“The Power of Onomatopoeia in Manga” an Essay by Natsume Fusanosuke with Translators’ Introduction

Jon Holt and Teppei Fukuda

Translators’ Introduction

Scholars of manga will recognize both the author of this essay and its parent book. When Natsume Fusanosuke (夏目房之介 1950–) published *Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka: sono hyōgen to bunpō マンガはなぜ面白いか: その表現と文法 (Why is manga so interesting?: Its expression and grammar, 1997)*, it was clear that manga had broken free of its pop-culture moorings—it had become respectable mainstream culture. Originally published by NHK as a supplemental guide to episodes of its weekly educational television show *Ningen daigaku (人間大学 Human university)*, running from July 4 through September 23, 1996, this NHK Library edition book has seen three printings since that time. Although Natsume has gone on to publish over thirty books, often updating and revising his views on manga, this book and its prototype essays (found in the co-authored *Manga no yomikata マンガの読み方 [How to read manga], 1995*) have influenced countless scholars and readers who have picked up formal manga analysis where Natsume left off since this period of manga scholarship in 1990s. It is no exaggeration to compare Natsume’s impact on manga studies in the 1990s with that of Scott McCloud (and his *Understanding Comics, 1993*) on Western comics studies. Given both its importance in the history of manga studies and its remarkable ease for new readers of comics—another trait shared with McCloud’s *Understanding Comics*—we felt a strong need to translate and make available in English an example of Natsume’s early manga analysis approach.

Just as McCloud’s classification of the six types of panel transitions (i.e., “closure”) are often used in English-language scholarship (and beyond), one finds Japanese scholars of Japanese manga using Natsume’s *hyōgen-ron* type of formal analysis.¹ For example, in his monograph

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(2015) on Umezu Kazuo (楳図かずお), Japan’s greatest horror-manga artist, the scholar Takahashi Akihiko (高橋 明彦) employs both McCloud’s and Natsume’s tools of analysis to reveal the qualities of Umezu’s idiosyncratic and original page designs. Although Takahashi finds value in McCloud’s six types of panel transitions to do this, he sees an “oversight” (miotoshi) on McCloud’s part, and, he argues that Natsume’s method can better be used to parse Umezu’s panel arrangements. Takahashi states that “Unlike McCloud, what Natsume does in his panel-layout theory is to start first with the page or even the two-page spread (mi-hiraki) as his base in order to get at how the panels are constructed and flow.” However, Takahashi disagrees with Natsume when he stresses the similarities between manga code and the orthographic systems of the Japanese language, so there is a parallel, on one hand, between manga layout and design and, on the other, kanji as ideograms and kana as a phonetic syllabaries. Dismissing this aspect of Natsume’s work as “nothing but a vulgar form of cultural essentialism,” Takahashi disagrees with some of Natsume’s larger conclusions, one of which appears in the present translated chapter essay. It is worth adding that Takahashi found that during this same period other scholars and manga critics were much more guilty in taking such cultural assumptions to the extreme.

Natsume himself is adamant that essays like “Onomatope no kōka” (The power of onomatopoeia) were only the starting point for his views of manga and that his current view has changed and developed greatly since the 1990s. Writing in 2004, he admitted that works like Manga no yomikata and Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka were generated by his desire “to see the landscape of manga like on a mountain from above” and so he generated a “map” that soon became “worn out” and that he feared might “lead readers astray.” Certainly, the landscape of manga scholarship and studies since then has greatly changed, thus positing the question of the need for a translation of his earlier essays. However, Natsume admits that there was a “transformation by 2001”—just five years after the Manga wa naze talks and essays were aired and printed—that suggests they helped shape the future of manga studies. Just as McCloud’s analysis of the six types of panel transitions are often used in English-language scholarship (and beyond), one finds scholars of Japanese manga—both in English and Japanese—continuing to cite and use Natsume’s 1990s analytical tools.
For example, Ingulsrud and Allen take up analytical techniques pioneered by Scott McCloud, especially how applicable his “six types of panel transitions” are to manga. Far more than McCloud’s work, they emphasize Natsume Fusanosuke’s importance in shaping Manga Studies in the 1990s and beyond. In their discussion of the study of manga, they argue that “one of the most valuable books on understanding manga is [the Natsume co-authored] Manga no yomikata,” referring to how the authors brought into their analysis the details of manga, such as the “qualities of lines, symbols, metaphors, [and] onomatopoeia.”* Ingulsrud and Allen note the larger trend in contemporary manga studies to include Natsume: “we can only induce that basic [manga studies] sources include Manga no yomikata.” There is some debate about which of the two books, Manga no yomikata or Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka, is more central. Hosogaya and Berndt omit the former in their A Guide to Books on Japanese Manga but note its “epoch-making viewpoint” as they situate the latter in their guidebook. Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka, they write, answers fundamental questions about manga and “explain[s] in an easy to understand manner, accompanied by abundant illustrations [by Natsume]...[it] also makes a suitable introduction to manga for overseas people who are not familiar with Japanese comics.”* Citing Hosogaya and Berndt’s discussion, Ingulsrud and Allen nonetheless conclude that it “falls short of replacing the analytical breadth of Manga no yomikata.”* However, we (the present translators) find that Natsume’s discussion of manga elements (such as onomatopoeia) are more succinct and focused in this later Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka text.*

Indeed, in our classrooms at Portland State University, we found that the inclusion of Natsume’s essays for course readings is extremely effective in engaging undergraduate students to think harder about the visual and verbal elements at work on the page. In the classroom made up of Japanese majors, minors, and non-majors (often coming from our university’s Comics Studies program), we found that students gravitated to Natsume’s analytical approach over that of McCloud. McCloud is to be commended for his early awareness and promotion of manga in the study of comics. His discovery of the prominence in manga of panels “portraying slow cinematic movements or setting the mood,” which he designated as his “aspect-to-aspect” panel transition types—revealed his keen sensitivity as to how the Japanese approach comic-book storytelling. Natsume and fellow Manga no yomikata contributor Takekuma Kentarō (竹熊健太郎 1960–) were both astonished and relieved
at the arrival of McCloud’s book (published as *Mangaku*, 1998), because in the world of comics studies they finally felt a kindred spirit, joking that “We are not alone!” They were intrigued by McCloud’s six types of panel transitions, particularly his attention to those aspect-to-aspect types commonly found in Japanese comics. Natsume praised McCloud for his “discovery that Japanese manga tends to highly value INTERVALS, or *ma,*” which comes back to McCloud’s description of aspect-to-aspect panel transition types and their importance in manga.

What is even more remarkable is that McCloud had no Japanese language skill and that he obtained these insights by simply looking at the pictures, unable to fully understand the stories. “I read Japanese comics all the time, and very few of them are in English,” McCloud told his interviewers in 1992, “but the language of comics is universal and there’s a lot you can get out of them, at least if you’re looking from an aesthetic standpoint…. Sure, I’d get more out of Japanese comics if they were in English. But there’s still a lot worth looking at.”

Even without any Japanese language ability, McCloud felt that he could still “get” much from his scanning of manga. It was Natsume, of course, who was better equipped to write more about manga—especially when it comes to linguistic factors such as onomatopoeia, which is the main topic of the present chapter—because he spoke Japanese. He felt that manga language—be it the dialogue, the narration, or the onomatopoeia—greatly became a part of the total “expression” (表現 *hyōgen*) equation that helped make Japanese manga so “interesting” (面白い *omoshiroi*) for generations of readers. And that is precisely why his writing on manga’s use of onomatopoeia and script greatly expands Anglocentric views of manga like McCloud’s and it supplements manga scholarship in English.

In his article, “The Acoustics of Manga,” Robert Petersen hints at the “wide range of possibilities that sounds” can have in manga and why those sounds “defy easy translation.” He reminds us that a manga-ka (manga artist) can make “effective use of sound” to produce “a drama and vitality to the work where the reader not only subvocalizes the sounds, but also becomes more attuned to silences.” In the present chapter on onomatopoeia, Natsume shows his skill at leveraging linguistics to make manga reading more interesting while he simultaneously reminds his audience of the integral role that Japanese language and language cognition have in creating, reading, and understanding manga.

Although not a linguist, Natsume began to explain the important role Japanese *giongo* (mimic-sound-words) and *gitaigo* (mimic-state-words)
play in manga, often going far beyond words like BAM!, POW!, WHAM!, and other comic-book expressions found in the pages of *Batman* or *Amazing Spider-Man*. Yomota Inuhiko (四方田犬彦), another important manga scholar working in the 1990s, also turned to linguistics in order to better examine how onomatopoeia changed in comics and changed because of comics. Like Natsume, Yomota argued that by the 1990s, manga artists “fully incorporated into the action of the story itself what before was merely notation, that is, words that only had the function of representing a guide to explain sounds in the story.” More than simply conveying kinetic action, Japanese onomatopoeia in manga help portray a rich, expressive mood. Natsume’s chapter essay greatly contributes to our understanding of how Japanese artists use aural and visual elements together to fully tell their stories—and how they think about the use of language in storytelling both as mood makers and as components of a page’s graphic composition. Through Natsume’s chapter essay it becomes clear how, in this decade, scholars of manga studies were increasingly venturing into other realms of study, such as linguistics, literature, and film studies, in order explore the formal properties of Japan’s comic-book medium.

In the following translation of “Onomatope no kōka,” the eighth chapter of Part One of *Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka*, Natsume’s interest in language is apparent, primarily in the way in which he observes how the aural and the visual senses are combined in manga as part of a multi-sensory experience for the reader. Moreover, he describes how all the visual elements on the page—the panel, the panel’s contents, and even hand-written onomatopoeia—constitute the special sense of space (空間 kukan) of the manga page. Likewise, time (時間 jikan) can be fully sensed with the manga’s sounds and language.

It is this multi-sensory and multi-layered experience of reading manga that makes it “omoshiroi” (interesting) for Natsume, although *omoshiroi* as a descriptor seems inadequate—perhaps too humble or even too vague. Natsume later elaborated on the compelling quality of manga for Japanese. After the 1990s, he now asks of himself—and others—“more mature readings” or self-conscious and self-critical “deep readings” (大人読み otona-yomi or 深読み fuka-yomi) that go beyond “interesting.” In *Manga no fukayomi, otona yomi* (マンガの深読み、大人読み Over-readings and adult readings of manga), Natsume writes that the time is right for a new appraisal of why manga should matter for the Japanese: “Since the latter part of the 1980s, when more than half of the manga went the way of
seinen (young male) comics, I believe, at least a part of what today’s manga should be dealing with is exploring manga for ‘adults.’”

Manga’s audiences—and Natsume’s audience—have changed and are quite more sophisticated in their tastes and appreciation of manga. In fact, one of the most common terms that appears in Natsume’s writing in the past decade is *otona*, which should be understood as both “mature” and “adult” because he envisions a fresh, mature, and more sophisticated appreciation of Japan’s legacy of manga, seen, for example, in the works of Taniguchi Jirō (谷口ジロー) and Matsumoto Taiyō (松本大洋), both internationally renowned figures.

However, back in the late 1990s, *omoshiroi* was the term Natsume used to soften resistance and allay any skepticism towards intellectualism possibly harbored by his general audience—those NHK viewers. It is no wonder that he devotes a whole chapter to onomatopoeia, word-play, and language, given the large and general interest Japanese have in their own language. *Jikan* and *kukan*, the other terms in the essay, consistently appear across Natsume’s writing. Natsume sees manga as a kind of visual storytelling that engages the Japanese knack for imagining space and time—something that makes their artform genuinely special, genuinely Japanese.

In 2004, he retrospectively took himself to task for oversimplifying some of his arguments in *Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka*, such as his statement in the present translated chapter essay and again later in the final chapter of Part One, that manga and the Japanese language share the “dual dimensions” (二重構造 nijū-kōzō) of the visual (spatial) and the aural (temporal). Natsume explained:

*The relationship I simplified (manga’s dual relationship = Japanese language’s dual relationship) does not create a contradiction by itself; however, if one does simplify it like this, people neglect the fact that there could be so many other factors in this relationship, and they end up unable to decide which factor is more important than the other…so there are gaps and contradictions when we then see the big picture.*

Stressing the “danger” (危険性 kikensei) of his 1990s “culture theory” (文化論 bunkaron), Natsume felt that his writing “cannot be unconnected to [his] own personal impulses, a kind of reality check for [himself] during the time we all had succumbed to the gloomy mood of the ‘lost decade’ of the 1990s.” Natsume asked his readers of his 1997 essays to keep in mind...
in the context of Japan in that decade and to understand how the gloom to which many Japanese had “succumbed” or yielded (hekomi) had produced a kind of involuntary blindness to the reality of cultural exchange. “If there was a 100% causal relationship between the structure of the Japanese language on the characteristics of manga,” he wrote, challenging his earlier claim,

it would be absolutely impossible for comic books overseas, which have been influenced by Japanese manga, to achieve the same level of expression of our manga. Such a hypothesis would run the risk (kikensei) of lapsing into a kind of cultural essentialism (文化本質主義 bunka honshitsu shugi), a kind of facile nationalistic and ethnocentric ideology. This is the risk of that kind of hypothesis.26

In this “Long Self-Commentary and Self Criticism” essay from 2004, Natsume refutes his earlier cultural essentialist attitude that haunts part of the present translated essay. The contradictions that Natsume later pointed out in his own work are precisely what makes it of use for scholars of Japanese culture and historians of manga, so we can understand how Manga Studies developed out of a period of “dangerous” introspection.

Another aspect of language that greatly intrigued Natsume was the special way in which giongo and kitaigo work within manga panels and in the page layout to greatly influence the reader’s experience. This kind of verbal-visual play is the genius of Japanese artists—particularly Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫 1928–1989), whom Natsume credits with originally developing flashy and funny verbal play in his pioneering comics.27 Natsume observed that manga artists by the 1990s had reached a point where they employed even words that are not onomatopoeia as visual mood makers or story elements (see Figure 11’s “hirakinaori” from Ichijō Yukari’s Nitchiōbi wa issho ni). Although his style of discussing manga onomatopoetic expressions may seem dated, his collection of data and his approach to analyzing them still are relevant and useful today for scholars of both Japanese and comics studies.

Toku Masami writes that “Natsume’s greatest achievement” is “his method of analyzing manga as visual components that he calls the grammar of manga: pictures, frames, and words.”28 Furthermore, she writes that Natsume “is a kind of mentor and very influential to many researchers from various research backgrounds.”29 Toku and co-editor Hiromi Tsuchiya-Dollase open their recently published edited volume on manga with Natsume’s own succinct summary of his manga hyōgen-rōn
(expression-theory). Such publications in English of Natsume’s work, including the present translators’ own efforts, have only grown in number, attesting to the need for what Joe McCullough, one of the editors at *The Comics Journal*, calls the “perspective of Japanese writers on Japanese comics”—something that he and others feel has been missing from English-language Comics Studies and Japanese Studies for far too long.
The Power of Onomatopoeia in Manga

Natsume Fusanosuke

Translated by Jon Holt and Teppei Fukuda

Figures 1 (left) and Figure 2 (right). Lee Hyun-se’s Suni (E. Soonhee [or “Country girl”]) was the first Korean manhwa to run in a Japanese weekly men’s (seinen) manga magazine. Figure 1 shows how the Japanese translator takes the original Hangul onomatopoeia and translates it to the Japanese “biku!” (shudder). (Suni 1987–1988, Weekly Manga Co.).

Hand-Drawn Onomatopoeia in Japanese Comics

Have a look at a scene from a Korean manhwa translated into Japanese (Figure 2). The sound words have been drawn into the picture in Hangul but we see small Japanese translations for them inserted within the hand-drawn Hangul script: baki! [bone cracking] and uaaa [waaah!]. Even so, I do not know how I should actually pronounce the Hangul words. Now as I look back at Figure 1, unlike what we saw in the previous example, I feel I do not understand the Hangul expression, which is translated bikutto (shudder)—perhaps it is a kind of kitaigo [words-for-feelings] for Koreans as it is for us Japanese. It must be close to our word for a shuddering feeling [bikutto] but I cannot fully imagine what the original Hangul nuance must be. Unlike the kind of meaning a sentence can convey,
onomatopoeia (giongo and gitaigo) are expressions that simply relate to our senses. And, the way a person thinks about sounds will vary from culture to culture. I realize now that we must resign ourselves to only getting part of the Hangul meaning from its translation into Japanese.

I suppose that Japanese manga must seem like this too from the point of view of readers outside Japan. If the words were only part of what goes into dialogue lines in the speech balloons, then all that would be needed is to put a translation close enough to the original. Yet, when we have hand-drawn onomatopoeia that form a part of the panel’s whole image, that approach will not work. They are drawn into the panel and work as part of its picture, so it is natural that the onomatopoeia become an indispensable visual element. These words have an important function to help bring the picture to life.

When I compare Japanese postwar manga to prewar manga like [Tagawa Suihō’s] Norakuro (のらくろ Black stray), it seems to me that postwar manga, especially after Tezuka Osamu’s debut, heavily rely on hand-drawn onomatopoeia. Nowadays they are so ubiquitous that they have become characteristic of contemporary manga. Certainly, such hand-drawn onomatopoeia are vital elements in manga, but, within Japan, people see them and read them unconsciously, so Japanese readers do not notice their importance. If we try to think of a couple of examples, one immediately can think of explosion sounds or punching sounds in comics, but what about milder psychological onomatopoeia in our manga like a realization hah! or a throat-swallow gyot! or a disappointment gakkuri? All of these sounds go relatively unnoticed to a startling degree, even though they are important expressions.

Also, when it comes to the onomatopoeia that have been used in manga frequently, such as shīn [silence], ururu [teary eyed], and mufu [grin], they still do not appear in dictionaries today. However, it is a certain fact that Japanese manga have proliferated many onomatopoeic expressions like this, and manga artists and writers keep modifying them. Certainly, it is through their use and development in manga that various Japanese onomatopoeia have acquired very special nuances in our language. Japanese expressions like these must be very difficult to translate.

Let us turn our attention to a manga by Tezuka (Figure 3) compared to what is most likely a pirated edition published in Taiwan around 1993. In their translation of Tezuka’s Zero man (0 マン Zero man), the Taiwanese publisher eliminated the gasp haa! and shīn [silence] and even
reduced the word *zoot(t)* [shock] to the man’s shouting “Ah!” [as a Chinese hanzi pictograph].\(^{37}\) If these expressions were easy to translate, the Taiwanese publisher surely would have done it. In the years following these translations, large companies in Taiwan and Hong Kong started publishing their translations based on official contracts. Like we saw in the earlier example of the Japanese adaptation of the Korean manhwa, in the Hong Kong version of Tezuka’s *Astro Boy* (Figure 4), the publisher has applied a gloss below the panel frame and has left the hand-drawn onomatopoeia expressions as they are.\(^{38}\) This note is not a translation of *hah!* but it just explains that Astro Boy was startled and jumped in
response This translation within the speech bubble simply means “surprise.”

Figure 4. An example where the publisher has provided a gloss (Tezuka Osamu, *Tetsuwan Atomu* [Xiao fei xia], Hong Kong publisher Wenhua boxin, 1994).

What Is Onomatopoeia?
The word *gi-on* 擬音 [in *giongo* 擬音語] means a transcription into words of actual sounds, so the barking sound of a dog for us Japanese is expressed as *wan-wan*. When you bang on a pail, it goes *gaahn*. As for *gitaigo* [擬態語], they are words that describe in terms of sound things that do not actually have sounds, so you can be slacking off and walking home in a *bara-barra* way; when something flashes, for example when lightning strikes, it makes a visual burst in a *pika-pika* way. In [American] English, dogs bark “bow-wow” and stars might shine with a “twinkle.” In Japanese, we call these types of expressions *onomatopée* (J. *onomatope*; E. onomatopoeia), borrowing the term from French.

Even in cases such as the English “bow-wow” or “twinkle,” one might instead simply use verbs like *howl* (*hoeru*) or *glitter* (*kirakira hikaru*), but in the case of the Japanese language, these words are used in tandem with verbs and we place the onomatopoeia before the verb in order of modification: for example, bow-wow barking (*wan-wan to naku*) or stars shining with a twinkle (*pika pika hikaru*). Now, I am a complete layman when it comes to linguistics, but allow me to quote the linguist Lawrence Schourup on this issue:

> When we compare Japanese and English, the frequency of the adult use of onomatopoeia is much greater among the Japanese. When people speak or write English, we observe that there is a strong tendency for them to reserve such expressions like “clickety-clack,” “tick-tock,” and “dilly-dally” for informal situations and that native speakers tend to limit
their use of them to times when adults are not present. We can also conclude that there is a strong tendency for English speakers to feel that such onomatopoeic expressions are fundamentally childish and that to use them would be undignified. Such expressions make one seem too effusive, and thus English speakers hesitate to use them in public.

(“Comparative Studies of English and Japanese Onomatopoeia” in Gekkan gengo [Tokyo: Taishūkan, June 1993.])

Japanese, on the contrary, has so many onomatopoeic expressions that can transform almost any verb and help us express ourselves better. Take, for example, shikkari yaru [following through on things] and kichin to yaru [doing it right], which are just some examples of onomatopoeic expressions that appear in formal, proper Japanese sentences.

In Japan, there are theories that gitaigo words have become so plentiful and institutionalized in the language; also, they often spinoff new ways for us to express things. I think it is also a characteristic of our language that Japanese people can somehow understand a new expression without difficulty. Even so, I am not ready to say that Japanese necessarily has more of these expressions than English does, but I think it is safe to say that Japanese at least, more than English, has an established discourse on the onomatopoeia in our language.

In Kakei Hisao and Tamori Ikuhiro’s Onomatopia, gion, gitaigo no rakuen (Garden of giongo and gitaigo onomatopoeia , [Keisō shobō, 1993]), the authors assert:

In Japanese onomatopoeia, there are both sound-words (which includes words that imitate either physical sounds or vocal sounds) and mental-state gitaigo words. Furthermore, we often see how some words make the transition from sound-onomatopoeia to mental-state onomatopoeia. For example, in Chinese, even though their language has both kinds too, these types of words are always distinct and linguists rarely see instances of cross-over from sound to feeling. In the case of English, the main form of onomatopoeia are sound words. Mental-state gitaigo are comparatively rare in English.

(“In Place of a Preface”) These authors can make this assertion, and I certainly do not have the authority to judge how right they are. However, when it comes to Japanese comics, onomatopoeia often freely change and make remarkable transformations, and in doing so they truly enrich the kind of expressiveness one finds in manga.
Onomatopoeia Can Be Both Words and Pictures

It really is true that there is a powerful connection between manga and onomatopoeia when it comes to the expressive structure of this genre. For example, hand-drawn onomatopoeia can simultaneously be both pictures and words. A very easily understood instance of this can be found in Sonoyama Shunji’s “Gyātoruzu” (The Gyatles, 1965–1972), where we see someone’s shout rendered very much as a picture in the panel (Figure 5). Following the basic rule of manga, we all understand that a sound like “whoa!” cannot normally be seen by the characters nor would we expect the word to be something one could touch or something that could crumble. And yet Sonoyama makes it do all those things, breaking that rule, as his “whoa!” takes on physical form and even ends up crumbling over a character in the panel.

Sound is something that travels across a certain amount of time and we experience it through our hearing, so we would expect that readers of manga similarly recognize the illustrated words for those sounds in terms
of a time duration. The “whoa!” you hear in your head becomes associated with a certain kind of flow of time. Yet in Sonoyama’s manga, when the second panel shows that “whoa!” collapsing and crumbling, in an instant we see the word as something concrete, with a kind of hardness, a kind of weight, and a kind of physicality that must occupy a determined physical space.

We enjoy Sonoyama’s leap in logic, because in this fanciful play Sonoyama surprises us by easily moving beyond our natural pattern of recognition with which we humans normally process the visual in terms of space (kūkan) and the aural in terms of time (jikan). The fact that he can pull off this kind of trick is due to the fact that manga fundamentally associates our sense of time with how we hear, and our sense of the spatial with the things we see, such as words and pictures.

Next, let us look at Figure 6, below, a scene from an Ishinomori Shōtarō comic, where we have a young boy walking through a forest.41 If the onomatopoeia shīn were not rendered in the panel, it would seem to us that we have a mere moment frozen in time. However, because the reader encounters that shīn, we feel a certain amount of time passing quietly. Shīn is a quiet duration of time.

If the manga panel did not provide this strange onomatopoeia for a soundless sound, then the scene’s effect could not be fully expressed. And yet, if Ishinomori drew the shīn in an explosive lettered style, the scene would then lose its somber, calm feeling. Manga artists thus create a rich diversity of nuances in their works by making use of such hand-drawn onomatopoeia for their verbal and visual qualities.

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Figure 6. Shīn expresses a state of silence. (Ishinomori Shōtarō, Ryūjin-numa, special issue of Shōjo kurabu, 1961)
Onomatopoeia as Psychological Description
We can see further examples of how manga can change all kind of onomatopoeia for other purposes, including those of psychological description and emotional expression. In Figure 7, the artist changes an explosive sound into a cat’s angry expression. If we only saw the cat’s face, the image would not so effectively convey the feeling of anger to the reader. Even if the artist drew the cat’s pinched brows and whiskers standing erect in order to make us feel its anger, the image would seem rather weak, at least in terms of showing the rise and fall of events within the story.

Although Sasaki Noriko’s Dōbutsu no oisha-san (Animal doctor, 1988–93) is a work that depicts animals in very naturalistic detail, she simultaneously creates another layer of interest by the way she expresses their emotional states through personification. If she only applied human feelings to them by anthropomorphized images, that is nothing new: we have long had such a tradition of doing that in Japan. What makes Sasaki so successful is that, on one hand, it seems like she is only drawing the animals realistically; on the other hand, she imparts to them a kind of mindset that we expect them to have in the story. Even when she sketches her animals with an extreme amount of detail, like you would see in a photo, Sasaki also expresses some cute aspect of the animal’s psychology or behavior just by adding an onomatopoeic expression. That is how she

Figure 7 (right). “Dokaan” shows anger. (Sasaki Noriko, Dōbutsu no oisha-san (Animal doctor) Hana to Yume Comics, 1988–93).
produces something both realistic and fun, which we would not get from a manga that just had anthropomorphized cats.

According to linguist Kindaichi Haruhiko in his book *Nihongo no tokushitsu* (The characteristics of Japanese, NHK Books, 1991), “Japanese has a more evolved sense of feeling-based (*gitaigo*) onomatopoeia and possesses something we should call ‘mood-mimicking words’ (*gijōgo*).” He cites words like *kuyokuyo* [nervously worrying], *iraira* [growing irritation], and *mukamuka* [getting nauseated] as examples and adds that “there are few languages in the world that have such moody emotion-mimetic words.” If he is right, then that might explain why manga often establishes the mood of its scenes with this special kind of onomatopoeia.

Of course, even without such specialized mood-expressive words (*gijōgo*), there are plenty of examples of manga depicting emotional or psychological states with standard sound *giongo* and mental-state *gitaigo* as we saw in Sasaki’s case. In the classic baseball manga *Kyojin no hoshi* (Star of the Giants, 1966–71), when the protagonist Hoshi Hyūma receives a sudden shock, he is depicted with the sound effects *GAAN*! *GAAN*! *GAAN*! and yet you know that in reality his head is not really hitting a metal pail to make that sound, but that the artist Kawasaki is creating a metaphor for Hyūma’s psychological state with this word play (Figure 8).  

![Image of manga page](image)

Figure 8. Hyūma gets a series of mental shocks like the sound of pails or buckets being dropped. (Kajiwara Ikki and Kawasaki Noboru’s *Kyojin no hoshi* (Star of the Giants, Shūkan shōnen magajin, 1966–71).)
Onomatopoeia Born and Born Again
To further add to our discussion, we can say manga has become the site of daily production of new onomatopoetic terms. Think about the term for silence, shīn, which I described earlier. Manga has given us so many new mimetic terms: the bakyūn sound of a gun, the pito(tto) or bito(tto) sound of sticking together (we even use it for when one person doggedly follows another person they like), the kuva(tto) sound of someone’s eyes “widely” opening, and the mind getting fuzzy with the hokē-tto sound. One after another, postwar manga has come up with so many new words for our feelings that we have come to expect it as one of the charms of our comic books.

This tendency becomes even more pronounced in girls’ (shōjo) manga where it is the standard operating procedure for those artists to produce experimental onomatopoetic expressions. Cat cries nyaa nyaa are expressed impossibly now in hiragana as [g]nn-nya (Figure 9). One cannot normally mark the nasal syllable /n/ with voiced consonant dakuten.

Figure 9. Manga-esque onomatopoeia. (Abiko Miwa’s Mikan e-nikki (Mikan’s picture diary, LaLa Comics, 1988–91.)
(script dots), but by doing so the artist creates a strong emphasis on the sound. When the **dakuten** dots attach to an onomatopoeia, typically they add a sense of “something big” or “something large.” Like when the sound for rolling **korokoro** gets marked with **dakuten**, it becomes **gorogoro** and you then have the feeling that something heavier is rolling. So, our cat’s **[g]nn-nya** sound is something actually impossible to use in Japanese, but we get a fresh feeling somehow from it, and it expresses a strong defiant nuance to it, like the cat is trying to blurt out some kind of purring sound. The actual sound is a kind of play on the negative retort “un-nya” (like the English “nope!”) to have the effect of a feline denial. At least one might get that feeling.

There are other expressions from this series, like **nufurin** or **a[g]mo**, which are completely original creations of their author. They are not something modified from similar sounding words. First of all, the **[g]mo** (′ [hiragana mo with dakuten]) is simply impossible to pronounce. Nonetheless, her readers cannot help but feeling something cute or charming in it. My guess is that she wants to generate a special nuance from the new combination of impressions of the sounds in Japanese sound words. For example, **ki** and **chi**, which give the impression of something being closed, as you will do with the shape of your mouth, like when you bite down; with sounds like **a** and **fu**, you have the feeling that you are letting out a breath with your open mouth. She further accentuates the new nuance with her impossible **dakuten** script marks and can further turn the feeling into an image by drawing the word in her rounded script (and so the word takes on an additional aspect—an imagistic element).

In manga it is a kind of understood rule that if you have words placed off to the side of the characters then they must be onomatopoeia. The words in these panels are neither commentary nor dialogue (as in this case because the characters are cats lacking human speech), but they are read as something like onomatopoeia. However, in the end, I really do not know if we are meant to read these impossible-to-pronounce words as some of kind of mimetic expression.

Figure 10 from the same manga series is even more unintelligible for me. I realize that the words in that panel are neither dialogue nor narration. Certainly, their position in the panel marks them as onomatopoeia. The phrase **biku tomo shinai** (doesn’t shudder at all) is a regular combination of the onomatopoeia **biku(t)to** with a regular verb (**shinai**). Abiko cuts the phrase after **biku tomo** and eliminates the predicate’s verb **shinai**, but
readers can still infer the negative meaning. Indeed, our cat does not budge—not even a bit.

Figure 10. Abiko gitai/go-
izes the sentence biku tomo shinai (Mikan’s picture diary).

Figure 11. Using the noun hiraki-naori as onomatopoeia. Ichijō Yukari’s Nichiyōbi wa issho ni (Shūkan māgaretto, 1987).
And now we get to another example of interesting expressions with Ichijō Yukari’s (一条ゆかり) Nichiyōbi wa issho ni (日曜日は一緒に Together on Sunday, 1987). Here the artist takes the nominalized form of the verb hirakinaoru (to become defiant) and somehow uses it like an onomatopoeia. Without a doubt the words here modify the character’s condition. Yet, the words are neither spoken by anyone nor are they said as commentary. Well, what are they doing there then? We are left with no choice but to say that it is a special kind of noun in the world of manga which is used as onomatopoeia. There so many instances like this, and, not being a linguist, I cannot provide the right academic gloss for them, but these examples alone demonstrate how really interesting manga is to read and think about. Again, not being a linguist, I lump together these onomatopoeia-like expressions like we see drawn in the manga here and simply call them “sound metaphors” (on’yū 音喩).

Words that can belong to the onomatopoeia category have, in manga, a kind of life of their own, a very Japanese kind of non-straightforward expression. That is why they seem to have often been overlooked as valid objects of academic research. I keep wondering why this must be so. We should be able by now to finally see the value of critically thinking about these ubiquitous expressions in our culture.

What is still more interesting is how manga-like onomatopoeia and the use of words related to those expressions have come to be used in everyday Japanese conversation as if it were the most normal thing to do. The younger generation goes gaan!, ge!, to-ho-ho so much it seems that they speak with manga words on purpose. When they use these words in letters, they add their own manga-like doodles, or they add in heart♡and exclamation ! marks

Among people who regularly read manga, such manga-like words and their usage are completely natural acts of communication. I think we can say with confidence that the manga-expression style has put its stamp on the way the Japanese language is spoken today.

NOTES

1 Scott McCloud’s notion of “closure” between comic panels is perhaps the heart of Understanding Comics. “Comics panels fracture both time and space, offering a jagged, staccato rhythm of unconnected moments. But closure allows us to connect these moments and mentally construct a continuous, unified reality…”


4 He cites both Kure Tomofusa’s (呉智英) *Gendai manga no zentaizō* (現代マンガの全体像 Complete picture of manga today, [Tokyo: Futabasha, 1997]) and Yōrō Takeshi and Makino Ke’ichi’s collected *taidanshū: Manga o motto yominasai* (マンガをもっと読みなさい: マンガの深読み、大人読み Please read more manga: Japanese brains are incredible, [Kyoto: Shōyō shobō, 2005]). Takahashi, ibid., 219.


8 Ibid., 51.

9 Ibid., 56.


11 Ingulsrud and Allen, *Reading Japan Cool*, 52.

12 The original essay on onomatopoeia and on’yu that Natsume later modified for *Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka* is “Gion kara on’yu e: Nihon bunka ni rikkyaku shita on’yu no hōjō na sekai” (擬音から「音喩」へ：日本文化に立脚


18 Ibid., 170.


20 Ibid., 141. Translation by Holt and Fukuda.


23 This problematic contradiction begins in the present chapter essay and he returned to it in “The Characteristics of Japanese Manga” (“Nihon manga no tokuchō”), which we have translated and published in *The International Journal of Comic Art* 22.2 (2020): 164–179.

25 Ibid., 362.

26 Ibid., 361.

27 Frederik Schodt writes of the manga master that, “after World War II, a single artist—Tezuka Osamu—helped revolutionize the art of comics in Japan by decompressing story lines. Influenced by American animation in particular, instead of using ten or twenty pages to tell a story as had been common before, Tezuka began drawing novelistic manga that were hundreds, even thousands of pages long, and he incorporated different perspectives and visual effects—that came to be called ‘cinematic techniques.’” Schodt, *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga* (Berkeley, California: Stone Bridge Press, 1996), 25.


29 Ibid., 134.


31 Joe McCullogh, “God Pays Me in Genius Dollars.” *The Comics Journal* (August 16, 2021), http://www.tcj.com/god-pays-me-in-genius-dollars. Should the summary of Natsume’s “stylistics” in Toku and Dollase’s volume (previous endnote) prove stimulating, interested readers are encouraged to delve into Natsume’s full-length discussions of panel transitions and layouts found in both classic manga and later shōjo manga. See our publications of other *Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka* already cited. Furthermore, the widely known and respected magazine of comics journalism, *The Comics Journal* (Fantagraphics), has begun to run a series of our translations of Natsume essays both new and old. See the aforementioned Natsume Fusanosuke, “Time to Re-Evaluate Taniguchi Jirō’s Place in Manga,” and, Natsume, “Making It Just in Time: Author-Creator Matsumoto Taiyō.”

32 “Onomatope no kōka” オノマトペの効果 is the eighth chapter of Part One of *Manga wa naze omoshiroi no ka: sono hyōgen to bunpō* (Tokyo: NHK Library, 1997), 110–124. The translators would like to thank Natsume Fusanosuke for allowing us to translate this essay. Our colleagues Young-ju Han and Suwako Watanabe (Portland State University) and Kai Xie (Kenyon College) kindly gave helpful advice about the translation. Our peer reviewers of the introduction and translation at *JLL* offered many helpful suggestions, which we very much
appreciated. Finally, we are also very grateful to the artists and their publishers, who generously permitted us to reproduce their manga images.

33 Translators’ note: The manhwa that Natsume uses for Figures 1 and 2 is from Lee Hyun-se’s Suni (E. Soonhee [or Country girl]), which was one of the first translations of Korean comics published in Japan. Natsume summarizes its story in his review of Sanshūsha’s 1990 double-volume publication of the work: “[Suni] is a sociological manga that follows an innocent girl from the country who goes to Seoul, only to end up first slaving in a factory, but then is soon turned into a prostitute; with her dreams crushed, she becomes drawn more and more into crime. No happy ending here: by the end, she is involved in a gun fight and is killed by a police officer.” Natsume Fusasnosuke, “I Hyon Se: Suni: Souru ni ikita onna no monogatari,” in Fūun manga retsuden: ima yomu manga 116-satsu (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1999), 71.

34 Translators’ note: Translators’ additions will be indicated in square brackets. The word is ddo-do-doooc, like the Japanese, a “thud” or a dull breaking sound. The second word in Hangul is u-a-ahhh—the sound of someone screaming in pain or caught off guard.

35 Translators’ note: The Korean word is dul-keong, the “sound” of the heart dropping.

36 Translators’ note: Tagawa Suihō’s Norakuro (Black stray) was, writes Frederik Schodt, “a series of stories about a bumbling stray dog who joined the Imperial Army and over the years rose from private first class to captain. In the process he stopped walking on all fours and making mistakes, but he also became less humorous and less interesting. Norakuro features a series of battles with other ‘animal’ armies and seemed to support the military, but the Japanese Imperial Army eventually frowned upon it as bad for their image. Norakuro ran in Shōnen Club from 1931 to 1941.” Schodt, Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics Collector's Edition (New York: Kodansha, 1998), 52.

37 Translators’ note: Zero man (0マン 0 man, 1959–1960) is one of the last works of Tezuka’s early period, according to Yomota Inuhiko. Definitely following the pattern of Tezuka’s “critiquing humanity from the perspective of benevolent animals,” Tezuka “achieves an almost epic scale as [the manga] traverses a variety of spaces and places that run the gamut of the Tezuka world…. Zero men are extraterrestrials with squirrel-like tails who migrated from Venus to Earth in far antiquity. Despite their highly developed science and civilization, Zero men avoid humans like the plague and lead a quiet, reclusive life,” but they are brought into conflict and it is up to the Zero man hero, Rickie, who had befriended the humans, to help broker a peace between the two species as an “ambassador.” For a full summary of this “intricate” story, see Yomota Inuhiko, “Stigmata in Tezuka Osamu’s Works,” trans. Nakatani Hajime, Mechademia 3 (2008): 106–108.
Translators’ note: *Tetsuwan Atomu* (鉄腕アトム Iron arm Atomu, known as *Astro Boy*) is one of Tezuka’s most endearing characters and most definitely the character that propelled his success in both manga and anime. Frederick Schodt writes that “in 1951, when Tezuka first created his now-classic *Tetsuwan Atomu*, or ‘Mighty Atom’ character, he never dreamed that he would become such a star. In the manga story, Atom was a highly advanced little boy robot invented, in Pinocchio fashion, by a mad scientist as a surrogate for his dead son. Atom was cute and almost cuddly, and he always helped humans, frequently fighting off assorted monsters and criminals and evil robots. Unlike American superheroes that usually fought for justice, he also fought for the ultimate goal of postwar defeated Japan—peace” (Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, Manga/Anime Revolution* [Berkeley, California: Stone Bridge Press, 2007], 4). In his heyday, it ran in *Shōnen* from 1952 to 1968, until that magazine unexpectedly ceased publication. In 1963, Tezuka’s production company had adapted the manga for anime—the first successful anime in Japan (and later, worldwide). After *Shōnen* shut down, *Tetsuwan Atomu* reappeared in manga form for a number of magazines and newspapers, but the series never enjoyed its original popularity. As Natsume elsewhere notes, there were significant changes in the character and stories after his anime debut, where the character became anime-ized and thereby lost much of his original appeal in the process. For Natsume, more importantly, changes in the character design were quite striking and changes in his appearance effectively alienated the earlier fans (those born sometime after 1950, like Natsume) and the next generation of Atom-anime fans (born around 1960) who primarily only knew the character through the television show. Natsume, *Tezuka Osamu wa doko ni iru* (手塚治虫はどこにいる Where is Tezuka Osamu?) (Tokyo: Chikuma bunko, 1995), 137–141. As for the difference in Japanese and American names, Schodt explains there are many stories where the hero came to be known in English as Astro Boy, including a possible copyright conflict when the Japanese anime was localized “because an American comic-book publisher also had a minor superhero character of the same name [Mighty Atom],” but the “official dogma,” or story that Tezuka himself repeatedly used, was that one of the NBC executives asked his own son for a different title, “and the son proposed Astro Boy, which was adopted.” Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays*, ibid., 79–80.

38 Translators’ note: Both the English words “bow-wow” and “twinkle” appear in Natsume’s Japanese text.

39 Translators’ note: Sonoyama Shūji, one of the masters of the gyagu (gag) manga genre, created his “First Family” of the Neolithic era in 1965, and it was serialized in *Shūkan manga sandē* (Weekly manga Sunday) until 1972. Readers of Johnny Hart’s *B. C.* or viewers of Hanna-Barbara’s *The Flintstones* may recall the popularity of “Stone-Age” comics and cartoons in North America,
too, during this decade. Sonoyama’s *Gyātoruzu*, typical for gag manga of this time, focuses on humorous comings-and-goings of these cavemen, often showing these first humans engaged in lewd behavior, focused on minutia—all in all characteristics of what Kure Tomofusa (呉智英) called the strain of “realism” that is the basis for this new development in humor manga (Kure, *Gendai manga no zentaizō* [Tokyo: Century Press, 1986], 148). Indeed, unlike its American comparators, *Gyātoruzu* is more true to its subject matter for showing its early humans co-existing not with dinosaurs, but with other mammals like mammoths. An anime series was adapted for television by Kosai Takao, who stayed faithful to the original designs of Sonoyama, although aspects such as nudity had to be cleaned up for television. Cartoonist Charles Brubaker notes that although there were plans to translate the series and bring it to English-speaking audiences with the title *The First Family* by Ocean Studios, but the localizing company made extensive changes to the story through reworked dubbing and the pilot was never picked up in North America. See Brubaker, “*Gyātoruzu*: The First Human,” *Cartoon Research*, https://cartoonresearch.com/index.php/Gyatoruzu-the-first-human/ [Accessed August 10, 2021]. Natsume often notes the importance of gag manga in his writings about the development of manga “expression” (hyōgen). Later, in Chapter 10 of the *Manga wa naze*, he uses *Bonbon*, a work by Ishinomori Shōtarō (see next note), as a prime example to illustrate classic manga panel configuration techniques developed in the 1960s. See Natsume, “A Translation of Natsume Fusanosuke’s Essay ‘The Functions of Panels (Koma) in Manga’ with Translators’ Introduction,” trans. Holt and Fukuda, *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* 21.2 (2021), http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/ejcjs/vol21/iss2/holt_fukuda.html

Translators’ note: Ishinomori Shōtarō’s “Ryūjin-numa” (龍神沼 Swamp of the dragon god, 1961) is one of the artist’s masterworks. Natsume writes that when it came out in 1961, it clearly revealed that Ishinomori was perhaps at the “top” (zuichī) of the manga world at that time in terms of his ability to make innovative, stunning panel layouts. This novella-length manga appeared in *Shōjo kurabu* (Shōjo club) and it “involves a love story between a male manga artist and a girl, who can transform into a dragon deity, but the focus is on the theme of closeness between these two adolescents. Ishinomori constructed each fantasy-like episode out of the moments where the young man and young girl feel confused about their sexualities and bear intense longing for each other.” Natsume Fusanosuke, “Ishinomori Shōtarō, ‘Ryūjin-numa,’” *Fūun manga retsuden: ima yomu manga 116-satsu* (Grand manga biography: 116 manga books you should read now) (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1999), 149.

Translators’ note: Sasaki Noriko’s popular manga follows the lives of a male protagonist, his dog, and the protagonist’s friend as they interact with a number of characters (human or non-human) at a veterinary school. For a full summary...
of this animal manga that best shows the “endearing qualities in everyday human behavior,” see “Sasaki Noriko” in 100 Manga Artists, eds. Julius Wiedemann and Amano Masanao (Köln, Germany: Taschen 2018), 492.

43 Translators’ note: Kyojin no hoshi (巨人の星 Star of the Giants, 1966–1971), Frederik Schodt writes, “helped usher in what are today known as ‘sports-guts’ [supokon スポ根] comics. Written by Kajiwara Ikki and drawn by Kawasaki Noboru, Kyojin no hoshi starred a young boy named Hyūma Hoshi who dreamed of joining the Giants, Japan’s most famous baseball team. Hyūma’s father, a former ballplayer himself, puts his son through rigorous training and eventually the boy’s dream materializes. He becomes one of Japan’s star pitchers…. Kyojin no hoshi’s phenomenal popularity derived partly from its realism (actual baseball stars appeared as characters in the story), its pitting of father against son in an age-old loyalty conflict, and its glorification of Hyūma’s earnestness, perseverance, and courage.” Schodt, Manga! Manga!, ibid., 83.

44 Translators’ note: Abiko Miwa’s (安孫子三和) Mikan enikki (みかん絵日記 Mikan’s picture diary) is a shōjo manga about a boy Kusanagi Tomu, who adopts a stray cat that has orange fur. After Tomu brings the cat home, the Kusanagi family names their tabby cat Mikan (“Mandarin”), and they start living together. Soon after, the Kusanaquis realize that their cat can use human language, walk on his hind limbs, and even drink alcohol. Mikan enikki is a record of the strange and humorous daily life of Kusanagi family with Mikan. The series ran from June 1988 to January 1995 in Hakusensha’s shōjo manga magazine, Lala. It was adapted for TV anime, running from 1992 to 1993.

45 Translators’ note: Nichiyōbi wa issho ni (Together on Sunday) is a romantic comedy by one of the pioneer artists of the shōjo manga genre, Ichijō Yukari. The protagonist Kichijōji Kanako and two of her best friends are ditched by their boyfriends all at the same time. The three girls become desperate and decide to join their school’s dance party, run by the school’s dance club, but the girls have to find boys to bring with them. The manga ran in Shūkan māgaretto (Weekly Margaret), a shōjo manga magazine published by Shūeisha, in 1987.