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**Analysing the Translation of Tense Variation from
Japanese to English in Ryunosuke Akutagawa's *Yabu no
Naka***

Emil Hoof

Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University
JAPK12, Japanese: B.A. Course (Spring Term 2023)
Bachelor Thesis
Supervisor: Benjamin Macaulay

Abstract

This thesis discusses the use of tense variation in Japanese, and if there are any methods of translating this into English. Tense variation means the alternation between the two tenses, past and non-past, in Japanese narratives. This alternation can happen even when all the events take place in the past and in chronological order. To find out how tense variation can be translated, the short story *Yabu no naka* and two of its translations have been analysed.

In the analysis, it was found that there is a connection between the progressive *-te i-* form in final predicative position and using the non-past tense for past events. The data was then analysed to see if there was a connection between the progressive form in English and translation of tense variation (in the form of the non-past tense being used for past events). However, there was no clear evidence for such a connection.

For the most part, it was hard to identify if the gathered data had anything to do with tense variation. Thus, no clear way of translating tense variation has been found. This could mean that translating tense variation is only a small concern among the difficulties a translator must face.

Conventions

Nihon-shiki will be used as the romanisation system. Unlike the Hepburn system, long vowels are indicated with circumflex accent (e.g., *kyôto*). The examples with romanisation taken from other sources have been altered to match this system. When writing Japanese words or names in English, if a conventional English spelling already exists, that will be used (i.e., *Botchan* instead of *Bottyan*). In the thesis, romanisation will be marked with italics.

The Leipzig system (Comrie, Haspelmath & Bickel, 2008) will be used for glossing.

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1. Introduction

This thesis aims to explain how tense variation is used in Japanese narratives and to see if there are any common ways to translate it. The goal is to further increase the understanding of how tense variation affects the narrative, and to see if the same affect can be created in English. The presumption was that a clear connection between tense variation and the translations would be found by doing the research, although this proved to be wrong.

Previous studies have discussed how tense variation is used in Japanese. However, studies showing how to translate this are not as common. Therefore, this thesis aims to explore this field further by analysing how two translators have handled the translation of tense variation in the short story *Yabu no naka* (Akutagawa, 2011b).

Some of the reasons for tense variation identified by previous studies include separating the perspective of the character from the narrator (Trowell, 2021) and making something appear objective or subjective (Hasegawa, 1998). Which tense is used also correlates with the subject of the sentence (Iwasaki, 1987).

Tense variation in Japanese is different from the historical present tense in English, and cannot be directly translated to English for the same effect. The main difference is that the historical present tense tends to be used throughout a certain part of the narrative, while in Japanese, the tense can continuously switch throughout the entire narrative (Trowell, 2021).

When translating, the translator can take different approaches, which affects how the translation ends up. Based on this, the need to translate the nuances of tense variation compared to other concerns will differ. Two translations have been analysed to try to find a way tense variation has been translated in either one or both translations.

2. Background: tense variation

This section aims to summarise and discuss existing analyses and explanations of tense variation: the switching back and forth between *-ta* (past tense) and *-ru* (non-past tense) that can be seen in Japanese narratives describing past events. While the morphemes *-ta* and *-ru* surface on verbs, a similar past vs. non-past tense distinction is also found on adjectives and with the copula.

2.1. The complication of tense variation

In Japanese, even when the order of events in a narrative is chronological, tense can switch so an event described in past tense takes place after an event described in non-past tense (Trowell, 2021). As an example of tense variation, Hasegawa (1998, p. 3) provides the following example:

- (1)¹ *hirota-san* *ha* *hige* *no* *sita* *kara* *ha* *wo*
Hirota-san TOP moustache GEN below from teeth ACC
dasite *warat-TA.* *Wariai* *kireina* *ha* *omot-te i-RU.*
take out laugh-PST. comparatively pretty teeth think-PROG-NPST
‘Mr. Hirota SMILED, showing his teeth below his moustache. He HAS good-looking teeth.’

Here, Hasegawa explains, using *-ru* sounds more natural, even though the judgement about Hirota’s teeth takes place in the past. To non-native speakers, this phenomenon can seem unnatural when thinking of a direct translation to English. Thus, simply treating the *-ta* and *-ru* forms in Japanese as past and non-past tense, as seen in English, would be inappropriate.

For a monoclausal sentence in isolation, with the verb in final predicative position, the common treatment of *-ta* and *-ru* as past and non-past tense would generally, from a temporal perspective, be accurate. For instance, the verb *tabeta* in the following example:

- (2) *ringo* *wo* *tabe-ta*
apple ACC eat-PAST
‘[I] ate an apple’

¹ The translation has been altered, and the glossing added.

However, this need not be the case if the sentence is not in isolation, as in a narrative. Nor does it hold true for a verb in the attributive position, as seen in (3).

- (3) *kusat-ta niku wo tabe-nai de kudasai*
 rot-PST meat ACC eat-NEG TE please
 ‘Please do not eat rotten meat’

Trowell asserts that when it comes to tense variation, one needs to differentiate between these verb types, because of how tense works in Japanese.

Some linguists argue that Japanese only has relative tense (Trowell, 2021). As such, tense is relative to a point in time provided by the context, rather than speech time. Unlike Japanese, English finite verb forms generally have absolute time reference (Comrie, 1985), which is relative to the present moment for the narrator.

- (4) *hasit-ta ato sawâ wo abi-ru*
 run-PST after shower ACC bathe-NPST
 ‘After I’ve run, I will take a shower’

For instance, in (4), even though the subject has yet to run, running is written with past tense in Japanese. This is because by the time the main verb, to shower, takes place, this action will be completed and in the past.

Relative tense explains why the tense of verbs in attributive position changes, as they relate to the time of their parent clause (in the same sentence). If the verb lacks such a reference time, the time defaults to the present moment (Trowell, 2021). However, relative tense does not account for tense variation of verbs in final predicative position, which do not have such a reference time; when the event takes place in the past, the verbs should all be written with *-ta* compared to the present moment, which is not necessarily the case.

Comrie (1985, p. 36) expands on the definition of relative tense, adding that “relative tense [...] refers to a tense which does not include as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre.” Since *-ta* and *-ru* do not necessarily relate to the present moment, they could be seen as relative tense markers, so long as they can be seen as tense.

2.2. The controversy regarding tense in Japanese

To explain tense variation, it would be useful to discuss tense and its general usage in Japanese. Comrie (1985, p. 9) define tense as “grammaticalised expression of location in time.”

Japanese is sometimes considered to have two tenses: the past tense and the non-past tense (Hasegawa, 1998). As was previously mentioned, for isolated monoclausal sentences, the *-ta* form is used to describe an event in the past, and *-ru* to describe a present or future event. That being said, sentences are seldom monoclausal and isolated. Furthermore, both the *-ta* and the *-ru* form can refer to an event taking place in the past, present, or future, while *-ru* also can refer to an atemporal event (for instance, a habitual behaviour).

There are several exceptions to the tense analysis, not limited to tense variation in narratives. For example, some grammatical structures require a certain tense, regardless of which tense is interpreted for the clause (Hasegawa, 1998); the conditionals *tabe-RU-to* (‘eat-NPST-COND’) and *tabe-TA-ra* (‘eat-PST-COND’), both of which could be translated as “when [I] eat/ate” (with different nuances), could not be replaced by *tabe-TA-to* or *tabe-RU-ra*.

Since treating *-ta* and *-ru* as tense has many exceptions, another common way to treat these forms is as aspect (which, usually, deals with whether the event of the verb has been completed or not). Miller (1975) claims that *-ta* is perfective aspect (completed events), while *-ru* is imperfective aspect (continuous or habitual events). Thus, the reason *-ta* is used for past events would be that completed events generally have already happened.

This perspective comes with its own complications. Japanese has the *-te i-* form, as in *tabe-te i-ru* (‘eat-PROG-NPST’). The *-te i-* form is widely recognised as an imperfective construction (Hasegawa, 1998). However, *-te i-* appears alongside either *-ta* or *-ru*, and “if a given language has both perfective and imperfective aspects, they must contrast and should be mutually exclusive” (Hasegawa, 1998, pp. 6-7). Therefore, *-ta* and *-ru* cannot mark aspect the way it is usually conceived.

Additionally, sentences using *-ta* can refer to continuing existence. The example provided by Hasegawa (p. 8) is:

- (5) *kinô tomatta ryokan ni ha niwa ni ôkina matu no ki ga at-TA*
yesterday stay inn at TOP garden at big pine tree NOM exist-PST
‘The inn I stayed at yesterday HAD a big pine tree in the garden’

The tree most likely continues to exist in the garden. If *-ta* had marked perfective aspect, the tree would presumably no longer be there. Thus *-ta* is unlikely to be a marker of perfective aspect.

Hasegawa proceeds to discuss four additional analyses of the *-ta* and *-ru* forms, with the most widely accepted one being the dual-function analysis, which claims that *-ta* and *-ru* can act as both tense and aspect. She concludes that *-ta* and *-ru* encode the speaker's judgment and intention, rather than the order of events.

In other words, “tense” in Japanese is different from tense in English, which is widely agreed to have tense. This could help explain why tense variation in Japanese differs from what can be observed in English.

2.3. The historical present tense in English and Japanese

English has a similar phenomenon to tense variation in Japanese, namely the historical present tense (Trowell, 2021). For instance, the historical present is used in “David Copperfield” (Dickens, 2004, chapter 9), where it changes from the past tense to the historical present tense:

If the funeral had been yesterday, I could not recollect it better.

The very air of the best parlour, when I went in at the door, the bright condition of the fire, the shining of the wine in the decanters, the patterns of the glasses and plates, the faint sweet smell of cake, the odour of Miss Murdstone's dress, and our black clothes. Mr. Chillip is in the room, and comes to speak to me.

‘And how is Master David?’ he says, kindly.

I cannot tell him very well. I give him my hand, which he holds in his.

Unlike Japanese, the historical present tense in English is usually contained to a single event or scene, and is mainly used for first person narratives, while the phenomenon observed in Japanese mainly deals with third person narratives (Trowell, 2021).

The historical present can be used to provide vividness (creating a clearer “mental picture” in the readers mind), and tense-switching in Japanese has been explained as doing the same (Nara, 2011). However, having examined the novel *Botchan* (by Natsume Sōseki), Nara found that “[s]entences describing the dramatic peak were in fact set in the past tense in an

overwhelming number of cases [94.3%].” This would go against the hypothesis that the non-past tense is used to increase vividness, considering that, in the narrative overall, non-past tense was used 64.1% of the time. However, as will be discussed further in section 2.5., this contrasts to other sources that find increasing vividness to be a property of tense variation. Thus, increasing vividness might be a possible, but not essential, way of using tense variation.

Nara also explains that some linguists have found that sentences beginning and ending a paragraph are more likely to be told using past tense. These passages indicate that the story moves in time or location. When the story remains at the same place, the non-past tense is more likely to be used. With that said, examining *Botchan*, Nara found that the distribution of tense at the beginning and end of an “episode” (sentences belonging to a certain part of the story) did not differ from those in the middle of an “episode”. Rather than being about vividness, Nara believes that grounding best accounts for tense variation.

2.4. Transitivity and grounding

Transitivity usually concerns the number of objects a verb can take. However, Hopper & Thompson (1980) propose a different framework of looking at transitivity, which is what this section discusses (and how this thesis uses the word “transitivity”). Transitivity, as proposed by Hopper & Thompson, is an area of linguistics not just concerned with the existence of an object; it concerns the transfer of an action from one participant to another. This can be done to different degrees, meaning that a clause can be more or less transitive. Hopper and Thompson suggest that transitivity is based on ten factors: participants (if the clause has an object or not), kinesis (if it is an action or state verb), aspect (if the transfer is completed or not), punctuality (if the action is momentary or on-going), volitionality (if the action is intentional or not), affirmation (if something is or is not the case), mode (if it is fact or not), agency (what caused the event), affectedness of the object (how affected the object is), and individualisation of the object (how specific the object is). They found that transitivity is strongly correlated to foreground and background (grounding).

Foreground provides structure and the central information which directly moves the narrative forward, while background provides additional information which assists the foreground information (Hopper & Thompson, 1980). Foreground clauses tend to be ordered chronologically, while background information is freer to change sequence. High transitivity seems to correlate to foreground, and low transitivity with background.

In *Botchan*, Nara (2011) found that clauses with low transitivity were frequently in the non-past tense, and those with high transitivity in past tense. Among the different tenses, foreground information was written with past tense far more often (77.2%) and backgrounding with non-past tense far more often (87.5%). This suggests that grounding plays a significant role in tense choice.

Iwasaki (1987) noted that tense choice is connected to kinesic and affective; past tense is more likely to be used with non-stative predicates (which have higher transitivity), while non-past tense is more likely to be used with stative and negative predicates (which have lower transitivity).

Additionally, speech and thought are usually written in non-past, and can sound unnatural in the past tense (Nara, 2011). Nara also brings up that the importance of an event to the story at large seems to affect tense choice. This could be connected to foreground, meaning past tense could be more likely to be used for important events. With this said, Nara doubts tense variation is something the narrator does consciously; rather, it comes naturally so they can express their intention.

2.5. The narrator's role

Nara (2011) claims that neither the tense nor the aspect analysis can explain tense variation. Another explanation comes from considering the role of the narrator. Past tense can be used as the objective, detached, viewpoint of the narrator, and the non-past tense as the subjective viewpoint of a character (Hasegawa, 1998; Trowell, 2021). Thus, tense variation can be considered more of a narratological tool than a linguistic feature. The narrator can switch to *-ru* to change the focus to a character, or to increase vividness, since it “signals a direct expression of perception” (Trowell, 2021, p. 453).

For instance, if the second sentence in (1) is written with *-ta* instead, it would sound as if there was no percipient, but only the voice of the narrator (Hasegawa, 1998). Thus, *-ta* could be seen as more matter-of-fact. This sentence is about perception, which requires someone who perceives, which is why it can sound unnatural when written with *-ta*.

Nara (2011) found that the novel *Kokoro* (by Natsume Sōseki) is mostly written using past tense and that, unlike *Botchan* (by the same author), it “does not dwell on particular episodes” and “is told in a matter of fact way” (p. 293). This supports the claim that past tense is used for facts.

In a flashback in the novella *Meido Meguri* (by Maki Kashimada), Trowell found that *-ru* was used. When the narrative returned (from the flashback), the tense shifted back to *-ta*. He speculated that “Natsuko [the protagonist] is reliving her memory of the past, experiencing it perhaps with greater vividness than she is experiencing her actual present moment [...]” (p. 461). Here the pluperfect tense (e.g., I had eaten) or the historical present tense would likely be used in English.

In narratives such as this, where the narrator is free to switch between the narrator’s perspective and the characters’ perspectives, Trowell (2021) hypothesises that the dividing of the deictic centre differs between Japanese and English. In other words, the person deixis (e.g., me and you), spatial deixis (e.g., here and there), and temporal deixis (e.g., now and yesterday) are assigned to either the narrator or the character, with the main difference being verbal temporal deixis; in English, it is typically assigned to the narrator, while in Japanese it can be assigned to either the narrator or character depending on which tense is used. Since a complete sentence is required to have a verb (or adjective or copula), it is possible to consistently assign a certain sentence to either the character or the narrator in Japanese. In a translation, expressions such as “she thought” can be used to express the character’s perspective.

Nara (2011) discussed other factors for tense variation, including the “distance between the fictional space and the narrator of the story” (p. 279). There was a tendency for verbs and adjectives describing states, verbs of saying, and *keigo* (‘honorific language’) verbs to use non-past tense. Furthermore, the shorter the time span of a sentence, the higher the probability of past tense being used.

These sources deal mainly with written narratives, which excludes the discussion of spoken discourse.

2.6. Spoken and first-person narratives

Kojima (2006) shows that tense variation is not limited to third person narratives or the written language; they collected data from (spoken) interviews where the interviewees described events from their past. The interviewees used tense variation, showing that it also exists in spoken first person narratives, and is not a tool limited to authors.

Kojima found that the distribution of the tense forms between first- and third-person subjects differs; for sentences with a first-person subject, past tense was used 94% of the time, while for third person subjects the distribution was nearly equal. This shows that while tense

variation does occur in first person narratives, its usage is largely restricted to sentences with a third-person subject.

Nara (2011) used *Botchan* as a case study, which is told in first person singular and makes use of tense variation, proving that written first-person narratives also make use of tense variation. From the data compiled through researching *Botchan*, Nara found that 64.1% of tense marking was in non-past tense, and 35.9% in past tense, excluding quotations. These results might be affected by the sentences' subjects (as in, a lot of sentences might have had third-person subjects), though Nara made no such distinction.

In the interviews, the sentences that used the non-past tense, even though they had a first-person subject, could be divided into two groups: metaphorical expressions and expressions that indicate social identity (Kojima, 2006). Kojima finds the main reason for tense variation to be whether the narrator sees the event from a first-person or third-person perspective. When an event is uncontrollable, it is usually seen from an outside perspective.

Iwasaki (1987), who also examined spoken Japanese, agrees that non-past is used primarily for third-person subjects and past tense for first-person subjects. They also claim that the use of tense variation is possible first after a time in the past has been specified, as in “[w]hen I was a student” (p. 81).

To explain why the subject affects tense variation, Iwasaki noted that “the area concerning a person’s ‘internal state’” (p. 82) strongly ties with the subject and its influence on the predicate. When it comes to “emotion, sensation and cognition” (p. 82) the subject affects the predicate, since one can only know what oneself feels. For instance, the word *tanosî* (‘fun’) could be used for oneself, while it would have to be changed when used for someone else; in such a case, *tanosî-gatteiru* (‘to behave as if one is having fun’) or *tanosî-sôda* (‘to appear to have fun’) could be used. The “internal state” also affects the use of *omou* (‘to think’), which, when used for someone else, becomes *omot-te i-ru* (‘think-PROG-NPST’). These are so called “internal state predicates”.

Since a narrator of a written story has access to the internal states of the characters, this is most important for spoken discourse, rather than written stories. This could also explain why *-ta* is used for the narrator, since they have access to all the information, while *-ru* is used for the character, since they do not.

Iwasaki hypothesises that past tense is used for information the narrator has “direct” access to, which they also call primary perspective, and non-past tense for information that is accessed “indirectly”, which they call secondary perspective (p. 83). It might be argued that

the narrator in a written story sees the outside perspective as the primary perspective and the characters internal state as secondary perspective.

The reason information accessibility affects tense choice, Iwasaki believes, is that when past tense is used temporally, it marks an event which is known to have happened (realis), while non-past is used for an event which has yet to happen (irrealis). This would then carry over to the non-temporal use of *-ta* and *-ru*.

2.7. Summary

In short, some deciding factors for tense choice include:

- The time of the event compared to the parent clause
- Transitivity and grounding
- If the perspective is that of the character or narrator
- If the sentence has a first- or third-person subject

These factors might all (except the time compared to the parent clause) be linked to the subjective / objective distinction; a high transitivity sentence with a third-person subject describing foreground information from the perspective of the narrator could be more objective and vice versa.

3. Background: translation

Tense variation is only one of the challenges a translator must overcome; many variables affect how the translation ends up. Knowing what these are could help distinguishing what is affected by tense variation from what is not.

The intention of the translator and what strategies they use will affect how the translation ends up. To make the results more generalisable, two different translations of the chosen work have been analysed.

3.1. Translating perspective

Trowell (2021) focuses on how perspective affects tense, and mentions how this could be translated. One way to do this indirectly is by adding dialogue tags (e.g., “Natsuko thought”).

However, tense variation is not the only reason to add dialogue tags. Another reason that the subject is often added in the translation from Japanese to English is role language, as proposed by Kinsui (2003). Role language is characterised by language use that tells the reader what stereotypes the characters fall into. This enables the writer to inform the reader which character is talking or thinking without using dialogue tags. While this is possible to some extent in English as well, it is not as diverse or common as it is in Japanese. This means English is unable to translate role language in a conventional way.

Therefore, if a dialogue tag is found in the translation it is not necessarily because of tense variation.

3.2. Translating culture

Maruyama (2017) explains how it is not just a language that is translated in a translation, but also a culture. Furthermore, the translation likely poses more of a challenge culturally than grammatically. The concepts of the source culture (in the source text) must be adapted to the target culture (in the target language).

Venuti (1995) formulates two methods of translation: *domestication* and *foreignisation*, meaning either to bring the translation closer to the target-language culture or trying to retain as much of the original culture as possible, respectively. Which of these approaches the translator leans toward could affect how important they think it is to convey the nuances of tense variation when translating.

When it comes to translation, Burke (2007) explains that “[f]rom the receiver’s point of view it is a form of gain, enriching the host culture as a result of skilful adaptation. From the donor’s point of view, on the other hand, translation is a form of loss, leading to misunderstanding and doing violence to the original”. In other words, some things will inevitably get lost in translation. Because tense variation does not exist in English, it can be assumed that at least some of its effect will be lost, which could give the translation a different feeling than the original.

4. The study

With the intention of analysing how tense has been translated when it cannot be explained by grammatical conventions, an analysis of the translation of tense variation from Japanese to English in the short story *Yabu no naka* (Akutagawa, 1922/2011) and two of its translations (Akutagawa, 1952; Akutagawa, 2006) has been conducted.

The analysis has been of the translation to English of the use of non-past tense for past events and past tense for non-past events found in the Japanese text. Because the story is told like an interview taking place now, describing past events (we get the perspective of characters being interviewed in the narrative present, while describing events in the narrative past), both instances should be possible.

The previous research would suggest that even when the tense used corresponds to the indicated time, it can be more of a narratological tool than a temporal necessity. However, in these cases, it is not clear how to differentiate between if the tense serves a temporal or narratological function. Thus, instances where the tense correlates to the time of the event have not been analysed.

Because tense in English does not have the same properties as tense in Japanese, if the translator is to convey the meaning of tense variation in the translation, a different method would have to be used.

4.1. Methodology

Instances of “non-grammatical tense use” were collected during close reading of *Yabu no naka* (Akutagawa, 2011b). The tense use was treated as non-grammatical if it did not match the time of the event described, compared to the narrative present. However, verbs in attributive position have not been analysed, since they do not have the narrative present as deictic centre. Neither have grammatical constructions that require a certain tense (*-tara*, *-ruto*, *-tamama*, *-ru ga hayai ka*), since they are unaffected by their time in the narrative. For the same reason, quotes have also been excluded. To avoid ambiguity, when it has been unclear whether a usage is non-grammatical or not, it has been excluded from the analysis.

The sentences containing the non-grammatical tense have been extracted for further analysis. These sentences have been compared side by side with the corresponding sentence(s) from the English translations, when a corresponding sentence has been found.

First, the Japanese sentences collected were analysed for the syntactic traits that appeared most often. Only traits that are not a grammatical necessity and that have been seen

as possibly correlating to tense variation, based on my own judgement, have been analysed. Based on these traits, the sentences have been categorised and analysed for commonalities with the corresponding translated sentences. When relevant for comparison, data from the entire narrative has been gathered. Based on this, a discussion on how the results could be connected to tense variation has been conducted.

How the translators' approaches could affect the translation of tense variation has also been analysed, based on the differences between the translations in the results.

Research questions:

- How have the translators dealt with translating tense variation?
 - What correlations can be observed between the sentences containing non-grammatical tense and the corresponding sentences in the translations?
 - What common syntactic traits can be found among the sentences collected from the Japanese text?
 - Within these categories, are there any commonalities with the corresponding translated sentences?
 - Are there any general patterns among the translated sentences that could be correlated to tense variation?
 - How could this correlate to tense variation?
- How do the results differ between the translations and how could this be related to tense variation?

4.2. Results and discussion

From here on, “non-grammatical tense” will be abbreviated as NGT. The collected sentences can be found in the appendix. The traits that have been analysed were chosen only after having examined the results, by means of careful observation of any similarities that stuck out. No systematic way to scan for similarities was used. Thus, among the collected data, there could be important information about how tense variation is translated that has been overlooked.

4.2.1. General data

	NGTs	Sentences containing NGT	Total number of complete sentences
Number of instances	63	57 (21.3% ² of all complete sentences)	268 (100%)

Table 1: Identified instances of NGT

	Non-past tense (-ru)	Past tense (-ta)	Total
Number of NGTs	63 (100%)	0 (0%)	63 (100%)

Table 2: Distribution of tense among the NGT

In *Yabu no naka*, 63 instances of NGT have been identified across 57 sentences, all of which use non-past for past events. There are a total of 268 complete sentences, which means 21.3% of the total number of complete sentences contain NGT. Considering that the previous research mainly deals with non-past being used for past events, it would seem tense variation is not commonly used for present events. Thus, it is not surprising that there are no instances of past tense being used for non-past events. Furthermore, most of the narrative describes past events. Still, it poses the question of why this is the case. It could be that when describing present and future events it is harder to be matter-of-fact, because the action or event is still ongoing. Thus, the past tense would not get a good opportunity to be used for present events. Alternatively, it might be possible that when the tense matches the time of the event, it

² The numbers are rounded to one decimal.

becomes more objective and matter-of-fact, while using the “wrong” tense makes it more subjective.

4.2.2. The *-te i-* form

	<i>-teiru</i> as NGT	Instances of NGT in total
Number of instances	16 (25.4%)	63 (100%)

Table 3: *-te i-* as NGT

	<i>-teiru</i>	<i>-teita</i>	<i>-te i-</i>
Number of instances throughout the narrative	27 (71.1%)	11 (28.9%)	38 (100%)

Table 4: The *-te i-* form in the entire narrative

Among the collected sentences, almost a quarter of the NGTs contain the *-te i-* form, the progressive form in Japanese. Since all NGTs are in non-past tense, this suggests that the *-te i-* form correlates to using *-ru* to describe past events.

In the entire narrative, the morpheme *-teiru* appears 27 times and *-teita* 11 times. *-teita* only appears before nouns and the particle *no* (which functions as a nominaliser). *-teiru* also appears before nouns and the particle *no*. However, *-teiru* also appears at the end of sentences (in final predicative position), in quotes, and before the particles *bakari*, *yor*, and *dake*. This suggests that *-ru* is more likely to appear with *-te i-* than *-ta* is.

	<i>-teiru</i> in final predicative position	<i>-teiru</i> as NGT	Instances of <i>-teiru</i> in total
Number of instances	19 (70.4%)	16 (59.3%)	27 (100%)

Table 5: The *-teiru* form

The narrative mostly describes events in the narrative past, which from a temporal perspective should be written with *-ta* when in final predicative position. However, only *-ru* is used with *-te i-* when it is used in final predicative position. Considering that the tense in final predicative position is what is affected by tense variation, there seems to be a correlation

between using the *-te i-* form and *-ru* for past events. Furthermore, 84.2% (16/19) of the times *-teiru* appears in final predicative position, it counts as an NGT. The three instances it does not, it is twice about events taking place in the narrative present and once about a character explaining a hypothetical situation.

The *-te i-* form might be correlated with using *-ru* because they both give the sentence lower transitivity (regarding punctuality and aspect). All instances of tense variation collected are for non-past tense being used for past events, which previous research would suggest makes it more subjective. There is likely a correlation between low transitivity and subjectivity, considering that transitivity is affected by modality (how factual something is). In a way, a sentence with an affirmative, punctual event described with perfective aspect (which give the sentence higher transitivity) is more specific and factual than the opposite.

“He walked” could sound more matter-of-fact and straightforward than “he was walking”. “Walked” is more specific because it points to a single point in time, whereas “walking” points to a span of time. This strengthens the idea of there being a connection between low transitivity and non-past tense being used for past events. If that is the case, it might carry over to the translation. Because the progressive form is correlated with NGT in Japanese, there might be a correlation between the progressive form in English and the translations, even when the *-te i-* form is not used in the Japanese text. However, based on the data collected on the “-ing” form, this does not seem likely.

4.2.3. The “-ing” form

Since the progressive form seems correlated to tense variation in the Japanese text, it could be that the same correlation exists in the English translations as well.

Translations	Instances of the progressive form as a predicate	Instances of the present participle as an adjective	Instances of the gerund	Instances of “-ingly”	Total times the “-ing” form is used
Rubin	64	2	3	0	69
Kojima	60	10	7	2	79

Table 6: The “-ing” form throughout the narrative⁴

	Rubin	Kojima	Number of instances of NGT containing -teiru
Number of instances	6 (37.5%)	9 (56.3%)	16 (100%)

Table 7: How often, among the instances of NGT containing -teiru, the corresponding word in the corresponding sentence in the translation also contains the “-ing” form

There are 16 sentences containing NGT and the *-te i-* form, all of which are verbs. Looking at the corresponding verbs in the translations, 9 (56.3%) contain the “-ing” form in Kojima’s translation, and 6 (37.5%) of them in Rubin’s translation. At least for Kojima, there seems to be a connection here. However, this might only have to do with translating the progressive form, and not have anything to do with tense. It could simply be that Kojima is more concerned with keeping to the formatting of the original. Furthering this claim is that Kojima tends to have one sentence in English for each sentence in Japanese (with some exceptions), while Rubin regularly puts together multiple sentences into one. The translators are likely more concerned with the impression of the translation than the grammatical structures matching one to one, which explains the differences.

Additionally, the connection between the “-ing” form and the NGT in general is not clear. Thus, the “-ing” form is unlikely to be a good translation method when the *-te i-* form is not used.

	Times the “-ing” form appears in Rubin’s translation	Times the “-ing” form appears in Kojima’s translation	Number of sentences in the Japanese text
Among the NGT sentences	15 (15/57 = 26.3%)	21 (21/57 = 36.8%)	57
In the entire narrative	69 (69/268 = 25.7%)	79 (79/268 = 29.5%)	268

Table 8: Comparison

⁴ Chapter titles and parentheses containing short descriptions of the scene have been excluded from these results.

In both translations, the rate at which the “-ing” form appears, compared to the number of sentences in the Japanese text, is somewhat higher among the sentences containing NGT. However, the difference in Rubin’s translation is negligible, and difference in Kojima’s translation is not big enough to say anything conclusive.

It would be worth to keep in mind that there are some important differences between the progressive form in Japanese and English. First off, in English, stative verbs cannot be used in the progressive form (i.e., it would be grammatically incorrect to say “be containing”). Japanese does not have this restriction; *hukun-de i-ru* (‘contain-PROG-NPST’) would be grammatically correct. Furthermore, momentary verbs can have different meaning in the progressive form in the two languages. For instance, the verb *sin-de i-ru* (‘die-PROG-NPST’) does not mean “to be dying” but “to be dead”. Therefore, the stative verbs cannot have been translated to the progressive form in English, which might mean that there is still a larger likelihood of dynamic verbs to be translated to the progressive form. Both stative verbs and dynamic verbs appear as NGT.

Many of the NGTs contain the verbs *degozaru*, *desu*, *gozaru*, or *aru* (‘to be/exist’). There are stative verbs. However, these verbs never appear in the progressive form and are usually translated as either “was” or “were”.

4.2.4. Nominalisation

The ending *nodesu* appears 7 times among the collected sentences, after the NGT (12.3% of the sentences). Four of these times it appears together with *-teiru* (which makes 25% of the sentences containing *-teiru*). The particle *no* is a nominaliser. Thus, it can function similarly to a noun, which could explain why the verb before *no* is not in past tense. However, generally, *noda* is simply added to a complete sentence where the final verb marks tense. Moreover, in all these instances, the copula in the non-past tense, *desu*, comes after *no*. Since *noda* indicates the judgement of the narrator in the present moment (for the narrator), it is usually in non-past tense, but can appear in past tense as well.

The remaining three times that *nodesu* appears (all in chapter 5) is with the verb *iu* (‘to say’). In the translation of these sentences, the verb is replaced with other verbs of saying, primarily “said”, or with the quote appearing without any dialogue tag. Other than the knowledge that verbs of saying often appear with the non-past tense, no clear reason has been identified for this. The only thing that stands out among the translations, that cannot be

accounted for by a direct translation, is changes to the word order. However, no clear way to connect this to tense variation has been observed.

If the nominalising particle *no* is connected to the NGTs, there might be more instances where the verb has been turned into a noun in English as well, as with the gerund. However, the gerund only appears once among the collected sentences.

4.2.5. Additional analysis

On one occasion, there is no verb in either of the translations: “What perfect silence!” and “What profound silence!”. However, the tense in the Japanese text is connected to a noun, *sizuka-sa da* (‘quiet-NMLZ COP’).

Sometimes, the word containing the NGT is not in the translation at all. This is the case with the sentence “Especially her burning eyes at that moment.”, which contains the verb *miru* (‘to see’) in the Japanese text.

In chapter 2 and 3, the time adverbials *kinô* (‘yesterday’) and *yûbe* (‘last night’), come right before the NGT. Three times in the collected sentences, after the topic of the sentence has been a verb in past tense along with *no ha* (e.g., *mie-ta no ha*, ‘visible-PST NMLZ TOP’), the tense ending the sentence is written with non-past tense. These instances could inform the reader that the event is in the past, thus lowering need to use past tense in the verb ending the sentence. However, there are sentences containing *-ta no ha* with the final verb ending with *-ta* as well.

5. Conclusion

Compared to English, the use of tense in Japanese can seem inconsistent; both tense markers can be used for past narratives, continuously switching at a pace that would be unnatural in English. One reason for this might be that tense is not as strictly defined as such in Japanese; some linguists claim that *-ta* and *-ru* mark aspect, others claim it to be neither tense nor aspect, while some claim it is both.

If Japanese is to be seen as having only relative tense, this alone would divide the use of tense between Japanese and English. However, this difference is further exaggerated by other factors: the way the narrator wishes to present the information, who the subject is, the transitivity of the verb, among others. Additionally, the use of tense variation in Japanese is unlike the use of the historical present tense in English, which might seem similar at a first glance. These differences add up to a use of tense in Japanese that has the possibility of confusing the unfamiliar.

In a way, what a lot of the previous research comes down to is the objective / subjective distinction; the subjective viewpoint of a character versus the objective viewpoint of the narrator; to make something look matter-of-fact or not; whether an event has been experienced personally or not. This is not a property tense has in English, and thus it cannot be directly translated from Japanese to English.

In the analysis of the short story *Yabu no naka* and two of its translations, it was found that there is a connection between the progressive *-te i-* form in final predicative position together with *-ru* for past events. It was then hypothesised that because sentences with lower transitivity are more likely to be written with *-ru*, a similar pattern might exist in the translations. Hence, the “-ing” form in English, which is partly used for the progressive form, has been analysed to see if it was more likely to appear when the *-ru* form has been used for past events. However, no such connection could be clearly observed.

For the most part, it was hard to identify how the gathered data correlated to tense variation; partly because of the limited amount of data, and partly because it was difficult to determine what in the translations was relevant to tense variation. Thus, no clear way of translating tense variation has been found. This could mean that for the most part translating tense variation is only a small concern among the difficulties a translator needs to face.

Because of how the analysis has been conducted and its results, the results only have the potential to show how tense variation has been translated when the non-past tense is used, and not tense variation has a whole. Further research within this field could aim to analyse all

sentences in a longer narrative, especially if there is a way to determine if a tense is used temporally or narratologically. One could also ask translators about their strategies to translate tense variation, and how highly they prioritise getting its meaning across. Alternatively, one could conduct a survey with Japanese natives, asking them how they would translate a passage containing tense variation to English. Since the objective / subjective distinction seems to play a big role in tense variation in Japanese, one could also investigate what makes something objective / subjective in English and if this is connected to the translation of tense variation.

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Appendix

The following tables contain the sentences with non-grammatical tense (marked with **bold**), along with their translated counterparts, divided by chapter and sorted by version:

1. 検非違使に問われたる木樵りの物語

Japanese	English (Jay Rubin)	English (Takashi Kojima)
何しろ一刀とは申すものの、胸もとの突き傷でございますから、死骸のまわりの竹の落葉は、蘇芳に滲みたようでございます。	He had only one stab wound, but it was right in the middle of his chest; the bamboo leaves around the body were soaked with dark red blood.	A single sword-stroke had pierced the breast. The fallen bamboo-blades around it were stained with bloody blossoms.
いえ、血はもう流れては居りません。	No, the bleeding had stopped.	No, the blood was no longer running.
傷口も乾いて居ったようでございます。	The wound looked dry, [...]	The wound had dried up, I believe.

2. 検非違使に問われたる旅法師の物語

Japanese	English (Jay Rubin)	English (Takashi Kojima)
あの死骸の男には、確かに昨日遇って居ります。	I'm sure I passed the man yesterday, Your Honor.	[none]
見えたのはただ萩重ねらしい、衣の色ばかりでございます。	I couldn't see her face, just her robe. I think it had a kind of dark-red outer layer with a blue-green lining.	All I saw was the color of her clothes, a lilac-colored suit.

3. 検非違使に問われたる放免の物語

Japanese	English (Jay Rubin)	English (Takashi Kojima)
時刻は昨夜の初更頃でございます。	It was last night at the first watch.	It was in the early hours of last night.

4. 検非違使に問われたる嬬の物語

Japanese	English (Jay Rubin)	English (Takashi Kojima)
若狭の国府の侍でございます。	He was a samurai serving in the Wakasa provincial office.	He was a samurai in the town of Kokufu in the province of Wakasa.
いえ、優しい気立てでございますから、遺恨なぞ受ける筈はございません。	No, Sir, he was a very kind man. I can't believe anyone would have hated him enough to do this.	He was of a gentle disposition, so I am sure he did nothing to provoke the anger of others.

5. 多襄丸の白状

Japanese	English (Jay Rubin)	English (Takashi Kojima)
しかし女は殺しはしません。	But I didn't kill the woman.	I killed him, but not her.
これも造作はありません。	It was easy.	It was quite easy.
男は欲に渴いていますから、異存のある筈はありません。	The man was so hungry for the stuff by then, he couldn't refuse, [...]	The man had no objection—he was blinded by greed.
が、女は馬も下りずに、待っていると云うのです。	[...], but the woman said she'd wait there on the horse.	The woman said she would wait on horseback.
男はわたしにそう云われると、もう痩せ杉が透いて見える方へ、一生懸命に進んで行きます。	When he heard that, the man charged toward some scrawny cedars visible up ahead.	When I told him this, he pushed his laborious way toward the slender cedar visible through the grove.
その内に竹が疎らになると、何本も杉が並んでいる、[...]	The bamboo thinned out, and the trees were standing there in a row.	After a while the bamboo thinned out, and we came to where a number of cedars grew in a row.

男も太刀を佩いているだけに、力は相当にあったようですが、不意を打たれてはたまりません。	I could see he was a strong man—he carried a sword—but I took him by surprise, and he couldn't do a thing.	Because he was a trained, sword-bearing warrior, he was quite strong, but he was taken by surprise, so there was no help for him.
勿論声を出させないためにも、竹の落葉を頬張らせれば、ほかに面倒はありません。	I stuffed his mouth full of bamboo leaves to keep him quiet. That's all there was to it.	Of course it was easy to stop him from calling out by gagging his mouth with fallen bamboo leaves.
ところがそこへ来て見ると、男は杉の根に縛られている、[…]	As soon as she saw the man tied to the tree, though, she whipped a dagger out of her breast.	The instant she caught sight of her husband, she drew a small sword.
しかも切れ切れに叫ぶのを聞けば、あなたが死ぬか夫が死ぬか、どちらか一人死んでくれ、二人の男に恥を見せるのは、死ぬよりもつらいと云うのです。	And then I heard what she was shouting between sobs. She could hardly catch her breath: "Either you die or my husband dies. It has to be one of you. It's worse than death for me to have two men see my shame. I want to stay with the one left alive, whether it's you or him."	In broken fragments of words, she asked that either her husband or I die. She said it was more trying than death to have her shame known to two men.
いや、その内どちらにしろ、生き残った男につれ添いたい、—それも喘ぎ喘ぎ云うのです。	[same as above]	She gasped out that she wanted to be the wife of whichever survived.
しかしそれはあなた方が、あの女の顔を見ないからです。	But that's because you didn't see the look on her face—	But that's because you didn't see her face.
殊にその一瞬間の、燃え	—and especially, you never saw the way her eyes were	Especially her burning eyes at that moment.

るような瞳を見ないからです。	burning at that moment.	
妻にしたい、——わたしの念頭にあったのは、ただこう云う一事だけです。	[...], I'd make her my wife—that was the only thought in my head.	I wanted to make her my wife . . . this single desire filled my mind.
しかし男を殺すにしても、卑怯な殺し方はしたくありません。	Still, I didn't want to kill him in a cowardly way.	But I didn't like to resort to unfair means to kill him.
すると、——どうです、あの女はどこにもいないではありませんか？	But she was gone!	But to my great astonishment she was gone.
が、竹の落葉の上には、それらしい跡も残っていません。	I looked for her among the cedars, but the bamboo leaves on the ground showed no sign she'd ever been there.	[none]
また耳を澄ませて見ても、聞えるのはただ男の喉に、断末魔の音がするだけです。	I cocked my ear for any sound of her, but all I could hear was the man's death rattle.	I listened, but heard only a groaning sound from the throat of the dying man.
そこにはまだ女の馬が、静かに草を食っています。	The woman's horse was still there, just chewing on grass.	There I found her horse still grazing quietly.

6. 清水寺に来れる女の懺悔

Japanese	English (Jay Rubin)	English (Takashi Kojima)
が、いくら身悶えをしても、体中にかかった縄目は、一層ひしひしと食い入るだけです。	He squirmed and twisted in the ropes that covered his body, but the knots ate all the deeper into his flesh.	But no matter how hard he struggled in agony, the rope cut into him all the more tightly.

ちょうどその途端です。	And that was when it happened: [...]	Just at that moment I saw an indescribable light in my husband's eyes.
しかしそこに閃いていたのは、怒りでもなければ悲しみでもない、[...]	What I saw shining there was neither anger nor sorrow.	The flash in his eyes was neither anger nor sorrow. . .
跡にはただ杉の根がたに、夫が縛られているだけです。	The only one there in the grove was my husband, still tied to the cedar tree.	I saw only my husband still bound to the root of the cedar.
が、夫の眼の色は、少しもさっきと変わりません。	His eyes were exactly as they had been before, [...]	[...]; but the expression in his eyes was just the same as before.
やはり冷たい蔑みの底に、憎しみの色を見せているのです。	[...], with that same cold look of contempt and hatred.	Beneath the cold contempt in his eyes, there was hatred.
それでも夫は忌わしそうに、わたしを見つめているばかりなのです。	[...], but my husband simply went on staring at me in disgust.	Still he went on gazing at me with loathing and contempt.
が、あの盗人に奪われたのでしょ、太刀は勿論弓矢さえも、藪の中には見当りません。	The bandit must have taken it—I couldn't find it anywhere—and my husband's bow and arrows were gone as well.	It must have been taken by the robber. Neither his sword nor his bow and arrows were to be seen in the grove.
しかし幸い小刀だけは、わたしの足もとに落ちていたのです。	But then I had the good luck to find the dagger at my feet.	But fortunately my small sword was lying at my feet.
勿論口には笹の落葉が、一ぱいにつまっていますから、声は少しも聞えません。	Of course his mouth was stuffed with bamboo leaves, so he couldn't make a sound, [...]	Since his mouth was stuffed with leaves, of course his voice could not be heard at all.
その蒼ざめた顔の上に	Across his ashen face shone a	A streak of sinking sunlight

は、竹に交った杉むらの空から、西日が一すじ落ちてい	streak of light from the setting sun, filtered through the bamboo and cedar.	streamed through the clump of cedars and bamboos, and shone on his pale face.
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7. 巫女の口を借りたる死霊の物語

Japanese	English (Jay Rubin)	English (Takashi Kojima)
おれは勿論口は利けない。	I could say nothing, of course, [...]	Of course I couldn't speak.
体も杉の根に縛られている。	[...], and I was bound to the cedar tree.	My whole body was tied fast to the root of a cedar.
しかし妻は悄然と笹の落葉に坐ったなり、じっと膝へ目をやっている。	[...], but she just went on cringing there on the fallen bamboo leaves, staring at her knees.	But my wife, sitting dejectedly on the bamboo leaves, was looking hard at her lap.
が、盗人はそれからそれへと、巧妙に話を進めている。	[...], but the bandit kept his smooth talk going from one point to the next.	In the meantime the robber went on with his clever talk, from one subject to another.
妻はそう叫びながら、盗人の腕に縋っている。	She clung to his arm and screamed again, "Kill him!"	"Kill him," she cried, clinging to his arms.
盗人はじっと妻を見たまま、殺すとも殺さぬとも返事をしない。	The bandit stared at her, saying neither that he would kill me nor that he would not.	Looking hard at her, he answered neither yes nor no.
いや、まだ誰かの泣く声がする。	No—I could hear someone weeping.	No, I heard someone crying.
おれの前には妻が落した、小刀が一つ光っている。	Lying there before me was the dagger that my wife had dropped.	In front of me there was shining the small sword which my wife had dropped.
何か腥い塊がおれの口へこみ上げて来る。	Some kind of bloody mass rose to my mouth, [...]	A bloody lump rose to my mouth, [...]

が、苦しみは少しもない。	[...], but I felt no pain at all.	[...], but I didn't feel any pain.
ああ、何と云う静かさだろう。	What perfect silence!	What profound silence!
この山陰の藪の空には、小鳥一羽囀りに来ない。	In the skies above that grove on the hidden side of the mountain, not a single bird came to sing.	Not a single bird-note was heard in the sky over this grave in the hollow of the mountains.
ただ杉や竹の杪に、寂しい日影が漂っている。	The lonely glow of the sun lingered among the high branches of cedar and bamboo.	Only a lonely light lingered on the cedars and mountain.
日影が、—それも次第に薄れて来る。	The sun—but gradually, even that began to fade, [...]	By and by the light gradually grew fainter, [...]
—もう杉や竹も見えない。	[...], and with it the cedars and bamboo.	[...], till the cedars and bamboo were lost to view.
おれはそこに倒れたまま、深い静かさに包まれている。	I lay there wrapped in a deep silence.	Lying there, I was enveloped in deep silence.
その時誰か忍び足に、おれの側へ来たものがある。	Then stealthy footsteps came up to me.	Then someone crept up to me.
が、おれのまわりには、いつか薄闇が立ちこめている。	[...], but the darkness had closed in all around me.	But darkness had already been gathering round me.
同時におれの口の中には、もう一度血潮が溢れて来る。	Again a rush of blood filled my mouth, [...]	At the same time once more blood flowed into my mouth.