Rubi

-The interlinear poetic gloss of Japanese

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Abstract

The Japanese language has a complex system containing four different scripts. Through the combined usage of these scripts into something sometimes referred to as interlinear glossing, it is possible for the writer to express a wide range of poetic styles in a way that is quite unique to the Japanese language. Ranging from metonymical relations between words and sentences, to synecdoche, word play and visual rhymes.

This thesis reviews some of the more recent research that has been conducted surrounding the combining of these different scripts to form poetical nuances and functions in written text, to try and find out just what functions and nuances these provide for written text and dialogue. The usage of five distinct but often overlapping categories of interlinear gloss will also be examined. This is done through the use of a questionnaire, where native Japanese speakers have been asked about these five different styles of usage separately in order to gain more sociolinguistic data regarding what nuances, implications, societal implications, functions etc, that these provide.

Keywords: Ateji, Furigana, Interlinear gloss, Playful gloss, Rubi

Foreword

First, I would like to thank my teacher and thesis supervisor Lars Larm for his enthusiastic and tireless guidance, for the many hours spent after class discussing all kinds of matters relating to both language and writing, and especially for his many encouraging words along the way. They have always been of tremendous help in times of stress and confusion.

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Edvin Melander

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1 Introduction

1.1   Background

Research conducted regarding the playful usage of *interlinear gloss* in both contemporary and historically written Japanese has discovered many ways in which Japanese writers throughout the ages have transcended literary norms in order to express themselves in poetic ways.

While the usage of interlinear gloss to express poetic ideas has existed for as long as interlinear glossing has, the trend of its usage seems to be on the rise in recently written Japanese literature. This perceived trend of expressing poetics by nonconventional means may very well be traced to the increasing production and consumption of advertisement and manga in Contemporary Japan, as well as a renewed willingness for authors to stretch the bounds of perceived limitations and literary norms relating to the world of literature and poetics in Japan (Tranter 2008, Wilkerson 2000).

Attempts at categorizing and classifying this nonconventional usage of interlinear gloss have been undertaken by both Mia Lewis (2010) and Wilkerson's (2000) in their separate studies. However their works differ in both method and media of research. Mia Lewis has conducted a literature study documenting the usage of interlinear glosses or as she herself calls them, *ateji*, in contemporary manga. Categorizing these into five distinct categories depending on their patterns of usage. These are

- Translative Ateji (T)
- Denotive Ateji (D)
- Contrastive Ateji (C)
- Translative/Contrastive Ateji (C/T)
- Abbreviative/Contrastive Ateji (A/C)

Wilkerson's work rather focuses on the broader classification of the interlinear glosses depending on their poetical nuances and implications. Analyzing their perceived poetical functions through examining a broad selection of examples from different media. Amongst other things they have studied the ways these juxtaposed interlinear scripts work to form metonymical and synecdochal relations with their corresponding texts. Both conducted studies are very important in reaching a deeper understanding of this quite unique phenomenon. However research on this matter has yet to provide answers to the following:

- What are the perceived poetical nuances and implications as told by native Japanese speakers?
- To what extent are native Japanese speakers conscious of these differing styles of interlinear gloss?
- How do native Japanese speakers perceive these distinct styles of writing Japanese? What are their thoughts surrounding their usage as a way of writing Japanese?

This research is important in order to gain a broader understanding on how the nonconventional usage of interlinear gloss is perceived in contemporary Japan, as most of the perceived nuances and implications come from the many writers and researchers themselves. Thus this thesis is focused on mainly two things. Firstly on providing an overview over existing research, examining the five categories as specified by Mia Lewis to see in what ways these overlap with the research conducted by Wilkerson's and other authors'. Secondly to present new data in order to get a grasp over the questions stated in the previous list.

1.2   Objectives and Methodology

The main purpose of this thesis is to provide an overview over the five different styles of interlinear gloss as specified by Mia Lewis in her paper and to take a closer look at the poetic nuances and implications of these.

The secondary objective is to gain better understanding over how native Japanese speakers might perceive these different categories and their thoughts regarding the usage of these. As well as to find out in what media and circumstances they have experienced them.

The primary methods used to examine these two objectives are by

- Review of previous research
- Questionnaire

1.3   Outline of Thesis

In this thesis two main goals are being examined.

In order to paint a clear picture of these two goals, chapter 1 serves as a brief introduction to the previous research conducted regarding the playful usage of interlinear gloss. Arguments as to why this thesis might be necessary are also laid forward in the background section of this chapter.

Then for the purpose of giving an acceptable overview over the five different categories of interlinear gloss and their usage, chapter 2 discusses the cornerstones of what constitutes *playful gloss*. The scripts that these constitute, as well as some of the underlying poetic

functions that are made possible due to the combining of these scripts.

This chapter and the beginning of chapter 3 also try making sense of what is actually meant by the different terms *ateji*, interlinear gloss and playful gloss, because their definitions can be overlapping and confusing.

Making use of the knowledge from the previous chapters, chapter 3 provides a more focused examination of these five different categories, what impressions, nuances and implications they convey to written text by looking separately at each specific category. Eventual overlaps in functions and information about their historic usage and societal influences are also examined.

Finally in chapter 4-5 the thesis will conclude by providing an explanation of the conducted questionnaire study. Outlining the data and findings over what impressions native Japanese speakers might perceive from seeing examples of these five different styles of writing, their thoughts regarding these and in what circumstances they themselves might have experienced them.

2 Playful Gloss

2.1   Interlinear Gloss

The line between what constitutes interlinear gloss, *rubi,* playful gloss, and *ateji* can be diffuse, the focus of this chapter is to clear up the first three terms. Starting with the term interlinear gloss.

Interlinear Gloss is the usage of script as a means of providing additional, notational information generally regarding the pronunciation and meaning of written text. This is regularly used in translation from one language to another. For example in the form of Interlinear Morphemic translation (IMT). This form of interlinear gloss is what Lehmann (1982) refers to as "a translation of a text in a language L1 into a string of elements taken from L2", explaining that the reason they are called interlinear is "a) Because it should be arranged, typographically, beneath the line of text which it translates, and b) Because it is normally used in addition to and before a normal translation". He then provides an example of an Interlinear Morphemic translation, where the text in the middle acts as the interlinear glossing.

 (1)   Sie   komm-t   morgen.
GER   she/they   come (PRS)-3. SG/2. PL tomorrow
      "She is coming tomorrow."

Similar to this style of writing, the Japanese language incorporates a unique type of interlinear gloss called *rubi* ルビー. This gloss has been in use since antiquity mainly as a means of providing reading aid by specifying the pronunciation, definitions and translations of words. Often being juxtaposed above (not below) or to the side of characters stemming from Chinese, known as *kanji* 漢字 (Ariga, 1989).

Even this interlinear gloss can take many different forms however, with the most common one being referred to as *furigana* 振り仮名, this interlinear gloss has been given many different names throughout time, as cited from Ariga (1989: 309) these are: "*bôki* 傍記 'side notes'; *bôkun* 傍訓 'side Japanese reading'; *bôchû* 傍注, 'side annotation'; *tsukegana* 付け仮名, 'appended kana' or *yomigana* 読み仮名, 'reading kana'." While these words at first glance seem to be appropriate terms in describing the "Japanese gloss", they all give off the connotation of being didactic in nature. Thus researchers and authors have found the term *rubi* to be the most suitable one, being the term concerning this phenomenon in its broadest sense, incorporating not only the didactic nature of *furigana* but also the playful usage of this device.

For this reason this thesis will henceforth use the term *rubi* when discussing interlinear gloss (Ariga, 1989).

Continuing on, *rubi* is the small text you can see in most Japanese literature, combining the three Japanese scripts and sometimes Roman alphabet in what according to Tranter (2008: 133) could be called a type of "digraphia". Though he continues by explaining that this term usually refers to the relationship between the Roman alphabet and native Japanese scripts (as cited in Unger, 2001), and not to the relationship between all of the native scripts, it is nonetheless relevant in this case he means. He then goes on listing four categorizations pertaining to languages using more than one writing script. These, being related to the roles that the multiple scripts undertake in said language, are (as cited in Chen, 1999: 167-168); The "alternative" category, where the different scripts are not simultaneously used in the same text, the "superseding" category, where one of the scripts is in the process of replacing the other, "auxiliary" where one script acts as a didactic device, and lastly the "supplementary" category, where two or more scripts co-occur within the same text. Adhering to these categories Japanese would according to him fall into the latter two, being a language that makes use of four different scripts: *Romaji* (Roman alphabet), *Kanji* 漢字 the Chinese characters, and lastly the two phonographic scripts *hiragana* ひらがな and *katakana* カタカナ, both derived from the Chinese characters. With *hiragana* and *katakana* being used "supplementary" in the same text together with *kanji*, known as *majiribun* 'mixed script' in Japanese. With *rubi* (*furigana*) being the didactic device in this situation, falling into the "auxiliary" category (Tranter, 2008).

To clarify: *rubi* is the auxiliary, "metalingual gloss" which co-occurs together with the three native scripts(sometimes with the Roman alphabet) constituting the *majiribun*. What makes the Japanese *rubi* interesting compared to some other "mixed-script languages" however, is in the way *rubi* makes use of all four of these scripts to perform its auxiliary actions. It seems quite possible for any of the four scripts used in the language to occur in the interlinear position as glossing to the *majiribun*, making it possible for many different combination of these four scripts (Tranter, 2008). Wilkerson's (2000: 255) work contains a graph showing the possible combinations of scripts they have found, listing up to nine possible combinations.

With the type of script appearing in the left column indicating occurrence as text and the type of script to the right indicating usage as gloss juxtaposed to said text. These are

- Hiragana - Katakana   <ruby>ひらがな<rt>カタカナ</rt></ruby>   (_{Katakana} Hiragana)
- Katakana - Hiragana   <ruby>カタカナ<rt>ひらがな</rt></ruby>   (_{Hiragana} Katakana)
- Katakana - Romaji   <ruby>カタカナ<rt>Romaji</rt></ruby>   (_{Romaji} Katakana)
- Katakana - Kanji   <ruby>カタカナ<rt>漢字</rt></ruby>   (_{Kanji} Katakana)
- Romaji - Katakana   <ruby>Romaji<rt>カタカナ</rt></ruby>   (_{Katakana} Romaji)
- Romaji - Kanji   <ruby>Romaji<rt>漢字</rt></ruby>   (_{Kanji} Romaji)
- Kanji - Hiragana   <ruby>漢字<rt>ひらがな</rt></ruby>   (_{Hiragana} Kanji)
- Kanji - Katakana   <ruby>漢字<rt>カタカナ</rt></ruby>   (_{katakana} Kanji)
- Kanji - Romaji   <ruby>漢字<rt>Romaji</rt></ruby>   (_{Romaji} Kanji)

Interesting to note here is that they did not seem to find the combinations *Hiragana - Kanji*, *Hiragana - Romaji*, *Romaji - Hiragana,* nor any of the combinations *Hiragana - Hiragana*, *Katakana - Katakana*, *Romaji - Romaji*, *Kanji - Kanji* in their research.

One possible answer to this question might be found by looking at the separate usages of these scripts. While it is possible for all four of them to appear as both *rubi* as well as supplementary to each other in the *majiribun*, they can be considered four distinct separate scripts (Tranter, 2008). Despite the two *kana* scripts being phonographic syllabaries originally based on *kanji* as a means of conforming another language (Chinese) to the Japanese language, they should not, according to Tranter (2008) be considered "different styles of the same script". Seeing that they both differ in usage in addition to having an almost completely separate set of symbols he means that they can be regarded as being different scripts altogether. Tranter also likens the two kana syllabaries to that of the italic and non italic writing styles used in the Roman alphabet, in that *katakana* is used to depict words of foreign descent and as a means of portraying more "emotive/emphatic" functions such as onomatopoeia, comparing it to italic. Meanwhile *hiragana* is mostly used to portray native Japanese words and grammar items with *Kanji* being used to write both native Japanese words as well as Sino-Japanese words (Chinese loans). *Romaji* he goes on, is mostly used as a means to portray acronyms and abbreviations relating to foreign expressions, and as a means of writing international symbols (Tranter, 2008). Important to note is that the ways these scripts are being used is getting increasingly varied, one example being katakana as a means of writing Sino-Japanese words. This would

probably have been frowned upon in the past, but has since become a common occurrence (Ezaki, 2010).

Just as their usage differs, the nuances and feelings that native Japanese speakers perceive from these separate scripts also differ to certain extent, with *hiragana* often being seen as a softer, more casual alternative to the harder, more formal *kanji*. Tranter (2008) attributes this to the historical associations that these scripts have, with *kanji* being the "educated mans" script and *hiragana* being considered the more "intimate" script due to *hiragana* originally having been invented and used by women as an alternative to *kanji*. (Ezaki, 2010) also writes that the usage of *Katakana*, similar to that of *hiragana*, often portrays a colloquial undertone in comparison to *Kanji*. Furthermore, according to Tranter (2008) *katakana* also has the added effect of portraying a feeling of modernity when used. Probably due to the nature of *katakana* as a means of writing loanwords in Japanese.

In other words, while it would seem that most of these scripts can be freely combined with each other as previously shown, the differences in nuances and usage that these scripts convey could be a reason as to why some combinations of script occur and others do not. With the possibility being that some combinations of script are inherently more suitable than others. Nevertheless, the fact that these scripts are different and thus convey different nuances is very important to keep in mind.

2.2   Playful Gloss

While the most common usage of *rubi* to this day continues to be as a reading aid for difficult words, this has not been the only usage of this device. Continuing through the many script reforms that are stamped in Japanese history, this device has seen many up and down going trends of usage. Maybe the most interesting usage being as a rhetorical such, allowing Japanese writers throughout the ages to express poetical ideas in unique manners (Ariga 1989). According to Wilkerson's (2000), in particular the script reform of half a century ago stipulated the usage of *furigana* as a purely didactic device, encouraging the traditional idea that furigana should be used as reading help for uncommon *kanji*. However they continue by writing that *rubi* as a means of portraying poetical ideas has seen a new resurgence ever since the 1980's, arguing that all previous attempts at "rationalizing" the usage of *rubi* by means of "rigid standardization" in order to make it act more in accordance with the spoken language have only ever been temporarily successful. Stating as proof that the subsequent up going trends of poetical usage argue for the "autonomy of the written word", indicating that written language is not dependent on recorded speech.

Nicolas Tranter (2008: 149) notes that this up going trend could be attributed to the increasing consumption of manga and advertisement in Japan, showing data from (Schodt 1983: 12,

Gravett 2004: 13) that in the year 1980, 27% of the total publishing output was made up of these two media. Further, that in 2004 this number was breaching 38.1%. This also corresponds to what Lewis (2010: 28) writes in her research, stating that the poetical usage of *rubi* can be found in disproportionate amounts in manga compared to other types of literature. Reasons as to why this phenomenon so frequently occurs in manga are also given by Tranter (2008), saying that authors within this type of literature continuously seek out nonconventional styles of writing in order to portray their worlds, referring to the way these authors use *rubi* to incorporate loanwords in order to make their work sound more "authentic and chic".

Although it would seem that manga and advertisement are the media in which the poetical usage of *rubi* dominates today, its usage has a far longer history. Ariga (1989: 318-321) documents many such poetical usages of *rubi*, examining many types of prose and literature throughout history. According to her, the poetical usage of *rubi* reached a zenith during the Edo and subsequent periods, resulting in new types of literature, the *Gesaku* 戲作, a type of light literature, or as Ariga herself puts it "parodist literature". In addition, with the introduction of western literature during the Meiji-period the usage of *rubi* as a type of translative device became prevalent amongst authors. During this period it was also skillfully applied by authors in original prose and literature. Nevertheless she also notes that usages like these met with reduction due to the later reforms after the second world war.

In order to create the specific literary effects in these works, the authors of these periods broke down the common notions that *kanji* and *rubi* should have a one-to-one correspondence to each other. Instead they intentionally created semantically intricate contexts by linking together kanji and *rubi* in nonconventional ways, breaking these conventions, and thus attaining certain nuances and literary effects in their writings (Ariga, 1989). This is most likely related to what Tranter (2008) mentions in his paper, writing that due to the way the Chinese writing system was adopted into the Japanese language, many words as a result did not come to inherently correspond to their individual *kanji*. This had an added effect upon the semantic relations between words and *kanji* in conventionally written Japanese.

As quoted directly from Tranter (2008: 135),

> "Some Japanese words can be written with two or more different kanji that, at least in strict usage, differentiate different nuances while many kanji can write two or more distinct morphemes or words"

As previously mentioned the conventional usage of *rubi* is as reading aid, aspiring to provide a one-to-one correspondence with written text, so what Ariga (1989) essentially is referring to is

the authors' making use of this inherent lack of correspondence between word and *kanji*, in other words the exploitation of the innate nuances that these provide when combined with *rubi*.

While this is likely one explanation for how the poetical usage of *rubi* combined with *kanji* works, it is hardly a sufficient enough answer to this phenomenon as a whole. After all the poetical usage of *rubi* does not stop at *kanji*. As was stated in the previous chapter it is possible to combine all four scripts into at least nine different combinations.
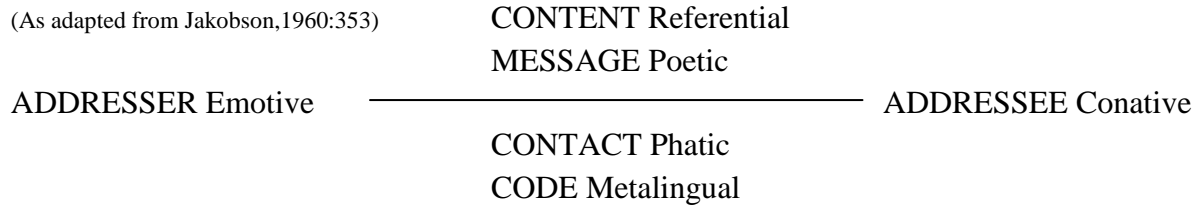
2.3   The Functions of rubi

Wilkerson's (2000: 239-240) work focuses on analyzing these poetical functions of *rubi*, they do this by making use of a combination of Jakobsons (1960) two schematics pertaining to the "functions of language", giving three examples which they then analyze. However before summarizing their findings it is important to have an understanding of the schematics they have applied.

> "Each language encompasses several concurrent patterns which are characterized by a different function" (Jakobson, 1960:352)

According to Jakobson (1960: 353) in order to investigate the poetic functions of language, it is important to first define what exactly is actually meant by poetic function in relation to other functions. He does this by stating that there are six such functions of language, which of these functions are prevalent in a message in turn depends on a set of six different factors. This works by the way of what Jakobson refers to as a sort of "hierarchy of functions". Wilkerson's (2000: 239-240) provide an explanation of this, writing that a hierarchy over what functions are prevalent in a single message can be analyzed by looking at separate "instances of word use", since while it is possible for a single message to emit every function at the same time, the order in which these functions acquire prevalence differs depending on word usage. These differences in the hierarchy make it possible to achieve different "styles" of writing. Another way of putting it, is as quoted from Jakobson (1960), "Each of these six factors determines a different function of language", in what he refers to as an "orientation" towards one or more of the factors in a message which in turn determines the functions of said message.

The schematic adapted by Wilkerson's (2000: 255) is essentially the combination of these factors and functions into the following.

(As adapted from Jakobson,1960:353)   CONTENT Referential
                                             MESSAGE Poetic

ADDRESSER Emotive ——————————————— ADDRESSEE Conative

                                             CONTACT Phatic
                                             CODE Metalingual

Here we can see these six factors, written in upper case: ADDRESSER; CONTENT; MESSAGE; CONTACT; CODE and ADDRESSEE. Together with the functions written in lower case: Emotive; Referential; Poetic; Phatic; Metalingual and Conative. Note that Jakobson (1960) originally refers to CONTENT as CONTEXT. There does not seem to be a consensus amongst researchers as to what these functions should be called (Hébert, 2011).

Continuing on, the six factors of language can briefly be understood as the following, cited from Jakobson (1960: 353); The ADDRESSER is the sender of a MESSAGE (containing a referent to the CONTENT/CONTEXT), using a comprehensible CODE so that the ADDRESSEE is capable of receiving it properly. The CONTACT factor referring to the "physical channel and psychological connection between the ADDRESSER and the ADDRESSEE", which is what enables them to communicate in the first place.

Hébert (2011) provides some real examples of what these functions would look like in use, cited directly from his work. The descriptions are provided by Jakobson (1960: 353-357)

- **"Referential ("The Earth is round")"**
The referential function is dependent on the CONTENT/CONTEXT factor, this is what Jakobson (1960: 353) also refers to as the "Denotative" or "Cognitive" function. In the expression "The Earth is round" given by Hébert (2011), the message carries a Referential function because it provides a description referring to the Earth.

- **"Emotive ("Yuck!")"**
Jakobson (1960: 354) describes the Emotive function as the "speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about". Meaning that this function is dependent on the ADDRESSER factor. He continues by writing that the closest form of Emotive function can be found in interjections, such as "Yuck!".

- **"Conative ("Come here")"**

The Conative function is dependent on the ADDRESSEE factor, which according to Jakobson expresses itself clearest in vocative and imperative expressions, such as in the imperative "Come here" given by Hébert (2011).

- **"Phatic ("Hello?")"**

Messages where the CONTACT factor is the strongest emit the Phatic function, which Jakobson (1960: 355) says is the function of either starting, continuing or ending communication. "Hello?" expresses this function in its purest form.

- **"Metalingual ("What do you mean by 'krill'?")"**

The Metalingual function is what Jakobson (1960) means is dependent on the CODE factor, meaning the usage of language in order to describe itself. He proceeds by writing that this function is fulfilled "whenever the ADDRESSER and/or the ADDRESSEE need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the CODE" meaning it "performs a Metalingual (i.e. glossing) function". The example provided by Hébert (2011) expresses this.

- **"Poetic ("Smurf")"**

Lastly, Jakobson (1960) explains the poetic function as being the "focus on the message for its own sake". Being oriented towards the MESSAGE factor. Or in other words as Wilkerson's (2000: 241) put it, "it is the art of communication rather than the act of communication that interests the writer". Hébert (2011) means that "Smurf" is an example of this. Another example of this function would be different kinds of slogans.

In continuation, Wilkerson's (2000: 239-241) apply the above described factors and functions in order to analyze *rubi*. They mean that *rubi* frequently performs a Metalingual function, due to the way it allows authors to communicate with the reader by "allowing the writer to confirm that the reader is using the same language or dialect", thus conforming the reader to comprehend the message/narrative exactly as set up by the author. In order to explain this they provide the following example:

(1) 煙管〔きせる〕　ENKAN〔kiseru〕　'a smoke pipe'/'(a tobacco) pipe' (from Cambodian khsier)

Being a loanword combining the *kanji*-compound *ENKAN* with the hiragana loanword *kiseru*. They note that this combination as a means of expressing loanwords was more common before the second world war (Wilkerson's, 2000: 237).In this case describing the word glossed with

rubi as containing a Referential function, "indicating the association between the linguistic sign, the Sino-Japanese compound 煙管, and what is signified, a tobacco pipe."

Their second example is one where the *rubi* according to them fulfills the Phatic function. The word *oshaberi* being a more colloquial word in contrast to the more formal word *KAIWA*.

(2) 　会話　　　　　KAIWA　　　　　　'a conversation'/'a chat'
_{おしゃべり} (oshaberi)

Here they write that the author is able to use *rubi* in order to perform a "channel-oriented Phatic function". Where the colloquially glossed word contributes to the "establishment and maintenance of communicative CONTACT". Thus allowing the authors work to emit a "feeling of intimacy and collusion" to the readers. They also propose that they have identified an Emotive function in the following example.

(3) 独り者　　　　HITORIMONO　　　'unmarried'/'single'
(シングル / shinguru)

Where they mean the usage of *HITORIMONO* together with the word *shinguru* written as *rubi*, "indirectly reveal a writers attitudes and feelings, and conception of desired identity", expressing the authors "view of the adult unmarried state". Lastly they also mention that they managed to identify the CONATIVE function, referring to the *rubi* having an orientation towards the ADDRESSEE factor (Wilkerson's, 2000:240).

While Wilkerson's analysis of these factors and functions is a good try at classifying the usages of *rubi* depending on Jakobsons schematics, they haven't made any attempts at categorizing these. However Lewis (2010) has in her research pursued just that. Categorizing what she refers to as "ateji" into five distinct, albeit somewhat overlapping categories, which we'll see in the next chapter.

3 Ateji

3.1 Introduction to Ateji

Previously a brief introduction to the Japanese interlinear gloss has been given, a brief overview of where it has been used and what usages it has had during the ages. Along with Wilkerson's research constituting that Jakobsons schematics can be used to analyze the functions of *rubi* as governed by six factors, having been able to identify at least five functions relating to the usage of these. The Referential, Metalingual, Phatic, Conative, and Poetical.

Before delving into the research presented by Lewis (2010), a few things need to be cleared up. In her work she refers to the poetical usage of *rubi* as "ateji", even though she explicitly mentions that this usage of the term is not entirely correct (pp. 30). After all the term *ateji* originally refers to the usage of *kanji* as a means of phonetically representing words without any regard for the meaning of the characters (Shirose, 2012). Thus keep in mind that what she refers to as "furigana" is what this thesis refers to as *rubi,* and what she refers to as "ateji" is what this thesis considers to be the poetical usage of *rubi*. Lewis (2010: 28) writes the following,

> "In particular, we see the use of *ateji*, the joining of two words into one through a reading gloss. Specifically, it is the pairing of *kanji* (Chinese characters) with *furigana* (a reading gloss located either above or beside its corresponding *kanji*) that has a different meaning. In *ateji*, the *kanji* represents the meaning or concept behind the word, while the *furigana* denotes how it is meant to be read. These *ateji* are employed in creative and strategic ways by *manga* writers to seamlessly add layers of meaning to the dialogue, furthering story and character development and creating deep and complex worlds within the stories."

As seen from the passage above, what Lewis refers to as *ateji* does not disregard the meaning of the *kanji* nor does it necessarily use *kanji* for their phonetic properties. However in contrast to this, the following two examples of "true" *ateji* provided by Wilkerson's (2000: 238) showcase the usage of *kanji* as a means of representing only the sound, while more or less disregarding the meaning of the *kanji*.

(4) 珈琲　　　/KÔHÎ/　　　'coffee'

(5) 論事矩　　ROJIKU　　　'logic' = 論 /RO(N)/'debate' + 事 /JI/'matter,affair' + 矩 /KU/ 'rule'

Thus, while authors' have referred to the phenomenon of poetical *rubi* by several terms: *ateji*; nonconventional usage; interlinear gloss; playful gloss etc. They are essentially referring to (or at least parts of) the same phenomenon in this case, referring - in a broad sense - to the poetical usage of *rubi*. Lewis (2010) research is based on a literature study conducted in 2009 by herself, examining many works of manga produced by the company known as CLAMP. Based on this study she was able to identify up to five separate categories, basing them on the "usage pattern" of *rubi*. Even if she has mostly examined combinations relating to *kanji*, her research could be seen as a first attempt at the categorization of poetical *rubi* as a whole. The categories as stated by Lewis (2010: 32) are

- Translative
- Denotive
- Contrastive
- Translative/Contrastive
- Abbreviative/Contrastive

Due to the fact that no other previous attempts at categorizing poetical *rubi* appear to have been conducted, this thesis will look at Lewis categories and attempt to interweave them with other research. However it is important to keep in mind that her work should not be seen as a conclusive categorization relating to every unique possibility of poetical usage. As Lewis (2010: 35) puts it in her chapter regarding the standardization of these categories. While the distinct usage of each separate *ateji* varies depending on the context of the work it appears in, due to the fact that all *ateji* examined in her study (2009) fall into one of the five categories accordingly means that "their usage is standardized and can therefore be analyzed in terms of wider trends", counting this as one of her most important findings. Therefore the categories should not be seen as a definitive reference for every instanced case of usage, but should rather be applied in a broader sense. She continues by stating that "the specific role can only be understood through analyzing the *ateji* in its immediate and broader contexts within the story". If the "specific role of *ateji*" is to be understood as the specific poetical function of the *rubi* in each instanced case, then this passage from Wilkerson's (2000: 257) complements Lewis statement perfectly.

> "Because the value of each linguistic element can only be determined relative to the whole structure, the extent to which a gloss fulfills a poetic function must be examined in a larger context. This should include the relationship between the subject matter of the sentence and its component words; the semantic interrelationships of words in the sentence including foregrounded and unforegrounded elements, as well as words with figurative and basic meaning. Only then will the effect of the subject matter on the words and that of the words on the subject matter be revealed"

3.2   Categories of poetical gloss

3.2.1   Translative category

Lewis (2010: 32) writes that "Translative *ateji* refer to *ateji* where the translation for the spoken word written in the *furigana* is provided in the *kanji*." Which authors' can use in order to provide translations for western terminology while at the same time also providing nuances of "foreignness" to their stories by "manipulating the different connotations of the English and Japanese words." She provides two examples taken from manga,

(6) 決闘者 ^{デュエリスト} KETTÔSHA *duerisuto*   'duelist'/'duelist'

(7) 恐怖の間 ^{テラールーム} KYÔFUNOAIDA *terârûmu*   'terror area'/'terror room'

In other words this refers to the function of *rubi* as the translative device mentioned previously. Providing foreign loanwords written in the *rubi*, while at the same time providing translation into Japanese in the *kanji*. What we see in examples (6-7) is essentially the reverse process of what Ezaki (2010: 193-194) describes. Writing that furigana as a means of providing translations owes its history to the efforts of Japanese authors' attempting to adapt *kanbun* 漢文 (Classical Chinese adapted to Japanese), mentioning that Japanese as a language (as cited from Kaganoi, 2005: 63-64) got to where it is today due to a strenuous process of translation, incorporating foreign words by adapting them into Japanese.

Ezaki (2010: 194) then provides three examples (as cited from Tsuchiya, 2006: 52-55.) showing this process in action,

(8) 逃亡せし ^{にげさる} TÔBÔ-SESHI *nigesaru*   'escape, flee, desert, decamp, elope'/'run away, getaway'

(9) 呆然とし ^{あきれ} BÔZEN-TOSHI *akire*   'in blank surprise, in dumb surprise'/'amazed, appalled, flabbergasted'

(10) 寂寞たる ^{さみしき} SEKIBAKU-TARU *samishiki*   'lonely, lonesome, dreary, desolate'/'lonely'

Here the original readings of the *kanji* have been ignored and substituted by the author, who instead opted to gloss the *kanji* with more familiar native words, a common practice at the time (Ezaki: 193-194). Whether the phenomenon showcased in (8-10) directly belongs to the Translative category is not entirely apparent, as it should be noted that the five categories are

initially conformed to contemporary practices. Though the examples look as if they could be incorporated into the contrastive category, as we'll see later.

Lewis (2010: 32) Translative category does relate to the usage of all foreign languages, even though authors' most of the time opt to use English loanwords. Probably due to the status that this language has come to have in modern Japan (Wilkerson's, 2000: 237). Ezaki (2010) provides a few examples of this from Natsume Sôsekis novel Sorekara (1909).

(11) 氷菓^{アイスクリームaisukurîmu} HYÔKA   lit. 'iced confectionary'/'Ice cream'

(12) 現像^{イルージョン irûjon} GENZÔ   lit. 'an illusive image"/'illusion'

According to Ezaki (2010) the author has here chosen to gloss the *kanji* with equivalent English loanwords written in *katakana*, effectively (despite differing in structure) achieving a similar effect as in examples (8-10). As a result providing insight into the protagonists "lifestyle and consciousness", portraying him as a trendy man during the Meiji-era, surrounding himself with western people and customs. This is similar to what Wilkerson's (2000: 245) write, that some authors' choose to gloss their dialogues with English expressions in order to "foreground local flavor" to the narrative, hence providing an authentic reading experience. Providing two examples from Ariyoshi Sawakos Hishoku (Not Because of Color, 1963-1964), a story set in New York following the main characters Emiko and Jackson.

(13) 大きな言葉^{ビッグワード bigguwâdo} ÔKINA-KOTOBA   'large-sized words'/'big word'

(14) 「心^{ハート hâto}です.」 KOKORO-DESU   '(It) is heart.'/'heart'

Wilkerson's continue by providing a dialogue, fully showing the power of the translative gloss. Showcasing the authors attempt at portraying a Brooklyn accent in contrast to the standard American accent. Quoted directly,

(15)　"Emiko:「<ruby>３３<rt>サーティスリ</rt></ruby>番地なのよ。」

'sâ ti suri'
'sanjûsan BANCHI nanoyo.'　'It's No.33'/'thirty three'

Passerby: '...................'

Emiko:「<ruby>３３<rt>スリスリ</rt></ruby>よ。<ruby>３が２つ<rt>ダブルスリ</rt></ruby>。」

suri　suri　　　　　　　　　　　three　three　double three
'san,san yo. san ga futatsu.'/' three, three; two threes.'

Passerby:「ああ<ruby>３３<rt>tôtîtô</rt></ruby>か。」　　'aa,sanjûsan ka'　　'Oh, you mean 33^{toety toe}'"

Lewis (2010: 32) writes about an interview with manga artist Kojima Eiyu on April 4, 2009, where he provides insight regarding his choice of title for his work,

(16) <ruby>英雄<rt>ヒーロー</rt></ruby>　<ruby>EIYÛ<rt>hîrô</rt></ruby>　　　　'hero'/'hero'

Here he used the English loanword *hîro* to provide a different undertone to the Japanese word *EIYÛ*, which implies a more serious meaning than that of the *hîrô*. Thus metaphorically achieving the implication that the main character is a person who strives to be a real hero, but gets "stuck at the comical level of the hîro" (Lewis, 2010: 32).

3.2.2　　Denotive category

Lewis (2010: 33) refers to the second category as "Denotive", with her definition being: "Denotive *ateji* refers to *ateji* in which a proper noun is given in the *kanji* while the pronoun actually spoken by the characters is given in the *furigana*." If we are to proceed from this definition, this category most likely relates to what Wilkerson's (2010: 245) have to say about the metonymical and synechdochal usage of *rubi*, providing the following two example in their work,

(17) <ruby>演奏<rt>バッハ</rt></ruby>　<ruby>ENSÔ<rt>bahha</rt></ruby>　　　　'performance'/'Bach'

(18) <ruby>税務署<rt>マルサ</rt></ruby>　<ruby>ZEIMUSHO<rt>marusa</rt></ruby>　　'taxation office'/'act of investigation'

According to them these two examples exhibit a metonymical relationship between the *kanji* and *rubi* in that the word *bahha* 'bach' stands for, or stands in reference to the *kanji ENSÔ*. Just as if you would say ("She was listening to Bach"), in other words the name Bach is used as reference for the performance where Bach's music was played. They proceed by saying they

managed to find examples of synechdoche as well, explaining the term as being the "substitution of the part for the whole", meaning that metonymy and synechdoche are closely related phenomenon both identified as functions of *rubi*, and could in fact, according to (Johnson & Lakoff, 2003) almost be considered the same thing, writing that synechdoche could be considered a "special case of metonymy". They then provide two examples showcasing English metonymy,

(19) 'He likes to read *Marquis de Sade*.' (= the writings of the marquis)

(20) 'The *Times* hasn't arrived at the press conference yet.' (= the reporter from the *Times*)

In the first example "*Marquis de sade"* is used as a reference to the works written by said person, and "The *Times"* referencing a reporter from the news magazine the Times.

Just as in (17-20) the Denotive category as told by Lewis (2010: 33) acts as a type of referential tool, giving the authors' the means to clarify personal relationships within a story. By substituting nouns in the *kanji* with words like " 'that,' 'he,' etc" the reader can in addition more easily put themselves into a story without having read it from the beginning. She provides an excerpt from chapter 157 of CLAMP's (2003) *xxxHOLiC*, showcasing this usage.

(21) "これで、ノート<ruby>パソコン<rt>アレ</rt></ruby>は出来ないわね ['There, now you can't use the laptop (that) anymore']"

Here the author has glossed the word 'laptop' with 'that', indicating that both partakers in the dialogue know what is being referred to, and the word ノートパソコン 'laptop' in turn helps the reader to make that same connection. Lewis (2010: 33) also writes that this usage serves as a way for authors' to specify certain roles of characters throughout the story, by glossing the same script with the same *rubi* every time in the story. Interesting to note is that we also see that the Denotive category is not limited to *kanji - rubi* combinations, but works across many combinations, as in example (21) the combination *katakana - katakana* is being used. This indicates that there exist further combinations than the initial 9 identified by Wilkerson's.

Whether the notion of metonymical usage warrants a category of its own or ought to be included into the Denotive category remains uncertain, however both specified usages being referential in nature at the very least puts them close together.

3.2.3   Contrastive category

This category is the "Contrastive" category, this is when two different Japanese words are combined in order to give rise to new nuances which neither of the words express by themselves. For example the word *KIOKU* 記憶 'memory' paired with *kokoro* こころ 'heart'. The meaning of these two words are different, however these contrast with each other and give birth to new meanings and nuances (Lewis, 2010).

(22) 記憶ᵏᵒᵏᵒʳᵒ   KIOKU   'memory'/'heart'

According to Lewis this category is unlike the Denotive category in that the words used are not referential in nature, but rather in this case the "similarities and differences" of these differing words permit authors' to "expand beyond pre-established words and their prescribed definitions." In other words permitting authors' to "signify a meaning" between these words, playing off on this shared meaning and expanding upon it. (Ariga, 1989: 326-327) provides a historical example showcasing the same, or at least similar usage, from chapter 74 of *Nansô Satomi Hakkenden*, a *yomihon* written by Takizawa Bakin, employing the *wakan konkôbun* style (e.g. both Chinese and Japanese writing). A work written during a time when many authors were opting to follow the *kokugaku* (nativist) school of thought, rejecting Chinese influences and instead choosing to employ *kanji*, exclusively, as a means of representing and expounding native Japanese, in other words the classical Japanese. According to Wilkerson's (2010: 235) this movement could be seen as a "reaction against the active promotion of Neo-Confucian and 'Chinese learning' by the Tokugawa shogunate". In this movement everything natively Japanese was being promoted to high standard, in attempts to revive the Japanese language which according to the scholars had become "corrupted" through foreign influences. Especially "Heian-style" writings came to be seen in high standard. Although authors at the time did not reject the usage of *kanji*, instead opting to gloss them with native Japanese equivalents. The following example is from Bakins *Nansô Satomi Hakkenden* (1927, 2: 160) as provided and transcribed by Ariga.

(23) "茶を看め(1)菓子を薦め(2)．．．主人可須本太郎は．．．酒杯を受とりてみづから小文吾に薦め(3)けり．．．又 更 めて、小文吾に羞めて(4)いふやう．．．"

"They offered (1) tea and server (2) sweets . . . Supotarô, the head of the house, himself picked up a cup and served (3) [sake] to Kobungo . . . again he offered (4) [sake and food] to Kobungo and said. . . ."

Here according to Ariga (1989: 327) Bakin has, while doing his best at avoiding the Chinese on-readings, still tried to employ as many *kanji* as he could in order to "obtain maximum

atmospheric effect" in his work. In this particular excerpt one of the main characters, Inuta Kobungo has been invited over to the bull owner Supotarôs house for the night. The many *kanji* in this passage have been glossed with the same native Japanese word *susumeru*, but due to the different connotations provided by the differing *kanji*, it could be read as the following:

> "'They offered him tea in welcome, and then urged him to have sweets. . . . Then Supotarô, the head of the house, himself picked up a cup . . . and again and again offered sake to Kobungo . . . he then begged Kobungo to have some more food and drink, and said. . . .'"

Ariga provides a full explanation of all the different nuances of these words in her work.

(24) 乾浄舎 (はなれざしき / hanarezashiki) KENJÔSHA 'a clean, neat room'/'a detached room'

In (24) the word *hanarezashiki* 'a detached room' provides a colloquial undertone in contrast to the more formal, hard-sounding *KENJÔSHA* 'a clean, neat room'. Many more such examples can be found throughout Bakins work, fully showcasing the power of *rubi* in creating "rich polysemic interplay of literary context". By combining more colloquial words in the *rubi*, with the more precise definitions and meanings portrayed by the *kanji* (Ariga, 1989: 328).

Ezaki (2010: 190) provides us with another example, in line with what Lewis mentions. Showcasing a *kanji - hiragana* combination (as cited from Tanabe 2002: 147).

(25)　陽気で話好きたらしい、いい紳士（おじさん）であった。
　　　"He was a nice <u>guy</u>, quite cheerful, and a chatterbox."

Here according to Ezaki, the author has by applying the word *ojisan* おじさん 'middle-aged man' to the *kanji* compound *shinshi* 紳士'gentleman', achieved to portray the man in the story as a middle-aged man who demonstrates traits to that of a "gentleman". She continues by writing that this example also shows an incompatibility between the words *shinshi* and the adjective *ii* いい 'good/nice', in that both words exhibit the shared connotation of the meaning "good", thus inducing a feeling of "awkwardness" to the reader. What Ezaki has described here is similar to Wilkerson's (2000: 236) example, also showcasing a type of incompatibility.

(26) 凝視（みつ）めた　　GYÔSHI-META　　n.'steady gaze'/v. 'stare'

They write that the inflection *META* めた is supposed to follow the *rubi*, and thus should not be read as *GYÔSHI-META*. Indicating that the author intended for the glossed word to be read

as *mitsumeta* while the *kanji GYÔSHI* 凝視 was added for "stylistic purposes" as the ending *META* together with *GYÔSHI* are inherently incompatible with each other.

3.2.4   Translative/Contrastive category

The Translative/Contrastive category is essentially the combining of the first (Translative) and third (Contrastive) category. Meaning the words used in the *rubi* are of foreign descent, but do not exhibit a one-to-one correspondence with the word being glossed. Lewis (2010: 34) gives the following definition,

> "Translative/Contrastive *ateji* refers to *kanji* paired with an English (or other foreign language) reading that is obviously meant to contrast with the Japanese word written in *kanji* rather than simply act as translation"

She continues by explaining that this category allows for "both the sense of foreignness, unfamiliarity, and alienation in the text inherent in Translative *ateji*, as well as the tension between the two words provided by Contrastive ateji."

However, due to the fact that both the Translative category and Translative/Contrastive category exhibit nuances in many similar ways, it is hard to determine where the line between the two should be drawn. For example Wilkerson's (2000: 248-249) provide many examples of usage possibly adhering to either category in their work,

(27) ひとりもの シングル   shinguru
HITORIMONO   'unmarried'/'single'

(28) 劣等感 コンプレックス   konpurekkuṣu
RETTÔKAN   'a feeling of inferiority'/'[inferiority] complex'

(29) 禁忌 タブー   tabû
KINKI   'forbidden'/'taboo'

(30) 偽物 ジャンク   janku
NISEMONO   'fake'/'junk'

Regarding these, the obvious thing to note is that example (27), (28) and (29) at first glance look like they should belong to the Translative category. On the other hand, (30) has been glossed by an obviously contrasting word 'junk' instead of 'fake'. Two, in actuality very distinct words. Though according to Wilkerson's (2000: 248-249) all of these examples demonstrate a similar type of function, namely the usage of *rubi* as a means to "de-emphasize undesirable behavioral patterns". This owes to the fact that loanwords in almost all cases carry nuances that are inherently different to the already established native Japanese ones. This allows for *rubi* using loanwords to sometimes "effectively foreground positive aspects and

background negative aspects of the referent". They explain this by showing the following example,

(31) いい女 〔グッドウーマン〕　II ONNA 〔guddo ûman〕　　'good woman'/'good woman'

Here the glossing *guddo ûman* bears a much more neutral nuance than that of the Japanese equivalent. Thus de-emphasizing the negative aspects that *II ONNA* connotes, while strengthening the positive connotations that the English loan has. According to Wilkerson's (2000: 248) the expression *II ONNA* has been tarnished by sexist usage, but in this case the glossing "forces a reevaluation" of the word, thus in effect returning the original meaning to the word. In the same sense Wilkerson's mean that examples (27-30) exhibit the same function, effectively de-emphasizing the negative connotations of the native Japanese words by means of highlighting the more positive meanings of the loanwords. All of examples (27-30) clearly exhibit characteristics both adhering to the Translative category, as well as the Contrastive category. However if we are to follow Lewis definitions then only ex (30) should adhere to the Translative/Contrastive category, due to it being the only one that shows a distinct meaning between the two words similar to that of her own two examples,

(32) 暗号 〔スペル〕　ANGÔ 〔superu〕　　'code'/'spell'

(33) 認識票 〔コード〕　NINSHIKIHYÔ 〔kôdo〕　　'ID graph'/'code'

This problem in deciding what category most of these examples should adhere to could be related to what Lewis (2010: 35) was mentioning earlier, that each *ateji* must be analyzed in their separate contexts.

3.2.5　Abbreviative/Contrastive usage

The Abbreviative/Contrastive category refers to the usage of *romaji* as a means of abbreviating longer words (often terminology) that are too awkward to keep repeating all the time in the story (Lewis, 2010: 34). Just as in the following example provided by her,

(34) ＧＫ 〔ゴールキーパー〕　GK 〔gôrukîpâ〕　　'GK'/'goalkeeper'

Here the abbreviation GK written in *romaji* has been glossed by the English loan *gôrukîpâ*. While she doesn't have a whole lot to say about this category, Lewis (2010:35) does mention that out of all the categories she found, this one saw overall least usage in manga. However it did see large usage in manga pertaining to sports, most likely due to these containing high amounts of cumbersome terminology. She continues by saying that this category lessens the

burden on the reader, thus simplifying the reading process. She doesn't go deeply into the Contrastive usage of this category, however Wilkerson's (2000: 252-254) writes about this phenomenon in deeper details, mentioning that this style of using *romaji* is often seen in advertising as a type of word play, where the combining of different scripts is done in order to foreground "esthetic values". These magazines (often aimed at young readers) use English words for the sense of modernity associated with this language, together with different scripts to create a "visual effect" appealing to the reader. They provide the following examples,

(35) ワンピース wan pîsu
       OP   OP   'one piece'

(36) ウエスト uesuto
       W   W   'waist'

(37) スカート sukâto
       SK   SK   'skirt'

4 Own research

4.1 Lead-in

So we have now looked at five categories of *rubi* usage, some history regarding the poetical usage of it as well as some of the functions that this permits. But how do people perceive this phenomenon in contemporary Japan? As we have seen the five categories can be quite diffuse, and sometimes even overlapping with each other. Some researchers mean that the poetical usage of *rubi* is more prominent within certain literary media, genres, etc, than others, and have provided their own interpretations of these nuances based on their respective literature studies. However none of the conducted studies have tried to answer the question of how a broader amount of ordinary native Japanese people think and feel regarding this phenomenon. For that reason there seems to be a lot of missing data regarding exactly how a wider audience of readers both experience, interpret and think surrounding the poetical usage of *rubi*.

4.2 Objective and method

The objective of this survey is to acquire insight into what native Japanese speakers think regarding the poetical usage of *rubi*, as well as to gain insight into what nuances, feelings and implications that this phenomenon convey. In order to do this, a questionnaire study has been conducted. In this study the informants have been asked a total of 33 questions separated into five categories of *rubi* usage, each category containing the exact same set of questions. The informants have both been asked freeform questions and closed questions. At the beginning of each category the informants have been asked to give their perceived nuances and feelings regarding three example sentences relating to that category, all created with the help of native Japanese informants. Afterwards five additional questions have been asked regarding where the informants might have experienced this perceived usage, in what media, if they have used it themselves, how often etc. Generic questions regarding age, hometown and gender have also been asked. All of the categories were adapted from Lewis (2010) work. These were chosen due to the fact that no other categorizations have previously been made, and for the fact that these are broad and inclusive enough for the purpose of this survey. Gaining as broad an understanding as possible over the different styles of poetical *rubi*.

For each of the five categories (Translative, Denotive, Contrastive, Translative/Contrastive, Abbreviative/Contrastive) the informants have been asked to give their impression (受ける印象) of the three example sentences, first shown without and then with *rubi* attached. Subsequently they were asked a three choice question of whether they have experienced that type of category before, or whether they have ever used it themselves. In the case that they

have, a follow up multi-choice question inquiring into what media they have experienced it in, has been asked. After that a freeform question "under what circumstances is this category suitable?" has been asked. Then they were asked on a scale from one to five, to what degree they encounter the category in question. Lastly a final freeform question inquiring into the informants own opinions surrounding the category.

4.3 Material and limitations

The questionnaire was conducted from the 7th of April to the 22nd of April, during which period the questionnaire was open to the public through a Facebook profile. A total of 52 informants answered during this time. Five informants were between the ages of 15-20, 38 informants were between 21-25, four informants between 26-30, one informant between 31-35, one between 36-40 and three above 41 years of age. The reason why so many young people answered the questionnaire was most likely due to the usage of Facebook as a means of acquiring the data, due to the fact that most informants who had access to the questionnaire were young people. 27 of the informants were male, while 25 were female. People from all over Japan answered, with a small bias towards speakers from the Kinki, Chubu and Hokkaido regions.

All the example sentences provided in the questionnaire were manually created based on the writers understanding of the five categories. Due to the possibility that the results might have been different if a more naturally occurring context was present, this study is not meant to be anything more than a scratch at the surface of this phenomenon. Also, due to the open ended nature of the questions, a lot of very different answers could be gathered. Though while it would have been better to include the specific numbers of informants who answered what, unfortunately this could not be done due to the challenges met while analyzing the answers. The presentation of the results nonetheless aims at providing an overview over all the relevant answers gathered, taking into account (to the best extent of the author) the proportions as well.

5 Study Results

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the findings of each category will be reviewed in the following order, Translative, Denotive, Contrastive, Translative/Contrastive, Abbreviative/Contrastive. The outline of each category will be the same and will be reviewed in the same order as told in the previous chapter. Which means that three example sentences will be reviewed at the beginning of each category, continuing on with the rest of the data, including quantitative and qualitative such.

All of the example sentences and answers have been translated into English by the writer of this thesis. Text representing the transcriptions have been written in Italic Roman characters. The meaning of the word in the *rubi* has been written in bold and put within brackets in order to highlight the attached *rubi*. Also it is important to keep in mind that some of the sentences could have different translations depending on how you interpret the attached *rubi* and context.

5.2　Category 1 (Translative)

Example (A).

私はあの歌手が好きだ

私はあの <ruby>歌手<rt>シンガー</rt></ruby> が好きだ

Watashi wa ano kashu ga suki da

*Watashi wa ano kashu (**shingâ**) ga suki da*

I like that singer

I like that singer **(singer)**

For example (A), a lot of different answers were given. A lot of people who think it makes the speaker (or sentence) sound cool, with some of them adding that it confers a feeling of modernity. One informant mentions that the sentence probably portrays a young person. Then we have many informants saying that writing in this way portrays the person uttering the sentence as someone who is trying too hard to sound cool in order to fit in. Some informants go even further by saying that the author himself is trying to sound more sophisticated by attaching this *rubi*. Many others bring up that this way of talking gives the sentence a western feel to it, which implies that the singer in question is someone who concerns themselves with western types of music such as pop or rock, and not necessarily traditional Japanese styles of music such as *Enka*. As a follow up to that, one answer points out that the word *kashu* could imply any type of music genre, while adding that the *rubi shingâ* in fact limits this inclusiveness down to only include western styles of music. Then there's one informant who writes that the person uttering this sentence either likes traditional Japanese music, or western music depending on the *rubi*. Another informant points out that either the singer or the speaker might be of foreign descent. Lastly some informants say that writing in this way does not change their impression at all.

Example (B).

英雄とは正義を為すもの

<ruby>英雄<rt>ヒーロー</rt></ruby> とは正義を為すもの

Eiyû to wa seigi o nasu mono

*Eiyû (**hîro**) to wa seigi o nasu mono*

A hero is one who carries out justice

A hero **(hero)** is one who carries out justice

Just as in Example (A), some informants say that adding the word *hîrô* gives the sentence a more modern nuance. Then we have a lot of the informants mentioning that the word *eiyû*

connotes the feeling of a superman type of character, while the word *eiyû* gives the feeling of a person who lived in history. Perhaps a Samurai, one informant points out. A number of informants also point out that the word *eiyû* in this case connotes that the person in question is a public figure doing things out of necessity, while the word *hîro* connotes the feeling that the person is doing something out of self-interest. Others say that the word *hîrô* emphasizes and strengthens the nuances of the word *eiyû*. There are also some informants who add that the word *hîrô* sounds cooler, and some who add that the word promotes a feeling of informality. In addition many informants here, just as in Example (A), mention that they don't feel any noticeable differences from attaching the *rubi*. Finally one person actually mentions that this way of writing sounds poetic.

Example (C).

<div align="center">

技術の向上を図る

技術の向上を図る<ruby>スキル</ruby>

Gijutsu no kôjô o hakaru

*Gijutsu (**sukiru**) no kôjô o hakaru*

Work towards bettering one's techniques

Work towards bettering one's techniques **(skills)**

</div>

The answers given for this example were more in uniform with each other. A large amount of informants seem to agree that while writing in this way does not feel weird at all, it does not change the meaning of the sentence in any particular way. However some informants reluctantly say that it feels as if attaching *sukiru* takes into account a higher number of skills, incorporating more fields than either word would alone. One informant mentions that while the nuances of the two sentences are almost exactly the same, the latter sentence gives the feeling that this has to do with skills of more modern nature, somewhat excluding those relating to more traditional things. This seems similar to what two other informants have to say. That the word *gijutsu* connotes skills more related to hard sciences such as engineering, while the word *sukiru* connotes a feeling of softer skills such as those relating to language learning and other humanities. Then we have a few informants who mention that the latter sentence implies striving towards bettering one's innate talents and not just one's mechanical skills. Other than that, informants give similar answers as for the two previous examples, that the *rubi* conveys a feeling of modernity, and lastly some write that it conveys a cooler and more colloquial impression to the sentence.

In this table results from question 5 are presented.

Have you seen this usage before?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**48**	**92.3%**
No	**3**	**5.8%**
Don't know	**1**	**1.9%**
Have you ever used it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**13**	**26%**
No	**33**	**66%**
Don't know	**4**	**8%**

When it comes to the statistical data for the Translative category, all of the 52 informants answered the first part of question five, with a majority, 92.3% of the informants saying that they have seen this kind of usage before. 26% of 50 responses say that they have used this category themselves.

Out of all the types of media that they think they have seen or used it in, a clear bias can be seen. 75% of 48 informants saying they have experienced it in manga, with 66.7% having seen or used it in novels. It seems like a moderate number of 52.1% think they have seen or used it in song lyrics, while 45.8% have in television programs and advertisement. 31.3% in computer games, 27.1% in movies and 25% in newspapers. Specialized books, blogs and social networking services fall short with 16.7%, 14.6% and 12.5% respectively. Lastly one informant has seen it being used elsewhere.

When asked in what circumstances they think this category is most suitably used, many different answers were given. However in accordance with the answers acquired from question 6, many of the informants think that using *rubi* in this way is most suitable in entertainment, in most cases mentioning manga and novels, with one person stressing that it should actually never be used for anything other than works of fiction. One of the informants mentions that you should use it when you for example need to express certain characters special abilities in manga. Also amongst other things, song lyrics, music and advertisement are often mentioned, for example when you want to catch the reader's attention or need something to sound catchy.

Another informant says that this should be used when you want to be absolutely sure that the reader understands the feelings and intentions you want to convey. Similar to what two other answers point out. That it should be used when you need to combine certain nuances which are present separately in the *rubi* and the *kanji*. However in opposition to this, some of the

informants also mention that there is no particular use in writing this way due to the meaning of the words being so similar. Another common answer is that this should be used when you need to change an otherwise formal setting into an informal one, while some emphasize that the opposite is also true. That one should not use this when you actually need to convey a formal atmosphere. Finally, one of the answers point out that you can use this in order to portray conversations in a more realistic light, for example by indicating certain dialects.

In this table the results from question 6 are presented.

If you have ever seen or used this yourself, in what media was it?	Total number	Percentage
Newspaper	12	25%
Novels	32	66.7%
Specialized books	8	16.7%
Advertisement	22	45.8%
Song lyrics	25	52.1%
Television programs	22	45.8%
Manga	36	75%
Computer games	15	31.3%
Blogs	6	12.5%
Movies	13	27.1%
(SNS)Social networking services	7	14.6%
Other	1	2.1%

In this table results from question 8 are presented

To what degree do you encounter this usage?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	3	5.9%
Often	10	19.6%
Sometimes	24	47.1%
Seldom	11	21.6%
Never	3	5.9%
To what degree do you use it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	3	5.9%
Often	1	2%
Sometimes	6	11.8%
Seldom	14	27.5%
Never	27	52.9

When it comes to the question relating to what degree the informants have encountered this category in daily life. The majority of informants, 47.1% answer that they only encounter it sometimes. After that, both sides of the spectrum are equally represented, with 19.6% saying they see it often, and 5.9% saying they see it all the time. 21.6% saying they seldom see it, and lastly 5.9% saying they never see it.

When it comes to the degree as to which they themselves use it, a quite different picture appears. Just 5.9% say they use it all the time, while 2% use it often. Only 11.8% use it sometimes, while 27.5% and 52.9% respectively use it seldom or not at all.

When asked about how the informants think regarding the usage of this category in a more general sense, there seem to be many differing views. While many of the informants do agree that this is a completely acceptable tool to use when you want to convey and emphasize certain feelings, many of them seem to be against the usage of it in all other cases. With some emphasizing that it feels uncomfortable and weird in daily usage. On the other hand quite a few informants praise it as proof of the Japanese language's flexibility and ingenuity, with some adding that it does not give them any bad feelings at all. There was even one informant who went as far as saying that it feels extremely comfortable and refreshing to see it. However other informants were not as positive, including one informant saying that it feels like the only thing accomplished by using it is a reduction in the amount of *kanji* used, with another two informants outright insulting people who use it as sounding arrogant. One informant worries that this usage furthers the diversification of the language, saying that this category might make words lose their original meaning.

In general though, a lot of neutral feelings regarding its usage, with some informants meaning it all depends on the sense of the one using it, saying it can be acceptable at times but unacceptable at others. Then we have several informants who mean that it is not correct Japanese, but may still be acceptable to use under certain circumstances. Another informant mentions that usage like this has the potential to make the reading process both easier and harder to understand, with yet another informant saying outright that it does indeed get harder to process the sentences. Finally one informant points out that it feels like something young people or reformists would use.

5.3　Category 2 (Denotive)

Example (A).

これで、ノートパソコンはできないわね

これで、ノート<ruby>パソコン<rt>アレ</rt></ruby>はできないわね

Kore de, nôtopasokon wa dekinai wa ne
*Kore de, nôtopasokon **(are)** wa dekinai wa ne*
There, now (you) can't use the laptop anymore.
There, now (you) can't use the laptop **(that)** anymore.

The answers to this sentence were overwhelmingly negative, with a majority saying that they were unable to understand it at all, mentioning that it makes no sense. Many others point out that it might be due to missing context. In fact no answers relating to perceived nuances could be gathered except for a single informant who feels that it emphasizes (brings forward) information, or a topic which might be common sense between two people, but which is not necessarily so for the reader.

Example (B).

あれは僕のパソコンだ

あれは僕の<ruby>パソコン<rt>カノジョ</rt></ruby>だ

Are wa boku no pasokon da
*Are wa boku no pasokon **(kanojo)** da*
That is my computer
That is my computer **(girlfriend)**

Most answers to this sentence were straightforward, with many informants saying that it feels like the person uttering the sentence has an immense likeness for its computer, probably being an *otaku* (nerd) or computer geek. Informants also mention that the *rubi* adds a funny touch to the sentence, with a few informant pointing out that the speaker is joking. Then, just as was common amongst the Translative category some informants here point out that this *rubi* makes the sentence sound a bit more casual and light-hearted. Other than that, one informant says that it feels as if the speaker is talking about an ordinary computer in the former sentence, while in the latter it feels as if the speaker is probably an *otaku* who instead has an unnatural obsession with his/her computer. Finally one answer brings up that because both sentence (A) and (B) involve talking about a computer, it is possible to speculate that both sentences could in fact be referring to the same computer.

Example (C).

お土産をどうぞ受け取ってください

お土産をどうぞ受け取ってください

Omiyage o dôzo uketottekudasai
Omiyage (kore) o dôzo uketottekudasai
Please receive a gift
Please receive a gift **(this)**

In relation to this example, some of the informants liken this usage to Example (A). In particular one informant points out that just as in Example (A) this *rubi* emphasizes something which is common sense for the people within the story, but not necessarily is so for the reader. However, most consistently informants mention that writing in this way adds a feeling of informality, with two informants even saying that it feels like the person in question is being rude. Further, in relation to this another two say that it conveys the feeling that the speaker is being less serious in his/her action. Informants also seem to agree that attaching the *rubi* somewhat degrades the value of the gift, including two informant who mention that saying *kore* in this case connotes that the gift being given is something of a more atypical nature, probably a more generic item of sorts. Other than that we have three informants who mention that this connotes that the person in question is trying to bribe someone, with one of them adding that this could be a historical drama involving corrupt governors in the Edo-period. Lastly one of the informants bring up that the reader might be intended to hear it from the perspective of the person receiving the gift.

In this table results from question 11 are presented.

Have you seen this usage before?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**34**	**65.4%**
No	**14**	**26.9%**
Don't know	**4**	**7.7%**
Have you ever used it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**5**	**9.6%**
No	**43**	**82.7%**
Don't know	**4**	**7.7%**

As for the statistics of whether they have seen this usage before, all 52 of the informants answered question 11. With 65.4% saying they have seen it before, 26.9% not having seen it, and lastly 7.7% who are uncertain. When asked if they have ever used it themselves, the vast

majority being 82.7% said that they have not used it themselves, while 9.6% said they have, and yet again 7.7% who do not know.

Then for question 12 we see similar tendencies as the Translative category. With the majority of informants(70.6%) saying they have experienced seeing or using it in novels, with manga coming at a close second with 64.7%. Then we see song lyrics with 35.3% and television programs with 29.4%. Closely following that, 23.5% of the informants mention they have seen or used it in computer games, with both advertisement and movies coming next with 14.7% . After that we have blogs with 14.7%, newspapers with 11.8%, and then both specialized books and social networking services with 8.8%. Finally we have a single informant who has seen or used it elsewhere.

As with the Translative category, the majority of informants seem to agree that the Denotive category is most suitably used in literary works such as manga and novels, with a few mentioning it being suitable in specialized books, light novels and social networking services. Once again one of the informants mention that is should only be used in works of fiction. However, there were also a few who said that this usage is never suitable. Then at last we have one informant mentioning that it can be used anywhere as long as you are not writing formal documents.

Other than that, some informants point out that you should use this when you need to emphasize certain points, portray intimate relationships in conversations or point out things that are common sense within the work to the reader. For example one informant mentions that it can be used in order to make conversations feel more realistic. Another informant mentions that it can be used in order to showcase an items special status. Lastly one informant states that it should only be used when you feel absolutely required to emphasize something, adding that this usage might otherwise break the readers concentration. Lastly it can also according to two informants be used as a means to specify more colloquial connotations to the *kanji*, while one informant adds that it can be very effective in expressing situations whereby the colloquial expression is not enough by itself.

In this table the results from question 12 are presented.

If you have ever seen or used this yourself, in what media was it?	Total number	Percentage
Newspaper	4	11.8%
Novels	24	70.6%
Specialized books	3	8.8%
Advertisement	6	17.6%
Song lyrics	12	35.3%
Television programs	10	29.4%
Manga	22	64.7%
Computer games	8	23.5%
Blogs	5	14.7%
Movies	6	17.6%
(SNS)Social networking services	3	8.8%
Other	1	2.9%

In this table results from question 14 are presented

To what degree do you encounter this usage?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	4	7.7%
Often	5	9.6%
Sometimes	19	36.5%
Seldom	9	17.3%
Never	15	28.8%
To what degree do you use it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	2	3.8%
Often	0	0%
Sometimes	4	7.7%
Seldom	10	19.2%
Never	36	69.2%

When it comes to how often the informants encounter the usage researched here, out of all the 52 responses 36.5% say they sometimes encounter it while 28.8% say they never do. 17.3% of them say they seldom encounter it, while 9.6% and 7.7% informants respectively say they encounter it often or all the time. However when it comes to being asked how often they themselves use it, 69.2% answer that they never use it, with 19.2% using it seldom. 7.7% use it sometimes while only 3.8% use it all the time.

when asked what they think and feel regarding usages relating to the Denotive category, we once again see many differing opinions. Many informants are saying that this usage is acceptable as long as it is used within works such as manga or novels, with some informants saying that they perceive no bad feelings from seeing it. Continuing on from that, many informants mention that it actually depends on the sense of the person using it. It has the potential to be either good or bad. However most of the informants were outright negative to its usage, saying it feels unnatural or weird to them. Some of these even go as far as saying they find the usage repulsive. Another two informants also point out that it feels weird to see *katakana* being used in the *rubi*, disliking this style of writing.

Others point out that it might make the reading process harsher and more painful if it is used too often. While quite a few other informants mean that it in fact makes the reading process easier, with a few informants saying that this usage helps in making situations easier to imagine. Then we have one informant who says that because it is possible to convey a lot of information within a small space, it feels like this category would excel within manga and advertisement where space to write on is a crucial factor. However, due to the atypical nature of this usage, while younger people below their thirties might be able to understand it, it might be unsuitable for usage in mass media trying to target a majority of older generations. Finally there are a few informants who bring up that Example (A) and (C) both feel like they are different from Example (B).

5.4　　Category 3 (Contrastive)

Example (A).

<div style="text-align:center">

試験に合格したらお菓子がもらえる

試験に合格したらお菓子が<ruby>もらえる<rt>ごほうび</rt></ruby>

Shiken ni gôkakushitara okashi ga moraeru
*Shiken ni gôkakushitara okashi (**gohôbi**) ga moraeru*
If the exam is passed (you) will receive candy
If the exam is passed (you) will receive candy (**reward**)

</div>

For this example the answers were quite uniform. With most of the answers in some way pointing out that the *rubi* indicates that the speaker thinks of candy as a reward or vice versa, meaning the *rubi* connotes that the reward in question has to do with candy. Some informants add that attaching *gohôbi* as *rubi* adds a feeling of fun and enjoyment to the sentence. Then we have some who point out that this *rubi* specifies that either the speaker or listener always associates the word *gohôbi* with candy, with a few other informant saying that the candy is probably special in some way. They also bring up that saying this adds a childish touch to the

conversation, with either both or one person in the conversation being a child, probably being happy with the thought of receiving candy. Quite a few of the informants also mention that writing in this way makes it easier to grasp the emotions involved in the scene. Finally, one informant points out that it feels like the person associating the two words is probably stoked up about it.

Example (B).

> 昨日知人と会話した
>
> 昨日知人と 会話 した<ruby>会話<rt>おしゃべり</rt></ruby>
>
> *Kinô chijin to kaiwashita*
> *Kinô chijin to kaiwa (**oshaberi**)shita*
> Yesterday (I) conversed with an acquaintance
> Yesterday (I) conversed **(chatted)** with an acquaintance

Similar to Example (A), the overall nuances gathered were quite uniform. Many of them agree that attaching the *rubi oshaberi* adds an informal feeling to the sentence, with some pointing out that they feel like the person in questions just had a regular friendly or fun conversation. Not a very serious conversation, idle chat etc. One informant points out that the *rubi* implies that the speaker might be a young person. Another mentions that the added *rubi* implies that the acquaintance isn't just that, but is actually a good friend. Then we have one who mentions that it becomes easier to imagine the conversation. Other than that, many of the people are saying that they don't feel it adds anything to the sentence, with a few mentioning that it feels unnatural. Lastly many point out that it would feel the same as if you just wrote *oshaberi* and skipped the *rubi* altogether.

Example (C).

> これは、彼氏にもらったアクセサリー
>
> これは、彼氏にもらったアクセサリー<rt>たからもの</rt>
>
> *Kore wa, kareshi ni moratta akusaserî*
> *Kore wa, kareshi ni moratta akusaserî (**takaramono**)*
> This is an accessory I received from my boyfriend
> This is an accessory **(treasure)** I received from my boyfriend

For Example (C), one informant says that the word *takaramono* emphasizes the importance of the *akusaserî*, with many informants meaning it feels like the accessory has a special meaning for the speaker. That the speakers emotions are portrayed. Informants also point out that the nuances of the word *akusaserî* are conveyed. Also, one informant brings up that it sounds

poetic. Other than that, two informants mention that the person uttering the sentence feels as if she is being full of herself, being someone who is living a happy life. Finally one informant points out that it feels uncomfortable to see *rubi* attached to *katakana*.

In this table results from question 17 are presented.

Have you seen this usage before?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**36**	**73.5%**
No	**8**	**16.3%**
Don't know	**5**	**10.2%**
Have you ever used it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**8**	**16.3%**
No	**37**	**75.5%**
Don't know	**4**	**8.2%**

Then when asked how many have seen this usage, out of 49 responses 73.5% answer that they have, with 16.3% saying they have not. 10.2% do not know. However only 16.3% say they have used it themselves, with 75.5% not having done so, while 8.2% of informants answer that they don't know.

The question of what media they have seen it in yet again looks quite similar to previous categories. With 80.5% of 41 informants mentioning having seen it in novels, then manga on second place with 70.7%. Song lyrics on a third with 56.1% of informants having seen it. After that comes advertisement and television programs with 26.8% each, with movies on 22%. Newspapers get 17.1%, blogs get 12.2%, computer games 9.8% and social networking services get 7.3%. Finally 2.4% seem to have seen it in specialized books.

When asked the question of where they think the showcased usage is most suitable. Many of the informants mention that novels and manga are suitable works to use this. With quite a few of them saying that you can use it when you are writing works of fiction and you are trying to tell a story, or in other lighter types of writing, one mentioning poems. Although absolutely never in official documents or within works where information needs to be as precise as possible, informants add. Although it might be suitable in advertisement due to the amount of information you can deliver. Other than that, informants mention it is suitable for song lyrics, a single informant also mentions social networking services. Not a lot of the answers were negative, with only three of the informants saying they do not think it is ever suitable.

When it comes to the usage itself. Many of the informants seem to agree that it is suitably used when you need to emphasize something, with one informant saying you can actually use it

when you need to add a touch of realism to something. Also when you want to express something which the *kanji* cannot do by itself. Or when you want to add certain nuances to words. Two informant points out that you can use it when you need to portray an objective reality in addition to the speakers own perceived, subjective reality. Then we have a few informants who also mention that you can use it to express what a person feels regarding something. Finally we have two informants who think that this usage is better suited for nouns than verbs.

In this table the results from question 18 are presented.

If you have ever seen or used this yourself, in what media was it?	Total number	Percentage
Newspaper	7	17.1%
Novels	33	80.5%
Specialized books	1	2.4%
Advertisement	11	26.8%
Song lyrics	23	56.1%
Television programs	11	26.8%
Manga	29	70.7%
Computer games	4	9.8%
Blogs	5	12.2%
Movies	9	22%
(SNS)Social networking services	3	7.3%
Other	0	0%

In this table results from question 20 are presented

To what degree do you encounter this usage?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	2	4.1%
Often	7	14.3%
Sometimes	22	44.9%
Seldom	12	24.5%
Never	6	12.2%
To what degree do you use it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	2	4.1%
Often	1	2%
Sometimes	4	8.2%
Seldom	12	24.5%
Never	30	61.2%

When asked to what degree they encounter this usage. Out of 49 answers 44.9% answer that they encounter it sometimes. 24.5% say seldom, with 12.2% saying they never encounter it. 14.3% mention that they often see it, while only 4.1% say they see it all the time. When it comes to having used it themselves, 8.2% say they use it sometimes, with 24.5% saying they seldom use it. 61.2% never use it, while 2% and 4.1% use it often and all the time respectively.

As for the last question relating to the Contrastive category, many informants say that it is fine as long as it is kept within media such as manga, novels and song lyrics. Then we have many answering that it feels like something is being emphasized, with some adding that it makes it easier to imagine the feelings and atmosphere behind the message. Informants also point out that it allows one to condense a lot of information into one word, with one informant meaning you can strengthen nuances from one word and attach them to the other. In essence allowing authors' a wider amount of expressions, which most informants think is a good thing. Some Informants even go so far as praising the flexibility of the language. With some others calling the usage "lovely" and "gentle". Then finally one informant calls the usage poetic, adding that it allows a writer to portray a feeling of romanticism over conversations.

On the other hand we once again have quite a few informants who think that this usage is unnecessary, and in fact only bothers the reading process. With some pointing out that it feels verbose and sluggish. Another informant clearly states his/her dislike for it. Saying that you should just use the words in the *rubi* and skip the *kanji* all together. Finally one informant questions the usage, saying that there is no point in adding *furigana* to words that are already so easy to read.

Other than that many of the answers say it feels weird and uncomfortable from a Japanese point of view, with some who say it is interesting but does feel a little bit weird etc. One informant mentions that this seems like something the voice actress and singer Mizuki Nana would apply in her song lyrics.

5.5 Category 4 (Translative/Contrastive)

Example (A).

この家具は偽物にしか見えない

この家具は<ruby>偽物<rt>ジャンク</rt></ruby>にしか見えない　　　※ジャンク＝がらくた

Kono kagu wa nisemono ni shika mienai
*Kono kagu wa nisemono (**janku**) ni shika mienai*
This furniture looks nothing but fake
This furniture looks nothing but fake **(junk)**

For the first example relating to the Translative/Contrastive category, many of the answers gathered mention that the meaning feels different when you attach the *rubi*. With some saying that it emphasizes something. Informants also point out that the *rubi* makes it certain that the furniture is indeed crap. Meaning the value of the furniture gets emphasized by the *rubi*. Amongst other nuances mentioned were, a modern feeling, a mysterious feeling, foreign feeling, business feeling and also a feeling of uniqueness due to the *rubi*. Then we have one informant who mentions that writing in this way does not change the level of informality or intimacy of the sentence. Other than that we have one informant who points out that it gets easier to imagine the speakers personality, and finally a few who mention that writing in this way feels unnatural, with a few adding that it is due to the meaning of the two words being totally different.

Example (B).

この映画は社会に大きな影響を与えた

この映画は社会に大きな<ruby>影響<rt>インパクト</rt></ruby>を与えた　　　※インパクト＝衝撃

Kono eiga wa shakai ni ôkina eikyô o ataeta
*Kono eiga wa shakai ni ôkina eikyô (**inpakuto**) o ataeta*
This movie had a great influence on society
This movie had a great influence **(impact)** on society

For Example (B) the answers were quite unanimous. Informants mean that the *rubi inpakuto* strengthens the magnitude of the word *eikyô*. Saying that the movie in question most likely

had an even bigger influence on society. Another informant points out that the word *inpakuto* adds a feeling of surprise and astonishment to the sentence. Others say that it adds a business feel to the sentence, as if someone is narrating it. Another informant mentions that it feels like an engineer is speaking. Amongst other nuances mentioned are, nuances of informality, nuances of modernity, a feeling of the speaker being a young person, maybe a specialist or a movie critic. Just as with Example (A), one informant brings up that this more accurately portrays the speakers personality. We also yet again have a few informants who say that adding the *rubi inpakuto* changes nothing at all. With just three informants saying that this usage feels weird.

Example (C).

<div align="center">

これが不思議な部屋ですね

これが不思議^{マジカル}な部屋ですね　　　　　　※マジカル＝魔法的な

Kore ga fushigina heiya desu ne

*Kore ga fushigi (**majikaru**)na heiya desu ne*

This is a mysterious room, isn't it?

This is a mysterious (**magical**) room, isn't it?

</div>

In this case the informants were less positive than in Example (B). A lot of them saying that this feels unnatural. Out of those, two informants mention that it feels like something a peculiar novelist would use, with one who says that this is something a bad writer would write. Another points out that whenever there is *katakana* attached it sounds bad. Then we have one informant who says that because there already is an English equivalent *wandâ* for the word *fushigi*, attaching the *rubi majikaru* feels weird. Lastly out of the less positive answers, two informants say that this way of writing reminds them of someone without literary talent. However there were quite a few positive answers as well. With many informants mentioning that they feel the *rubi* adds a feeling of wonder to the scene, with one mentioning Alice in wonderland. They imagine a room which is both wondrous and magical at the same time. A bit Disney-esque. Another informant says the room might be a wizards room. One informant brings up that attaching this *katakana* gives the impression that either the room itself or the person uttering the sentence is of a suspicious nature. Similar to this, one informant also points out that this *rubi* adds a somewhat suspicious atmosphere over the scene. Other than that we have one informant who means that the *rubi majikaru* in this case provides a flavor to the word *fushigi,* indicating what type of "mysterious" feeling the room has. Lastly two informants point out that it feels like something a child or little girl would say, and one who says it might indicate that the person is a foreigner.

In this table results from question 23 are presented.

Have you seen this usage before?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**31**	**63.3%**
No	**14**	**28.6%**
Don't know	**4**	**8.2%**
Have you ever used it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**2**	**4%**
No	**47**	**94%**
Don't know	**1**	**2%**

Then when asked if they have ever seen the Translative/Contrastive usage before, out of 49 total responses 63.3% say they have, with 28.6% saying they have not. 8.2% answer that they do not know. Then as for having used it themselves. Out of 50 responses only 4% answer that they have used it, with 94% saying they have not. 2% don't know.

Of 36 informants, 83.3% answered that they have seen it in novels. 58.3% have seen it used in manga, after that we have 38.9% having seen it in advertisement and television programs. Song lyrics come after that with 27.8%, and newspaper closely following with 22.2%. Movies get 16.7%, computer games 13.9%, and specialized books get 11.1%. Lastly blogs, social networking services and others with 5.6% each.

As for when they think the Translative/Contrastive usage is suitable. This time only six informants answer that you should never use it. With one of those saying that it is not real Japanese due to the usage of so many foreign words. Then we have many others who mention manga, novels, song lyrics and other light works such as light novels. Another common answer is that you should use it when you want to create your own world, for example being a world set in fantasy which requires a certain feeling or atmosphere. A "unique" world. In other words according to one informant, you should use it when you need the reader to imagine something and think about the meaning of the words. There were also a lot of informants who mentioned other media such as in the header of a movie, in advertisement, social networking services or in catchphrases. One informant mentioning technical books as a suitable media. One of the arguments for the usage is when the lack of space is of concern. In which case the lighter expressions that this allows for is suitable.

Other than that, informants mention that you can use it to emphasize nuances prevalent in foreign words and attach them to the *kanji*. After that there is one informant who points out that this might be a good tool to use when you want to translate English texts into Japanese.

In this table the results from question 24 are presented.

If you have ever seen or used this yourself, in what media was it?	Total number	Percentage
Newspaper	8	22.2%
Novels	30	83.3%
Specialized books	4	11.1%
Advertisement	14	38.9%
Song lyrics	10	27.8%
Television programs	14	38.9%
Manga	21	58.3%
Computer games	5	13.9%
Blogs	2	5.6%
Movies	6	16.7%
(SNS)Social networking services	2	5.6%
Other	2	5.6%

In this table results from question 26 are presented

To what degree do you encounter this usage?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	0	0%
Often	4	8.2%
Sometimes	22	44.9%
Seldom	9	18.4%
Never	14	28.6%
To what degree do you use it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	0	0%
Often	1	2%
Sometimes	1	2%
Seldom	11	22.4%
Never	36	73.5%

On the question of how often the informants encounter the Translative/Contrastive usage, out of 49 responses, 44.9% answer that they encounter it sometimes. 8.2% answer they see it often, but no one encounters it all the time. On the other hand 18.4% seldom see it, and 28.6% say they never see it. When it comes to their own usage, an overwhelming majority (73.5%) answer that they never see it, while 22.4% answer that they seldom see it. Only 2% give the answers sometimes and often. No informant uses it all the time.

When asked how the informants feel about this usage in general. The majority say that they feel differing degrees of comfort, with some even saying it is impossible to write this way. Two informants point out that writing *katakana* in the *rubi* feels unnatural even in works of fiction, with one adding that this usage feels unsophisticated. A few think that it would be better to just write the *katakana* word in the text directly instead of in the *rubi*, mentioning that it makes no sense and feels unnecessary. However, more positive informants were not uncommon, with many saying they feel no discomfort and some even saying they like this way of writing. Others also mention that they feel this emphasizes something in the scene, while one informant says it does not feel like it does, but instead that the supplementing information adds a different nuance to the sentence. Other than a few informants say that it gets easier to understand the situation and speakers personality, while a few worry that this might be harder to understand if misused. Especially one informant worries that this usage will not be well received by older generations. Lastly according to one informant this usage reminds them of someone who has been outside of Japan for many years, and has thus become obsessed with foreign ideas.

5.6   Category 5 (Abbreviative/Contrastive)

Example (A).

<div align="center">

ゴールキーパーはチームのディフェンスに必要だ

　^{ゴールキーパー}
　ＧＫ　はチームのディフェンスに必要だ

</div>

Gôrukîpâ wa chîmu no difensu ni hitsuyou
GK (gôrukîpâ) wa chîmu no difensu ni hitsuyou
The goalkeeper is essential for the teams defense
The GK **(goalkeeper)** is essential for the teams defense

For this sentence most of the answers were unanimous. The only specific nuances gathered were from two informants saying that the lower sentence sounds more detailed, and two informants who mention that it sounds cooler. Other than that the majority were positive, saying that writing this way makes it easier on comprehension and readability. Two mention that this showcases technical terms, and two informants point out that the latter sentence is more suited for people already versed in the world of football. Many of the informants explicitly say that the *rubi* does not change anything at all for them, while some add that this sounds totally natural to them. Only a single informant mentions that this emphasizes something. Finally, only three informants express discomfort, with a single one saying it would be better to just write the *katakana* word *gôrukîpâ*.

Example (B).

<div align="center">

パーソナルコンピューターはあると便利だ

^{パーソナルコンピューター}
ＰＣ　　はあると便利だ

</div>

Pâsonarukonpyûtâ wa aru to benri da
PC (*pâsonarukonpyûtâ*) *wa aru to benri da*
It is convenient to have a personal computer
It is convenient to have a PC **(personal computer)**

Same thing here as with Example (A). Writing in this way makes it easier to comprehend the sentence. With the majority of informants not expressing any discomfort. Some even mention that writing the lower sentence is preferable. One informant mentions that it is more fun to read the second sentence, while a few mentions that it feels convenient. In relation to this, one informant adds that the lower sentence is easier to read due to the condensed size of it. However once again a few informants are saying that writing in this way does not change anything, with some pointing out that PC is already an established abbreviation so there is no point in specifying this word in the *rubi*, another two saying it would have been better to just write *pasokon* 'computer' instead. Other than that we have one informant who says that writing in this way contributes to the localization of the Japanese language. Then out of the nuances gathered, one mentions that the computer in the lower sentence is probably work related, and finally one informant mentions that the first sentence feels more formal.

Example (C).

<div align="center">

ワンピースを着ると熱くなる

^{ワンピース}
ＯＰ を着ると熱くなる

</div>

Wanpîsu o kiru to atsukunaru
OP (*wanpîsu*) *o kiru to atsukunaru*
If you wear a one piece you will get hot
If you wear an OP **(one piece)** you will get hot

For the last example sentence the answers were also unanimous, but this time with the majority of informants saying that it sounds unnatural, weird and uncomfortable. Many of them agreeing that they have never seen this abbreviation, with quite a few saying they would have preferred seeing *wanpîsu* written directly instead. Two mention that it feels like this expression is really forced, and thus feels unpleasant. Other than that, many of the informants agree that it gets harder to comprehend the message by writing this way. Only two informants

mention that they do not feel any discomfort from this, and the only answer relating to any specific nuances points out that the *rubi* does not change the level of formality.

In this table results from question 29 are presented.

Have you seen this usage before?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**42**	**84%**
No	**6**	**12%**
Don't know	**2**	**4%**
Have you ever used it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
Yes	**26**	**52%**
No	**22**	**44%**
Don't know	**2**	**4%**

As for if they have seen the Abbreviative/Contrastive category, out of 50 informants 84% answer that they have seen it. 12% answer that they have not, and only 4% answer that they do not know. This category has been used by 52% of the informants, while it has not been used by 44%. Yet again 4% do not know.

41 informants have answered question 30, concerning where they have seen or used this category before. Once again novels come at first place with 65.9% of the answers this time. Then on second place we have newspapers with 58.5%. Specialized books with 53.7%, and then manga with 51.2%. 46.3% of informants report having encountered it in television programs and advertisement. After that we have 31.7% having experienced it in blogs and social networking services. 24.4% in both song lyrics and computer games. Lastly 14.6% in movies and 7.3% in other types of media.

When asked where the informants think this usage is suitable. The answers were once again rather similar. With the majority of informants mentioning that you should use this whenever you need to abbreviate something, for example technical terms. It does not matter where you use it, as long as you do it outside of official documents according to one informant. However some informants, among other things mention that this seems good for when you need to take notes, when you need to explain things in a convenient fashion in textbooks, or in technical books etc. Also movie titles was mentioned once. Others mention that it could be used to coin new terms in the language, with one informant pointing out that it seems really effective at that, albeit should not be used when the abbreviations are already established in the language. Similar to this, one informant brings it up as a possible tool in order to explain terms for older generations, who do not necessarily understand all of the established abbreviations. One informant says that you should use it when you want to ease the burden of heavy terminology

on the reader, meaning you use it repeatedly throughout the work and thus quicken the processing for the reader. Finally one informant says you should use it when you do not have enough space to write on.

In this table the results from question 30 are presented.

If you have ever seen or used this yourself, in what media was it?	Total number	Percentage
Newspaper	**24**	**58.5%**
Novels	27	**65.9%**
Specialized books	**22**	**53.7%**
Advertisement	**19**	**46.3%**
Song lyrics	**10**	**24.4%**
Television programs	**19**	**46.3%**
Manga	21	**51.2%**
Computer games	**10**	**24.4%**
Blogs	13	**31.7%**
Movies	**6**	**14.6%**
(SNS)Social networking services	13	**31.7%**
Other	**3**	**7.3%**

In this table results from question 32 are presented

To what degree do you encounter this usage?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	**11**	**22%**
Often	**11**	**22%**
Sometimes	17	**34%**
Seldom	**5**	**10%**
Never	**6**	**12%**
To what degree do you use it yourself?	Total number	Percentage
All the time	**5**	**10.2%**
Often	**5**	**10.2%**
Sometimes	15	**30.6%**
Seldom	**6**	**12.2%**
Never	**18**	**36.7%**

50 of the informants answered the question of how often they encounter the Abbreviative/Contrastive usage. 34% say they encounter it sometimes, while 22% each say they encounter it often or all the time. 10% seldom do, while 12% never encounter it. As to what degree they themselves use it. Out of 49 responses, 30.6% use it sometimes, while 10.2% each use it often or all the time. 12.2% seldom use it while finally, 36.7% never use it.

As for the last question, when the informants were asked for their opinions regarding the usage of the Abbreviative/Contrastive category. Quite unanimously the informants seemed to agree that this usage is good, with many saying it does not feel weird or uncomfortable. The majority mean it is an efficient tool to use due to it making the sentences both easier to comprehend, and quicker to process. Just a few informants say that this usage feels weird or that they do not like it. Amongst the informants praising its usage, a few mention that it is convenient to use, with one informant saying he/she uses it while writing reports. One writes that the roman alphabet portrays a sense of professionalism to the sentences, but points out that if misused it can make the reading process harder. In relation to this one informant mentions that this usage has the possibility to be both good and bad, referring to the way Example (B) felt too cumbersome, while another informant mentions that writing the word *wanpîsu* without the abbreviation would be better. Lastly a single informant says that it adds a touch of enjoyment to the reading process.

6 Discussion

In this thesis we have seen that no consensus as to what the phenomenon of using *rubi* as a poetical device should be called. Within the various previous research it has been referred to as both *Ateji*, Interlinear gloss, Playful gloss, Playful *rubi*, Poetical *rubi* and Unorthodox gloss amongst other. While all of these essentially seem to point towards the same general phenomenon. The articles examined here have mostly been literature studies attempting to identify the functions of this phenomenon, as well as the specific nuances that these emit. While categorization attempts have been undertaken by Mia Lewis, this has been done in relation to manga and not in relation to a broader picture of the phenomenon as a whole. Either way, in this thesis we have looked at these five categories in relation to other research, and to the author it would seem that her categories indeed can be applied in a broader sense to some degree, but this assumes that her categories take into account more script choices than just *kanji - rubi*, and as we have seen in her own research other script combinations do occur. Thus this thesis has assumed that her categories are not necessarily limited to combinations of script relating to *kanji*. However, difficulties as to which functions of *rubi* should adhere to which category do occur, most likely having to do with the fact that the specific functions differ depending on the context they occur in.

The study conducted in this thesis has applied these categories in an attempt to grasp the feelings and nuances as perceived by native Japanese speakers, as well as their opinions regarding the different categories. In order to do this, three example sentences have been provided for each category, most of them based on example words from previous research. However it must be kept in mind that these were manually created by the author for the purpose of this study. If the original contexts would have been tested, a more truthful result could have been gathered. In the presented case the informants had to imagine the contexts themselves, which might have influenced the way they answered. Thus in order to combat this problem the example sentences were created in order to appear as neutral as possible. All this in hopes of eliminating the informants preconceived biases relating to where they might have encountered these categories before. As well as eliminating the preconceived nuances depending on the informants knowledge of which types of media these sentences would occur in. However the biases could not be eliminated completely by the author. Thus the results should not be seen as anything more than a scratch at the surface.

What we can gather from the results is that there exist both agreement and disagreement between the researchers and informants. Agreement in that most of these usages of *rubi* do emphasize certain aspects and nuances, and that most of these categories occur mostly as a

storytelling device used mostly within literary works such as manga and novels. While many of the researchers and informants seem to agree that this phenomenon is mostly used within these media. It would seem that the informants encounter this phenomenon in other types of media as well, with notable mentions of song lyrics, advertisement, newspapers, specialized books etc. Even blogs, movies, television programs and social networking services are sometimes mentioned, which is interesting because half of these seldom allow for the attachment of *rubi*. Another point to note is that the informants mention encountering some of these categories within newspapers, specialized books etc. Which is also interesting if you take into account that the reformations of the mid twentieth century tried to eliminate unorthodox usage of *rubi* within these types of media. This brings up the question of whether this phenomenon is more widely spread than researchers seem to believe, or whether the informants in question have just been guessing while answering the questionnaire. A much larger study would need to be conducted in order to explore the real extent of this phenomenon.

In this table results from questions 6, 12, 18, 24 and 30 are summarized.

If you have ever seen or used this yourself, in what media was it?	Translative	Denotive	Contrastive	Translative/Contrastive	Abbreviative/Contrastive
Newspaper	25%	11.8%	17.1%	22.2%	58.5%
Novels	66.7%	70.6%	80.5%	83.3%	65.9%
Specialized books	16.7%	8.8%	2.4%	11.1%	53.7%
Advertisement	45.8%	17.6%	26.8%	38.9%	46.3%
Song lyrics	52.1%	35.3%	56.1%	27.8%	24.4%
Television programs	45.8%	29.4%	26.8%	38.9%	46.3%
Manga	75%	64.7%	70.7%	58.3%	51.2%
Computer games	31.3%	23.5%	9.8%	13.9%	24.4%
Blogs	12.5%	14.7%	12.2%	5.6%	31.7%
Movies	27.1%	17.6%	22%	16.7%	14.6%
(SNS)Social networking services	14.6%	8.8%	7.3%	5.6%	31.7%
Other	2.1%	2.9%	0%	5.6%	7.3%

Nevertheless the results also indicate that the categories are perceived differently from one another, with one particularly interesting observation being that the categories might be used for different kinds of media. Interesting to note when looking at the summarized statistics above is that all of the categories except for the Translative are encountered to a higher degree

within novels than in manga, with the Translative/Contrastive for some reason being the opposite of the Translative category. It brings up the question of whether this data is misrepresentative or not, seeing that the nature of these two categories are so close to each other. The Abbreviative/Contrastive category stands out as being the most diverse in its usage, being encountered much more unanimously across the different types of media. Most likely due to it being perceived as less of a poetic tool than the other categories, which the gathered opinions also seem to indicate. Finally in regards to the media, the researchers seem to believe that this phenomenon occurs disproportionally within manga, but as we can see from the statistics the informants encounter them in novels to a higher degree. While this could be a simple misrepresentation due to this specific group of informants not using the same types of media, it is still interesting to note this inconsistency between the informants and the researchers.

Some other discrepancies between the categories could be noticed as well. In particular relating to the Denotive category, where some informants point out that it strongly reminds them of the Contrastive category. This might be due to the author misunderstanding the Denotive category, with Example (B) being too similar to the examples from the Contrastive category, which on second thought perhaps should have been placed within that category instead. Another interesting point to mention is that many informants reacted to the examples exhibiting unusual combinations of script, such as those involving *katakana*. This could be due to the rarer nature of these, as many others did not seem to mind at all.

The results also seem to indicate that the majority of native Japanese speakers are conscious of the different categories up to some degree, with most of them having seen each category. This is also indicated by the questions relating to how often they encounter the different categories in their lives. A far smaller amount of the informants seem to frequently use them themselves however, which could be due to most of the informants not being avid writers themselves.

Overall, taking into account the previous research and data gathered. The contemporary nature of these categories, together with the overlapping functions that these five categories exhibit indicates that a far greater attempt at categorizing this phenomenon is appropriate for future research. Perhaps a categorization encompassing all the possible poetical functions and nuances is due, taking into account different types of media together with both the contemporary and historical usages relating to this phenomenon.

Finally, as we have seen in this thesis the prevalence of more script combinations than the ones identified by Wilkerson's exist, which raises the question of whether in fact all the script combinations are possible in relation to poetical *rubi*. Nevertheless it would be an interesting point to take into account for future research.

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Appendix - Questionnaire

「振り仮名（当て字）のアンケート」

私はスウェーデンのルンド大学で卒業論文を書いているＥｄｖｉｎと申します。
「振り仮名の使い方」についての卒業論文を書こうと思っています。

振り仮名には様々な使い方があります。このアンケートの目的は、下記の５つの異なる振り仮名の使い方について調べることです。

1.　言葉の翻訳を表したもの(英雄<ruby>英雄<rt>ヒーロー</rt></ruby>)

2.　具体的に指し示したもの(演奏<rt>バッハ</rt>)

3.　対比によって新しいニュアンスを含ませるもの(会話<rt>おしゃべり</rt>)

4.　１と３の組み合わせ(偽物<rt>ジャンク</rt>)

5.　略語の説明（ＧＫ<rt>ゴールキーパー</rt>）

アンケートの回答目安時間およそ 30 分程度です。

皆様のご協力をお願い致します。
皆様から頂いたデータが、卒業論文を書く以外の目的に使用されることは決してありません。

ルンド大学・日本語学科・エドウィンメランデル

基本情報

１．性別：　　○女性 ○男性

２．年齢：　　○15-20　　　　○21-25　　　　○26-30　　　　○31-40　　　　○41 以上

３．出身地

カテゴリ 1

４．このカテゴリでは、振り仮名は言葉の翻訳を表しています。

下の言葉と振り仮名は別の言語で同じ意味になっています。

上の文章には、振り仮名がなく、下の文章には振り仮名がついています。振り仮名が使われることで、文章の印象（雰囲気、ニュアンスなど）はどのように変わりますか？

A、B、C についてそれぞれ自由に書いてください。

A.　　　私はあの歌手が好きだ
　　　　私はあの歌手（シンガー）が好きだ

受ける印象：

B.　　　英雄とは正義を為すもの
　　　　英雄（ヒーロー）とは正義を為すもの

受ける印象：

C.　　　技術の向上を図る
　　　　技術（スキル）の向上を図る

受ける印象：

５．このような振り仮名の使い方を見たことがありますか。

      ○ 1：はい
      ○ 2：いいえ
      ○ 3：分からない

あなたは使ったことがありますか。

      ○ 1：はい
      ○ 2：いいえ
      ○ 3：分からない

６．見たことや使ったことがある場合、どのようなメディアで見たり使ったりしましたか？
（複数選択可）

      ○ 1：［新聞］   ○ 7：［漫画］
      ○ 2：［小説］   ○ 8：［コンピューターゲーム］
      ○ 3：［専門書］   ○ 9：［ブログ］
      ○ 4：［広告］   ○10：［映画］
      ○ 5：［歌詞］   ○11：［SNS］
      ○ 6：［テレビ番組］   ○12：［その他］

７．このような振り仮名の使い方はどのような時にふさわしいと思いますか。

８．このような振り仮名の使い方をどのような頻度で見ますか。また、使いますか。

      ○ 1：［大変よく見る］   ○ 1：［大変よく使う］
      ○ 2：［よく見る］   ○ 2：［よく使う］
      ○ 3：［ときどき見る］   ○ 3：［ときどきつかう］
      ○ 4：［あまり見ない］   ○ 4：［あまり使わない］
      ○ 5：［ほとんど見ない］   ○ 5：［ほとんど使わない］

９．このような振り仮名の使い方をどう思いますか。自由に書いてください。

（例：強調されていると感じる。日本語として違和感がある、ない。など）

カテゴリ 2

10．このカテゴリでは、その言葉が具体的に指し示すものを振り仮名としています。

上の文章には、振り仮名がなく、下の文章には振り仮名がついています。振り仮名が使われることで、文章の印象（雰囲気、ニュアンスなど）はどのように変わりますか？

A、B、C についてそれぞれ自由に書いてください。

A.　　これで、ノートパソコンはできないわね
　　　これで、ノ<ruby>ー<rt>ア</rt></ruby>トパソ<ruby>コ<rt>レ</rt></ruby>ンはできないわね

受ける印象:

B.　　あれは僕のパソコンだ
　　　あれは僕のパ<ruby>ソコン<rt>カ ノ ジョ</rt></ruby>だ

受ける印象:

C.　　お土産をどうぞ受け取ってください
　　　お土産をどうぞ受け取<ruby>って<rt>コ レ</rt></ruby>ください

受ける印象:

11. このような振り仮名の使い方を見たことがありますか。

        ◯ 1：はい
        ◯ 2：いいえ
        ◯ 3：分からない

あなたは使ったことがありますか。

        ◯ 1：はい
        ◯ 2：いいえ
        ◯ 3：分からない

12. 見たことや使ったことがある場合、どのようなメディアで見たり使ったりしましたか？
（複数選択可）

    ◯ 1：［新聞］   ◯ 7：［漫画］
    ◯ 2：［小説］   ◯ 8：［コンピューターゲーム］
    ◯ 3：［専門書］   ◯ 9：［ブログ］
    ◯ 4：［広告］   ◯10：［映画］
    ◯ 5：［歌詞］   ◯11：［SNS］
    ◯ 6：［テレビ番組］ ◯12：［その他］

13. このような振り仮名の使い方はどのような時にふさわしいと思いますか。

14. このような振り仮名の使い方をどのような頻度で見ますか。また、使いますか。

    ◯ 1：［大変よく見る］ ◯ 1：［大変よく使う］
    ◯ 2：［よく見る］   ◯ 2：［よく使う］
    ◯ 3：［ときどき見る］ ◯ 3：［ときどきつかう］
    ◯ 4：［あまり見ない］ ◯ 4：［あまり使わない］
    ◯ 5：［ほとんど見ない］ ◯ 5：［ほとんど使わない］

15. このような振り仮名の使い方をどう思いますか。自由に書いてください。

（例：強調されていると感じる。日本語として違和感がある、ない。など）

カテゴリ 3

16．このカテゴリでは、元の言葉と意味が(少し)違う単語を振り仮名にしています。
この振り仮名があることによって、文章から受ける印象はどのように変わりますか？

上の文章には、振り仮名がなく、下の文章には振り仮名がついています。振り仮名が使われることで、文章の印象（雰囲気、ニュアンスなど）はどのように変わりますか？

A、B、C についてそれぞれ自由に書いてください。

A.　　　試験に合格したらお菓子がもらえる
　　　　試験に合格したらお菓子<ruby>（ご ほう び）</ruby>がもらえる

受ける印象：

B.　　　昨日知人と会話した
　　　　昨日知人と会話<ruby>（お しゃ べ り）</ruby>した

受ける印象：

C.　　　これは、彼氏にもらったアクセサリー
　　　　これは、彼氏にもらったアクセサリー<ruby>（た か ら もの）</ruby>

受ける印象：

17．このような振り仮名の使い方を見たことがありますか。

       ◯ 1：はい
       ◯ 2：いいえ
       ◯ 3：分からない

あなたは使ったことがありますか。

       ◯ 1：はい
       ◯ 2：いいえ
       ◯ 3：分からない

18．見たことや使ったことがある場合、どのようなメディアで見たり使ったりしましたか？
（複数選択可）

       ◯ 1：［新聞］   ◯ 7：［漫画］
       ◯ 2：［小説］   ◯ 8：［コンピューターゲーム］
       ◯ 3：［専門書］   ◯ 9：［ブログ］
       ◯ 4：［広告］   ◯10：［映画］
       ◯ 5：［歌詞］   ◯11：［SNS］
       ◯ 6：［テレビ番組］ ◯12：［その他］

19．このような振り仮名の使い方はどのような時にふさわしいと思いますか。

20．このような振り仮名の使い方をどのような頻度で見ますか。また、使いますか。

       ◯ 1：［大変よく見る］ ◯ 1：［大変よく使う］
       ◯ 2：［よく見る］   ◯ 2：［よく使う］
       ◯ 3：［ときどき見る］ ◯ 3：［ときどきつかう］
       ◯ 4：［あまり見ない］ ◯ 4：［あまり使わない］
       ◯ 5：［ほとんど見ない］ ◯ 5：［ほとんど使わない］

21．このような振り仮名の使い方をどう思いますか。自由に書いてください。

（例：強調されていると感じる。日本語として違和感がある、ない。など）

カテゴリ 4

22．このカテゴリは、カテゴリ 1 とカテゴリ 3 の組み合わせです。

振り仮名は別の言語の単語ですが、元の言葉とは意味が(少し)違います。

上の文章には、振り仮名がなく、下の文章には振り仮名がついています。振り仮名が使われることで、文章の印象（雰囲気、ニュアンスなど）はどのように変わりますか？

A、B、C についてそれぞれ自由に書いてください。

A.　　　この家具は偽物にしか見えない
　　　　この家具は偽物_{ジャンク}にしか見えない　　　※ジャンク＝がらくた

受ける印象：

B.　　　この映画は社会に大きな影響を与えた
　　　　この映画は社会に大きな影響_{インパクト}を与えた　※インパクト＝衝撃

受ける印象：

C.　　　これが不思議な部屋ですね
　　　　これが不思議_{マジカル}な部屋ですね　　　　　※マジカル＝魔法的な

受ける印象：

23．このような振り仮名の使い方を見たことがありますか。

       ○ 1：はい
       ○ 2：いいえ
       ○ 3：分からない

あなたは使ったことがありますか。

       ○ 1：はい
       ○ 2：いいえ
       ○ 3：分からない

24．見たことや使ったことがある場合、どのようなメディアで見たり使ったりしましたか？
（複数選択可）

   ○ 1：［新聞］   ○ 7：［漫画］
   ○ 2：［小説］   ○ 8：［コンピューターゲーム］
   ○ 3：［専門書］   ○ 9：［ブログ］
   ○ 4：［広告］   ○10：［映画］
   ○ 5：［歌詞］   ○11：［SNS］
   ○ 6：［テレビ番組］ ○12：［その他］

25．このような振り仮名の使い方はどのような時にふさわしいと思いますか。

26．このような振り仮名の使い方をどのような頻度で見ますか。また、使いますか。

   ○ 1：［大変よく見る］   ○ 1：［大変よく使う］
   ○ 2：［よく見る］   ○ 2：［よく使う］
   ○ 3：［ときどき見る］ ○ 3：［ときどきつかう］
   ○ 4：［あまり見ない］ ○ 4：［あまり使わない］
   ○ 5：［ほとんど見ない］ ○ 5：［ほとんど使わない］

27．このような振り仮名の使い方をどう思いますか。自由に書いてください。

（例：強調されていると感じる。日本語として違和感がある、ない。など）

カテゴリ5

28．このカテゴリは、アルファベットの略語の正式な名称を振り仮名としています。

上の文章には、振り仮名がなく、下の文章には振り仮名がついています。振り仮名が使われることで、文章の印象（雰囲気、ニュアンスなど）はどのように変わりますか？

A、B、C についてそれぞれ自由に書いてください。

A.　　　ゴールキーパーはチームのディフェンスに必要だ
　　　　　<ruby>ＧＫ<rt>ゴールキーパー</rt></ruby> はチームのディフェンスに必要だ

受ける印象：

B.　　　パーソナルコンピューターはあると便利だ
　　　　　<ruby>ＰＣ<rt>パーソナルコンピューター</rt></ruby> はあると便利だ

受ける印象：

C.　　　ワンピースを着るのと熱くなる
　　　　　<ruby>ＯＰ<rt>ワンピース</rt></ruby> を着るのと熱くなる

受ける印象：

29．このような振り仮名の使い方を見たことがありますか。

        ○ 1：はい
        ○ 2：いいえ
        ○ 3：分からない

あなたは使ったことがありますか。

        ○ 1：はい
        ○ 2：いいえ
        ○ 3：分からない

30．見たことや使ったことがある場合、どのようなメディアで見たり使ったりしましたか？
（複数選択可）

○ 1：［新聞］	○ 7：［漫画］
○ 2：［小説］	○ 8：［コンピューターゲーム］
○ 3：［専門書］	○ 9：［ブログ］
○ 4：［広告］	○10：［映画］
○ 5：［歌詞］	○11：［SNS］
○ 6：［テレビ番組］	○12：［その他］

31．このような振り仮名の使い方はどのような時にふさわしいと思いますか。

32．このような振り仮名の使い方をどのような頻度で見ますか。また、使いますか。

○ 1：［大変よく見る］	○ 1：［大変よく使う］
○ 2：［よく見る］	○ 2：［よく使う］
○ 3：［ときどき見る］	○ 3：［ときどきつかう］
○ 4：［あまり見ない］	○ 4：［あまり使わない］
○ 5：［ほとんど見ない］	○ 5：［ほとんど使わない］

33．このような振り仮名の使い方をどう思いますか。自由に書いてください。

（例：強調されていると感じる。日本語として違和感がある、ない。など）