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REDESCRIPTION OF *MAIKO* AND *GEIKO* IDENTITIES: METAPHORICAL READING IN SUO MASAYUKI'S *MAIKO WA LADY*

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ABSTRACT

This article describes the new identity of *maiko* and *geiko* that is expressed through a film entitled *Maiko Wa Lady*, by interpreting the metaphors found in the film. This film is released in 2014, directed by Suo Masayuki, set in the city of Kyōto. It provides an overview of the lives of *geisha* and *maiko* through a musical comedy genre. The interpretation of the metaphorical expressions in the *Maiko Wa Lady* film is based on Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic theory, which concludes that the outcome of the interpretation of the metaphor is the redescription of reality. The way to redscribe metaphor is to do a review of split-reference, namely through intra-linguistic references and extra-linguistic references. Reading metaphors in intra-linguistic elements detects 20 metaphorical expressions in the form of multimodal metaphors that are mutually correlated with each other. Furthermore, through a review of extra-linguistic reality, the metaphors in the *Maiko Wa Lady* film indicating *maiko* and *geiko* as figures representing artists, popular culture, and Japanese modernity.

INTRODUCTION

Maiko Wa Lady is a film directed by Suo Masayuki which was released in 2014. The film provides an overview of the lives of *geisha* and *maiko*

through a musical comedy genre. Unlike the previous *geisha*-themed films, that tend to portray *geisha* figures to prostitution, *Maiko Wa Lady*, following *Maiko Haaaaan !!!* (2007) portrayed the *geisha* image, not as a prostitute.

Maiko Wa Lady (Suo, 2014) tells about a teenage country girl called Haruko who comes to Kyōto to manifest her strong will in becoming a *maiko*. The setting of this film is the city of Kyōto, which is known as the center of *geisha* existence since the Meiji restoration. Throughout the long history of *geisha* existence in Kyōto, the *geisha* figure has become an icon of the city of Kyōto which represents traditional Japan. In Kyōto, *geisha* are known as *geiko*, and *maiko* is a term for prospective *geisha*. Even though the film's title uses the name "*maiko*", but the narrative in this film also tells the life of the *geisha* in an *ochaya* (teahouse).

Suo Masayuki is a Japanese director who has produced twelve films, and three of them are documentary films. His works belong to the canon category, such as *Shiko Funjatta*, *Shall We Dance?*, and *Soredemo Boku wa Yattenai* which won Japanese Academy awards, and *Maiko wa Lady* also who won the Japanese Academy award in 2015 for the best music category.

Suo Masayuki himself concluded that "*in the film's fantasy land, being maiko is like being an idol*" (Schilling, 2014). This statement indicates the idol as a representation of *maiko*, which means that the identity attached to the character of *maiko* in *Maiko Wa Lady* is an idol. Suo Masayuki's statement gives a direction for different representations of the *maiko* and *geiko* characters in this film, which means a new identity is attached to the *maiko* and *geiko* figures.

Woodward (2002, p. 100) explains that identity is a matter of representation and also confirmed by Sasaki (2004, p. 75) who stated that identity is a system of relations and representation. If the image of a *geisha* is often expressed through *geisha*-themed films as a representation of prostitution, Suo Masayuki attaches a new identity to the *geisha* figure through this film.

This paper intends to describe the new identity of *maiko* and *geiko* which is expressed through the *Maiko Wa Lady* film, by interpreting the metaphors found in the film. Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 5) explain that the essence of metaphor is to understand and experience a thing in other terms, due to the title "*Maiko Wa Lady*" can be said to be a metaphor, which is supposed to be *maiko* as a lady. The *maiko* figure is always related to *geisha*, as an iconic figure of Japan. But *maiko* and *geisha*'s social status cannot be compared with the "lady", who in western culture has a connotative meaning as a female figure from the upper social class. Starting from the metaphorical title, a method was selected to reveal the new identity of *geisha* in the film by reading the metaphorical expressions and then interpreting them.

METHOD

The interpretation of metaphorical expressions in the *Maiko Wa Lady* film will be based on Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic theory. Ricoeur's hermeneutics is known as "hermeneutical arc", which is to place meaning in front of the text, so as his search for meaning moves from inside of the text to

the outside of the text. It is expressed in three stages of hermeneutical work; they are explanation, understanding, and appropriation.

Sugiharto (2016, p. 106) explains that for Ricoeur the metaphor is a discourse form that gives us the capability to redescribe reality, that can be found in the works of fiction. The statement shows that what is discovered from the interpretation of metaphor is called “redescription”. By metaphor, something is expressed with a thing that is different from the reality, and “to redescribe” the metaphorical expression means to uncover the hidden reality, so this redescription is the outcome of the interpretation of the metaphor.

Fahlenbrach (2005, p. 4) says that metaphor is not limited to language, but is the result of the expression of human thought. As Punter (2007, p. 57) says about “*the text instead*”, interpreting metaphors is looking for the unspoken, by giving a new understanding of the text. Metaphor is like miniature poetry (Ricoeur, 2003, p. 109) that is not ended only with the expression ‘A like B’, because a metaphor cannot be separated from its context. Reagan & Stewart (1978, p. 136) confirms that the existence of metaphors will concentrate on events and meanings, McFague (1987, p. 192) and Abetz (2014, p. 43) also explains that metaphor is not merely imitation but a product outcome. Thus, a metaphor that can be interpreted is called ‘the living metaphor’. A metaphor that is recognized as a dead metaphor, a metaphor that we can find in our dictionary or what we use in daily life expression. This kind of metaphor does not need to be interpreted. What needs to be interpreted is the living metaphor, which is a metaphor that has a relation to reality.

Because metaphors are always tied to the context and take the substance from reality, redescribing the metaphor requires a review of what Ricoeur (Ricoeur, 2003, 2005) called split reference. The mention of split references shows the existence of two domains, namely intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic. Through intra-linguistics reference, we look into fictional text through its structure, and through extra-linguistic reference, we see outside the text to discover the reality. With intra-linguistic references, we get ‘what is said’ by text, but with extra-linguistic references, we look for ‘about what’ the text said (Reagan & Stewart, 1978, p. 137; Ricoeur, 2005, p. 152) by looking at the world which is outside the text. In redescribing reality through metaphor, the focus is on the “as” predicative function, as Ricoeur said (2005, p. 148) “*to see the like is to see the same in spite of, and through the different*” and Bromel (1993, p. 494) “*by metaphor, we construct our realities, comparing the unfamiliar with the familiar*”.

In this paper, the identity of *maiko* and *geiko* can be understood as a reality expressed through metaphors in *Maiko Wa Lady*. This reality is redescribed through a review of split references. The plot structure in the film is applied as an intra-linguistic reference, because the plot can be understood as a formation composed of events (Bordwell, 2008, p. 98; Chatman, 1978, p. 43) as well as the sentences that make up a text. Plot structuring is determined according to five stages of the plot, namely *setup*, *complicating action*, *development*, *climax*, *epilogue* (Bordwell, 2008, pp. 105–106). Reading metaphors is carried out centered on diegesis elements, through character's

actions as narrative agents. Furthermore, extra-linguistic references are obtained through a review of the historical reality in Japanese culture, including about *geisha*, the city of Kyōto, the internationalization of Japan, and also about idols.

Metaphors in films are recognized as multimodal metaphors, which are not limited to verbal forms. Multimodal metaphor can be defined as “*metaphors “whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes”*” (Eggertsson & Forceville, 2009, p. 430; Forceville, 2009, p. 24; Rohdin, 2009, p. 404). If metaphorical expressions are ‘A as B’, then A is the target, and B is the source. The target and source of metaphor are determined according to *mise-en-scene*, which is found in the modes of pictorial signs, spoken signs, and song lyric (as part of the musical sign), referring to the type of mode proposed by Rohdin (2009, p. 404). How to determine which mode is the target and which is the source, Forceville (2009, p. 33) explains that in a film, there is no similar and natural phenomenon to be determined as a target of metaphorical expressions. Because in film text, the subjectivity of the director will dominate the phenomena’s expressed through metaphor. For this reason, how to set a metaphor’s target, Rohdin (2009, p. 421) suggests determining the target through the domain of the most prominent part of the story denotatively.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Reading Metaphors in Intra-Linguistic Elements

Reading metaphors in the *Maiko Wa Lady* detects 20 metaphorical expressions that correlate with each other, as shown in the following table.

Table 1. Metaphors in *Maiko Wa Lady*

Number	Metaphor	Target Mode	Source Mode	Plot	Relate to Metaphor number --
1	<i>geiko</i> and <i>maiko</i> as an actor	pictorial sign	pictorial sign spoken sign	set up	6
					11
					13
					16
					18
2	<i>maiko</i> as adult male toys	pictorial sign	spoken sign	set up	15
			pictorial sign	climax	
3	<i>maiko</i> as rare items	spoken sign	pictorial sign	set up	5
		pictorial sign	spoken sign	complicating action	7
				development	10
4	<i>geiko</i> dance as modern dance	pictorial sign	pictorial sign	complicating action	9
					12
					19
5	<i>shikomi</i> as a maid	spoken sign	spoken sign	complicating action	3
					7
					10
6	<i>geiko</i> lifestyles as an upper class.	pictorial sign	pictorial sign song lyric	complicating action	1
					11
					13
					16
					18
7	Kyoto dialect as <i>maiko</i> soul	spoken sign	spoken sign	development	3
				set up	5
					10

Table 2. Metaphors in *Maiko Wa Lady* continuation

Number	Metaphor	Target Mode	Source Mode	Plot	Relate to Metaphor number --
8	<i>okasan</i> work as the agency	spoken sign	pictorial sign song lyric	development	17
9	Kyoto people as immigrants	spoken sign	spoken sign	development	4
					12
				climax	19
10	Kyōto dialect as a gentle gust of wind	spoken sign	spoken sign	development	3
					5
					7
11	<i>geiko</i> love relationships as self-coloring the red thread	spoken sign	song lyric	development	1
		pictorial sign			6
				epilogue	13
					16
					18
12	traditional as western	pictorial sign	pictorial sign	development	4
					9
					19
13	<i>okyakusan</i> as a fans	spoken sign	pictorial sign	development	11
					16
14	<i>maiko</i> as an idol	spoken sign	spoken sign	development	20
				climax	
				epilogue	
15	<i>maiko</i> and <i>geiko</i> as selling goods	spoken sign	spoken sign	development	2
				climax	
16	first love as moonlight	spoken sign	song lyric	climax	1
					6
					11
					13
					18
17	<i>okāsan</i> as a biological mother	pictorial sign	pictorial sign	climax	8
18	art as the thing that makes women independent	song lyric	song lyric	climax	1
					6
					11
					13
					16
19	Kyōto as an international city	song lyric	pictorial sign	epilogue	4
					9
					12
20	<i>maiko</i> as a lady	song lyric	song lyric	epilogue	14

Metaphors on Setup Stage

This plot stage gives information about the main characters and the major characters. It starts with the introduction of the main character Haruko, who came to Shimohachiken to become a *maiko*, but she was rejected because of her accent that was too thick with the Kagoshima and Tsugaru dialects.

The 1st metaphor from this setup stage is “*geiko* and *maiko* as an actor”. The target ‘*geiko* and *maiko*’ are understood through the *mise-en-scene* at 01:13 minutes, when the characters Satoharu, Mameharu, and Momoharu play a short drama performance. The source ‘actors’ in this metaphor is understood through these three characters who show their proficiency in the art of classical Japanese drama performance in front of both guests Mario and Takai as well as actors.

The 2nd metaphor is “*maiko* as adult male toys”. This metaphor is understood through Takai’s words at 07:48 minutes. Takai is the guest at *ochaya* Bansuraku, and he states “*Maiko tsū no wa aidoru nan da yo. Oyaji ga ai ni korareu aidoru... Mada nani mo shiran wakakute kawaii musume wo sake no sakana ni shite, oyaji ga tanoshimu, sore wa maiko asobi da*” (The so-called *maiko* is an idol. An idol visited by pervert old man... Making an innocent, young and cute girl who as a companion of sake, is the pleasure of men, that’s playing *maiko*.). At the beginning of his words, Takai states that *maiko* is an idol, but this ‘idol’ does not express the portrayal of *maiko*, because Takai’s words emphasize the matter of ‘*maiko asobi*’ (playing *maiko*). Furthermore, the *geiko* Satoharu and Mameharu’s facial expression shows dislike for Takai’s words, this expression is a clue to determine the source of ‘adult male toys’.

Metaphors on Complicating Action Stage

This plot stage serves to display the impression that is opposite to the initial stage, namely the main character Haruko who initially received a refusal to become a *maiko*, began to live her life as a *shikomi* (probation). This plot narrates Tomio’s trip to pick up Haruko in her hometown of Kagoshima, and Haruko’s return to *Ochaya* Bansuraku to start her training as a *shikomi*.

The 3rd metaphor “*maiko* as rare items” is understood through the scene at *ozashiki* (a tatami room in an *ochaya*) at 06:40 minutes, when the guests Mario and Takai make fun of Momoharu who has been a *maiko* for 12 years at *ochaya* Bansuraku. Next, the scene at 04:55 minutes, when Tomio falls in the snow on his way to visit Haruko’s residence during his task of searching for *maiko*, showing the source ‘rare items’, which refers to *maiko* as an existence that is not easy to obtain.

The 4th metaphor “*geiko* dance as the modern dance” is seen through the *miyako odori* (a traditional dance by *geiko*) show scene at 20:37 minutes, and in the next scene, the *nagauta* (long song; the traditional Japanese music) that accompanies the dance of the *geiko* changes to the theme song. And then, the *geiko* leaves the theater stage to the open space following the theme song *Maiko Wa Lady* and switches their traditional *geiko*’s dance to a modern style dance, welcomed Haruko who came with Tomio. *Miyako odori* which is a traditional *geiko* dance shows the target, and the shot transition to modern dances by *geiko* shows the source. In this scene, the role of music emphasizes the transition from traditional dance to modern dance.

The 5th metaphor of “*shikomi* as a maid” is expressed through the character of Tsuruichi, who says to Haruko (at 30:57 minutes) while she is sweeping the *ochaya* court as follows. “*Shikomi san yaro? Au hito ni wa*

aisatsu sen to naa. Mukashi wa na, denshinbashira ni mo aisatsu see iwareta mon ya. Kokora hen ni wa denshinbashira nō natte shimōta kedo. “ōkini ōkii nēsan ohayōsan dosu” to iu guai ya” (You are *shikomi* right? You have to greet the people you meet. In the old days, even said to greet electric poles as well. Around here there were no electric poles, but you still in the condition that has to say “thank you big sister, good morning.”). The source ‘maid’ is understood through Tsuruichi’s words which state that a *shikomi* is obliged to convey greetings to her senior whom she calls *onēsan*, and so low a *shikomi*’s position, even Tsuruichi supposes that the electric pole was must be addressed by the *shikomi*. Chiharu’s words to Haruko at 26:32 minutes, says about *shikomi*’s tasks, such as waiting for senior *geiko* to come home from work, then folding her *kimono*, taking the last shower after all the senior *geiko* finished, waking up first in the morning, and cleaning the shared toilets. These tasks of a *shikomi* also emphasizing the source ‘maid’ in this metaphor.

The 6th metaphor “*geiko* lifestyles as an upper class” is understood through the *mise-en-scene* which portrays *geiko* Satoharu’s mansion that shows Satoharu’s lifestyle. The source ‘upper class’ is shown through a shot at 33:19 minutes which highlights the corner of a shelf decorated with Satoharu’s self-portrait and a *geisha* doll in a glass frame with an exclusive arrangement. And also shown through the shot of a sliding glass door that connects the room with a spacious garden, and furniture that looks luxurious. The lyric of Tomio’s song at 33:34 minutes that says, “*Maiko ni geiko, okimono kitsukerun ga shigoto, obi no musubime wa oni no musubime*” (my job is to put *kimono* on *maiko* and *geiko*, to tie *obi* is to bind lives), show that Tomio’s work as an *otokoshi* is like a *geisha*’s maid.

Metaphors on Development Stage

At this stage, the plot tells of obstacles to Haruko’s goal of becoming *maiko*. Haruko has to go through strenuous training until late at night, including Kyōto dialect training by Professor Kyono, the art of trainings: *nihonbuyo* (traditional dance), *shamisen* (three-stringed musical instrument) and *kotsuzumi* (small drum), and *nagauta* (long song), but she often fails in these training. This plot stage also tells the action of the major character, which is a description of the work of the *okāsan* Chiharu in *Ochaya Bansuraku* and the romance of *geiko* Satoharu.

The 7th metaphor “Kyōto dialect as *maiko* soul” is understood through Professor Kyono’s words to Haruko (at 39:14 minutes), “*Maiko no inochi wa Kyō kotoba*” (*maiko*’s soul is Kyōto’s language). The target “Kyōto dialect” is understood by referring to the words of Orikichi who is called *wakasama* (young master) at *Ochaya Bansuraku* (at 15:34 minutes), “*Ano tamari yattara dō ni mo naran wa*” (Such an accent will somehow not be able), which confirms that Haruko’s ‘accent’ which is thick with the Kagoshima and Tsugaru dialects is an obstacle for Haruko to become a *maiko*, who must master the Kyōto dialect.

The 8th metaphor is “*okāsan* work as the agency”. The target “*okāsan* work” is understood through Kyono’s question to Haruko at 47:14 minutes,

which says “*Okāsan wa donna shigoto o shiteru?*” (What kind of work does *Okāsan* do?). *Okāsan* is the character of Chiharu, the leader of *Ochaya Bansuraku*. The source “agency” is shown through Kyono's statement at 47:36 minutes “*Okamisan wa omotenashi no enshutsuka ya*” (*Okamisan (okāsan)* is a hospitality director), and also confirmed through Haruko's answer to Kyono's question describing Chiharu's work as *maiko* and *geiko* schedule organizer (at 47:31 minutes). Furthermore, Chiharu's activities are shown through the lyric sings by Kyono which begins by mentioning “*ichigensan okotowari*” (rejecting unidentified visitors), then “*osaifu akesasemahen, okane no shinpai saseshimahen*” (not letting open a wallet, not letting worry about money) at 49:25 minutes. The lyric of the song shows that *okāsan*'s duties include managing finances in *ochaya*. Shot at 49:30 minutes and song lyric at 49:38 “*shidashiyasan no oryōri ni morareta kisetsu*” (season served on catering dishes), show that *okāsan* is also in charge of arranging dishes for guests at *ozashiki*.

The 9th metaphor “Kyōto people as immigrants” is known through the Kyono dialogue to Haruko at 54:17 minutes which says, “*Kyōto no hito wa yososan*” (Kyōto people are migrants). Kyono explained that *yososan* was a user of imitation goods, and he said that the Kyōto people were different about the things they talked about and the things they did. Kyono says this with the aim that Haruko will have the confidence to study Kyōto dialect. Then, Shuhe, the assistant Professor Kyono also says “*Soredemo osanai koro kara Kyō kotoba o kiite hanashite, okeiko goto o saserarete, da kara Kyōto umare ni mietan da*” (That was because she had heard and spoken Kyōto since she was a child, then she was required to practice art, so she looked like she was born in Kyōto). Shuhe asserts that many *maiko* who are fluent in Kyōto dialect did not come from Kyōto.

The 10th metaphor “Kyoto dialect as a gentle gust of wind” is related to the 7th metaphor “Kyoto dialect as *maiko* soul”, which is known through Kyono's words at 56:30 minutes as follows. “*Kyō kotoba ga yasahii kaze mitai ni fuite kuru kii ga suru wa. Nan ya shiawase na kii ni naru wa. Sore ga Kyōto no miryoku ka mo shirehen. Kedo sono miryoku o tsutaeraren no wa mō maiko san ya geiko san dake ka mo shirehen na*” (Kyōto dialect feels like a breeze that blows gently, and makes a happy feeling. That is the attraction of Kyōto. But that attraction can only be conveyed by *maiko* and *geiko*). The charm of Kyōto, represented by the Kyōto dialect, is expressed by the figure of *maiko* and *geiko* as Kyōto dialect users. This is the “*maiko* soul”, and the Kyōto dialect expressed by *maiko* and *geiko* sounds like “a gentle gust of wind”.

The 11th metaphor “*geiko* love relationships as self-coloring the red thread” is understood through the scene of Satoharu's romantic relationship with the guest Kanpachiro who already has a wife. The “red thread” on the source that symbolizes the love relationship is understood through the lyric of Satoharu's song at 61:17 minutes, “*Musubi me wa katai futari, akai ito da to kiyasaku iu kedo, anta wa shiranai*” (The bond is difficult for us, even though we call it the red thread, but you don't understand). The following Satoharu's song lyric at minutes, “*Sono ito mo akaku someru no wa watashi, sore o anata ga shiranai*”

(I was the one who colored the thread, but you don't understand it) shows the source "self-coloring the red thread". If the red thread is understood as a love relationship, the statement "I was the one who colored the red thread" shows that Satoharu herself who made the love relationship.

The 12th metaphor "traditional as western" is seen through *mise-en-scene* at 62:15 minutes, which is a scene shows Satoharu dances in a *geiko* costume, and suddenly the scene switches into Satoharu in Zumba dancer costumes dancing a Latin dance. This scene takes place in the scene of Satoharu's meeting with her boyfriend Kanpachiro.

The 13th metaphor is "*okyakusan* as *fans*". *Okyakusan* (the guest) in question is the character of Takai, a loyal visitor at *Ochaya* Bansuraku. The source fans are understood through Momoharu's words and then Takai's words in dialogue with Satoharu. Momoharu's words at 63:59 minutes "*Taka chan ga Fukakusanoshōshō han no tsumori dosharu. Omake ni kōkyū Itaria no kētaringu sabisu te. Honma ni kotte haru*" (Taka wants to be Fukakusanoshōshō. Add to that the luxurious Italian catering service. He was crazy about her) explaining about Takai who likes Satoharu. However, Satoharu did not have the same feelings towards him. Even so, Takai's position as an *okyakusan* must still get the best service.

The 14th metaphor "*maiko* as an idol" is known through Shuhei's words to Haruko who expresses his opinion about *maiko* at 72:08 minutes, "*Mijuku na maiko san ga geiko san yori chiyahoya sareru. Maru de aidoru da yo*" (The immature *maiko* is seen to be more funny and spoiled than a *geisha*. As if she is an idol). Shuhei also states that in contrast to the past, in the present age *maiko* is getting older, which is in the age range of 17-18 years.

The 15th metaphor "*maiko* and *geiko* as selling goods" is understood through Shuhei's words to Haruko at 72:59 minutes, "*Maiko san mo geiko san mo shosen wa osake no seki de kyaku no aite o shite okane o kasegu mizu shōbai da yo*" (*Maiko* and *geiko* no matter what are prostitutes who raise money by accompanying guests to drink sake), and at 73:09 minutes "*Sore wa tan naru kazarimono de, tsugō no ii shōbai dōgu ni suginai*" (She is only a decoration, nothing more than a good for sale).

Metaphors on the Climax Stage

The climax stage is the plot that determines the results of the main character's efforts to reach the goal. This plot narrates Haruko's success as a *maiko*, due to the support and attention of the *okāsan* Chiharu, the sister Satoharu, and Professor Kyono. This plot also narrates the resolution of the conflict to the major character Momoharu who finally succeeded in becoming a *geiko*.

The 9th metaphor "Kyōto people as immigrants" is expressed again through the scene at 79:12 minutes, when Kyono told Haruko that he was not from Kyōto. Then, the scene at 80:46 minutes that shows some foreign tourists entering the Hachiken court and waving one another to a group of high school students also expressed the people in Kyōto whose existence as immigrants. Furthermore, the scene when *geiko* Satoharu confesses Haruko, that she was

born in Tokyo and that she had experienced difficulties learning the Kyōto dialect, also confirmed this metaphor.

The 16th metaphor of “first love as moonlight” is understood through Chiharu’s first love story which she told Haruko. The source ‘moonlight’ is understood through the description of the young Chiharu who sings the moonlight song (at 84:59 minutes), which is the name of the midnight flight. The description of ‘moonlight’ is then explained through the song lyric as follows. “*Akeyuku asa ga omoi dake ato ni nokosu no. Asa ni kieyuku utsukushii hoshi, hikari de koi ga shiorenai yō ni. Kokoro ni tsubasa ga atte mo todocanu*” (The late morning only leaves a memory. The beautiful stars disappear in the morning, so that love does not disappear in the light. Even if there is a wing in the heart it still cannot reach) (at 86:36 minutes). This song lyric appears as an analogy of unreachable love. Furthermore, Chiharu’s words at 83:05 minutes also emphasized the love that could not be realized, “*Uchi ga geiko yatta koro made ya na, suki na ohito ga ite mo danna san toran naran yū jidai yatta*” (When I was a *geiko*, even though there is someone I like, in those days could not make him a husband).

The 17th metaphor “*okāsan* as a biological mother” is understood through the scene at 95:15 minutes when Chiharu, the *okāsan* and the manager of the *ochaya* Bansuraku, gently pats Haruko’s shoulder who asleep in the training room after being scolded by her dance teacher. And then, also emphasized by the scene at 36:00 minutes when Chiharu and Haruko walk home from the training ground while holding hands. Chiharu’s scene visiting Haruko who is resting in the room bringing snacks and tea, and then tells Haruko about her youth, also describing the behavior of a mother who is looking after her daughter.

The 18th metaphor “art as the thing that makes women independent” is understood through the lyric of the Momoharu’s song in 101:11 and 101:26 minutes, “*Gei de onna o tateteyuku*” (build women with art). The source ‘the thing that makes women independent’ is also shown through the words of Chiharu at 87:59 minutes, “*Ima wa maiko kara geiko ni natte okane kasegeru yō ni nattara, soraa jiritsu shita ichininmae no onna ya*” (Now from a *maiko* I become a *geiko*, if I can save money I will be an independent woman).

The *misedashi* ceremony (a ceremony where a *maiko* becomes a *geisha*) at 109:16 minutes shows the success of Haruko being the *maiko* Koharu, re-expressing the 14th metaphor “*maiko* as an idol”. This 14th metaphor is understood through a mise-en-scene that shows the number of visitors holding cameras watching *maiko* Koharu guided by *otokoshi* Tomio traveling around to several *ochaya* introducing the existence of *maiko* Koharu, and there are also visitors from television stations.

Metaphor in the Epilogue Stage

The epilogue stage displays the final condition of the story, which narrates *maiko* Koharu visiting Professor Kyono at his campus, and ending with the *obake* festival in the Shimohachiken court.

The *mise-en-scene* when Haruko who has become the *maiko* Koharu in her *maiko* costume walks through the university gates to visit Professor Kyono at 121:40 minutes reaffirms the 14th metaphor “*maiko* as an idol”, which is understood through the students' amazing expressions as the *maiko* Koharu walks passed them. And then, Orikichi's statement at 128:04 minutes regarding the most important thing about *Maiko* also expresses this metaphor, that is “*Sore wa wakasa ya. Tada no wakasa yanai, isshokenmei no wakasa ya. Soko ni okyaku wa “jinsei no haru” o mirun ya*” (It is youth. Not just youth, but youth displayed with sincerity. That's where the guests will see the blossoming life).

The 19th metaphor “Kyōto as an international city” is understood through the event of the *obake* festival narrated in this plot. The target “Kyōto” is understood through song lyric by the *maiko* Koharu at 126:31 minutes, which states “*Haru, hanayaka ni noimasu. Natsu, suzuyaka ni yoiyama no kane, hibiku miyako de*” (Spring, luxury sniffed. Summer, the freshness of bells at night, echoes in the capital). Even though the setting of the event in this subplot is Shimohachiken, the word “*miyako*” (capital city) in the song expresses Kyōto as the area in question, and Kyōto was the capital of Japan before entering the modernization era. Furthermore, the ‘international city’ is understood through shots showing various costumes from various countries in the world, these are the victorian dresses that mark European countries, the Latin dance costumes that mark Spain, the cowboy costumes that mark America, the Indian and Persian costumes, the princess Kleopatra costume that marks Egypt, the princess Snow White costume that marks Germany, the Irish costumes, the Arabian costume, and the *maiko* costume worn by Haruko that marks Japan.

The 20th metaphor “*maiko* as a lady” is seen through the song lyric by the *maiko* Koharu at 127:10 minutes which is also the film's theme song. The interpretation of the source ‘lady’ in this metaphor correlates with the source ‘idol’ in the 14th metaphor, as mentioned above.

Redescription Process in extra-linguistic Reality ***Geisha* and Prostitution Representation**

The source of the 2nd metaphor of “adult male toys” and on the 15th metaphor of “selling goods” shows the identity of the *geisha* who is attached to prostitution. Historically, the identity of *geisha* is paradoxical as a figure that represents traditional Japanese culture, as an artist, but on the other hand, also represents prostitution. Although it cannot be denied that *geisha* are very famous in the world as symbolizing Japanese culture (Bardsley, 2010, p. 23), as Stanley (2013, p. 539) says that even *geisha* have been recognized as symbols of Japan, but in modern Japanese history, *geisha* occupy a position as the antithesis of the image of women of maternal character. Until 1975 (Showa 50), Nakaoka (2012, p. 243) said that *geisha* were still carrying out prostitution in secret. The mention of *danna mizuage* (the patron who bought a *maiko* virginity) in the past, also attached a negative image to the *maiko* figure.

Maiko as Rare Item

The 3rd metaphor “*maiko* as rare item”, the 5th metaphor “*shikomi* as maid”, the 7th metaphor “Kyōto dialect as *maiko* soul”, and the 10th metaphor “Kyōto dialect as a gentle gust of wind”, has a correlation in terms about the process of becoming *maiko*. *Shikomi* is a term for a young woman who receives training as a *maiko* candidate and lives in an *okiya* (*geisha* house). Nishio (Nishio, 2011b, p. 53) explains that a *shikomi* as a junior must always be sensitive to instructions from her seniors. Therefore, for young women today, group life in the *okiya* is a miserable life (Nishio, 2011a, p. 30). The hard learning that must be taken to become a *maiko*, can explain the determination of the source of “rare item” in the metaphor “*maiko* as rare item”. This source also indicates that being a *maiko* today is not an option for most young women.

Furthermore, as presumed in the metaphor “Kyōto dialect as *maiko* soul” and “Kyōto dialect as a gentle gust of wind”, mastering the Kyōto dialect is also an important ability to become a *maiko*, due to the many *maiko* and *geiko* not from Kyōto (Nishio, 2011b, pp. 49, 47). As happened to the main character, Haruko’s style of speech that was thick with the accents of the areas of Tsugaru and Kagoshima became an obstacle for her to become a *maiko*. Kyōto, especially the Gion district, is the center of the existence of *geisha* and is a picture of traditional Japanese cities (Okada, 2010, p. 33). The dialogue at 56:30 minutes says “The Kyōto dialect feels like a wind that blows softly and makes a happy feeling ... But that attraction can only be conveyed by *maiko* and *geiko*”, asserts that *maiko* and *geiko*, as figures only in the Kyōto region, becomes agents who expressed Kyōto’s appeal through the distinctiveness of its dialect.

Maiko and Geiko are Professions

The 1st metaphor “*geiko* and *maiko* as an actor”, the 6th “*geiko* lifestyles as an upper class”, the 11th “*geiko* love relationship as self-coloring the red thread”, the 13th “*okyakusan* as *fans*”, the 16th “first love as moonlight”, the 18th “art as the things that make women independent”, indicating that there has been a change on identifying of *geiko* and *maiko*, which no longer represents prostitution.

The metaphor of “first love as moonlight” explains the reality of *maiko* life in the past which is still bound by the patron system, so *maiko* does not have the freedom to determine her partner. The source of “moonlight” is determined according to the lyric of the song at 84:59 minutes, as an analogy of love that cannot be realized. In contrast to the metaphor of “first love as moonlight”, the metaphor of “*geiko* love relationships as self-coloring the red thread” indicates a change in the patron system. The source of “self-coloring red thread”, shows that the *geiko* itself causes a love affair to occur, concerning the term red thread or ‘*unmei no akai ito*’ (the red thread of destiny) which in Japanese tradition is recognized as an unreal thread that binds fingers of a man and a woman as a sign that they are in pairs.

The source of “fans” in the metaphor “*okyakusan* as *fans*” indicating guest behavior that is like fans of *geiko*, emphasizing that the body of a *geisha* is not a commodity that is sold to consumers. Fans are those who play a role as consumers of their idols. Therefore, even though Satoharu does not like Takai who idolized herself, Satoharu continued to establish closeness with Takai as a marketing strategy for the treatment of consumers. As Galbraith and Karlin (2012, p. 22) say, in the current era of capitalist society, increasing materialistic character in human relations is through the ideology of “*love is something bought and sold*”.

The metaphor of the “*geiko* lifestyle as an upper class” indicating independence in *geisha*’s economic life, as Nishio (2011b, p. 48) argues that *geiko* in the present is an independent figure. The series of shots on the *geiko* Satoharu’s mansion is a sign to set the target “*geiko* lifestyle”, while the “upper class” source is understood through shots highlighting the mansion’s layout which expresses luxury. “As an upper class” expression does not mean that it comes from the upper class economically, but shows independence in the *geisha*’s economic life, and means being a *geisha* is a type of work or profession that can be a source of income to support the necessities of life.

The metaphor “art as the things that make women independent” and the metaphor of “*geiko* and *maiko* as an actor” explains that the independence of *geisha* is obtained through art. Art learning that must be taken by *geisha* is *nihonbuyo* (Japanese traditional dance), *hayashi* (the three drums and flute), and *nagauta shamisen* (Foreman, 2008, p. 33). Johnston (2005, pp. 39–40) also added that since the end of the 19th century, the so-called original *geisha* were women who were trained in high art skills in music and dance that distinguished them from women who were prostituted.

The 8th metaphor “*okāsan* work as the agency” and 17th “*okāsan* as biological mother” indicating that *okāsan* has become a profession-oriented to show business. Products that are bought and sold by *okāsan* are art skills from the ‘artists’, namely *maiko* and *geisha* (*geiko*). *Okāsan* is a woman who employs *maiko* and *geiko* in a place called *ochaya*. *Okāsan* has a role in regulating *maiko* and *geiko* activities and providing services to the guests. According to Marx (2012, p. 38), that role as done by the agency (*jimusho*) in Japan, as giving training in singing and dancing, making schedules of activities for idols, negotiating to make contracts with other media, is likened the artist to the role of a “mother”. The *ichigensan okotowari* (rejecting unrecognized visitors) tradition that continues to run is not to perpetuate traditions from the past, but as a part of the *okāsan*’s role as a mother who protects her home.

Popularity, Modernity, and Internationalization of Japan

At the 14th metaphor “*maiko* as an idol” and the 20th “*maiko* as a lady”, *maiko* is seen as an *idol* and a *lady*. Scenes on the climax stage in 111:49 minutes, and epilogue stages in 121:40-53 minutes, show that public treatment of *maiko* is like that of idols. Idol is a term for a star, and a *lady* is a term for a woman with an economically classy appearance. If an idol can be said to represent popular Japanese culture, a *lady* represents modernity. Davies (1999,

p. 30) explains that modernity is the opposite of tradition, thus modern is the opposite of tradition. The *geisha* figure as a symbolic representation of Japan is an element of tradition in Japanese culture. Therefore through this metaphor, Suo has blended the dichotomy between traditional - popular, and traditional – modern, as Traphagan and Thompson (2006, p. 7) say that modern and traditional terminology is often used to describe the dichotomy between Western and Japan as the traditional non-Western. Besides representing youth, an idol also represent “*kawaii*” (cute), which has become part of Japan’s internationalization policy (Schules, 2015, p. 55), so that when *maiko* is seen as an idol, the *maiko* is also seen as part of Japan’s internationalization. As in understanding *maiko* as a *lady* (as a non-Japanese term), it also indicates characteristic that goes beyond Japanese national boundaries that penetrates to the international area. The equivalency of traditional Japanese-*maiko* and a modern-western *lady* show this international characteristic.

The 4th metaphor “*geiko* dance as the modern dance”, the 9th metaphor “Kyōto people as immigrants”, the 12th “traditional as western”, and the 19th “Kyōto as an international city”, correlates in expressing Japan's internationalization. These metaphorical expressions tell that besides expressing traditional culture, Kyōto’s popularity also expresses the internationalization of Japan, as a gathering place for immigrants from various countries in the world. Internationalization of Japan has been echoed since the mid of 1980s, but has only been legitimized through the Kyōto Protocol in 2002, which has become a new symbol of Japanese political identity and which indicating Japan as an international country (Kolmas, 2017, pp. 3–4). Regarding the city of Kyōto, Okada (2010, p. 33) explains that Gion as a center of *geisha* is described as a traditional one, while Kyōto (which oversees Gion district) is described as international. The scene in 80:46 minutes, that shows some foreign tourists entering the Hachiken court, indicating Kyōto’s popularity as suggested by “*Yokoso! Japan*”. This scene also expresses what Ninomiya, Knight, and Watanabe (2009, p. 122) said, that is the number of tourists who came to visit became a marker of internationalization from Kyōto, as an effort to make Japan “the gateway of Asia”.

Then, the metaphor of “*geiko* dance as the modern dance” and “traditional as western” metaphors shows a collaboration between the traditional and the modern, and the ‘modern’ here is understood as non-traditional and the ‘west’. These two metaphorical expressions are understood through a scene that initially shows traditional dance by *geisha*, and after that, the scene switches to western-style dance. Thus, through the appearance of art by *geisha* who also expresses modernity, these two metaphors eliminate the dichotomy between traditional and modern, and these also show that art from *geisha* is not limited to representing traditional culture but can come from national boundaries to the international territory.

CONCLUSION

Figure 1 below is an illustration of the *maiko* and *geiko* identity redescription as the result of the interpretation of the metaphors found in the *Maiko Wa Lady* film.

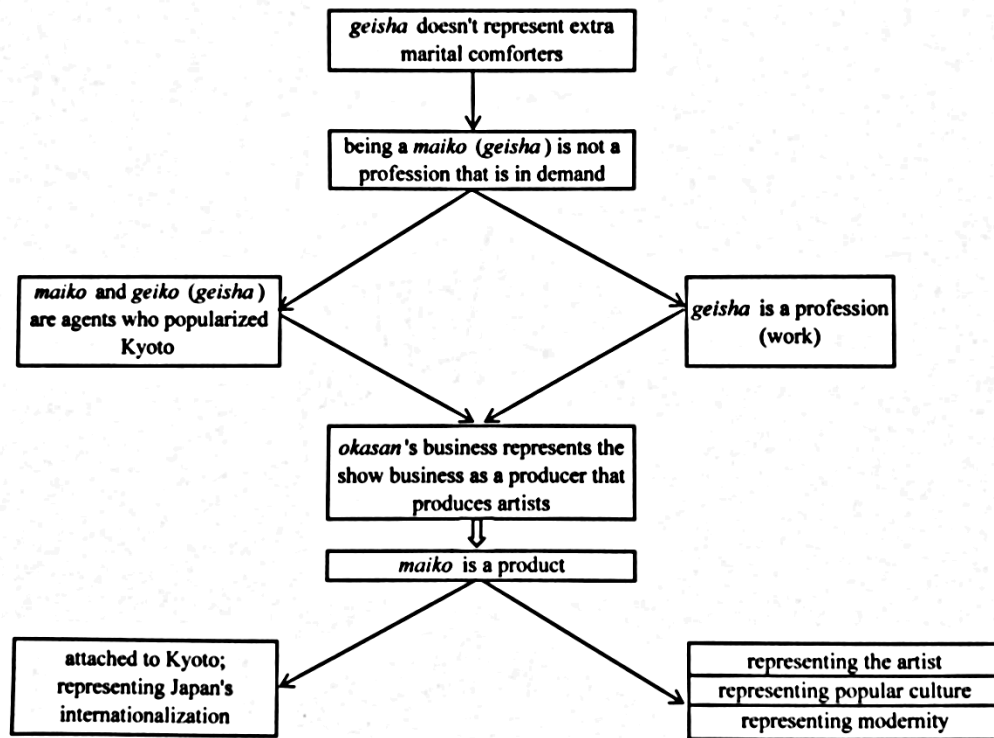


Figure 1. *Result of the Interpretation of the Metaphors in Maiko Wa Lady*

Through the interpretation of metaphors in the *Maiko Wa Lady* film, Suo Masayuki expressly explains that *geisha* and *maiko*, no longer as figures representing prostitution as extramarital entertainers. However, Suo Masayuki did not stop at emphasizing that identity, he added that *geisha* did not represent traditional Japanese culture but rather popularized Japan with its role as representing modern Japanese culture, which is seen through the diagram above, through the derivative of identity attached to *maiko* as representing artists, popular culture, modernity, and internationalization of Japan. Through the popularity as figures that represent art, *geiko* and *maiko* are attached to Kyōto to represent the internationalization of Japan, and art represented by *geiko* and *maiko* is the Japanese tradition that is continuous with modernity. Therefore, what is represented by *geiko* and *maiko* is modern Japanese culture.

As mentioned earlier, identity is a problem of representation, and the outcome of the interpretation of the metaphor is the redescription of reality. Thus, as stated in figure 1 before, the redescription of the *maiko* and *geiko* identities in the *Maiko Wa Lady* film indicates *maiko* and *geiko* as figures representing artists, popular culture, modernity, and internationalization of Japan.

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