RESEARCH NOTE

Slaves speak pseudo-Toohoku-*ben*: The representation of minorities in the Japanese translation of *Gone with the Wind*[1]

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INTRODUCTION

This study provides linguistic evidence that the use – and non-use – of Standard Japanese (SJ) in literary translation indexes social marginality in two societies (Japan and Southern American), and is based on socio-economic distribution rather than actual linguistic distribution. The main focus of this study is the investigation of the intertextuality and the transduction of the speech of the minority characters (namely, male and female slaves and poor whites) in the Japanese translation of *Gone with the Wind* (*GWTW*). While it is certain that the minority characters' use of non-Standard Japanese – which strongly resembles the stigmatized Toohoku dialect, or Toohoku-*ben* (TB) – is a translation of the original non-Standard English (SE), the assignment to them of something resembling a particular regional Japanese dialect reinforces linguistic inferiorization of the slaves and poor whites, as well as TB speakers. The use of this pseudo-dialect is an important element in the linguistic representation of marginal characters and likewise underscores the salient marginality of TB in Japanese language ideology.

The original English *GWTW* text employs eye-dialect orthography to portray the minority characters' speech, thus the use of non-SJ in the translation may be understood as interstitial interdiscursivity. However, assigning speech styles to characters based on a specific regional dialect, namely TB, requires a different explanation. Following Ochs' (1990) model of indexicality, I suggest that the use of pseudo-TB serves to directly index the characters' non-standardness, and therefore to indirectly index the stigmatization associated with TB. Furthermore, the non-normativity reproduced through this intertextual stigmatization due to the use of pseudo-TB conclusively serves to stereotype the enslaved men and

women slave characters as well as poor whites as minorities by highlighting their second-class status. In her study of Japanese Women's Language (JWL), Inoue investigates the use of JWL in two translated novels and concludes that translations represent 'an intertextual relationship that "involves two equivalent messages in two different codes"' (Inoue 2003: 318). Her study demonstrates that JWL is reproduced in translation through the use of language ideology and that this reproduction is accomplished by erasure of certain attributes that are presumed to exist in the characters' original states, a process she calls transduction.

The current study investigates the speech styles associated with non-normativity among minority characters labeled as (ex-) slaves and poor-whites in *GWTW*. If SJ is an unmarked variety, the Japanese language used by the minority characters in the translated novel is highly marked by linguistic features that serve to distinguish their speech from the speech of the Caucasian Southern-aristocrat characters. These distinctions are evident in a number of linguistic expressions at both morpholexical and phonological levels. The current study begins from this point, taking up these issues and developing an analysis which relates to the language ideology of Japanese dialects. My findings show that neither the slaves nor the poor whites use SJ, and additionally demonstrate the ways in which their speech is modeled after, without actually accurately portraying, the stigmatized Japanese dialect TB.

LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE IN SCRIPTED SPEECH

Scripted speech, e.g. novel dialogue, movie lines, stand-up comedy, and joke books, often becomes a site of stereotyping. Sociolinguists and anthropological linguists have reported on several aspects of the language ideology behind such stereotypes, especially since Hill's work on Mock Spanish (e.g. Hill 1993, 1998, 2005). Translating scripted speech that is stereotypical in one language to another may be problematic since, in many cases, scripted speech may be idiosyncratic in one speech community and thus the full social impact may not easily penetrate to another. That is, regarding culturally specific issues and expressions, a source language and a recipient language are unlikely to share one-to-one mapping in translation. All things being equal, the closest possible mapping between dialects in two different languages may be between standard or standardized dialects. In the original English version of *GWTW* (and much other scripted speech of non-standard varieties), the language used by the minority characters, who are slaves or ex-slaves of African descent and poor whites, is distinguished from the speech style of the main characters, who are exclusively Caucasian Southern aristocrats. By observing the convention of assigning a particular linguistic register, such as a specific regional dialect, to minority characters, the underlying language ideology is represented in both the original and the translation of the novel. In regards to the translation,

Inoue (2003) states that the main characters speak SJ, which represents expected gender and social norms, while the minority characters speak with ungrammatical or unspecified regional forms of Japanese to construct their non-normative identity. The current study takes as its focus not whether minorities are speaking ungrammatical Japanese or some unspecified regional dialect but rather what kind of Japanese dialect is assigned to minority characters, and what values are attached to that dialect. By investigating in detail the use of particular linguistic tokens in minority-characters' speech, I am able to make a claim regarding which dialect (or its closest approximation) is being evoked. The results of this investigation demonstrate how a linguistically under-represented Japanese dialect is used to embody a language stereotype for minority characters by reference to speech styles of an unrelated origin.

As pointed out by others, in scripted speech, language stereotyping is often strongly highlighted. For example, concerning the use of linguistically marked features to highlight the non-standard speech style of a socially subordinate group, Ronkin and Karn (1999) report on use of written Ebonics texts in certain websites, in the form of jokes and parodies, and claim that the Ebonics-like language found therein does not conform to the grammatical norms of Ebonics. Ronkin and Karn (1999) argue that scripted texts of this Mock Ebonics are assigned to some imaginary characters, which supposedly represent speakers of Ebonics. Furthermore, the imaginary Mock Ebonics speakers were created by individuals who ignored linguistic features true to real Ebonics. All in all, they claim that Mock Ebonics is a by-product of anti-Ebonics ideology, which is represented stereotypically by linguistic features such as a non-standard writing system. In the case of *GWTW*, given that the story is based in the southern United States during the American Civil War, both majority and minority characters are speaking non-standard American English to a large extent. However, the non-standardness of the minority characters' speech is rendered much more strongly through the use of non-standard orthography, while the Caucasian Southern aristocratic characters' speech is represented in more or less Standard English orthography. Although Scarlett describes Rhett's speech as having 'a light Charleston accent' on several occasions in the novel, there is hardly any trace of the phonological characteristics of his proposed dialect marked in writing throughout the novel. Scarlett's speech, as well, does not show any characteristic Southern-dialect orthography beyond the idiosyncratic level. On the other hand, minority characters' speech style is not represented in Standard English orthography, as seen in the examples of the eye dialect and phonetic spelling below. Example 1 is an excerpt of dialogue between Scarlett and the minority character Big Sam. Notice that only Big Sam's speech is marked with the non-standard orthography, representing some sort of imagined linguistic characteristics of Southern black servants which presumably corresponds to his articulation.

Example 1: Big Sam and Scarlett (Mitchell 1936/2007: 297–398)

Big Sam:	No'm, us ain' runned away. Dey done sont an' tuck us, kase we wuz de fo' bigges' an' stronges' han's at Tara . . . . Dey specially sont fer me, kase Ah could sing so good! Yes'm, Mist' Frank Kennedy, he come by an' tuck us.
Scarlett:	But why, Big Sam?
Big Sam:	Lawd, Miss Scarlett! Ain' you heerd? Us is ter dig de ditches fer de w'ite gempmums ter hide in w'en de Yankees comes.

If spoken, the minority characters' speech could be imagined to match the orthography very closely, whereas the main, standard-speaking characters' dialogue would not represent certain phonological features of the American Civil War-era Southern-English dialects. In many cases, English texts use non-standard orthography to represent stigmatized varieties such as Creole languages and regional dialects, and in this the Japanese language is no different.

According to Ochs (e.g. 1990, 1992, 1996) language signals or indexes sociocultural information for particular communicative events. Her indexicality principle is explained through ideas of affective stances (mood, attitude, feeling, disposition, and degrees of emotional intensity) and epistemic stances (knowledge or belief) (Ochs 1996: 410). To employ Ochs' idea, for instance, in the Japanese translation of *GWTW*, the majority characters' use of SJ directly indexes their upper-class social position or sophistication while indirectly indexing their normative voice. The minority characters' use of non-SJ, on the other hand, serves to highlight their lack of sophistication, and therefore to imply non-normativity. In the following section, I will discuss language-ideology issues regarding Japanese dialects that are relevant to the translation of *GWTW*.

JAPANESE REGIONAL/SOCIAL DIALECTS AND IDEOLOGY

Major linguistic research on Japanese dialectology began after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, and beginning in the early 1900s, Japanese dialectologists focused on creating a linguistic atlas for different regional-dialect areas as a part of the language standardization movement (Yasuda 1999: 196). When engaging in any analysis involving a Japanese regional dialect, it is important to remember that the Meiji government targeted specific regional dialects (e.g. the Toohoku, Okinawa and Kyuushuu dialects) under national language-reformation movements which resulted in their nationwide stigmatization (Sakai 1991: 17). The pressure on these dialects caused by *hoogen bokumetsu undoo*, or the dialect abolition movement, was extremely heavy between 1902 and 1960 (Yasuda 1999: 16–19). Even in modern Japan, the stigmatization of TB still exists among the general public. For example, in studies reporting the survey results concerning Japanese peoples' attitudes toward regional dialects, TB is often associated with negative images such as rusty, slow, or unlively while

some other dialects like SJ or Kyooto dialect are evaluated with positive remarks such as sophisticated, classy, or cosmopolitan (e.g. Kobayashi 1995: 34–46; Satoo 1995: 20–33; Satoo and Yoneda 1999; Shibata 1958: 90; Shibuya 1995). Since the Toohoku region is vast and has a rich and varied subregional culture and history, the term TB does not represent a homogenous linguistic group in northern Japan. However, as with other major dialects and their subdialects, TB is useful as an umbrella term that covers a number of other subdialects in the region. The varieties spoken in the Toohoku region are often derisively referred to as *zuu-zuu ben* (*zuu-zuu* dialect, an onomatopoeic term for the dialect's distinctive sound) and repeatedly ridiculed for their unique features (Komori 2000; Sakai 1991). Most Japanese who received a post-World War II education have moved increasingly towards SJ (e.g. Satoo and Yoneda 1999).

Beyond the realities of the distribution of Japanese dialects, characters portrayed in scripted speech that belong to certain subgroups are bound by certain sociolinguistic expectations (e.g. age, gender, socio-economic status, regional affiliation, etc.) to carry out stereotypical linguistic variations in order to represent their given roles and traits. Kinsui (2003) suggests the idea of *yakuwarigo* 'role language' used by imaginary characters in Japanese media (novels, dramas, animes, translations, etc.). He points out that assignment of linguistic registers helps audiences identify stereotypical images related to the roles. In short, he claims that SJ is reserved for protagonists while some social or regional dialects (or even pseudo dialects) are used by side characters with specific attributes. In addition, Kinsui (2003) claims that Southern slave characters in American novels such as *GWTW* or *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are assigned a country speech style that resembles TB. Stereotypical images and imaginary characteristics such as 'normative' versus 'non-normative' are reinforced by use of specific linguistic registers such as *yakuwarigo*.

Within Japanese society, SJ is widely understood to be a special register of linguistic resource reserved for specific personalities. That is, the use of SJ is socially expected of, and thus assigned to, a limited group of people who are considered to be stereotypically normative standard-Japanese people. The specific social register of SJ has traditionally been associated with a group of educated, non-working-class people and this linguistic ideology endows speakers of this register with sophisticated qualities. This paper proposes to provide additional evidence of inequality between upper- and lower-class characters in the Japanese translation of *GWTW*, as characterized by linguistic inequality based on the assignment of standard and non-standard varieties. Further, I claim that what is described as 'ungrammatical forms' or 'some unspecified regional dialect' by Inoue (2003) is actually modeled after a specific regional dialect, namely TB, and that by being made to speak a linguistic variety which resembles this prototypically stigmatized dialect, the minority speakers in *GWTW* are thus made to create their non-normative identity as black servants and poor whites.

DATA AND RESULTS

A major methodological difference between Inoue's (2003) work on translation and transduction of *GWTW* and the current study lies in the types of data used for analysis. While Inoue (2003) uses a qualitative (and of course, more anthropological) analytical method, the current study adds quantitative data analysis which involves an investigation of linguistic tokens. By doing so, I try to offer additional evidence that Inoue's (2003) observation reflects on not only some of the key slave characters in the Japanese translation but also on the minority characters in general, including the non-aristocratic Caucasian characters. Also, I demonstrate the non-standard variety used by the minority characters is not ungrammatical but rather modeled after a particular stigmatized regional dialect. For this study, I selected tokens that are easily distinguishable from SJ forms which appeared relatively frequently in the data including:

1. first person pronouns (1PPs);
2. copula + sentence final particle (SFP);
3. vowel coalescence;
4. pre-nasalization; and
5. a merger of high front vowel (i~u) after /s/.

As TB is a regional dialect that covers a broad geographical area in the northern part of the main island of Japan, there are many subgroups of TB varieties that differ considerably from each other. However, for the purpose of highlighting convincing evidence that the non-standard speech variety used by the minority characters is a pseudo-dialect which resembles something like TB, the investigated features here focus more on the stereotypical pan-TB characteristics rather than the detailed features of TB subgroups.

The selected linguistic tokens were systematically quantified and coded for careful data analysis. For the current study, all dialogue by the selected minority characters (black house servants, black field hands, black coachmen, and poor whites) was collected from all five volumes of the Japanese translation of the novel *GWTW* and the target tokens were coded for analysis. Depending on roles, the total amount of dialogue per character, or type of character, and thus the total number of linguistic tokens under investigation, varied greatly. Servants who were close to the main Caucasian characters had larger roles in the story, and therefore their linguistic tokens were naturally more numerous compared to other characters whose roles were not so significant. For example, Scarlett's nanny, Mammy, had the largest role of any of the servants; as a result, her utterances composed 42.5 percent of the data used for the analysis of this study. Altogether, the data used are inclusive of utterances by five female slaves (55.7% of the total-data volume), six male slaves (30.7% of the total-data volume), and two male poor whites (13.5% of the total-data volume).

The first linguistic data to be discussed concern the use of 1PPs. The total number of 1PPs may appear to be less than expected; however, it is important

to bear in mind that Japanese, unlike English, commonly avoids the overt use of pronouns. Inoue (2003: 326–327) uses examples from two characters, Mammy and Peter, to exemplify the minority characters' speech styles, pointing out that both characters, regardless of their gender differences, employ *washi* as their 1PP. Use of *washi* is predominantly recognized as being reserved for a provincial accent for elderly male authority figures. However, in some regions (e.g. Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Nagano, or Aichi prefectures), *washi* is used predominantly by both male and female speakers. According to the data, female characters use *washi* about 70 percent of the time and *watashi* for most of the remaining 30 percent, while the male characters use *washi* almost categorically.

While most of the minority characters use *washi* regardless of their gender, this form was hardly used by the main characters, in particular the main female characters, who never used this form. On the other hand, prototypical elderly male authority figures in the story, such as Scarlett's father, military officers, and other older men in respected positions used *washi*. The use of *washi* by the upper-class characters does not sound non-standard, but rather adds dignity to their speech style within the rules of SJ conversation. On the other hand, *washi* as used by the minority characters does not sound dignified because they are not speaking in the SJ register to begin with. *Ora*, the stereotypical TB 1PP (Kanno and Iitoyo 1967/1994; Ooshima 1959/1994), was not used by any of the minority characters in the translated novel. The stereotypical feminine 1PP, *atashi*, was never used by the female minority characters; *atashi* was, however, the 1PP most frequently used by Scarlett in the translation. All in all, none of the female minority characters were assigned the feminine form, *atashi*, throughout the text.

The second item to be discussed is the use of sentence-final forms of the copula/polite verb-ending *desu*/*masu* and the SFPs. A distribution of polite verb endings in the minority-characters' utterances in the translated novel includes *desu*/*masu* with or without SFPs as well as the non-standard polite endings *gesu*/*gasu*. SFPs *da* and *bee*, which are both stereotypical TB forms (Gaubatz 2007: 140; Iitoyo 1962/1994; Kanno 1982: 386), as well as *yo* and *ka*, which are common standard forms, were observed in the data after the *desu*/*masu* copulas. Although SFPs function as discourse (or phatic) markers and appear frequently in Japanese, depending on context, it is also natural for Japanese sentences to end in their bare forms without any SFPs. While there is a grammatical marking SFP like the *ka* 'interrogative marker', a discourse marker conveys a speaker's attitudes or feelings to indicate interpersonal states rather than grammatical ones. In the data used for this study, different types of polite verb-ending forms were found: *desu*/*masu* + *da*, *masu* + *bee*, *desu*/*masu* + other SFPs, *desu*/*masu* bare forms, and *gasu*/*gesu*. In comparison to standard *desu*/*masu* verb endings, *gasu* and *gesu* are non-standard polite verb-ending forms commonly associated with rough men or blue-collar workers. As I will discuss, these endings conform, to varying degrees, to the grammar of either TB or SJ.

Inoue's (2003: 327) study provides examples of what she interprets as the 'ungrammatical' speech style of some of the main minority characters (Mammy and Peter):

Example 2: Peter (Mitchell 1977, vol. 4: 116 in Japanese translation; Mitchell 1936: 674 in the original; adopted and modified from Inoue 2003: 327)

> *Sukaaretto-joosama, arigatoogozeemasu-da (1). Sore wa, washi*
>   is-*POLITE-COP-PLAIN
>
> *nimo wakatte-iru-da (2).*
>   understand-*PLAIN-COP.PLAIN
> Yes'm, thankee kinely, Ma'm. Ah knows it . . . .

She explains the ungrammaticality in the above example as follows:

> [The minority character is] assigned an 'ungrammatical' speech style. It is highlighted by, for example, a polite verb-ending, *gozeemasu*, which is considered non-standard or dialectal for its coalescence of vowel form *ai* (the standard form is *gozaimasu*) to *ee* (*gozeemasu*). Furthermore, in standard Japanese, it is 'ungrammatical' to attach a plain copula, *da(yo)*, to polite-verb endings such as *masu* and *desu*. (Inoue 2003: 327; emphasis in original)

In Example 2 above, the original English shows an example of ungrammaticality such as 'Ah knows it . . . .' from 'I know it . . . .' As Inoue explains, in the Japanese translation above – as marked with an asterisk (understand-*PLAIN-COP.PLAIN) – the plain copula *da* is ungrammatical when following not only *masu*/*desu* verb endings but also plain verb endings. When interpreted as a plain copula, *da* in Example 2 makes both verb endings (1) and (2) ungrammatical. The assignment of ungrammatical forms such as (1) and (2) may be an interpretation of ungrammaticality in Japanese from of the original. However, going beyond Inoue's idea that the '*da*' in Example 2 is ungrammatical, I offer another interpretation of *da* in the example seen above. In TB, there is a SFP *da* (which is closer to the standard-form SFP *yo*); following the polite or plain verb-ending forms, it expresses a speaker's feelings such as confirmation, intention, conclusion, etc. If the two cases of *da* in Example 2 are treated not as the plain copula form, but as a SFP, both verb endings (1) and (2) become, not ungrammatical, but an expression used in TB. Whether *da* in the example is an ungrammatical structure or grammatical TB, the Japanese translation highlights decidedly non-standard elements of the minority characters' speech. However, there are other examples that suggest minority speakers are speaking something like TB.

The data show that the common TB form, *desu*/*masu* + *da* outnumbered other polite verb-ending forms among the minority slave characters, this ending comprising a total of 86.6 percent (females) and 69.6 percent (males) of the total verb-ending tokens. Additionally, use of serial SFPs is a common feature in conversational Japanese, where they function, in general, as discourse markers, as in *oishii yone* 'tasty, isn't it?' as opposed to just *oishii* 'tasty'. Among the majority

characters, the most frequently used combinations of the polite verb ending and a single SFP was *desu/masu + ne*. This result is expected from the data of speakers of SJ, as *ne* is the most commonly used discourse particle in modern Japanese, including standard and many regional varieties. However, this most commonly used SFP, *ne*, did not appear alone as an SFP in the minority characters' data. That is, whenever minority characters used *ne*, it followed the TB form *da* as in *desu/masu + dane*. Concerning the SFP *ne* (following the polite-verb-ending forms), the minority characters were only assigned the non-standard form, *dane*, which can be interpreted as a TB form.

Concerning the use of other verb-ending forms, *gasu* and *gesu* are reduced forms of the formal-polite form *gozaimasu* via a medial form *gansu*. In today's dialectology, *gasu* and *gesu* are predominantly associated with TB (Komatsushiro 1969: 45). The data show that, among the three types of minority characters (male slaves, female slaves, and poor whites) the male slave characters used this form the most in the Japanese translation, followed by the poor whites, while none of the female slave characters used *gasu/gesu*.

While the data concerning the SFPs is certainly telling, let us examine additional linguistic forms used by the minority characters. In Example 2 above, pronunciation used by a male slave character, Peter, was introduced; throughout the novel, he pronounces the standard polite ending form *gozaimasu* as *gozeemasu*. In this case, *ai~ee*, is non-standard or dialectal. The *ai~ee* coalescence is, indeed, one of the stereotypical phonological features of TB and the coalescence is not only limited to the phrase *gozaimasu* but also occurs with other vocabulary containing the diphthong *ai* (Hidaka 2003: 38; Katoo 1969: 122; Kindaichi 1967). For the purpose of this study, the number of occurrences of the *ai~ee* coalescence among the minority speakers was quantified for some commonly used expressions: the polite verb ending, *gozaimasu~gozeemasu*; the polite imperative marker, *kudasai~kudasee*; the negation marker, *-nai~-nee*.

All the minority characters preferred the form *ee* over *ai* almost categorically when using these expressions. Similarly, it would seem highly unnatural for the main characters to be uttering phrases like *gozeemasu* or *kudasee* in the Southern-aristocratic context since these expressions cannot be taken as a SJ register. However, it would not be surprising for SJ-speaking males to change pronunciation of the negation *nai* to *nee* in colloquial SJ to mark roughness or toughness as in *shitamachi* or *beranmee kotoba* of Tokyo downtown dialect (Mitsui 2003: 54; Yoshioka 1995: 48). Thus, it is worth noting that all of the main male characters used *nai* as a negation marker and never used *nee* even in scenes involving some violence (e.g. fights, riots, war), where *nee* would be quite natural.

Another example of TB phonology, prenasalization, was often seen in the minority speakers' data. Generally, the prenasalization takes place before the voiced alveolar stop (d) and the palatal glide (y) in TB (Hanzawa 2003: 42; Tokugawa and Grootaers 1951). For example, words such as *kodomo* 'child'

or *koya* 'shack' are often pronounced [kondomo] or [konya] in many Toohoku regions. Tokens used for this study were derived from occurrences of a negative discourse filler *iya* 'no, but', an exclamation *oya* 'oh my', and a negative conjunction *kedo* 'but'. The results show that whenever these expressions were used, the minority characters had a tendency toward prenasalizing the palatal glide (y) and voiced alveolar stop (d), at least 70 percent of the time. That is, the minority characters used *inya*, *onya*, and *kendo* over *iya*, *oya*, and *kedo*. Although the results discussed up to this point may suggest that the minority speakers are using TB in the translation of *GWTW*, the assigned non-standard variety is more of a pseudo-TB than authentic TB. For example, in authentic TB, one would expect other voiced stops and palatal glides to be prenasalized in the appropriate environments. However, except for some idiosyncratic exceptions, repeated instances of prenasalisations only took place in the three words mentioned above; thus, overall occurrences of the prenasalized tokens might have been used just to produce something that sounds superficially like TB. This point will be further discussed later along with other supporting examples. Nonetheless, concerning these tokens, the numbers for prenasalization in the data are in favor of this specific TB phonology among the minority speakers.

   A final example of TB features in the data that I will focus on is a merger of high front vowels. The high front vowel /i/ merges with the high back vowel /u/ after the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/; thus, a word such as /susi/ [suši] '*sushi*' in non-TB becomes [susu] in many of the Toohoku regions (Kanno and Iitoyo 1967/1994; Katoo 1969: 118; Kobayashi 2003: 36). There is one instance of this feature in the data, spoken by one of the male slave characters, Moses, who pronounces /*shingari*/ [šingari] 'last' as [sungari].

Example 3: Moses (Mitchell 1977, vol. 2: 181 in Japanese translation; Mitchell 2007: 305; parentheses in the original)

> *Sungari (shingari) no hoosha desuda, Sukaaretto-joosama. Zutto ushiro no hoodesudayo.*
> Back wid de las' cannon, Miss Scarlett. Back dar!

Even though there is only one instance of this token, the merger feature is worth mentioning due to the fact that this form is one of the most stereotypical features of TB, known as *zuu-zuu-ben*.

   The findings from the data show that the minority characters used non-SJ forms much more than the SJ forms. The common characteristics among the characters were the use of 1PP (the non-SJ *washi*), vowel coalescence (TB *ai~ee*), and prenasalization (TB *inya*, *onya*, *kendo*). As for the copula and SFP use, female slave characters predominantly used the polite verb endings *desu/masu* + TB SPF *da* while the male slave characters also used the same TB form as well as the TB polite verb endings *gesu* and *gasu*. Although the poor white characters mainly used the polite verb endings *desu/masu* + SJ SPF such as *yo* or *ka*, their use of

the observed linguistic features remained predominantly non-standard. All in all, the TB features were used inconsistently by all of the minority characters. Thus, I conclude that they are assigned a non-standard variety of Japanese that resembles TB in the translation, whereas they were supposedly speaking the lower-class Southern dialect in the original. In the Japanese translation of *GWTW*, SJ is reserved for the main characters while the minority characters use some kind of *inaka-ben* 'country dialect' that resembles TB. Therefore, I claim that the main characters' normativity in the original *GWTW* is aligned with that of Japanese by the assignment of SJ; moreover, the use of pseudo-TB by the minority characters highlights not only linguistic but also social non-normativity.

LINGUISTIC INFERIORIZATION AND INDEXICAL MEANINGS

Siegel's (1995) notion of linguistic inferiorization is relevant to pseudo-TB usage here, although the nature of the data differs. Based on his study regarding two different linguistic varieties in Fiji – one dominant and one subordinate – Siegel (1995: 104) comments on 'linguistic inferiorization' by a dominant group against a subordinate group. He states that mocking or inferiorization of a certain linguistic variety 'arises from ridicule or derision of other people, particularly those who are considered enemies or those who are thought to be inferior' (Siegel 1995: 104). By assigning SJ to the main characters and by assigning something that resembles a widely stigmatized non-standard dialect, namely pseudo-TB, to the minority characters, linguistic inferiorization is demonstrated throughout the Japanese translation. Although there are a number of TB features used in their speech, the register used by the minority characters is not an actual regional dialect, but rather a linguistic mockery that refers to TB but may just as easily be interpreted as being ungrammatical. That is, the minority characters are assigned a linguistic variety that *evokes* something like a stereotypically stigmatized Japanese regional dialect, TB, while failing to actually *be* even this inferior dialect. This association simultaneously accomplishes linguistic inferiorization of both the minority characters and actual speakers of TB. As with other linguistic mockeries, which share a similar lack of concern regarding correct grammatical construction, pseudo-TB is a linguistic mockery of an existing dialect which is widely perceived to be an antonym of SJ. As shown in the data detailed in this paper, realizations of pseudo-TB are most often the result of a mixing of frequently occurring linguistic tokens of the stereotypical non-standard features such as SFPs, vowel coalescence, prenasalization, and merging of high vowels. These dialectal features are combined haphazardly, even with a non-TB 1PP, *washi*, which results in the production of something that sounds superficially similar to TB.

As mentioned above, in the case of *washi*, when used by elderly-male-authority figures like Gerald O'Hara (Scarlett's father), an Army Captain, or Dr. Mead (the O'Hara family's physician), it indexes dignity and masculinity. Moreover,

because of the authoritative tone of this 1PP, Kinsui (2003, 2007) refers to this type of *washi* as a *roojingo* 'elderly speech' or *hakasego* 'scientists' speech' in his explanations of role language. At the same time, when *washi* is used in non-standard contexts, especially by both females and males, it indexes regional (non-standard) identity as is a widespread dialectal 1PP in different regions of Japan (e.g., Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Nagano, or Aichi prefectures). As used by both female and male minority characters in the Japanese translation of *GWTW*, *washi* functions as an undignified form because the characters are not using SJ. Additionally, this highlights that they belong to a lower social class. However, the same form of 1PP, *washi*, used by authoritative male figures functions as a dignified form because the character is speaking SJ and its use in this case indicates that they belong to an upper social class. This bi-directional indexicality makes the point that the indexical process of the interpretation of social meanings of a linguistic form can generate different types of erasure depending on texual context. For example, by highlighting his dignified position in the story with the 1PP *washi*, Scarlett's father's own identity as a Southern aristocrat of Irish heritage undergoes a process of erasure by being aligned with other Caucasian upper-class male figures who are supposed to share different identities (e.g. a military officer and a physician). A similar process takes place among the minority characters and *washi* here aligns the minority characters with one another regardless of their gender, skin color, or social background. Although the same form, *washi*, helps to categorize and to establish social identities of the characters, the two different registers – SJ and non-SJ – clearly index different things when used by characters occupying different positions in the social hierarchy.

As mentioned earlier, the seeming inequality arising through the pairing of Southern English in the original *GWTW* with SJ in the translation cannot be explained away through simple mapping of one language onto another. The cultural differences embedded in the two languages give rise to a number of interdiscursive differences and make such a straightforward correspondence impossible; such concepts as Southern dialect or slave speech do not have any correlations in Japanese. What, then, are the reasons for the existing correlations chosen by the translators? I argue that the characters' attributes were aligned ideologically between the original and the translated languages. The main characters in the translation spoke SJ not because SJ is the Japanese language equivalent of Southern English, but because the main characters are wealthy and privileged and were designed to fit the intertextually derived ideals that language ideology finds to correspond with SJ. In keeping with this analysis, the unsophisticated, seemingly ungrammatical language of the slaves and poor whites, the language which highlights their lack of education and refinement, was linked with TB not because the people of the Toohoku area were historically slaves, or involved in a bloody civil war as infantry soldiers, but because the attributes commonly associated with TB are those of a prototypical *inaka-ben* 'country dialect' (cf. Kinsui 2003) or a variety

that evokes an image of someone who is rough, unpolished, and lacking education.

Hill (2005: 114), referring to Ochs' idea of indirect indexicality, says that 'a feature of the communicative event is evoked indirectly through the indexing of some other features of the communicative event' (Ochs 1990: 295). Just as with Hill's (2005: 114–115) application of Ochs' idea to her analysis of the negative stereotyping of Mock Spanish, pseudo-TB indirectly indexes the destructive labeling of its speakers, and its ability to do so is due to the overt 'production and reproduction of deeply naturalized and presupposed elements' (Hill 2005: 115) of Japanese language ideology.

NOTE

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