizing in their analyses. Toward that end, I have translated a lesser-known but important work by Jugaku Akiko, a scholar trained in the *kokugogaku* 'Japanese native linguistics' tradition. Jugaku contributed several provocative works of potential importance to gender studies and cognitive studies; however, because of her affiliation with *kokugogaku* these works have not received the attention they deserve in Japanese nor in foreign readership.

Translation

Synopsis

*R**ashisa* is a suffix with an extremely strong, active force in the Japanese language. Reflecting on its circumstances of use, we can consider *rashisa* to be a 'keyword' of Japanese. *rashisa* fixes a certain value on its object and, in doing so, functions to create a basis for judgement [of all putative exemplars of that object]. The clearest case of this is seen in the use of the term *onnarashisa*. Often, *rashisa* has a virtual image, regardless of whether this differs from the real condition, which has a strong power to affect the real world.

1. My history of thought on 'keywords'

My study regarding 'keywords' came out in print in Kokugogaku fifteen years ago. After the basic outline had been laid out, I had felt no need to rethink the issue. Nowadays, in scholarly and critical circles, 'keyword theory' has not been active to that extent, nor has its use been prominent. When Dr. Hisanosuke Izumii casually asked some linguists or national language scholars, what we thought about the notion 'keyword,' I took it equally casually and did not respond, nor did the others discuss it much. I don't know what Izumii thinks about keyword analysis, but for some reason I myself began to take an interest again. Thus, the following provides a summary of works already published.

A. Necessary Conditions for 'keyword'

1. The object has a special character.

Following this, the chosen 'keyword' is difficult to translate. In the case of Japanese, special words already chosen include: *tsuraate* 'spiteful words,' *tsurayogoshi* 'disgrace,' *ikihaji* 'living in disgrace,' *shi ni haji* 'shamed to death,' *hitokiki* 'wish not to be overheard,' *ki ga okenai* 'easy to get along with,' *ma ga warui* 'unlucky/embarassed/puzzled,' *seken* 'social world,' *arigatameiwaku* 'an unwelcome favor,' which are terms describing social sensibilities and human relations. Keywords referring to the sense of beauty include: *kime*, *koku*, *fûmi*, and *sabi*. The terms referring to human relationships could be summed up as *hito* 'person/s' and taken as keyword-like. The connected term *tanin* 'other/s' is also interesting.

2. Keywords show the true nature of the object.

In other words, a keyword must necessarily concern itself with deeply explaining the complete, true nature of the object.

3. A keyword, along with having explanatory power, must also, when used to view its object, be capable of connecting deeply to each aspect of the object. That makes for an excellent keyword. In short, given conditions which seem disorderly, the use of a keyword can provide a thread of connection that links them organically.

B. A true keyword

In England during the Middle Ages, the "Merry" in "Merry England," or in medieval Japan, *ichimi dôshin* 'kindred souls' or *yûtoku* 'virtue.'

C. The character of a chosen keyword

1. The word is exhaustively used in that work.

2. Beyond explaining its object and being discovered to explain its object well, it's desirable for the word to come out initially as a keyword.

The preceding is a simple putting forth of what 'keyword' concretely means, in connection with various objects, in the world of Japanese.

This background was laid out quite some time ago, and I argue, was used to look at a variety of objects in a generalized way. I have also reached the point of putting forth my own statement about a certain keyword, and to theorize it as well. Again, even as a general critique, many people have presented keywords based on their own theorized objects. The reasoning goes 'this author has this keyword.' The author's chosen writer's keyword is such and such, or the story's keyword is a certain word...all along this line of thinking and style of writing didn't used to be so prevalent. Or, when an essay was being written, the hope of finding something that could be called a keyword or a descriptor has come not to be [so] rare. In sum, thinking in terms of keywords came to have an extremely practical merit. During the time when I had been thinking about what a keyword was, the circumstances changed drastically.

2. Concerning *rashisa* and *-rashii*

I have from time to time given talks at meetings about *onnarashisa* 'womanliness' and *onnarashii* 'womanly.' These meetings were not concerned with linguistics, rather, they were meetings of research groups connected with women's

issues. I had expressed my misgivings about the way women were pulled towards a certain style of living through these terms. For instance, I have made proposals concerning the fact that throughout my life I have often been told through various expressions things meaning "you don't belong in the category called 'women'." Of course, I knew what they were getting at, but why, given that biologically I can never be mistaken for a man, would anyone say things such as "you are different from women"? Although I can fathom the meaning of these remarks, I do not find this to be a desirable way of looking at the world, and have therefore decided to take up a critique of the notion *onnarashisa* 'womanliness.' Thus, from the fruit of remarks made from the standpoint of women's theory comes the issue of what concrete meaning do these terms hold in Modern Japanese, and this issue fully enters the domain of language.

That is to say, when a woman receives criticism by someone using expressions of the type like "you aren't womanly" or "you've lost your womanliness," under what circumstances and regarding what behaviors are these words used in judgement? The following examples are experiences shared -- with mixed emotions -- by attendees of women's groups.

The daughter of a small business family in Osaka, when she expressed her wish to undertake entrance exams for Kyoto University, met with the retaliatory response *onnarashikunai* 'unwomanly' by her family.

A female researcher and doctoral student at a veterinary university, when she expressed an original idea, was told by her instructor, *anata wa onnarashiku arimasen ne* 'you're not very womanly, are you'?

At a meeting, a woman who was first to put up her hand was told critically, *onnarashikunai hito da* 'you're not a womanly person.'

In these kinds of cases, when the women at the meeting were set to do something, or had done it, regardless of the fact that they had no natural feeling of resistance, they were looked at strangely, or otherwise had their behavior repressed through the existence of the term *onnarashii*; they told their stories with mixed feelings one after another. Following these, *womanliness* means 'don't apply to universities like Kyoto University; go to a university suitable for women; be average, put forth commonplace observations that don't lead to anything; put forth your question nervously, after many others have spoken.'

Up to now I have sufficiently presented this kind of problem that the Japanese language has. On the other hand, for the group members, when each was about to live following her own independent will, terms such as *onnarashii* 'womanly' and *onnarashisa* 'womanliness' truly became a nuisance, and at the moment they spoke together of this fact, these terms moreover became an issue within the domain of *kokugogaku*.

At that meeting, there was one woman from India. She was a visiting student at a certain university in Kyoto, studying Buddhism. When she was asked if there wasn't a similar phenomenon in India -- with the expectation that there was -- she said something quite unexpected. The attendees had heard that India was wrapped up with its own women's issues, and expected to hear that there was some similar kind of expression used to control women that she would have experienced. However, she said that she herself didn't understand well about the point of the other attendees' stories, because there was no such kind of term in India like *onnarashii*.

There are languages that don't have terms like *onnarashii*. In the countries where those languages are spoken, regardless of whether they have women's issues

or not, there are languages that don't use expressions like *onnarashii*. Given this fact, there is a problem of language, as well as a topic in the realm of reflection.

The following is recorded in a Japanese-English dictionary: *onnarashii* 'womanly; ladylike; womanish; effeminate.'

In other words, it is not the case that Japanese *onnarashii* does not have English expressions that are counterparts. However, the issue of whether, for people in English-speaking countries, these expressions have the tendency to be used for handing down criticism, cannot be understood from dictionaries. In truth, a writer of English literature has said that this concept is not expressed as much [by English-speakers] as by Japanese. I have heard the same for German and French, and although I have not conducted a survey, it seems that in considering the lives of women in these societies, [the concomitant words in] these languages probably do not hold the same kind of harsh control as they do in Japanese.

Meanwhile, we ask when the terms *onnarashisa* and *onnarashii* came into being and into their present forms. It is common knowledge to historians of Japanese that as a suffix *rashii* came into being in the Middle Ages. In the *Shikishô* 'Historical Record of the Han Dynasty,' the adjectival forms bearing the suffix *rashii* appear in the following extracts:

Tsuberashii 'cruel'

'not to the extent of being cruel, not to people to whom one owes favors' (95)

'the exacting official's way of dealing with people was sympathetic to the extent of being cruel' (15)

nasakerashii 'kindhearted'

'to the extent of Haikô (the first Han emperor)'s beautiful and kindhearted way of being dealt with' (6)

hajirashii 'shy'

'not quite shy' (3)

bakarashii 'foolish'

'even if one's words and deeds are not regrettable, and one's actions accord with nature and one's allowance, from the start some foolish thing may still come along as one follows the grain of this happiness' (10)

bakerashii 'fantastic'

'even though there may be some fantastic things running through the historical record' (8)

dokurashii 'menacing'

'even though the surface appearance is calm, if the heart is menacing harm will come to the person' (16)

hitorashii 'humane'

'acting like a bad guy is not humane.'

In the *Nippo* [Japanese-Portuguese] dictionary several of these are listed as well. We also find *onnarashii* and *otokorashii* 'manly' therein.

After the Middle Ages, in the recent period, and nowadays too, words bearing the suffixes *-rashii* and *-rashisa* can be seen to have increased. Though a sufficient survey has yet to be undertaken, *ahoorashii*, *oitoshirashii*, *shisairashii*, *uramirashii*, *majimerashii*, *saikunrashii*, and so forth have emerged.

However, strictly speaking, from the middle to the recent period, most of the uses of *-rashii* mean ... *no yoo de aru* 'it seems like that' and do not connect to the domain of meaning of *-rashisa* that I am discussing in this paper. The meanings of

onnarashisa as well as *otokorashisa* could be simply explained with the use of ... *no yoo de aru* 'it seems like that' but do not lend themselves to the following explanation.

The *Shogakukan Nihon Kokugogaku Daijiten* dictionary describes *onnarashii* thus:

1) graceful, kind, a disposition thought to be that of a woman. Suitable for women. (material ellipted) [as in] *Omoide no ki* 'record of memories' by Tokutomi Roka (3, 3): 'a daughter like a cut bamboo, aunties and mothers now rather womanly and noticing of small things, is what was desired' or as in *No no hana* 'wild flower' by Tazan Hanabukuro (4): 'there was hardly a womanly woman as she, a gentle auntie with a lovable smile.'

2) though a man, resembling a woman in outward appearance and personality; a sissy; delicate.

One can't help feeling deeply impressed that there are such completed works. Even though there are various women, with an inescapable sense of variety in their natures, some women will be contained by the boundaries prescribed as *onnarashisa* while others will be excluded. To put it in that way, there are heavy expectations behind such demands. Opposed to this attitude which faces women is the one which faces men. In the same dictionary, the definition of *otokorashii* is as follows. It comprises the reverse of meaning (2) listed just above.

Otokorashii: in disposition, behavior, physique, voice and all other respects to be thought of as a man. Masculine. Brave. (material ellipted) [as in] the *yoruri*'s "*Yukionna Gomai Hagoita*" Maibane Kohan, (middle) 'speaking with a bit of an accent, [saying things like] *dousubei kousubei*, an enviable masculinity' or in *Omoide no ki* 'record of memories' by Tokutomi Roka 3, 4: 'regardless of the fact that I thought he performed *otokorashisa* to a great extent,' or *Ie* 'Home' by Shimazaki Tooson (afterward, 9) "*Sofusan* 'grandfather'" and Shôta shifted into a form that rang of masculinity.'

Of course, as there are as many different kinds of men as there are women, they fall into a different frame. There are also expectations for men. But as a frame set in a completely opposite direction, the frame for women takes the form (*kata*) of confinement, while that for men takes the form of pulling them forth, either of them no doubt being painful and unnatural to those persons who aren't that way. but where **that frame and the word come together**, they combine to form a complete kind of *rashisa*.

The point is, there are 'great expectations.' As aspirations these 'great expectations' would like to be aligned to, but if we discuss them in connection with the 'keyword' issue, speaking of Japanese people generally, there are those who feel this expectation extremely strongly. That is to say, I would like to put forth *rashii/rashisa* as a keyword for the contemporary Japanese language. In what way, given its extreme function as *onnarashisa/onnarashii*, can we take this an object overlapping into social science and beyond, having brought forth various kinds of ill effects into contemporary society? (To put forth my rather subjective impression, the true damage is not the suffering of men under *otokorashisa* but rather the obvious masses of women who struggle with *onnarashisa*).

Already in the Middle Ages there was a similar circumstance with *hitorashii* 'typical of humans/humane.' Though humans are no doubt possessed of various good and evil traits, the *hitorashii* person was possessed of good form, not an evil one. Furthermore, this provoked a complicated issue to the extent of *onnarashii*. After all, the history of *onnarashii*'s origins are inseparable from sociohistorical conditions, which possess a truly complex character; however, that piece will be omitted here.

Generally, when the Japanese refer to a fixed, conspicuous characteristic [X] possessed by some object, there is always the tendency that the word *X-rashii* will be used. In other words, when there is nothing special about an object, it will not be termed in that way. With anything rich in individual character, such as travel spots, we love to use *X-rashii*. So I took up the following issue three times in a lesson given to about twenty students of Middle Japanese literature at Kyoto University. They answered for me the questions of what images are borne by *toshiyorirashii* 'typical of old people,' *kodomorashii* 'typical of children,' *musumerashii* 'typical of daughters,' *kyôtôrashii* 'typical of Kyoto,' *hokkaidôrashii* 'typical of Hokkaido,' *akirashii* 'typical of autumn,' and *kyôtôdaigakurashii* 'typical of Kyoto University.' The list follows. Words in bold received more than one response.

toshiyorirashii 'typical of old people'

shiwa 'wrinkles,' *yaseteiru* 'thin,' *guchippoi* 'grumbling,' *mukashibanashi* 'reminiscences,' *yoboyobo* 'decrepit,' *shizuka* 'quiet,' *ochitsuki* 'calm,' *katakurushii* 'formal,' *odayakana* 'calm,' *kareta* 'withered,' *fukappatsu* 'inactive,' *monowakari ga yoi* 'sensible,' *yukkuri* 'unhurried,' *hinatabokko* 'basking in the sun,' *fuyu* 'winter,' *sôzôryoku* 'creativity,' *koteika* 'become fixed,' *jimi* 'modest,' *yowaki* 'timid,' *ataakasa* 'kind,' *haihaku* 'ashen,' *onwa* 'gentle,' *yuttari* 'comfortable,' *satori* 'enlightenment,' *engawa* 'veranda,' *shibui* 'sober,' *shiroge* 'white hair,' *segamagaru* 'bent back,' *neko ga iru* 'having a cat,' *hige nado o hayashite ue o tsuite hinatabokkoo shiteiru jôkei* 'the scene [of someone] wearing a beard, using a walking stick, basking in the sun.'

kodomorashii 'typical of children'

kawaii 'cute,' *airashii* 'lovable,' *yôchi* 'immature,' *zankoku* 'cruel,' *sutoreeto* 'straightforward,' *wagamama* 'selfish,' *undo* 'movement,' *kenka* 'fight,' *genki* 'healthy,' *tobihaneru* 'skipping,' *akai hoho* 'redcheeked,' *wanpaku* 'mischievous,' *kizudarake* 'covered in scrapes/bruises,' *asobi* 'play,' *itazura* 'teasing,' *sotchoku* 'frank,' *mujaki* 'innocent,' *yosanai* 'very young,' *sunao* 'docile,' *shôjiki* 'honest,' *shizen* 'nature,' *tenman ranman* 'unaffected,' *hakiyaki shite iru* 'brisk,' *sugao* 'barefaced,' *muka* 'pure,' *yutaka* 'abundance,' *nobi nobi* 'carefree,' *dada o koneru* 'acting tired/peevish,' *ôki na koe de becha kucha shaberu* 'chattering in a loud voice.'

musumerashii 'typical of daughters'

shitoyaka 'gentle,' *kawaii* 'cute,' *utsukushii* 'beautiful,' *seiketsu* 'clean,' *wakawakashii* 'unripe,' *seisô* 'neat/tidy,' *uiuishii* 'naïve,' *junboku* 'simplehearted,' *pichipichi* 'young/lively,' *ubu* 'naïve,' *monotarinasu* 'sense of incompleteness,' *mijun* 'unripe,' *hannari* 'bright and elegant,' *nigiyaka* 'lively,' *kimono* 'kimono,' *egao* 'smiling face,' *adokenai* 'innocent,' *yasashii* 'kind,' *hazukashigari* 'tending to be embarrassed,' *hogaraka* 'merry,' *wakai* 'young,' *nonki* 'carefree,' *hajirai* 'blushing,' *kawaii* 'cute,' *jûjun* 'submissive,' *kon no seifuku* 'indigo school uniform,' *okappa atama* 'shoulder length hair with bangs,' *skaato sugata* 'figure in a skirt.'

kyôtôrashii 'typical of Kyoto'

gairojyu 'treelined streets,' *kamogawa* 'Kamo River,' *rekishi* 'history,' *jyôchoteki* 'emotional,' *fusei no aru* 'elegant,' *konjô ga warui* 'bad-natured,' *tera* 'temple,' *jiin* 'temple,' *takusan no jisyô* 'many temples and shrines,' *kiyoraka* 'pure,'

shizuka 'quiet,' shittori shita 'moist/quiet,' ikezu 'mean,' furukusai 'oldfashioned,' hozonteki 'conservative,' gakusei 'student/s,' midori 'green,' **kofû 'old style,'** atarashii 'new,' machinami ga kirei 'pretty streets and houses,' kitayama 'North Mountain,' kotoba 'words,' Sei Shonagon [author of the Pillow Book], onwa 'mild,' yasashii 'kind,' shittori 'moist/quiet,' fûryû 'refined,' yawarakai 'soft,' jôhin 'elegant,' ochitsuita 'calm,' seijaku 'quiet,' ~shiharu 'dialectal for 'to do,' tôku no hikui yama 'faraway, low mountains,' Arashiyama 'Mt. Arashi,' Ohara nado no kôyô no meijô 'famous places with colorful [autumn] leaves, like Ohara,' nomiya ga ottori shite iru 'the bars are calm,' tokai to shizen 'city and nature.'

hokkaidôrashii 'typical of Hokkaido'

jagaimo 'potato,' hiroi 'wide,' midori no hara 'green fields,' **yûdai 'magnificent,'** shinrin 'forests,' kôdai 'vast,' nobinobi to shita 'carefree,' tokeidai 'clock tower,' **yuki 'snow,'** setsugen 'fields of snow,' komoru 'be confined,' **samui 'cold,'** doro 'road,' fuyu 'winter,' zôkibayashi ga kirei 'pretty forest of various kinds of trees,' michi no sekai 'unknown world,' daishizen 'great nature,' shizen 'nature,' zankan 'bitter cold,' shizen ni megumarete iru 'blessed with nature,' marui suiheisen 'round horizon,' doko made mo tuzuku shingoki no nai doro 'road/s that continue on and on with no stoplights,' kuma no horimono 'bear carvings,' kani nado umasô 'delicious crab and the like,' yuki ni uzumoretai 'buried by snow.'

akirashii 'typical of autumn'

kôyô 'colorful leaves,' ochiba 'fallen leaves,' susuki 'pampas grass,' meigetsu 'bright moon,' monosabishii 'deeply lonely,' shikisai yutaka 'richly colorful,' kanashii 'sad,' moeizuru ko no ha 'burning red leaves,' **sabishii 'lonely,'** seijaku 'quiet,' kôyû 'great bravery' kareha 'withered leaves,' samui 'cold,' aishû 'grief,' ame 'rain,' hito koishii 'the dearness of someone,' kareta 'withered,' ryokô 'travel,' sugukizuke no kabu no shukaku 'turnip harvest for suguki pickles,' gussuri nemureru 'able to sleep deeply,' sora no iro ga kirei 'the sky is a pretty color,' kaze ga sunde iru 'the wind clears [the sky].'

kyôtôdaigakurashii 'typical of Kyoto University'

soboku 'homely,' shigeki ga nai 'unstimulated,' nodoka 'calm,' **majime 'serious,'** **yabbotai 'unsophisticated,'** semai 'limited,' hito ga sukunai 'few people,' atto hoomu 'in one's element,' shôkibô 'small scale,' mossari shite iru 'acting like someone from the country,' akanuke shinai 'unpolished,' heibon na 'average,' hissori shita 'quiet,' miuchi 'close relations,' **jimi 'modest,'** **inaka 'countryside,'** pattosen 'unclear/blurry,' sanryû 'third-rate,' inki kusai 'gloomy,' imokusai 'rustic,' imo 'bumpkin,' mossai 'countrified,' kitanai shirobukuro 'dirty white bag,' se ga hikui 'short,' nani ka ni tukete wasurerareta daigaku 'a university that forgot what it was attached to,' shôraisei ni kitai 'expectations for the future,' benkyô 'study,' kinketsubyô 'chronically short of cash,' jitensya 'bicycle,' sukeeru ga chûsai 'small scale,' atama ga yoi 'intelligent,' kankyô wa batsugun 'outstanding environment,' kenjitsu 'reliable.'

As we can see the seeming unboundedness of *rashisa* in the above, we can also see the flip side of it as an 'image word' and pay attention to it. The topics I assigned were of two types: either subjects in which the students had virtually no daily experience, or those that were utterly inseparable from everyday life. 'Kyoto

University' and 'Hokkaido' exemplify these opposite poles. 'Kyoto' and the rest had intermediate status. 'Old people' (*toshiyori*), 'daughters' (*musume*), and 'children' (*kodomo*) were things where immediate experience or observations were mixed with 'kata-type' concepts.

For those people who had enrolled in Kyoto University through various means, the extremely vivid and truthful negative images of its *rashisa* were quite interesting. These were truths that were certainly true to the point of evoking laughter. Though [it's] somewhat masochistic [to admit it], they really were the case. However, the truth value of these facts comes only to insiders and may be things that seem merely to be the oddities of any group when viewed from the outside.

Therefore, as suffixes such as *rashisa* and *rashii* are used as tools to assign an image to an object, they generalize only to the extent that they are farther removed from their objects, and align themselves in a positive direction. *rashisa* is a virtual image or conclusion and is **not** truth. After all, as was made clear in the section on *onnarashisa*, it is a grand expectation.

Furthermore, I had the students write regarding the connection of self to *onnarashisa* for the female students and similarly, to *otokorashisa* for the male students. Results for the males indicated that the men were hardly interested in *otokorashisa* and merely wrote that it had the feeling of necessity. For the women, while they had strong ideas about it, they seemed not to relate to it for the most part. However, we would not expect that the statements of these young women who haven't fully stepped forwards as independent women in the world would have the dramatic intensity as those of the research group I discussed earlier, in which women of middle age angrily felt the intervention of *onnarashisa* as a virtual image into their individual lives.

3. *rashisa*'s effectiveness as a keyword

Let us consider that people who use Japanese are inclined to be trained towards various things attached to the concept *rashisa*, including examples such as *onnarashisa*, even though they are a nuisance to certain types of people. After all, the consciousness of *rashisa* is an inextricable part of the lifestyle of a Japanese person, and moreover, of Japanese culture.

Here is an example from a television show in which a group of amateurs displayed their skills in traditional arts. A five-year-old girl did the 'hand-fan' dance and won an award. Dressed in the genuine costume of a traditional Japanese *musume* 'daughter,' her behavior was full of *onnarashisa*. With a rather coquettish sidelong glance, she gracefully moved her slender body, while her toes pointed inward. Though her behavior, clothing, and all had no connection to those of her daily life, by acquisition of the form (*kata*) it was possible for her to become a dancer; this five-year-old little girl changed into the shape of a woman. The most extreme case is that of *onnagata* 'drag.' Through the concrete change into *onnagata*, a 'woman' somehow more womanly than women can be made real on the stage. A common compliment to an *onnagata* actor goes that even though he is a man, he is considerably more feminine than an actual woman. Naturally, since he is in competition with a 'great expectation,' he becomes a woman to the extent of overflowing.

The traditional arts are full of this extreme kind of *rashisa*, from which many *kata* have been formed. In the field of *gengo seikatsu* 'language life' we often hear admiring cries of *rashii na* 'it does seem so!' brought about by the understanding of many Japanese phenomena. This shows the close connection between philosophical

method and the way Japanese people observe things. Travel, evaluation of persons, and various behaviors are probably on the whole based on the keyword *rashii*.

Usually, when Japanese people speak of 'keywords,' very often the special terms put forth are *haji* 'shame,' *shibusa* 'quiet tastefulness/astringency,' and *wabi* 'austere beauty,' and they do have some effectiveness in that capacity; however, looking at the world of words such as *wabi-sabi* as if all of Japan is a world of beauty conceals the whole of it and is impossible. Even as the restrained simplicity of tea ceremony is loved by Japanese people, so is the explosive kaleidoscope of energy spewed out at *matsuri* festivals; both are unmistakably part and parcel of the same society. Given these circumstances, it must be said that to specify one single keyword is difficult.

In order to test this claim, the aforementioned Kyoto University students were given the task to write about *meimei no biishikigo* 'names of aesthetic terms.' Data regarding both positive and negative aspects were amply gathered. This owes to the fact that there is a raft of terms relating to *utsukushisa* 'beauty' readily available to the average Japanese.

Aesthetic Terminology (according to Kyoto University students in the special linguistics course, 1991)

Rank	Use%	#words	words
1	10.4	1	<i>kirei</i> 'beautiful'
2	8.9	1	<i>kitanai</i> 'dirty'
3	7.9	1	<i>uruwashii</i> 'lovely'
4	7.4	2	<i>kawaii</i> 'pretty/loveable,' <i>minikui</i> 'ugly/indecent'
5	6.9	2	<i>sawayaka</i> 'fresh,' <i>seiketsu</i> 'clean'
6	6.4	2	<i>sui</i> 'purity' [or, <i>iki</i> 'chic, stylish'], <i>karei</i> 'splendid'
7	5.9	3	<i>azayaka</i> 'vivid,' <i>kiyoi</i> 'pure,' <i>yabo</i> 'unrefined'
8	5.4	4	<i>adeyaka</i> 'luscious,' <i>jôhin</i> 'elegant,' <i>tsuyayaka</i> 'lustrous,' <i>hanayaka</i> 'gorgeous'
9	4.9	2	<i>airashii</i> 'sweet,' <i>gehin</i> 'inelegant'
10	4.4	5	<i>karen</i> 'lovely/pitiable,' <i>shikku</i> 'chic,' <i>namamekashii</i> 'coquettish,' <i>yûga</i> 'elegant,' <i>yûbi</i> 'graceful'
11	4.0	7	<i>akarui</i> 'bright,' <i>kiyoraka</i> 'pure,' <i>sappari</i> 'refreshing,' <i>junsui</i> 'pure,' <i>seizen</i> 'tidy,' <i>sôrei</i> 'magnificent,' <i>miriyokuteki</i> 'charming'
12	3.5	5	<i>kihini</i> 'grace,' <i>seiso</i> 'neat/clean,' <i>fuketsu</i> 'unclean,' <i>busu</i> 'ugly,' <i>bijin</i> 'beautiful woman [lit. person]'
13	3.0	8	<i>akanukeru</i> 'refined,' <i>iroppoi</i> 'sexy,' <i>kabi</i> 'splendor,' <i>kirabiyaka</i> 'showy,' <i>kenran</i> 'dazzling,' <i>senren</i> 'refinement,' <i>tyaamingu</i> 'charming,' <i>birei</i> 'beautiful'
14	2.5	25	<i>aikurushii</i> 'sweet,' <i>iyashii</i> 'vulgar,' <i>kakkoii</i> 'cool,' <i>kurai</i> 'dark,' <i>kesho</i> 'makeup,' <i>kenkô</i> 'health,' <i>kôka</i> 'luxurious,' <i>kôki</i> 'noble,' <i>sabi</i> 'patina,' <i>subarashii</i> 'wonderful,' <i>sumaato</i> 'smart/stylish,'

			<i>seijô</i> ‘spotless,’ <i>date</i> ‘dandy,’ <i>tansei</i> ‘handsome,’ <i>tanrei</i> ‘graceful,’ <i>totonou</i> ‘be put in order,’ <i>yoi</i> ‘good,’ <i>busaiku na</i> ‘awkward,’ <i>migoto</i> ‘wonderful,’ <i>ririshii</i> ‘manly/handsome,’ <i>wabi</i> ‘austere beauty,’ <i>bijo</i> ‘beautiful woman,’ <i>binan</i> ‘handsome man,’ <i>biyô</i> ‘beauty treatment,’ <i>bijutsu</i> ‘art’
15	2.0	35	<i>akogare</i> ‘longing,’ <i>itoshii</i> ‘beloved,’ <i>uiuishii</i> ‘naïve,’ <i>urusai</i> (<i>kitanai no hôgen</i>) ‘annoying (dirty, in dialect),’ <i>eien</i> ‘eternal,’ <i>tsuya</i> ‘gloss,’ <i>okuyukashii</i> ‘elegant,’ <i>hade</i> ‘showy,’ <i>oshare</i> ‘fashionable,’ <i>kagayaku</i> ‘glow,’ <i>geijutsu</i> ‘art,’ <i>keppaku</i> ‘pure/upright,’ <i>kebakebashii</i> ‘showy/gaudy,’ <i>kôgôshii</i> ‘divine/sublime,’ <i>zatsuzen</i> ‘formless,’ <i>shareta</i> ‘dressed up,’ <i>seijun</i> ‘pure/innocent,’ <i>seichô</i> ‘clear/serene,’ <i>zetsukei</i> ‘picturesque scenery,’ <i>soboku</i> ‘simple,’ <i>dasai</i> ‘tasteless,’ <i>tomei</i> ‘transparent,’ <i>nigoru</i> ‘get muddy,’ <i>hatsuratsu to</i> ‘lively,’ <i>mittomonai</i> ‘disgraceful,’ <i>miwaku (teki)</i> ‘fascination (-ing),’ <i>muku</i> ‘pure,’ <i>mossari to</i> ‘unrefined,’ <i>yasashii</i> ‘gentle,’ <i>yogoreta</i> ‘dirty,’ <i>rippa</i> ‘excellent,’ <i>bika</i> ‘beautification,’ <i>hikyô</i> ‘cowardly,’ <i>bikei</i> ‘beautiful view’
16	1.5	65	<i>ai</i> ‘love,’ <i>aikei</i> ‘love and respect,’ <i>ii onna</i> ‘good woman,’ <i>otoko</i> ‘man,’ <i>isagiyo</i> ‘purehearted,’ <i>issokenmei</i> ‘with all one’s might,’ <i>inase</i> ‘dandy,’ <i>imo</i> ‘bumpkin,’ <i>iroke</i> ‘sexiness,’ <i>ozomashii</i> ‘horrifying,’ <i>otokorashii</i> ‘manly,’ <i>odaku</i> ‘corruption,’ <i>omoiyari</i> ‘consideration,’ <i>onnarashii</i> ‘womanly,’ <i>kawaiirashii</i> ‘cute,’ <i>kichin to</i> ‘properly,’ <i>kiyora</i> ‘pure,’ <i>kirakira</i> ‘brilliantly,’ <i>kirameku</i> ‘sparkle,’ <i>giri</i> ‘duty,’ <i>yogoreru</i> ‘dirty,’ <i>kenshin</i> ‘self-sacrifice,’ <i>kokoroyoi</i> ‘pleasant,’ <i>gotegote</i> ‘heavy,’ <i>koishii</i> ‘lonely,’ <i>shitoyaka na</i> ‘graceful,’ <i>shibui</i> ‘sober,’ <i>jimi</i>

			<p>'modest,' <i>shûaku</i> 'ghastly,' <i>junsei</i> 'pure heart,' <i>shôjiki</i> 'honest,' <i>sugureru</i> 'good,' <i>suteki</i> 'wonderful,' <i>sunao</i> 'obedient,' <i>sumu</i> 'become clear,' <i>sekushii</i> 'sexy,' <i>senmei</i> 'vivid,' <i>sendo</i> 'freshness,' <i>sôkai</i> 'refreshing,' <i>sôshoku</i> 'decoration,' <i>nayoyaka</i> 'supple,' <i>darashinai</i> 'untidy,' <i>tansei</i> 'handsome,' <i>doryoku</i> 'effort,' <i>nameraka</i> 'smooth,' <i>nikui</i> 'hateful,' <i>ninjô</i> 'human feelings,' <i>netami</i> 'envy,' <i>hakanai</i> 'empty/shortlived,' <i>hanabanashii</i> 'resplendent,' <i>fukai</i> 'unpleasant,' <i>bukakko</i> 'unshapely/clumsy,' <i>buzama</i> 'shapeless,' <i>mabayui</i> 'dazzling,' <i>migurushii</i> 'ugly/wretched,' <i>mime ga yoi (warui)</i> 'good (bad) appearance,' <i>miyabi (yaka)</i> elegance (-ant),' <i>yodomu</i> 'stagnate,' <i>ryûrei</i> 'flowing,' <i>wakawakashii</i> 'young,' <i>biken</i> 'fine view,' <i>bishû</i> 'appearance,' <i>bishônen</i> 'beautiful young man,' <i>pittari</i> 'close/snug,' <i>bibô</i> 'good looks,' <i>oishii</i> 'delicious'</p>
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This cannot be called an expression of the aesthetic sensibilities of Japanese people. There are odd bits and parts that make you want to cock your head, but at any rate I have listed the results just as they are, the input from my third year Kyoto University students (about whose Kyoto *daigakurashisa* you read about above). This probably has some import. Strictly speaking, the set is limited to those terms which received at least three votes.

From this word list various kinds of information can be gathered. For one, there is a clear preponderance of terms which have a positive meaning. The words chosen by the students clearly point towards beauty, but we cannot conclude from this whether or not this is an overall condition for the Japanese language.

Another point relating towards keyword-like terms is that they were not placed highly. The terms here are those that connect to a sense of beauty in the minds of college students in the 1980s. Of course, *sui* 'purity' [or, *iki* 'chic, stylish,' which reading was intended was unclear], *wabi* 'austere beauty,' and *sabi* 'patina' appeared, but we mustn't get overexcited. Because these students are in fields connected to literature, they have an extensive understanding of [this] vocabulary, but it can't yet be said that they've mastered it. By saying that, even if we took up keywords taken from the field of words like *wabi* and *sabi* as assurances that they represented the future of Japanese aesthetics, we would have to limit these keywords to a very small range of applicability.

Changing the topic a bit, when you think about the universality (generality) of Japanese people forming mental images through *rashisa* and *rashii*, it can be thought that these suffixes are rather effective keywords.

Afterword: Regarding *uranishi*

Having lived a long time in Kyoto, when I would go on trips to the shores of the Japan Sea during autumn and winter, I would often hear the local people remark, “Even if you forget your lunch don’t forget your umbrella!” A cold, bitter rain is apt to quietly start falling on one. There is hardly ever a pleasant sunny day that doesn’t turn cold. This kind of rain is called *uranishi* by locals.

Well, in 1982, all the students were involved in a survey of the Tango area, divided into natural and human sciences, and subdivided further into various topics; I was in the Tango Dialect Consciousness & Lifestyle group as it had connections to linguistics. There were questions on local folktales and dialect; among these was “are there any words in particular that represent Tango to you?” The most common answer was *uranishi*. Many local people leaned towards this term as an expression of the underlying sense of loneliness that pervades this particular natural phenomenon.

It’s not clear at this stage whether *uranishi* can be described as laden with lament, or whether it has become a backhanded kind of compliment, but recently when I was in a town in that area I was surprised to see a Japanese sweet for sale named *uranishi*. One wouldn’t think about naming a Japanese sweet after the feelings of locals regarding this troublesome weather phenomenon of the Japan Sea coast in winter, rather, one would expect a mere sigh of “good grief” in agreement with this term; yet, it somehow wound up as the name of a Japanese sweet. On the wrapping paper of this *mochi* ‘pounded sticky rice’ confection, a rather faithful map of the seashore of that area was printed; however, no explanation of *uranishi* was attempted. Rather than feeling aggrieved about ‘that famous *uranishi*’ one gets the impression of *uranishi* as having become an axiomatic and positive expression.

Within the spirit of seeking ‘*Tangorashisa*’ lives *uranishi*, and thus even such an essentially unwelcome thing is increased in value. These are the fruits of *rashisa*’s formative action.

March 5, 1982

References

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