



Practicing Japan.

35 years of Japanese Studies
in Poznań and Kraków

ポズナン & クラクフ
日本学専攻科設立
35 周年記念学会

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This volume is a collection of articles presented at the international conference “Practicing Japan – 35 Years of Japanese Studies in Poznań and Kraków”, held on March 24–26, 2022. This conference was jointly organized by the Department of Japanese Studies at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan and the Department of Japanese Studies and Sinology at Jagiellonian University in Krakow. The two Departments were established simultaneously in 1987, and over 35 years they have transformed into thriving centers of research on Japan. Previously, Japanese studies in Poland had been conducted only at University of Warsaw.

The opening of Poland to contacts with Japan after the fall of communism in 1989 unleashed a huge wave of interest in the country, which has continued uninterrupted to the present. One measure of this interest is that Japanese studies in Poland breaks records for popularity among college applicants every year. The Polish Japanese Studies community has transformed from a small group of scholars into a large community of researchers specializing in Japanese literature, language, history, culture, political and social sciences. The “Practicing Japan...” conference reflects the transformation that has taken place in Polish Japanese studies over the past three decades. Although it was held under the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic, it was attended by more than 100 scholars from around the world.

The organization of the conference, as well as the publication of this volume, would not have been possible without the generous support of the Japan Foundation, for which the organizers express their sincere thanks.

Prof. Estera Żeromska, Adam Mickiewicz University
Dr hab. Stanisław Meyer, Jagiellonian University

本誌は、2022年3月24日から26日に開催された国際研究学会「Practicing Japan – 35 Years of Japanese Studies in Poznań and Kraków」で発表された論文を総括したものです。本国際研究学会は、ポズナン・アダム・ミツキェヴィチ大学日本研究科及びクラクフ・ヤギェロン大学日本中国学科により共同で開催されました。上記の二つの学科は、1987年に両大学で同時に設立されました。それまでのポーランドにおける日本研究はワルシャワ大学でのみ行われていましたが、両学科は、設立後35年の年月を経て新たな日本研究の活動の場として大きい発展を遂げました。

1989年の共産主義崩壊後、ポーランドが日本との国交を深めたことをきっかけに、ポーランドにおける日本への関心が急速に高まり、それは現在まで途絶えることなく続いています。日本に対する関心の尺度として挙げられるのは、ポーランドの大学における日本学科志願者が年々飛躍的に増え続けていることです。ポーランドの日本研究は、当初、学者による小規模な組織でしたが、現在は日本文学、言語、歴史、文化、政治及び社会科学を専門とする研究者による大規模なものになりました。

「Practicing Japan – 35 Years of Japanese Studies in Poznań and Kraków」は、コロナ禍における開催ではありましたが、世界中から100名以上もの学者の方々にご参加いただき、過去30年間のポーランドにおける日本研究がどのように変貌を遂げていったのかをまさに反映した学会であったと言えるでしょう。

なお、本研究学会の開催及び本誌の出版は、国際交流基金の寛大な支援なくしてはあり得ませんでした。開催者一同心から御礼を申し上げます。

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Part I:
Language, linguistics, education

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WA-marked topic in Japanese: from local enigma to discourse delimiter

Key words: WA-marked topic, topicalisation, discourse, context, topic co-referential chain, content delimiter

1. Introduction: Importance of being in context

Anthony Giddens, in the first edition of his seminal monograph *Sociology*, cites the following seemingly enigmatic conversation from an earlier Erving Goffman monograph *The presentation of self in everyday life* (1956).¹

A: *I have a fourteen year old son.*

B: *Well, that's all right.*

A: *I also have a dog.*

B: *Oh, I'm sorry.*

As Giddens pointed out, the above conversation loses its enigmatic appeal as soon as one is told that it is between A, who wants to rent an apartment, and the landlord, B. It shows how deeply context is intertwined with language. With this example, too, he stressed the importance of context for understanding social action, including linguistic exchange as a part of it.

Unfortunately for linguistic research there was a period after WWII (namely from the 1950s to the 1970s), when the imagining of scientific linguistics was profoundly influenced by context free „exact sciences“, such as mathematics and physics. A leading example is the new language study paradigm proposed by Noam Chomsky (1928-), putting emphasis on a mathesis of thinking about language². The resulting methodological stance was one of decontextualisation of language,

¹ Giddens, Anthony, *Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 94, citing Goffman, Erving, *The presentation of self in everyday life* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh), 1956.

² Chomsky Noam, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press), 1965.

with focus on syntax which was less complex and easier to formalise than tackling discourse directly. This led to the very fast development of the discipline, bringing about many interesting insights, but at the same time, already at the end of the 1960s, many linguists, such as for example Hashimoto Mantarō,³ felt disenchantment with imposed methodological limitations.

It is interesting to see that in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s, parallel to these developments, there were vigorous descriptive efforts, developing corpus linguistics methods to describe large scale spoken and written data of contemporary Japanese at the then Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (presently the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics). There were also pioneering developments in the field of text linguistics (*bunshōron*), begun by Tokieda Motoki and his followers, with the most notable results produced by Hayashi Shirō and Minami Fujio. There still is ongoing fundamental research in the field of sociolinguistics, including so-called „language life” (*genjo seikatsu*) studies and long term research on the relationship between dialects and standard language sociolinguistic surveys, gathering attention even now 70 years later⁴. All these efforts were placed in the background for a while, especially from the 1970s to 1990s, with the advent of purportedly more scientific and more formal approaches to language research in Japan, only to be gradually revived and expanded with the beginning of the new millennium.

In this paper, I am trying to show how observing linguistic phenomena in their natural context can reveal interesting properties of phenomena traditionally treated at the level of syntax, presenting a case study of the elusive and at the same time much discussed issue of WA-marked topics in Japanese.

2. WA-topic as a local enigma in the times of generative grammar

2.1 Enigma 1: What is the “underlying original” of the topicalised sentence

A lot of discussion was going on in the 1960s and 1970s about the relation between WA-marked topics and the predication of the topicalised sentence TOPIC (=X+WA) + PREDICATION. Shibatani Masayoshi⁵ presents several types, including topicalisation of predicate complements (subject, object, cf. Mikami’s “substitute” *daikō*),

³ Hashimoto Mantarō, *Gendai hakugengaku: gengokenkyuu no saizensen* [Modern Linguistics: the Frontier of Language Research] (Tōkyō: Taishukan, 1981).

⁴ Inoue Fumio et. al ed., *Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics. Handbooks of Japanese Language Vol. 8* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2022).

⁵ Shibatani Masayoshi, *Nihongo no bunseki* [Analysis of Japanese] (Tōkyō: Taishukan shoten), 1978.

relation “whole-part” as in *Zō wa hana ga nagai* (elephants have long trunks). This series can go on to more and more specific relations, such as with Okutsu’s *Boku wa unagi da* (As for me, [I will have] eel; relation being “speaker – selected item”) or Noda’s *Kaki ryōri wa Hiroshima ga honba da* (Hiroshima is the place to eat oyster dishes; relation “typical product – location”). For details see Shibatani’s (1978) treatment of topicalisation under the heading “other” (*sono ta*). On the other hand, Dik (1978), in his functional linguistic framework, accepts the emerging consensus of the primacy of discourse based on a contextualised view of topicalisation, by proposing the pragmatic relationship of relevance between topic and proposition: T(opic) + P(roposition), where “+” = “relevant relation between T and P”. The examples of the category “other” above would all fit into this classification.

2.2 Enigma 2: – “We have a topicalised sentence – what is the context?”

An example typical of this enigma is Kuroda Sige-Yuki’s⁶ philosophical treatment of isolated topicalised sentences and their non-topicalised counterparts as in (1).

- (1) a *Inu-WA hasit-te i-ru*. (CATEGORICAL: general property)
 The dog is running
 b *Inu-GA hasit-te i-ru*. (THETIC: specific event)
 There’s a dog running.

He explains the difference between (1)a and (1)b by the THETIC / CATEGORICAL distinction proposed by 19th century philosophers Franz Brentano (1838–1917) and Anton Marty (1847–1914), and expressed in Japanese by the particles WA and GA. And more generally, this issue is connected with the distinction of the topicalised sentence *yūdai bun* and non-topicalised sentence *mudai bun*.

2.3 Summary of these efforts

A syntax-centred approach limited to the analysis of single utterances can be thus basically seen as: (i) a quest for possible underlying constructions (deep structures) and (ii) a quest to construe possible contexts to interpret various types of topicalised utterances. This is accompanied by a methodologically questionable emphasis on intuition, introspection, and consequently, also on made up data.

⁶ Kuroda Sige-Yuki, „The categorical andthetic judgement: Evidence from Japanese.”, *Foundations of Language* 9, no. 2 (1972):153–185.

In the view of this author, the pitfalls are (i) [too] early mathesis, before all relevant descriptive facts are known and thus (ii) a recurring danger of overlooking important facts. Nonetheless, there are important insights and systematisations regarding the functioning of WA in sentences due to Japanese linguists such as Mikami Akira, Kuno Susumu, Shibatani Masayoshi, Okutsu Keiichirō, centred on (i) WA as a thematisation particle and (ii) WA as a focus particle (*toritate joshi*) marking the “focus of contrast”.

2.4 Parallel reality

In the meanwhile, “traditional” linguists carried on with their empirical research. Regrettably, there was almost no intersection between the two camps, as exemplified by the work of Hayashi Shirō and his *Bun no shisei no kenkyū* (Study of the Utterance Attitude)⁷. With the increasing prominence of discourse studies, this work was newly appreciated in 2000s by a younger generation of researchers and was republished in 2013 with detailed commentary by prominent representatives of this generation, Iori Isao and Ishiguro Kei. This work of Hayashi excels as empirical and philological research, focusing on syntax in service of communication. One important insight is that different stages of text tend to employ different syntactic patterns, among others.

To make a potentially long discussion short, the difference in the prevailing attitudes in the two aforementioned camps can be subsumed as follows: (i) “new school”: inventing one’s contexts for one’s types of sentences; (ii) “traditionalists”: examining the types of actually used sentences appearing in their particular contexts.

3. Systematic observation of thematisation in a communication context

3.1 Topic research in a more general perspective

An immense contribution to topic research was made by the Prague school, namely, Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945), František Daneš (1919–2015), Jan Firbas (1921–2000)..., etc.⁸, and researchers inspired by its insights, such as Michael A.K. Halliday (proponent of the Systemic Functional Linguistics framework), and Simon C. Dik (Functional Grammar). Parallel to this „West coast functionalism”

⁷ Hayashi Shirō, *Bun no shisei no kenkyū* [Study of the Utterance Attitude] (Tōkyō: Meiji Tosho Shuppan, 1973 / Hituzi Syobo Publishing, 2013).

⁸ Čermak František. „Prague School of Linguistics Today”, *Linguistica Pragensia* 1 (1995): 1–15.

developed, with its early orientation towards discourse perspective, with scholars such as Wallace Chafe, Sandra Thompson, Talmy Givón, Shōichi Iwasaki, Senko K. Maynard, while contributions by „East coast functionalism” with Kuno Susumu and his associates are remarkable, too.

In the context of Japanese language research, a lot of significant work on topic research has been done by „outsiders”, unburdened by tradition and theoretical frameworks, such as Mikami Akira, and by researchers with experience in teaching Japanese as a second language: Teramura Hideo, Okutsu Keiichirō, and their students, Sunakawa Yuriko, Noda Hisashi, to name a few. And of course, there is remarkable contribution from the field of nativist language studies, *kokugogaku*, with insights that inspired researchers in other fields (Matsushita Daisaburō, Tokieda Motoki, Hayashi Shirō, Minami Fujio, Nagano Masaru, Sakuma Mayumi, to name a few of the most prominent ones).

Also very important is the contribution of the systematic development of corpus based approaches with the BCCWJ corpus at NINJAL (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics), or large scale WEB corpora such as TWC at the University of Tsukuba etc. These open access corpora are fundamentally changing the language research paradigm, and corpus based methodology has recently been reaching also into discourse research.

3.2 WA-marked topic in context: basic properties

Already with Mikami’s insights such as *pirido goe*, a topic reaching across the limits of one sentence, it became clear that the study of WA-marked topics should not be limited only to the relation of Topic to Proposition within the sentence. Daneš (1974) elaborated on a typology of topic progression in context, thus contributing to further understanding of how topics behave in context.

- Based on these earlier works, basic properties of topics can be subsumed as
- (i) ACCESSIBILITY, a generalisation of the notion of definiteness, proposed by Hinds⁹. Accessibility is a necessary condition for a sentence element to appear as a WA-marked topic;
 - (ii) TOPIC AS THE SCOPE OF PREDICATION, an insight about the local role played by a WA-marked topic, due to Iwasaki¹⁰: the WA-marked element refers to the scope where the proposition, i.e., the “rheme” is relevant in a topicalised sentence;

⁹ Hinds John, „Thematization, assumed familiarity, staging, and syntactic binding Japanese.” in *Perspectives on topicalization: the case of Japanese wa* eds. John Hinds et al. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1987), 83–106.

¹⁰ Iwasaki Shōichi, „Identifiability, scope-setting, and the particle *wa*: a study of Japanese spoken expository discourse” in *Perspectives on topicalization...*, 107-142.

- (iii) Strongly implied OPPOSITION CONTRAST, i.e., an insight by Teramura¹¹ about explicit and implied meanings of WA-marked topics, namely, that X-WA P always strongly implies also that for non-X, proposition P does not hold.
- (iv) TOPIC AS STAGING DEVICE, an insight about the role WA-marked topics play in the context, due to S.K.Maynard¹²: WA-marked topics are used as a tool to structure text, and importantly, it is the speaker/writer that decides how the topic will progress at each stage. Maynard’s insight resonates with Hinds’ view in (i) about accessibility as ONLY a necessary condition! It is also compatible with Sakuma Mayumi’s view of WA-marked topics, as well as topics in a more general sense, as content segmenting devices.

From properties (i) to (iii), the behaviour of WA-marked elements as topic or contrast can be inferred. And property (iv) is fundamental for understanding the role WA-marked elements play in discourse.

4. Topic – from local enigma to discourse delimiter

4.1 Leaving local enigma behind

Even an elementary level text¹³ reveals the working of WA-marked topics in context.

(2) 「日記」	`Nikki`	"Diary"
私は学校の ともだち とキャンプに来ました。	<i>Watashi wa gakkō no tomodachi to kyanpu ni kimashita.</i>	I came to camp with my school friends.
前田さん はりょうりが上手ですから、 昼ご飯を作りました。	<i>Maeda-san wa ryōri ga jōzu desu kara, hiru gohan o tsukurimashita.</i>	Maeda is good at cooking, so he made lunch.
まず、牛肉を油でいためました。	<i>Mazu, gyūniku o abura de itamemashita.</i>	First, he fried beef in oil.
それから、酒としょうゆをいれました。	<i>Sorekara, sake to shōyu o iremashita.</i>	Then he added sake and soy sauce.
林さんは海で泳ぎました。	<i>Hayashi-san wa umi de oyogimashita.</i>	Hayashi swam in the sea.
水泳が大好きですから。	<i>Suiei ga daisukidesukara.</i>	He loves swimming.
山本さん は昼ご飯を待ちました。	<i>Yamamoto-san wa hiru gohan o machimashita.</i>	Yamamoto waited for lunch.
そして時計を見ました。	<i>Soshite tokei o mimashita.</i>	And he looked at the clock.
中川さん は木の上にいました。	<i>Nakagawa-san wa ki no ue ni imashita.</i>	Nakagawa was on the tree.
日本語で「たすけて!」と言いました。	<i>Nihongode 'tasukete!' to iimashita.</i>	He said in Japanese, "Help!"

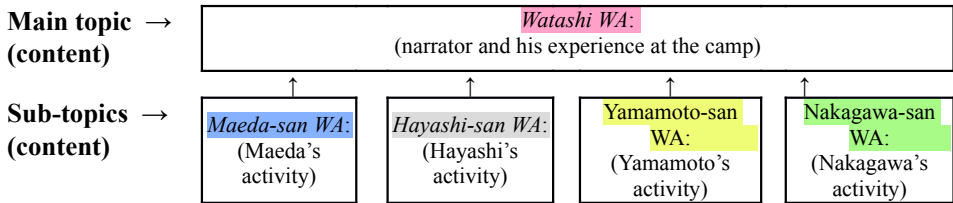
As Figure 1 below reveals, WA-marked topics do indeed “wrap” the content units of the text:

¹¹ Teramura, Hideo, *Nihongo noshintakusu to imi III* [Syntax and Semantics in Japanese] (Tōkyō, Kurosio Publishers, 1991).

¹² Maynard Senko K., „Thematization as a staging device in the Japanese Narrative” in *Perspectives on topicalization...*, 57–82.

¹³ Kanō Chieko, *Basic Kanji Book Vol.1.* (Tōkyō: Bonjinsha, 1989), 106.

Figure 1: WA-topic based content structure of (2)



Immediately revealed is the layered structure of topic defined content units – one topic-defined unit within a superordinate topic-defined unit. Another property regarding WA-marked topics is immediately apparent, too, i.e., that “topicness” and “contrastiveness” are not something intrinsic to the WA-marked element itself, but are both induced by the particular perception of the context, as can also be inferred from properties (i)~(iii) in specified in section 3.2. Indeed, in the case of WA-marked subtopic elements in text (2) above, they locally behave as topics, wrapping the content relevant to respective protagonists of different actions. But, looking globally from the context, these WA-marked topics also behave as foci of contrast in their relation to the actions of other protagonists: the action of one protagonist contrasted by the actions of other protagonists. These are conclusions that are impossible to derive if only single topic-including sentences are examined.

The insight that WA-marked constituents are an efficient tool to “package” information into distinct discourse units is based on the aforementioned Mikami’s generalised insight that a WA-marked topic may reach beyond the end of a particular sentence via the context. In this way, Hamada¹⁴ proposed topic based paragraphs, consisting of predications sharing the same topic, schematically represented in (3) below:

¹⁴ Hamada Morio, „Referential Choices in Theme, Subject, and Ellipsis” in *Written Narrative Discourse: a Case Study of Japanese Folktales* (MA thesis, Cornell University, 1983).

(3)	TOPIC(=NP+wa) +	PREDICATION ₁	“topic (based) paragraph”
	(Ø)	PREDICATION ₂	
 (Ø) PREDICATION _n	

The efficiency of WA-marked topics as a text structuring device can be seen in various genres, from narrative prose to editorials. Below, in Table 1, is an example from Akutagawa’s Ryūnosuke *Rashōmon* (1915), with WA- marked topics behaving almost identically as in (2). The actions of the protagonists, the servant and the old woman are each “wrapped” in respective WA-marked topic paragraphs.

Table 1. Simple structuring – simple reference in a narrative (Akutagawa R.: *Rashōmon*)¹⁵

Servant	Old woman	Text	Translation
Nwa		<i>Genin wa</i>	<i>Servant</i>
Ø		<i>Roku-bu no kyōfu to shi-bu no kōkishin to ni ugokasa rete,</i>	Moved by six-parts of fear and four-parts of curiosity
Ø		<i>zanji wa kokyū o suru no sae wasureteita.</i>	for a while, he forgot to even breathe.
		<i>Kyūki no kisha no go o karireba,</i>	In the words of an old chronicler,
		<i>īshinnoke mo futuru*</i>	„even hair on the head and body fattened“
Ø		<i>yō ni kanjita nodearu.</i>	he felt like [that].
		<i>Suruto</i>	Then
	Nwa	<i>rōba wa,</i>	<i>the old woman</i>
	Ø	<i>matsu no mokuhen o, yukaita no aida ni sashite,</i>	inserted a piece of pine wood between the floorboards and
	Ø	<i>sorekara, ima made nagamete ita</i>	then, [the corpse] she was watching until now

¹⁵ Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, “Rashōmon”. Aozora Bunko, accessed April 15, 2022, https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000879/files/127_15260.html .

Servant	Old woman	Text	Translation
	∅	<i>shigai no kubi ni ryōte o kakeru to,</i>	she put both hands around the neck of this corpse, and then
		<i>chōdo, saru no oya ga saru no ko no shirami o toru yō ni,</i>	just as a monkey parent takes lice off a monkey cub
	∅	<i>sono nagai kaminoke o ippon zutsu nuki hajimeta.</i>	she started pulling out the long hair one by one.

4.2 Topic and non-topic co-referential chains

What at the sentence level is considered as a “topic” turns out, seen from the context, to be just the tip of an iceberg. Table 2 below, excerpt from Akutagawa’s *Rashōmon* offers a vivid illustration.

Table 2: Topic and non-topic co-referential chains

Servant chain (topic)	Old Woman chain (non-topic)	Topic/role	Paragraph topic	Author's point of view	Location	Time frame	Disc. marker	Sentence #	G a p	TEXT (each line is a clause, a conjunction or a topic)
Ref. form	Ref. form									
N'+WA*		D-S direct	Serv. feeling	COMMENT	top of the stairs	SAME		80:	1	<i>Sore hodo, kono otoko no aku o nikumu kokoro WA</i>
	NP+CP									- <i>rōba no yuka ni sashita</i>
										- <i>matsu no kigire no yōni,</i>
∅										- <i>ikioi yoku moeagaridasite ita no de aru.</i>
NP ni+wa		S direct	S.'s knowledge	COMMENT	top of the stairs	SAME		81:	3	<i>Genin ni WA,</i>
	N+ga									- <i>motiron, naze rōba ga shinin no kami no ke o nuku ka</i>
∅										- <i>wakaranakatta.</i>
		S direct	S.'s knowledge	COMMENT	top of the stairs	SAME	従って	82:		<i>Shitagatte,</i>
	NP+CP									- <i>gōriteki ni wa, sore o zen-aku no izure ni katazukete yoi ka</i>
∅										- <i>shiranakatta.</i>
NP ni totte+wa		S oblique	S.'s perceptions	COMMENT	top of the stairs	SAME	しかし	83:		<i>Shikashi, genin ni totte WA</i>
	∅ (derived from S#81 and S#73 in preceding context)									- <i>kono ame no yoru ni, kono Rashōmon no ue de, shinin no kami no ke o nuku</i>
∅										- <i>toiu koto ga, sore dake de sude ni yurusu bekarazaru</i>
∅										- <i>aku de atta.</i>
⇒NP+wa		S direct	inferred S.'s change of attitude	COMMENT	top of the stairs	SAME	勿論	84:	1	<i>Mochiron, genin WA,</i>
	N+ga									- <i>sakki made jibun ga, nusubito ni naru ki de ita</i>
∅										- <i>koto nazo wa, too ni wasurete ita no de aru.</i>
⇒NP+wa		S direct	consequence: S.' action	NARRATION	top of the stairs → enclosure	SAME	そこで	85:	6	<i>Soko de genin WA,</i>
∅										- <i>ryōasi ni tikara o irete, .</i>
∅										- <i>ikinari, hashigo kara ue e tobiagatta.</i>
		S direct		NARRATION			そして	86:	1	<i>Soshite</i>
∅										- <i>hijirizuka no taitō ni te o kakenagara,</i>
∅	NP+CP									- <i>ōmata ni rōba no mae e ayumiyotta.</i>

*N': derived topic

80: *Thus fiercely, like the splint of pine the old woman had stuck in the floor; blazed up this man's detestation of evil.*

81: *The servant, of course, did not know why the old woman was pulling out the hair of the dead.*

82: *Consequently, he did not know rationally whether her conduct should be set down as good or evil.*

83: *But for him, the pulling of hair from the heads of the dead on that rainy night up in Rashōmon was, on the face of it, an unpardonable crime.*

84: *Naturally, he had already forgotten that a little before he had had half a mind to turn thief himself.*

85: *So, bracing his two feet firmly, he suddenly sprang from the ladder up into the room.*

86: *Then, grasping the plain handle of his sword, he advanced with great strides up to the old woman.*

(Translation based on Glenn W. Shaw, *Rashōmon*, Hara Publ. Tokyo 1964).

As pointed out by the author¹⁶, co-referential chains in a text can be divided into TOPIC and NON-TOPIC CO-REFERENTIAL CHAINS, each having quite different properties, even though the frequency of non-topic entities can be similar to topic entities. As observed by Maynard (property (iv), section 3.2), it is through the topic chain that the speaker/writer is developing (staging) discourse. Explicitly marked topics appear obviously at the beginning of the chain and also where oblique cases prevent ellipsis of the topic element. Compared to topic entities that appear foregrounded, non-topic entities appear as just a side participant in the described scene.

The contribution of topic chains to the coherence of the text is very important in spite of the limitations imposed by more complex genres such as editorials etc.¹⁷.

4.3. WA-marked element as discourse content delimiter

A trivial case of an element as a discourse delimiter is a WA-marked element positioned at the beginning of the topic chain. But once the topic entity is established, based on the *piriodo goe* property, one would expect that, except in unavoidable circumstances, such as oblique cases etc., a topic in the rest of the topic chain would remain unexpressed. But if that is so, how can we then, in Table 2 above, explain the fully expressed topic in sentence #85, immediately after the appearance of the same fully expressed topic in sentence #84.

As we have seen already in (3), WA-marked elements serve as delimiters of topic based paragraphs. Therefore, the same might even be true also for the explicitly WA-marked topics in the middle of topic chain, where one would actually expect ellipsis (non-expression, Ø-form) of such element. In other words, it makes sense to assume that the full referential form X+WA in the middle of the topic chain also serves as a marker of the beginning of a new content, or seen from the reverse side, as a marker of content discontinuity, that is, as a content delimiter in discourse.

Two tests were applied to test this hypothesis. (i) discourse criteria and, as a kind of control, also (ii) intuitive judgement of content discontinuity, i.e., of gaps in content between individual sentences by native speakers.

Discourse criteria are as follows: (a) Change in location (Yes/No); (b) Topic entity's case role (Yes/No); (c) Paragraph Topic (Yes/No); (d) Author's perspective (Yes/No); (e) Time frame (Yes/No); (f) Presence of discourse marker (Yes/No).

¹⁶ Bekeš Andrej, *Text and Boundary: A Sideways Glance at Textual Phenomena in Japanese* (Ljubljana: Ljubljana University Press, 2008) 83–104. <https://e-knjige.ff.uni-lj.si/znanstvena-zalo-zba/catalog/book/323> .

¹⁷ Bekeš, *Text and Boundary*.

An additional intuitive criterion is as follows: Native speaker intuition – judgement of discontinuity by 8 native speakers (Yes/No) (“Gap” in Table 2)

Indeed, the content discontinuity between sentences #84 and #85 that was pointed out by the majority of native speakers is based on the switch from the author’s commentary on the protagonist’s (servant’s) actions to the actual description of the servant’s actions, introduced by connective *sokode* (in the circumstances) and is substantiated in the high agreement of gap perception among the informants (6 out of 8)¹⁸.

Two texts by Akutagawa were analysed: *Rashōmon*, by both discourse analysis criteria and by native speaker intuition, and *Kumo no ito* (The spider’s thread, 1918) by discourse analysis criteria only. The results are subsumed in Table 3 below¹⁹.

Table 3: Content discontinuity and referential form in topic chain (*Rashōmon* and *Kumo no ito*)

		Referential form in the middle of a topic chain	
		NP+wa	∅
discontinuity (analytic criteria)	YES	28	22
	NO	0	15

Fischer exact probability test: $p = 0.0001$ ($p < 0.05$) (strong correlation)

To be on the safe side, the correlation between analytical criteria and native speaker intuition was also checked²⁰.

¹⁸ Bekeš, *Text and Boundary* and Bekeš Andrej, “Possibility of Content Shifts as Predictors of the WA-Topic In Japanese Narrative”, in *Nihongo gakushū shien no kōchiku: Gengo kyōiku kōpasu shisutemu kaihatsu* [Building Japanese Language Learning Support: Language Education, Corpus, System Development], ed. Kamata Michiko et al., (Tōkyō: Bonjinsha, 2013), 157–174.

¹⁹ Bekeš, “Possibility of Content “.

²⁰ Bekeš, “Possibility of Content “.

Table 4: Correlation between native speaker intuition and analytic criteria (*Rashōmon*)

		Native speakers: discontinuity	
		YES	NO
Analytic criteria : discontinuity	YES	67	37
	NO	0	38

Fischer exact probability test: $p < 0.00001$ ($p < 0.05$) (strong correlation)

Both, Table 3 and Table 4, show a clear correlation with content discontinuity. Yet, the relation is not automatic. Indeed, as we can see in Table 3, there are rather frequent cases of ellipsis even when analytical criteria show some discontinuity in content. As seen very clearly in the case of *Rashōmon*, explicit delimiting resulting in smaller or larger units is based, to a large extent, on the author’s decision how to shape the rhythm of narration.

It is thus possible to conclude that it is ultimately the writer’s creativity that steers the choice of a referential form, in accordance with what Maynard (ibid.) calls staging.

5. Conclusions

This quick journey through different treatments of WA-marked topics has shown the importance of viewing and understanding discourse phenomena in their natural context – discourse. Sentence based approaches did contribute some significant insights, but the deeper nature of WA-marked topics, such as the “topic/contrast” duality, or their being an important mechanism to provide coherence could only be revealed once related phenomena were observed, as it were, in discourse. In addition, the author presented some of his own findings, such as the distinction between topic co-referential chains and non-topic co-referential chains. Further, based on this distinction, an important aspect of WA-marked topics coherence, i.e. their additional functioning as discourse content delimiters was revealed.

With the increasingly recognised importance of discourse based approaches, additionally strengthened also by the greater availability of both written and spoken language corpora, there must still be other meaningful properties of WA-marked topics waiting to be discovered in the future.

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Calques in Modern Japanese – Classification and Main Factors Determining Their Occurrence

Keywords: calque, borrowing, modern Japanese, language change, language contact, language trends

1. Introduction

After national seclusion (1633–1853) at the end of Edo period (1603–1868), Japan finally reopened to Western influences, which had an impact on modern Japanese language on various levels.¹ According to Leo J. Loveday, despite the high status of Dutch language of that time, the promotion of English learning, which was considered as a key to technological, economic and military development, resulted in the visible increase of English-based loanwords. During the Meiji period (1868–1912) English became a compulsory subject in public education. Along with Western fashion and Western lifestyle patterns, the increasing number of English borrowings started to be considered trendy, as reflected in the emergence of the phenomenon called *haikara eigo* ‘high collar English’² (the fashion of using English borrowings and code-switching among Japanese men who tended to imitate Western fashion and lifestyle). Language and cultural contact with the West resulted also in another significant change on the vocabulary level – hundreds of Western ideas and concepts were introduced to Japan and named in Japanese, mainly by literal calquing.³ Most of them were *wasei kango* ‘Sino-Japanese lexemes made in Japan’, however certain *wago* ‘native Japanese lexemes’ were also introduced in order to name innovative concepts imported from Europe to the modernizing and developing country, mainly for translational or political purposes.

¹ Modern Japanese (*gendai Nihongo*) is dated from the second half of 19th century (the beginning of Meiji period). It was preceded by so-called early modern Japanese (*kinsei Nihongo*) which extended from the 17th century to the first half of 19th century (Edo period).

² Leo J. Loveday, *Language Contact in Japan – A Sociolinguistic History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 70–76.

³ Loveday, *Language Contact in Japan*, 71.

The present paper focuses on the inquiry into Japanese linguistic calques and presents them, alongside loanwords, as another significant product of language contact in modern Japan. The paper serves two major purposes. The first one is to propose the classification of modern calques based on the analysis of their various types, in order to present the phenomenon as complex and multilevel. The second one is to introduce calques as important outcomes of language change and discuss two major factors influencing this change: *a need*, which, in this case refers to political movements and social transformations, as well as *ongoing trends*, determined by the impact of Western languages and culture, mainly American culture.

The choice of this topic was also motivated by the fact that although the subject of language contact and foreign influences on Japanese has been widely discussed on the example of loanwords (*gairaigo*), pseudo-English words (*wasei eigo*) and hybrids (*konshugo*), the category of linguistic calques (*shakuyō*), especially from the perspective of language trends, has still not been thoroughly investigated and is usually scarcely mentioned. In the author's opinion, the present approach may be of some value to understand the actual status and range of functioning of modern calques, and also facilitate rethinking the character and terminology referring to these phenomena.

2. Calques in Japanese – How are They Usually Defined?

In Japanese linguistic discourse, calques are generally known as *honyaku shakuyō*⁴ lit. 'translation borrowings', in English known as "loan translations" or *honyakugo*⁵ lit. 'translated words', and are defined as a word-for-word translation from one language into another with the intention of preserving the same meaning. This lexical category is usually correlated with the notion of *wasei kango* 'Sino-Japanese lexemes made in Japan' that were overwhelmingly established in the second half of the 19th century.⁶

Nevertheless, the category of Japanese calques is internally more diverse, as is usually mentioned in research papers dedicated to language contact, and therefore, requires a certain systematization. The description of calques should start with the colligation of this phenomenon to the process of *shakuyō* 'borrowing'. Although, the terms *shakuyō* and *shakuyōgo* 'borrowing; loanword' are usually associated with lexemes representing *gairaigo* 'xeno-Japanese words; lit. words that came

⁴ Hajime Takamizawa (et al.), *Shin-hajimete no Nihongo kyōiku. Kihon yōgo jiten* [The new and first Japanese language education. Dictionary of basic terms] (Tōkyō: ASK Shuppan, 2004), 182.

⁵ Takamizawa (et al.), *Shin-hajimete no Nihongo kyōiku*, 141.

⁶ Read more in the Section 4. Calques as Outcomes of Language Change Determined by Language Contact.

from the outside’ and *wasei eigo* ‘pseudo-English words; lit. English words that were made in Japan’, in a broader perspective, the borrowing processes comprise also linguistic calques. In the lexicon *Shin-hajimete no Nihongo kyōiku* [The new and first Japanese language education] three outcomes of the process of *shakuyō* are distinguished: simple loans (*tanjun shakuyō*), loan translations (*honyaku shakuyō*) and loanshifts (*tenyō*) and the second category refers to calques.⁷ The term *karuku* also exists in Japanese as a loanword from French, *calque*. However, as the majority of such expressions are formed due to translation or borrowing processes, rather than by literal calquing “element by element”, the term *karuku* seems less adequate.

3. A Proposal for Classification of Calques

The inquiry into modern borrowing processes shows that various aspects should be taken into account when suggesting the classification of calques. In this section, three variants of classification are proposed. Each of them focuses on a different aspect: classification by the object of borrowing, structural classification (by the linguistic category) and etymological classification (by the relevancy and irrelevancy of etymology in actual use).

3.1. Classification by the *object* of borrowing

Japanese linguistic calques are usually associated with the process of replicating the structure of the foreign expression, concomitantly retaining the original meaning. As previously stated, these lexemes are generally equated with the numerous neologisms which were introduced after the Meiji Restoration (1868) as translation-al equivalents for the terms referring to foreign concepts that flowed into Japan in a period of modernization and westernization.⁸ Consequently, they are commonly associated with the category of so-called loan translations, and this is how the term *honyaku shakuyō* is usually translated. However, this inquiry sheds light on two important matters. Firstly, the category of calques is more diverse and therefore, should not be limited to the description of *honyaku shakuyō*. Secondly, the word “translation” suggested in the English term “loan translation” is not considered as optimal and therefore, in this paper Japanese calques are intended to be called, according to the literal meaning of the Japanese term *shakuyō*, “borrowings”. The

⁷ Takamizawa (et al.), *Shin-hajimete no Nihongo kyōiku*, 182.

⁸ Mahito Fukuda, “Meiji honyakugo no omoshiroa” [How interesting are translations from Meiji era], *Gengo bunka kenkyū sōsho* [The series of the research into language and culture] 7 (March 2008): 135.

analysis of collected data from various published and Internet sources allows us to distinguish three categories of calques:

- a. Translation borrowing (Eng. term is *loan translation*, Jap. term is *hon-yaku shakuyō*) – the structure of the expression is translated morpheme by morpheme, or component by component, the meaning is the same as original, e.g.
 - *neage* ‘value-up’,
 - *anzen chitai* ‘safe zone’
 - *shihonshugi* ‘capitalism’
- b. Semantic borrowing (Eng. term is *semantic translation*, Jap. term is *imi shakuyō*) – the process of borrowing semantic meaning rather than the structure of the expression, sometimes by the use of metaphorical extension or reduction of the meaning, e.g.
 - *[ni] asobu* ‘to go on a trip; to spend a time; to go to explore’ is considered as a semantic borrowing from the Chinese lexeme *yóu* ‘trip’⁹
 - *[o] osou* ‘to succeed to’ is analogically the semantic borrowing from Chinese *xí* ‘to inherit’¹⁰
 - *kannen* ‘idea’ was originally used in Japanese as one of so-called *bukkyō yōgo* ‘Buddhist terms’, however along with the influence and spread of Western philosophy in Meiji era, this word started to be used as an equivalent for Plato’s “idea”
- c. Homophonic borrowing (Eng. term is *homophonic translation*, Jap. term is *onyaku shakuyō*) the process of replacing expressions from one language with near homophonic expressions from another language, with no attempt to preserve the original meaning. This process is commonly associated in Japan with the phenomenon called *soramimi* lit. ‘sky ears’, ‘pretending not to hear’¹¹ and is usually considered as a demonstration of *kotoba asobi* ‘word playing’ among young users of Japanese social media or Japanese comedians, e.g.

⁹ Note that this verb is generally associated by the Japanese native speakers with the meaning ‘to play’, and therefore, by younger generations the meaning ‘to go on a trip’ is considered as obsolete and out of use.

¹⁰ In Japanese generally associated with the meaning ‘to attack’.

¹¹ In the present paper *soramimi* and *onyaku shakuyō* are described as representing the same category of calques based on hearing, however they are often used to be distinguished. The former is said to be applied within the same language (which, on a side note, is a popular practice among Japanese comedians), while the latter usually occurs between two or more different languages. There is also third category colligated with homophonic processes, which is called *mondegreens* (Jap. *mondegurūn*) and refers to the formation of new words or phrases resulting from mishearing or misinterpretation.

- *nagetto watte tōchan* ‘split the chicken nugget, dad’ is a homophonic borrowing of the lyrics from popular Rage Against The Machine’s song entitled “Killing In the Name”: *Now you do what they told ya*
- *Edogawa Ranpo* is a pen name of Japanese writer Tarō Hirai (1894–1965), who coined his pen name calquing the pronunciation of the name of the famous American writer Edgar Allan Poe, whom he admired.

Among the three suggested subcategories of calques, only in the case of 3.1.a (*honyaku shakuyō*) is the process of translation, regarded according to Cambridge Dictionary definition as “the activity or process of changing the words of one language into the words in another language that have the same meaning”¹² noticeable. Instead, the examples mentioned in 3.1.b and 3.1.c are not supposed to be considered as demonstrations of translation in its strict sense. In 3.1.b, the foreign semantics are borrowed and added to lexemes already existing in the target language. Whereas in 3.1.c, the sounds of foreign expressions are imitated and reinterpreted so that they correspond with the sounds existing in target language, and the original meaning is irrelevant. The examples introduced in this section prove once again that the mechanisms of forming Japanese calques are, above all, based on borrowing. Nevertheless, as 3.1.a shows, in certain cases it serves translational purposes.

3.2. Classification by linguistic category

Although Japanese calques are usually associated with lexemes, above all, single nouns – the calquing processes can also result in the formation of other lexical items, such as verbs or pronouns, idiomatic phrases and even influence the spread of certain grammatical morphemes. This section contains examples representing these categories:

a. Lexical calques

- nouns, e.g. *seitō* ‘political party’, *shutai* ‘main subject’, *shakaishugi* ‘socialism’
- verbs, e.g. *asobu* ‘to go on a trip’, *osou* ‘to succeed to’ – two semantic borrowings from Chinese (See also: 3.1.b)
- pronouns, e.g. *kanojo* ‘she’ (previous form: *ka no onna*) – Note that the spread of third person pronouns in Japanese is said to take place during the Meiji era, along with the popularity of Western literature¹³

¹² “Translation,” Cambridge Dictionary, accessed August 5, 2022, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pl/dictionary/english/translation>.

¹³ Akira Miura, “The Influence of English on Japanese Grammar,” *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 14, no. 1 (1979): 3–30.

b. Grammatical calques

According to Miura, certain grammatical morphemes were introduced or popularized in 19th/20th century as translational equivalents of Western, especially English linguistic concepts.¹⁴ As the examples presented below demonstrate, the functions of the morphemes are believed to be calqued from Western languages. Part of them are believed to have existed in Japanese before the 19th century, however their spread is said to have been influenced by English out of translational purposes, e.g.:

- the spread of the plural form *-ra* attached to personal pronouns: *karera* ‘they’ (*kare* ‘he’ + *-ra*) and demonstratives: *korera* ‘these’ (*kore* ‘this’ + *-ra*), *sorera* ‘those; (sore ‘that’ + *-ra*)¹⁵
- the use of the copula presumption form *de arō* in order to indicate future tense ‘shall; will’
- the combination of conjunctive particle *tsutsu* with the auxiliary verb *aru* ‘to be’ as a calque of the English ‘be + -ing’ form, applied to indicate continuity¹⁶
- so-called “translational passive” (as opposed to adversative “victimizing” passive), which is described by Martin as “pure passive” and can be performed only on transitive verbs¹⁷, e.g. *yobareru* ‘to be called’ as a passive form of the verb *yobu* ‘to call’

c. Phraseological calques

From the 19th century various abstract (e.g. romantic love) and concrete (e.g. taking photos) concepts were gradually introduced to a modernizing Japanese society. Accordingly, certain fixed and idiomatic expressions were calqued and became widespread in Japanese, e.g.

- *koi ni ochiru* ‘to fall in love’, literally calqued from English
- *chūi o harau* ‘to pay attention’, *ditto*
- *shashin o toru* ‘to take a photo’, *ditto*
- *nomi no shi* ‘flea market’, calqued from French *marché aux puces*

3.3. Classification by relevancy and irrelevancy of etymology

The inquiry into translation and semantic borrowings demonstrates two attitudes toward the relevancy of the etymology – the etymology of the particular component of the expression may be relevant for its actual meaning or may be

¹⁴ Miura, “The Influence”.

¹⁵ Miura suggests that the former might have been influenced by French language, while the latter – the idea to render Japanese demonstratives in plurals – by English, analogically to: this – these, that – those opposition (Read more: Miura, “The Influence,” 14).

¹⁶ Miura, “The Influence”, 17.

¹⁷ Samuel E. Martin, *A Reference Grammar of Japanese* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1991), third printing, 274–275.

completely irrelevant. On this basis, the following two subcategories of calques may be distinguished:

- a. Conventional calques – the structure and the concept (the meaning behind it), are both replicated in the expression and the etymology of particular morphemes is relevant and reflected in the actual meaning, e.g.
 - *uyoku/ sayoku* ‘right wing (the Right)/ left wing (the Left)’
 - *kūkō* ‘airport’
- b. Etymological calques – the original etymology of the expression is replicated, this etymology is irrelevant for the actual meaning of the expression in the target language though, e.g.: *teiō sekkai* from Ger. *Kaiserschnitt* ‘C-section’¹⁸

4. Calques as Outcomes of Language Change determined by Language Contact

There can be no advanced discussion about language change without the notion of language norm. As Tessa Carroll rightly noted in her reflection on the state of language:

The degree to which today’s language is in reality changing compared with the past is difficult to ascertain. (...) change is now more noticeable simply because the written and printed language provides a norm which to compare current usage.¹⁹

According to Japanese sociolinguists, language change (Jap. *genko henka*) – an innovation that is accepted and embedded in the norm of language – can be classified according to various factors: structure of the change (*internal*, e.g. due to language development and *external*, e.g. due to language contact), scale of the change (*large-scaled*, e.g. grammatical and *small-scaled*, e.g. lexical) and social character of the change (*sociological*, e.g. occurring among with social changes and *linguistic*, e.g. determined by the nature of language)²⁰. Although very general, the suggested classification emphasizes two major motivations for the change: the

¹⁸ The analogical calques are used in Polish (cesarskie cięcie), English (C-section, caesarean section), Russian (кесарево сечение) and many other languages, and they are all accordingly, etymological calques from Latin *sectio caesarea*. However, since this expression came to Japan along with German medical terminology, it is assumed to replicate German.

¹⁹ Tessa Carroll, *Language Planning and Language Change in Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 77.

²⁰ Shinji Sanada (et al.), *Shakaigengogaku* [Sociolinguistics], (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1992), 91.

development of language (determining such diachronic processes as, for example, univerbation or grammaticalization) and the impact of other languages through so-called language contact (Jap. *gengo sesshoku*).

There is no language which during its cultural development has never encountered another language. This phenomenon of indirect or direct contact between different languages is called language contact.²¹

The notion of language contact is usually associated with the impact of foreign languages or regiolects, however, as it is often suggested, it can also pertain to the mutual influence of sociolects, genderlects or other “lects” on language (note that the contact between Japanese regiolects *hōgen* and common language *kyōtsūgo* resulted in the formation of so-called *neo-hōgen* and the contact between male speech *danseigo* and female speech *joseigo* led to the masculinization of female speech *danseigoka*, etc).²² The contact of Japanese with foreign languages such as Chinese, Ainu and later with European languages (Portuguese, Dutch, French, German and finally with English) resulted in the accumulation of new vocabulary, such as loanwords, hybrids and pseudo-English words (Japanese lexemes based on English words and morphemes) and also in the establishment of many calques.

The *genbun itchi* movement (unification of written and spoken Japanese) that occurred at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, resulted in the commonization of Japanese literature. Concurrently, the possibility to travel abroad after the reopening of Japan, resulted in broader access to foreign concepts and physical products, as well as to Western literature and philosophical publications, which started to be translated into Japanese on a larger scale. Consequently, hundreds of abstract and concrete Western concepts were massively reproduced and introduced into Japanese, mostly by literal calquing.²³ Most of these expressions were formed of Sino-Japanese morphemes as so-called *wasei kango* ‘Sino-Japanese lexemes made in Japan’ in order to reflect modern concepts related to various areas, such as: sports (e.g. *yakyū* ‘baseball’), economy (e.g. *keizai* ‘economy’, *kinyū* ‘finances’), politics (e.g. *shihonshugi* ‘capitalism’, *minshushugi* ‘democracy’), psychology (e.g. *shinrigaku* ‘psychology’), science (e.g. *butsuri* ‘physics’, *hōshasen* ‘radiation’), philosophy (e.g. *ishiki* ‘consciousness’), medicine (e.g. *densenbyō* ‘infectious disease’), everyday life (e.g. *denki* ‘electricity’), relationships (e.g. *renai* ‘romantic love’, from Fr. *amour*) etc.

Jabłoński defines *wasei kango* as: “Sino-Japanese units that were formed after the process of borrowing them into Japanese had finished, which do not exist in

²¹ Sanada (et al.), *Shakaigengogaku*, 68.

²² Takamizawa (et al.), *Shin-hajimete no Nihongo kyōiku*, 180.

²³ Loveday, *Language Contact in Japan*, 71.

Chinese languages.”²⁴ *Wasei kango* were indeed formed in Japan, however dozens of them do exist in modern Chinese as they transferred or were reborrowed into Chinese at the end of the Qing dynasty (1636-1912). Examples of these are as follows (note that the pronunciation written in *pīnyīn* is added in brackets): *bentō* ‘lunchbox’ (*biàndāng*), *butsurei* ‘physics’ (*wùlǐ*), *denwa* ‘telephone’ (*diànhuà*), *ishiki* ‘consciousness’ (*yìshí*), *keizai* ‘economy’ (*jīngjì*), *kōkoku* ‘advertisement’ (*guǎnggào*), *kyōwa* ‘republic’ (*gònghé*), *seppun* ‘kiss’ (*jiēwěn*) *shinka* ‘evolution’ (*jìnhuà*), *shinrigaku* ‘psychology’ (*xīnlǐxué*), *undō* ‘motion’ (*yùndòng*) and many others. Among this huge group of reborrowed or transferred expressions, there were also words of purely Japanese origin, which represent the category of *wago*, not *kango*, e.g. *deguchi* ‘exit’ (*chūkō* ‘exit; export’), *shusseki* ‘presence’ (*chūxi*).

At the same time, during the end of the Qing dynasty, plenty of new expressions were established in Chinese as translational equivalents for Western concepts and terminology as so-called *kasei shinkango* ‘new Chinese words made in China’ (the Chinese term is *huázhìxīnhànyǔ*), e.g. *guózhài* ‘national debt’, *píngshí* ‘usually’, *zhànshí* ‘war time’, *zhǔquán* ‘sovereignty’, etc. and part of them was also adopted into modern Japanese.²⁵ As these two processes (the formation of *wasei kango* in Japan and *kasei shinkango* in China) occurred more or less simultaneously due to similar reasons, and what is more, *wasei kango* were made of Sino-Japanese units, the expressions representing this category are often erroneously considered by both native speakers of Chinese and Japanese as words originating in China. It can be additionally determined by the fact that there were two general mechanisms motivating the formation of *wasei kango*. The first was to form completely new expressions from Sino-Japanese morphemes (e.g. *tetsugaku* ‘philosophy’, *yūbin* ‘post’) and the second was to add a new meaning which reflects the modern concept to Sino-Japanese lexemes that already existed (e.g. *jiyū* ‘freedom; liberty’²⁶, *kakumei* ‘revolution’²⁷).

²⁴ Arkadiusz Jabłoński, *Polski leksykon japońskich terminów gramatycznych* [Polish lexicon of Japanese grammatical terms] (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2021), vol. 3, 24.

²⁵ Liwei Chen, *Wasei kango no keisei to sono tenkai* [The formation and development of Japanese *kango*] (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 2001), 22.

²⁶ Orig. meaning of *jiyū* is ‘on one’s accord; selfish’. This word is regarded as the translation of Sanskrit expression *svayam* ‘oneself; yourself’ and originally was connoted rather negatively. According to *Kōjien* dictionary, the word gained popularity in China during the Tang dynasty (618-907) and also occurred in *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon Shoki*, dated on 8th century) in the meaning of arbitrariness, pride, doing as someone pleases, at one’s disposal etc. Source: Izuru Shinmura, ed., *Kōjien* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1955), 1002.

²⁷ Orig. meaning of *kakumei* is ‘to change life’ (*inochi o aratamu*); in Ancient China referred to the change of destiny which resulted in the change of royal dynasty. Source: “Kakumei”, Gogen yurai jiten [Dictionary of etymology], accessed August 10, 2022, <https://gogen-yurai.jp/kakumei/> and Japanese Dictionary *Kōjien*, Izuru Shinmura, ed., (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1955), 375.

In the time of Japanese military expansion (1930–1945) and World War II, according to nationalistic voices, English was proclaimed as *tekiseigo* ‘hostile language’ and the social movement of purifying Japanese language from the “enemy vocabulary” was conducted. As a result, plenty of loanwords referring to sports, food, fashion, music, magazines, everyday life, animals and plants were replaced with Japanese and Sino-Japanese equivalents. Part of them were substituted in the process of calquing or partial calquing, as can be exemplified by the expressions referring to sporting terminology: *hashiriutsu* ‘hit and run’, *shūkyū* ‘football’, *anzen* ‘safe’, *hike* ‘out’, *seikyū* ‘strike’ which temporarily replaced loanwords. Some of these words, like *ensoku* (which provisionally substituted the loanword *haikingu* ‘hiking’) survived and nowadays are used with a different meaning (*ensoku* ‘group excursion or trip’).²⁸ This brief reference to the Japanese language policy that took place in the first half of 20th century proves that although both categories, loanwords and calques, are the outcomes of language contact and represent the same category of borrowings, loanwords have stronger associations with foreignness, exoticism, innovation and internationalization, while calques (although generally reflects the same concepts) are better assimilated into Japanese and, hence, are often regarded as more “domestic”.

5. Calquing as a Linguistic Trend – Western Languages’ Impact on Japanese Sociolects

Words are produced out of need. ²⁹

Need is undoubtedly one of the major, and most essential motivators for language change. That can be easily proved by the analysis of previously mentioned lexemes which were introduced into Japanese language by scholars and writers as translational equivalents for Western expressions, in other words, in order to fill lexical gaps. However, there is also another powerful motivator for introducing new vocabulary, which are *ongoing trends*. Yonekawa, in his inquiry into Japanese slang (*zokugo*), mentions that in the premodern and the beginning of modern times (Edo and Meiji period) a noticeable number of neologisms called *giji gaikokugo* ‘pseudo-foreign words’ were introduced into youth speech. While the Edo expressions were dominated by Dutch influences, neologisms from Meiji were mostly based on English.³⁰ That new vocabulary was based on Japanese morphemes and lexemes, however the pronunciation was supposed to imitate the foreign one. The

²⁸ Carroll, *Language Planning*, 65.

²⁹ Fukuda, “Meiji honyakugo no omoshirosa,” 138.

³⁰ Akihiko Yonekawa, *Zokugo wa omoshiroi. Zokugo nyūmon* [Slang is interesting. The introduction to slang], (Tōkyō: Asakura Shoten, 2017), 39–40.

following examples present how the English pronunciation was imitated (the use of prolonged vowels and fast speaking were supposed to give the impression of “foreignness”):

- *yokunāku* lit. ‘to cry often’ (orig. *yoku naku*) refers to ‘baby’
- *surutohīderu* lit. ‘if you rub, the fire comes’ (orig. *suru to hi deru*) refers to ‘match’
- *rinnāru* lit. ‘the ringtone rings’ (orig. *rin naru*) refers to ‘telephone’
- *fūdodēru* lit. ‘food goes out’ (orig. *fūdo deru*) refers to ‘fart’
- *seitoosōru* lit. ‘students tremble’ (orig. *seito osoru*) refers to ‘exams’.³¹

Another linguistic trend based on the imitation of English language was observed in the second half of the Shōwa period (1926-1989). After American occupation, the popularity of American culture, fashion and products and accordingly, American English, resulted in the formation of numerous hybrid formations, mainly nouns made of Japanese words combined with English suffixes *-ism*, *-ist*, *-logy* and *-ing*:

- *niyarisuto* ‘smirking man’ (*niyaniya* ‘smirk; grin’ + *-ist*)
- *daberisuto* ‘babblers’ (*daberu* ‘to chat; to jabber’ + *-ist*)
- *tankisuto* ‘the author of tanka’ (*tanka* ‘tanka’ + *-ist*)
- *chirarizumu* ‘giving a brief glimpse of’ (*chiratto* ‘at a glance’ + *-ism*)
- *sainorojī* ‘husband who deeply loves his wife’ (*sai* ‘wife’ + *-logy*).³²

Most of the mentioned sociolects are nowadays considered as out-of-date. Probably *chirarizumu* is the only one occasionally used for humorous purposes by the Japanese in their thirties or forties, however it is difficult to predict how long it will be preserved in colloquial speech.

The above-mentioned linguistic trends introduced in the Edo, Meiji and Shōwa periods do not represent literal calques in their strict sense (although the second mentioned category of English-Japanese hybrids may be linked to the process of partial calquing). Nevertheless, these neologisms were introduced into Japanese sociolects due to analogical mechanisms as calques, which were mainly based on imitating Western patterns, in order to form a new word, and on this basis were added to the present analysis.

Nowadays, Japanese youth tend to use loanwords, pseudo-English expressions, English-Japanese hybrids and their abbreviated variants as this vocabulary is associated with novelty and uniqueness. Nevertheless, the trend to calque expressions from Western languages, primarily American English, can be sporadically observed, especially among social media and Internet users:

- *jidori* abbreviated from *jibundori*; the calque of English neologism ‘selfie’ (self-portrait photograph)

³¹ Yonekawa, *Zokugo wa omoshiroi*.

³² Yonekawa, *Zokugo wa omoshiroi*.

- *ii ne!* (Kansai variant on Facebook is *ee yan!*)³³; implemented in Japanese social media as a translational equivalent of English ‘Like’
- *nagekisu* ‘throwing kiss ; blowing kiss’ a partial calque (in Chinese it functions as a calque *fēiwǔn* lit. ‘flying kiss’)
- *takunomi* ‘home party’ (lit. ‘home drinking’) partial calque used alternately with loanword *hōmu pātī*
- *yarirafi* ‘party lover’ is a recent neologism and homophonic borrowing of the lyric *Jeg vil at vi* from the song “Chernobyl 2017” by Meland x Hauken.

On a side note, it is worth mentioning that calques occurring in contemporary language demonstrate global trends typical for the whole of youth culture, which, despite territorial distance and with the great help of the Internet, displays significant similarities and tends to be based on similar patterns. An analysis of Polish youth sociolects evinces a similar trend to occasionally calque English expressions or morphological patterns in order to form neologisms³⁴, e.g.:

- *odzobaczyć* as a calque of English neologism ‘to unsee’ taken from the famous slogan: “What has been seen cannot be unseen” (Pol. “Co się zobaczyło, już się nie odzobaczy”)
- *twoja stara* as a calque of the popular slang expression ‘your old lady’
- *zakuping* as a partial calque of ‘shopping’
- *leżing, smażing, plażing* as hybrid formations of the words *leżeć* ‘be lying down’, *smażyć* ‘to fry’ (here in the meaning of ‘to sunbath’) and *plaża* ‘beach’ with English suffix *-ing*.

Conclusions

The examples of calques introduced in this paper which were gradually established in Japanese from the second half of the 19th century till the present, demonstrate the significant role of language contact with Western languages, especially American English, in modernizing and developing Japan. As this paper shows, language contact should undoubtedly be considered as one of the most influential engines powering language change in modern Japan. The spread of new vocabulary, phrases and also grammatical forms introduced through the

³³ In cases where Kansai regiolect is selected as a preferred language on Facebook, it is observed that the use of translation borrowings replaces the use of loanwords: *tsukkomu* ‘to comment’ instead of *komento suru*, *wakewake* ‘share’ instead of *shea*, which is determined by the fact that Kansai expressions have amusing, humorous, familiar and less serious connotations than standard Japanese.

³⁴ This example is mentioned here, due to the fact that Polish is the native language of the author.

process of calquing, were determined by two important factors: needs and ongoing trends. The need for new terminology to fill lexical gaps resulted in, as can be evaluated from the present analysis, long-range changes – the establishment of translational equivalents which effectively reflected the social, economic and political transformations of those times, and simultaneously supported the translation and commonization of literature. Contrarily, the outcomes of language trends which reflected the popularity of American culture in the 20th century, as well as the globalization of Internet and media language in the 21st century are, among others, short-range changes – the establishment of neologisms popularized as parts of Japanese sociolects.

On the ground of the present analysis, it can be also concluded that although calques and loanwords in Japanese result from language contact and are believed to represent the same category of borrowings, their perception in Japanese society is different. Since the structure of calques corresponds with Japanese morphological and phonological patterns, they are rather regarded as better assimilated into Japanese language than loanwords and pseudo-English expressions. Moreover, in contrast to translation borrowings and semantic borrowings which are generally written in Sino-Japanese characters *kanji* and *hiragana* syllabary and hence, perceived as more domestic and familiar, Japanese *gairaigo* and *wasei eigo* expressions are written in *katakana* syllabary and hence, are generally considered as less familiar. In the case of calques, the feeling of distinctness and unfamiliarity is visibly reduced and it may be assumed that this is one of the reasons why these expressions may be considered slightly less attractive than loanwords. The small number of calques in contemporary youth sociolects shows that Japanese youths apparently prefer to use a xeno-Japanese vocabulary, which in their opinion demonstrates a more international status and has exotic connotations, than calques, which are perceived as rather domestic. Nevertheless, certain tendencies, such as the use of hybrid formations or partial calques, as well as homophonic borrowings which are created for humorous reasons, prove that calques still fulfil certain functions in Japanese. Moreover, as this vocabulary is structurally shorter than loanwords, calques seems to be useful in translating terms related to social media.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the proposal for the classification of calques included in this paper was motivated by the intention of presenting the phenomenon as diverse and multi-dimensional, and also encouraging more advanced inquiry into Japanese calques. Being aware that the suggested classification could be conducted differently and by emphasizing other aspects, the author has attempted to demonstrate that calquing mechanisms have played a significant role in, and to certain extent have shaped modern Japanese.

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発音学習を効果的に授業に取り入れるために —教材は授業をどう支援するのか—

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1. はじめに

コミュニケーションに重点をおく日本語の授業において、学習者の発音の改善が難しく、学習者のモチベーションを高めることも容易ではないという話がよく聞かれる。発音に関する論文や本などは、教師に専門的な知識がないと理解することが難しい場合が多く、それが発音教育に教師が容易に取り組めない1つの原因になっているのではないかと考えられる。そこで本研究では、発音教材を効果的に授業に取り入れるための調査・分析をし、特にゼロレベルの学習者向けに、発音教材をどう利用していくかを考察する。

2. 現在の日本語学習者の状況 (海外・日本国内)

日本国内の日本語学習者および日本語教師数の調査によると、日本語学習者数は海外が92.8%、日本国内は7.2%で、圧倒的に海外の率が高いこと、また日本語教師数も海外が60%、日本国内は40%と教師数も学習者数に比例している。教師の母語で見ると、海外で教えている日本語教師のうち、約8割がノンネイティブ教師であった¹。現在は、インターネットなどが発達し、日本語音声を比較的手に入れやすいとはいえ、多くのノンネイティブ日本語教師にとっては、日本語母語話者教師より発音の指導に困難を感じることは想像する以上に多いのではないかと考えられる。また、コロナ禍において、国内の緊急事態宣言や入国できない留学生の急増で、日本語教育機関ではオンライン授業で対応するところが急増した。その結果、個人のインターネット環境が整ってきているだけで

¹ 国際交流基金「海外の日本語教育の現状 2018年度日本語教育機関調査より」2020年、文化庁「令和元年 国内の日本語教育の概要」2020年

なく、オンラインのコンテンツも増え、口頭コミュニケーションの重要性は急速に高まった。

3. 先行研究

日本語教育現場で十分に発音教育が扱われているとは言い難いことは、戸田 (2009)²でも指摘されている。教師は、「発音が多少不正確でも意味が通じればいいので、それほど重要を感じない」、「限られた時間の中で発音練習にかけられる時間がない」と述べていることから、学ぶ項目の中で発音は優先順位が低いことがわかる。また、「せっかく発音指導をしても、次の授業では発音が元に戻っている。練習をしても無駄ではないか」との教師の発言から、教師の発音指導に苦悩していることが窺える。日本語教育学会³でも、日本語学習者の「発音教育には非常に時間がかかる」ことについてのコメントがされていた。

このような状況の中で、土岐 (2010)⁴では、音声教育の必要を軽んじ続けることは、教師自身にとっては楽であるが、現在または将来に学習者が被るかもしれない不利益を教師は考える必要があると述べている。また、千 (2017)⁵では、教師自身が発音教育の必要性を実感し、目的意識を持たなければいけない。また、教師になってからも、発音教育をなぜ行う必要があるか考えない教師は多く、なぜ教えるかという問いに答えられないと述べている。中川・服部他 (2020)⁶では、日本で働く日本語教師にインタビューを行い、教師自らの外国語学習経験、外国語使用経験から、発音学習の意義を引き出し、3つのことが明らかになった。「対話の成立にかかわる要素」、「聞き手に与える影響」、そして、生活の質を上げ、自信を持ち発言できるなどの「個人の内面に關わる要素」である。さらに、中川・服部 (2022)⁷の研究では、ドイツでドイツ語を教えているノンネイティブドイツ語教師にインタビューを行い、発音が悪いことにより、話者にどのような不利益が生じるかが明らかになった。まずは、発音が悪いことにより、コミュニケーションが不自然になること以外にも、発音が悪いとその言語に対して学ぶ意欲がないと思われること

² 戸田貴子「日本語教育における学習者の研究と音声教育実践」2009年。

³ 日本語教育学会2022年秋季大会、高橋恵利子、大久保雅子、木下直子「日本語音声研究の視点から見た動向—『日本語教育』と「音聲研究」の比較—」2020年のポスター発表のコメントから

⁴ 土岐哲『日本語教育からの音声研究』ひつじ書房、2010年。

⁵ 千仙永「日本語音声教育の変遷・課題・展望—日本国内における教師教育に着目して」2017年。

⁶ 中川純子、長松谷有紀、坂井菜緒、服部真子「日本語教育における発音学習の意義—3人の教師のPAC分析インタビューによる内省から—」2020年。

⁷ 中川純子、服部真子「学習者の将来につながる発音教育のあり方とは—PAC分析を用いたドイツで教える非母語話者ドイツ語教師のインタビューから—」2022年。

があり、語学力全体の低評価にも繋がるということが示唆された。また、他人が自分に対して不親切だ、感じが悪いと感じるのは、自分の発音が悪いせいで、相手にストレスを与えている可能性があるということがわかった。発音は、単なる意志の疎通に留まらず、人間関係やその言語が話されている地域での生活全般に関わることが明確になった。

では、発音を授業に取り入れるには、発音教材を活用することが考えられるが、発音教材の現状はどうなっているのだろうか。実際に日本語教育の主教材を確認したところ、筆者の知る限りでは、発音は冒頭の数ページに扱われているだけであった。他方、副教材には様々なジャンルのものがあるが、何から扱ったらいいのか戸惑うと同時に、その練習の意義、学習者に理解してもらう方法も難しいと感じた。大久保 (2008)⁸が行った日本語学校の教師の発音指導に対する意識調査で、発音指導は必要ないと考える教師はいないことが明らかになった。しかし「教師が学習者の発音問題点を把握しながらどのような指導をしたらいいかわからず、効果的な指導法を必要としていることがわかる」と述べている。金村 (2019)⁹でも、日本語の発音指導法が日本語教師の間に広く普及していないことに言及しており、今後、音声教育の専門家でなくても日本語の発音指導が簡単に行え、成果を上げることができる指導法を開発し、広めていく必要があると述べている。このように、発音教育は必要だと考える教師はいるが、授業で発音指導に不安を抱えている教師も少なくないようである。では、発音学習を効果的に取り入れるためには、どのような発音教材があり、その教材は授業をどう支援するのかを探る。本研究では、書籍のみならず、近年増えているデジタル教材も対象に分析を行った。

4. 書籍の発音教育

初めに発音の書籍教材の調査を行った。最初に、周りの教師から使用している発音教材の聞き取りを行ったと同時に、インターネットで教材の検索をした。その結果、教師からも、ネット検索でもあまり数が多くなかったため、手に入る限りの発音の教科書を集め、全て調査することにした。今回、調査した書籍の発音教材は、13冊 (表1参照)である。14項目¹⁰について調べたが、今回の論文では7項目に絞って報告をする。7項目は、次の通りである。① (学習者の)レベル、②1回の時間、③説明

⁸ 大久保雅子「日本語教師の発音に対する意識と問題点：—アンケート調査結果より—」2008年。

⁹ 金村久美「より教えやすい日本語のリズム・アクセント指導法の開発と改善」2019年。

¹⁰ (1)書籍タイトル (2)著者 (3)出版年 (4)出版社 (5)1回の時間 (6)課数 (7)学習方法 (8)授業プランモデル (9)学習者レベル (10)説明言語 (11)扱っているもの (単音、単語・文、アクセント) (13)単音で扱っているもの (14)音源の提供方法。なお、本論文で扱わないデータも含め、<https://globaljapan.net/Pronunciation-Information>で公開している。

言語、④授業プラン、⑤扱っているもの（単音・単語や文・アクセント）、⑥音源の提供方法、⑦発行年。

1つ目の、「①レベル」であるが、レベルについて記載のあるものは、記載に従い、無いものは、筆者が判断した。表1の番号1から6までがゼロレベル、または初級から使用可能であり、番号7から10までの4冊が日本語で基本的なやりとりができる初級後半から使用可能である。最後の番号11から13の3冊は、中級・上級向けの教科書であり、中級以降から可能であると判断した。発音練習は、化石化してから直すより、学習始めから取り入れたほうが良いと言われていることや学習者数は初級が圧倒的に多いということもあり、今回は、書面の関係上、初級またはゼロレベルで使用可能な書籍に絞った。

4.1. 初級の発音の書籍

初級またはゼロレベルの6冊の書籍の教材（表2参照）について、詳細に調査していく。まずは教科書を扱う、「②1回の時間」であり、この時間は教科書上に記載されている時間である。5分から10分程度が多かった。また、「③言語説明」も、英語・中国語・韓国語で翻訳が入っているものが多かったが、インドネシア語・タイ語・ベトナム語など、多様な国の学習者に配慮している教科書も見られた。一方、日本語のみですべて説明されている教科書もあった。次に「④授業プラン」については、記載されている教材もあれば、記載されていないものもあった。さらに教材内で「⑤扱っているもの」は、単音レベル、単語あるいは文レベルの扱いを調査した。単語や文レベルだけでなく、単音を扱っている教材は6冊中2冊だけあり、アクセントの扱いについても、アクセントを扱っていないものが2冊であり、アクセントを扱っていてもアクセントの下り目の印だけの記載に終わっていた。次に、音の入手方法である「⑥音源の提供方法」である。調査した教科書の発行年が現在より少し前ということも関係していると思われるが、CDで提供されているものがほとんどであった。1冊だけが音源をダウンロードで入手可能であったが、それは改訂版のものであった。最後に「⑦発行年」である。この10年間、新しい教材が発行されていないことが明らかになった。

「②1回の時間」が短いのは、教師にとっては授業内に短時間で扱えるものとして良さそうであるが、実際に授業内で使用した際に、学習者の未知語の導入や発音用語の説明などに時間を取られ、記載時間の5分や10分で終了することができるかという疑問は残る。また、「③言語説明」も日本語のみであるにも関わらず、初級の教科書と位置付けられていた。更に、他の言語で説明されていても、肝心の発音の仕方の部分が日本語だけなど、初級、またはゼロレベルの学習者には、教師が説明を加える必要が予想でき、教師目線で教科書を見ると実際に使用する教師負

担が大きく、不安に感じた。「⑤扱っているもの」は、教科書により差がかなり見られた。アクセントについては、基本的なルールや重要性の説明がなく、アクセントの学習の必要性が学習者目線で書かれていなかった。今後の「⑥音源の提供方法」として、日本語教育の発音教材もインターネットからのダウンロードやインターネット上ですぐに再生できるストリーミングなどに移行していく必要があると思われる。「⑦発行年」から明らかになった10年間新しい教科書が発行されていない理由には、本屋の店舗数が減少していく現在、利用者は書籍という形にこだわらなくなってきている可能性も見受けられる。授業内または課題として出され自主学习として発音を学ぶ場合など、どのような形が学習者にとって学びやすく、教師にも扱いやすいものであるか考える必要がある。

5. オンラインの発音教材 (YouTube/Website)

近年では、ソーシャルネットワークサービス (以下、「SNS」という)のTwitterやInstagramが登場し、毎日情報が更新されている。また、動画SNSのYouTubeでは、利用者は動画から、大量の情報が得られ、音声SNSのClubhouseではリアルタイムで音声だけでコミュニケーションを取ることができる。このように様々なツールがあり、利用者も増加している。今回はYouTubeに絞って調査した。YouTubeの中にも数えきれない程のチャンネル数が存在するが、今回はチャンネル登録¹¹数1万人以上で日本語学習者向けに発音学習が扱われているものだけを対象とした。チャンネル登録をしなくても動画は視聴できるが、チャンネル登録数が人気の1つの目安となるため、今回はこの基準で選別をした。

5.1. YouTube発音教材

今回の調査で扱うYouTubeの発音チャンネルをまとめて一覧にした (表3参照)。表3の太線より上の2つが発音専門チャンネルであり、それ以外は発音も扱っているが、日本語全体を学ぶチャンネルである。チャンネル登録者数が1万人を超えていても、今回の表に記載されていないチャンネルも多数あると考えられるが、筆者が日本語と英語でキーワードを入力し、調べた結果¹²である。この結果から発音を専門としたチャンネルは、かなり少ないことが明らかになった。日本語の発音専門チャンネル以外の日本語を学ぶチャンネルでは、文法説明などが大半であり、何百もある動画数の中の3つ4つ程度だけ発音を取り上げているだけの状況

¹¹ チャンネル登録というのは、視聴者が気に入ったチャンネルを登録しておくことができ、新しい動画が配信されると登録者に通知が届くというシステムである。

¹² 2022年3月時点。

であり、その少数の動画も上級者向けで日本語のみでの説明というものが多かった。

今回の調査からは、運営者¹³はノンネイティブと日本語ネイティブのほぼ半々であった。日本語のみの動画より、英語で説明や解説をしているものや、字幕で翻訳がついているものの方が、登録者数が多いという結果であった。

5.2. Website発音教材

最後に、ウェブサイトの発音教材である。ここでは、代表的な3つのサイトについて紹介をする。

1つ目は、OJAD¹⁴という東京大学の教授が中心となり作られたアクセントが調べられるサイトである。筆者も教師としてよく利用しているが、教師や中上級の学習者には自分自身で検索もでき、大変便利に利用できそうであるが、検索後の単語の意味が英語で表示されないため、ゼロレベルの学習者が使用可能であるかという目線で見ると、少しハードルが高いように感じた。

2つ目は、早稲田大学の大学院日本語教育研究科が開発したサイト¹⁵で、登録をすれば、無料で受けられる発音に特化したオンライン講座がある。この講座は、発音の方法を学び、発音学ぶ機会が提供されている。世界から多くの学習者が、この講座を受講されているようである。

3つ目は、「つたえる はつおん」というサイト¹⁶である。このサイトは、3分から5分の動画が数多く掲載されており、動画を見ながら発音について学ぶことができる。日本語だけでなく、英語、韓国語、中国語、インドネシア語、ベトナム語を選択することができ、自分が理解できる語で発音の問題クイズに挑戦できるだけでなく、数多くある動画の中から目的のものを探し出しやすくなっている。動画の内容についても、同頁に各国の言語で説明書きがされているが、動画内の会話や説明はすべて日本語だけなので、教師、またはある程度日本語が聞き取れる日本語学習者にお勧めのサイトである。

¹³ 概要欄の情報や出演者の情報から筆者が判断。

¹⁴ OJAD <http://www.gavo.t.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ojad/>

¹⁵ 日本語の発音に特化したオンライン講座 <https://www.waseda.jp/fire/gsjal/news/2016/10/18/2382/>

¹⁶ つたえる はつおん <https://www.japanese-pronunciation.com>

6. 総合分析

発音学習を効果的に授業に取り入れるために、教材は授業をどう支援するのかという視点で、発音の書籍教材とYouTubeとウェブサイトの3つをそれぞれ調査した。

1 発音書籍： テーマが明白で、豊富な練習問題と詳しい解説があり、動機付けのしっかりしている学習者や十分に時間を確保できるクラスには様々な利用の可能性があると考えられる。他方、本研究の出発点であるゼロレベルの学習者や海外に多いノンネイティブ教師のことを考えると、実際に書籍教材に使用されている語彙や文法が学習者のレベルより高いことが多く、教材に提示されている1回の時間の5分や10分以内には目標範囲を終わらせることは困難であると考えられる。また、基礎的な問題として、その練習を「できる」まで行うのか、できなくても終了するのかなど、現場での悩みには、答えが見つからない。言語表記は、日本語中心のものも多く、ゼロレベルや初級レベルに使用する際、また授業プランの提示がないものは、教師への依存度がかかなり高くなると言える。今後、教師がさらに発音知識、発音教授法知識を学ぶ必要もあるが、発音教授法という分野自体に議論が少なく、420時間の教師養成などで、音声学の知識は問われても、教え方は問われないのが現状である。発音を教える前提知識が求められる教材は、明日の授業で使ってみようと気軽に考えられるものではないという印象を受けた。

2 YouTube教材： 所要時間は様々で、レベルは英語で説明されているものはゼロレベルの学習者でも視聴可能であると考えられる。YouTube教材の特徴は、発音の重要性、アクセントなどのコミュニケーション内での役割性、また、それができないことにより、どのような問題が生じるかということを経験を交えることにより説得力がある。学習者目線で作成されており、今回取り上げたサイトの1つ「Dogen」に見られるような、自らが日本語学習者であるサイト運営者のものは、サイト運営者自体が素晴らしい日本語発音を披露し、それが学習者にとっての一種の理想像的な役割を果たしている。このような部分は、書籍にはないYouTubeの強みであり、学習者を発音学習に対して、強力に動機付けるものだと思う。もちろんYouTubeは、教材用に作成されているものではないため、授業プランは出ていない。そのため、どのように授業や課題の中に取り組みか、さらに膨大な数があるチャンネルの中で、どこに発音学習の動画があるか探すのは大変な動力がかかり、使用しようとする教師の負担になるのが現状である。説明言語については、人気のあるサイトは英語で解説されている。総合的に見て、知識を楽しく得るという観点から見ると、YouTubeは非常に利用価値があるのではないと思われる。

3 ウェブサイトのツール： 内容は充実しており、説明言語は英語だけでなく多言語が使用されており、学習者への配慮を感じるが、実際にゼロ

レベルの学習者が容易に使用できるかという観点から見ると、ハードルが高いと感じられる。

7. 総合考察

発音の書籍教材は、それぞれにテーマが絞られており、豊富な練習問題がある。他方で、その練習の必要性、発音ができないとどのような不利益を被るのかなど、学習者を動機づけるための肝心な部分は教師に任されている。実際は、その前提を作ることが難しいのである。今回、書籍の教材分析をして、「自然な発音になるために練習しましょう」と学習者に伝えるだけでなく、自然でなかったらコミュニケーションでどんな支障が起こるのかということを理解することにより、学習者も真剣に取り組むのではないかと考える。そこに強みがあるのがYouTubeである。YouTubeは、YouTuber自身が日本語学習者であり、発音の必要性について自分の失敗談や体験が英語で説明されており、説得力もある。さらに、ただ話しているだけでなく人を飽きさせない工夫があり、見ていて面白いというのが1番の魅力である。1万人以上の登録者のいるチャンネルは、多くの工夫がされており、教師にも授業の参考になる多くの要素があると感じた。一方で、検索性には問題がある。そこで、書籍の豊富な練習とYouTubeの面白さや体験に基づいた説得力を合わせた発音教材があれば、教師と学習者の両者にわかりやすく、授業でも使用しやすいものになるのではないかと考えた。また10年近く新しい教材が出版されていないことから、時代に即した教材作りが急務だと考えられる。

8. 今後の課題

これらの結果を踏まえ、今後の課題として、発音の専門知識が十分でない教師でも、発音を扱ってみようと思えるように、まず、今回調べた情報を発信していく必要性を感じた。現在ある発音の書籍教材についても、レベルや内容を含めた情報が広く普及することにより、今後使用しようとする教師にとって便利な情報になるのではないかと考えた。また、教師も学習者も発音の基本的なルールを学べる動画を多言語で発信することも、今後必要ではないかと考えている。さらに、教師間で情報交換や情報公開をするための場も必要であると強く感じている。日本語教師や学習者が発音に関することを学べるサイトを2020年からラズベリーという名前で立ち上げた¹⁷。このウェブサイトを

¹⁷ ラズベリー <https://globaljapan.net> 本調査で扱った書籍、YouTubeやWebサイトの情報は、ラズベリーのPronunciation informationの中に記載。

立ち上げた経由や詳しい使い方についての論文は、服部・中川 (2022)¹⁸にある。

素晴らしいサイトが多数あっても日本語だけでは、ゼロレベルの学習者には情報が届きにくいのが現状である。発音は、ゼロレベルから学習していく必要があると感じており、多言語で発信できれば良いが、最低でも英語で発信する必要があると強く感じ、ラズベリーでも全て英語翻訳を入れた。このサイトは、教室で語彙導入をする時に、アクセントの高低にも意識が向くようにアクセントの線がついているだけでなく、再生ボタンを押せば音声の流れ、ノンネイティブ教師もストレスなく語彙導入ができるようになっている。現在、このウェブサイトは、『初級日本語げんき(1・2)』と『みんなの日本語 初級(I・II)』の語彙が中心に載っているが、この2つの教科書を使用していない学習者向けにも、Indexから語彙が検索できるようになっている。また、学習者のみならず、教師向けにも発音の基本的なルールを学べる動画の需要があるのではないかと考えており、今後作成予定である。さらに、教師間で情報交換の場を提供したいと考え、このウェブサイトを通して、発音に興味がある教師を集め、発音についての座談会を行った。今後も、FacebookやTwitter、インスタグラムも利用し、発音に関する情報を発信していきたいと考えている。

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¹⁸ 服部真子、中川純子「日本語学習者と教師を支えるデジタル教材開発—ウェブサイトを使った持続可能な発音学習の可能性—」2021年。

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 Onomappu. 閲覧日：2022年5月20日
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<表リスト>

表1 発音教材

番号	レベル	タイトル
1	初級 (初級/ ゼロレベル)	5分でできる日本語音の聞きわけトレーニング
2		にほんご発音かんたん
3		1日10分の発音練習
4		新シャドーイング日本語を話そう 初-中級編
5		シャドーイングで日本語発音レッスン
6		初級文型でできる日本語発音アクティビティ
7	初中級 (初級後半～)	コミュニケーションのための日本語発音レッスン
8		毎日練習！リズムで身につく日本語の発音
9		まねして上達！日本語音読トレーニング
10		ひとりでも学べる日本語の発音 OJAD で調べて Praat で確かめよう
11	中級・上級 (中級以降～)	シャドーイング 日本語を話そう 中-上級編
12		さらに進んだスピーチ・プレゼンのための日本語発音練習帳
13		伝わる発音が身につく！にほんご話し方トレーニング

表2 初級の書籍の発音教材

書籍 番号 ¹⁹	レ ベル	②1回の 時間 (分)	③説明言語		④授業 プラン	⑤扱っているもの			⑥音声 提供	⑦ 発 行 年
			種類	割合		単音	単語 ・文	アクセント		
1	① 入門 ～ 中上級	5	英・中・韓	一部	なし 各課の気を つけるポイント 記載あり	○	○	複合 アクセント のみ	CD	2011
2	初級 ～ (記載 なし)	5-10	英・中・韓 インドネシア	一部	なし 後半のシャド ーイング説明 あり	○	○	なし	CD	2010
3	初級 (出版社 HP)	10	なし	0	なし		○	部分的	CD	2004
4	初級 ～	10	英・中・韓 インドネシア タイ・ベトナム	ほとんど 全部	あり		○	なし	ダウン ロード ²⁰	2020
5	初級 ～ 中級	10-15	英・中・韓	巻末に 一部	あり		○	部分的	CD	2012
6	初級 ～	50	英・中・韓	ほとんど 全部	あり		○	部分的	CD	2010

¹⁹ 表1の発音の書籍で扱った番号と同じ²⁰ CD別売り

表3 YouTube の発音教材

チャンネル名	登録年	登録者数 (万人)	発音専門	動画数 (本)	運営者 日本語ネイティブ /ノンネイティブ	説明 言語	内容
Dogen	2006	44.5	○ アクセント	279	ノンネイティブ	英語	日本語の談話分析、 音声学、比較文化、 海外の視聴者に向け
Speak Japanese Naturally	2020	1	○	89	日本語 ネイティブ	英語 日本語時 字幕あり	日本語のピッチ、 発音、イントネーション、 リズムなど。初級から 中級の日本語学習者向け
Learn Japanese with Japanese Pod101.com	2006	256	×	1822	日本語 ネイティブ/ ノンネイティブ	英語	オンラインで学ぶサイト。 読み・書き・リスニング ライブ配信あり
ONOMAPPU	2020	32.4	×	110	日本語 ネイティブ	日本語 + 多言語字幕 あり	日常生活で使われる オノマトペを中心に紹介 日本文化や文法、発音に についても触れている
Learn Japanese From Zero!	2006	21.5	×	553	ノンネイティブ	英語	ゲーム、コミックの 言葉あり
Tofugu	2007	8.56	×	198	ノンネイティブ	英語	ブログからスタートの YouTube
Talk in Japan	2013	8.5	×	896	日本語 ネイティブ	日本語 + 多言語	日本語能力試験、 オンライン日本語学習 サイト
Meshclass	2020	7.17	×	89	日本語 ネイティブ	日本語	日本語会話、JLPT、 ビジネス日本語、留学、 趣味など

服部真子：

愛知県出身。椋山女学園大学英語英米文学科で学位、南山大学大学院人間文化研究科言語科学専攻博士前期課程で第二言語教育を主に、日本語教育を学ぶ。YAMASA日本語学校、アメリカのWesleyan大学、Middlebury大学夏学校、財団法人海外技術者研修協会(AOTS)、関西外国語大学留学生別科、武蔵野大学、神田キャリアカレッジなどで非常勤講師を勤め、15年以上日本語教育に携わっている。近年は、発音教育に関する研究に関わる。

小学校国語科教科書の対人評価語彙の傾向性と語彙構造

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井上博文 Hirofumi INOUE

キーワード：小学校国語科教科書、対人評価語彙、ポジティブ評価、コミュニケーション活動

Keywords: Japanese language textbook in elementary school in Japan, person-descriptive and disposition vocabulary, positive evaluation, communication activity.

1. はじめに

本稿は、小学校国語科教科書に用いられている対人評価語彙を対象として、その全体的な傾向性と意味的な観点からの傾向性を明らかにしようとするものである¹。既に、井上(2018)²(2021)³において、2018年度に使用された小学校国語科教科書5社⁴に用いられた総数650語の対人評価語彙の傾向性について述べている。

対人評価語彙は、「人の状態、行動癖、態度、性格、人柄、あるいはその人への思いを批判的に捉えて、言い表した一群の語のまとまり」である。この他者への評価のまなざしは、他者だけにとどまらず内面化されることによって、自己にも向けられる。児童は、国語科教科書に掲載された物語や語彙表、その他によって、一定数の基礎的・基本的な対人評価語彙とその用法と出会い、人物そのものや人間関係を理解し表現する場合の重要な語彙習得の機会となっている。

¹ 日本国では、義務教育諸学校において使用する教科書は、「義務教育諸学校の教科用図書の無償措置に関する法律」第13条第5項等の規定により、すべて教科書目録に登載された教科書のうちから採択しなければならない。(学校教育法附則第9条の規定による教科用図書を除く。)

² 井上博文「対人評価語彙・性向語彙の諸相—小学校国語科教科書の中の対人評価語彙の傾向性—」(全国大学国語教育学会『国語科教育84集』「シンポジウム基調講演3」2018年、17-21頁)として要旨記載。

³ 井上博文「小学校国語科教科書の対人評価語彙の傾向性」(大阪教育大学国語教育学会『国語と教育』第46号、2021年、19-29頁)。

⁴ 本稿で用いた対人評価語彙の採集は、以下の1～6年生の国語科教科書を用いた。○光村図書出版株式会社2017.2.5 上 2017.6.5下 ○株式会社 三省堂 2017.2.25 3版上 2017.6.253版下 ○東京書籍株式会社2017.2.10 上 2017.7.10下 ○学校図書株式会社 2017.2.10 上 2017.6.1下 ○教育出版株式会社 2017.1.20上 2017.6.20下。2020年度より三省堂が抜けて、現在は4種類になっている。

粗密・濃淡のある人間関係の網の目が張りめぐらされたコミュニティに暮らすわたしたちは、人との付き合い方、そこでのふるまい方、ものの言い方の学びが切実な課題として存在する。このことは程度の差こそあれ、どの文化圏でも同様のことであろう。子どもたちは、成長過程において、生活環境は広がりそして複層化していく。個々の家庭中心の暮らしから、さまざまな個性を持った者が集まる一つの社会としての学校生活へと生活空間が拡大していく。学校生活では、授業によって各教科内容、諸々のスキルを学ぶ一方で、クラスで、学年で、学校で人間関係を試行錯誤しつつ構築していく。また、学校外の学習塾・習い事で、そして家庭や地域社会、親族関係等で、親疎(上下)さまざまに人間関係を切り結び、円滑なコミュニケーションの仕方を学び、切実に会う具体的な問題に悩みながらも、自力であるいは他者の援助によって、乗り越えていく。そこでは他者をいかに捉えて、いかに関係づくりをし、対処するかが重要な課題となる。いわば日本文化として存在するコミュニケーション環境の中での言動の在り方、身のふるまい方の習得が必要である。ここに他者や自己を捉えて言語化した対人評価語彙がはたらいっている。

2. 対人評価語彙

対人評価語彙は、実際には、国語科教科書に記載されている語だけにとどまらない。日常生活では、漫画やアニメ、ゲーム、あるいは生活する地域の方言、同じ世代の若者言葉などの俗語をも用いている。子どもたちもまた現実のコミュニティに暮らしているのである。対人評価語彙を注視することで、彼らの対人関係や価値観、コミュニケーション活動の課題の一端を具体的に認識・把握することにつながる。現代社会の深刻な課題である「いじめ」問題とも絡んでくる。

むしろ実生活の対人評価語彙と教科書所収の対人評価語彙との間には、語形態、語彙量や語意味構造の相違、さらに地域性による差異が予想される。しかし、本稿で課題とする教科書所収の対人評価語彙は、基礎・基本となるものである。

2.1. 対人評価語彙の単位

対人評価を担う単位(語彙素)は、単語に加えて、慣用句、連語、句形式を含んでいる⁵。事例を示せば、以下のようである。

⁵ 慣用句は連語の一種であるが、語連結を越えて特定の意味を持つものなので、別枠とした。また、比喩表現は、表現方法の一種であり、言語単位としては他の形式に含まれるものであるが、特徴的なものであるので別枠としている。直喩、隠喩、換

- ①単語 {はたらきもの、いじめっ子、かしこい、おこりっばい、おしゃべりな、元気}
- ②慣用句 {心がひろい、顔が広い、やきもちをやく、頭が固い、意地を張る、気を配る}
- ③連語 {仕事が早い、わるさをする、短気をおこす、人をだます。～が好き、～が得意}
- ④句形式 {温かい心を持っている、いつもほがらかに笑う、くるくると働いている}
- ⑤比喩表現 {かみさまみたい、子どもみたい、竹をわったような、詩人、独裁者}

単語と慣用句・連語が対人評価語彙の主要なものであり、なかでも名詞は、まさにそういう性格や行動癖を持った人であるというバック化されたもので、対人評価語の中核である。句形式は、文脈の中で特定の人物を描写したもので、他に比して臨時的に対人評価の意味が加わったものが多く、人物の類型化にはたらくよりも、個別の在り方を描写する傾向がある。言うなれば、既存の対人評価語彙から逸脱する性向を言語化するものである。

なお、名詞に分類したものには、「意欲、思いやり、根気、情熱、自信、信用、仁愛の心、度胸、人気、熱意、勇気、良心」のように「～がある／～がない」といった連語で用いられて対人評価語となるものを含んでいる。教科書に連語の用例がなかったので、ここに位置付けている。

2.2. 地域方言・ネットの中の対人評価語

地域方言とネットの中の対人評価語について略述する。方言性向語彙は従前には所属するコミュニティの同一世代を中心に理解語彙として成員間での共有率が高かったが、使用語彙としては個人差が大きかった。昨今は、各方言で使用語彙ばかりでなく理解語としても著しく衰退しつつある、世代差の大きい語彙分野である。特にネガティブ評価を持った語において顕著な衰退が認められる。しかし一方で、ネットの中の匿名のコメントや書き込みを見ると、話題の分野にもよるが、新奇な対人評価語が生成されている。その多くは臨時的・個別的で共有率が低い。いわば表舞台から消えて、「裏」の舞台で「活躍」していると言えよう。日常生活語ではポジティブ評価の対人評価語が生き残り、表舞台で衰退したネガティブ評価の対人評価語は、若者言葉やネット語の世界で新しく造語される傾向がある。

方言性向語彙は、「地域社会 (世間)に暮らす人の具体的な状態・行動・行為を、対人評価の観点から批判的に捉えて、人の恒常的な状態・行動

喩などの区別はしていない。なお、方言性向語彙では比喩表現によるものが豊かであるのに対して、国語科教科書では直接的な対人評価語が主である。

癖・性格として抽象化し概念化をなして言語化した一群の語」である。コミュニティ構成員に共有され内面化されることで、共同体の中での行動規範としてはたらいてきたものである。意味特性として「通常」とされる状態から特に負の方向に逸脱した性向に着目する。語彙構造の観点からは、意味分野・領野から構成された疎密をもった「網の目」が張りめぐらされており、特に仕事に関する意味分野、言語活動に関する意味分野で細かい意味枠が用意されている。語彙量の観点からは、ネガティブ評価の意味を持つ語が圧倒的で、所謂「〈負〉性の原理」⁶によって構造化されている。

しかし現在、地域社会のつながりの希薄化、価値観の転換が起こって、従来の性向語彙が衰退し急激に消滅している。価値観やライフスタイルの変化によって、一律で均一な行動規範は求められなくなってきた。他人に必要以上に干渉することは避けられる。こうして従来型の性向語彙や対人評価語彙は、近來その必要性や働きが希薄になってきたが、個別的化されつつある現代社会においても、新しい人間関係の在り方に即した、新しい視点や意味を持った対人評価語彙の必要性は依然として存する。現在では、均質的であった地域共同体が衰退し、在来の風習や習慣にしばられなくなっている一方で、「職場」（という世間）では、それぞれの職場・仕事に即した対人評価語彙が機能しているように思える。

他方、ネットの中の対人評価語彙では、例えば、{陰キャラ、ぼっち、真面目キャラ、チャライ、超弩級シスコン、認定マニア、モラハラで使えない糞男、ボスママ、香ばしい人、メンタルが豆腐な人、「自信たっぷり+ウェーイwwwみたいなキャラ」、…}のように多様で、自由で新奇な造語がなされている。造語の特徴としては外来語を利用したものが多く、地域方言の対人評価語も散見される。これらは、評価対象の客観的な特徴に基づいた評価というよりも、むしろ評価者としての表現主体側に判断基準があり感情表出に重きがある。ネガティブ評価の語がほとんどである。もちろん、教科書には出現しない。

ネットの中の対人評価語彙は、リアルな対面の世界では、通常は言わないあるいは言うてはいけない表現となっている。この現象は、ネットという、いわば間接的なメディアにおける匿名性によって、他者へ言及することの閾が低くなっていることに起因すると思われる。

⁶ 室山敏明『「ヨコ」社会の構造と意味 方言性向語彙に見る』和泉書院、2001年に〈負〉性の原理が説明されている（128-135頁）。中国・四国地方の調査によって各調査地点で約700語の性向語彙が採録され、「方言ごとに多少の異同は見られるものの、プラス評価に所属する語彙に対して、マイナス評価に所属する語彙は、4ないし5倍量を示す。この現象に並行して、当然のことながら、マイナス性向を表す意味項目の数が極めて多くなっている。」（128頁）と指摘している。

3. 小学校国語科教科書の対人評価語彙の傾向性

ここでは、小学校国語科教科書に認められる対人評価語彙の傾向性について述べる。出版社5社の国語科教科書⁷で得られた対人評価語彙650語を整理・分類すると、主に以下の傾向性が認められた⁸。

- 1) テキスト教材では、主に物語や伝記に出現する。
- 2) 語彙の補いを類義語・対義語のまとまりで示すことで語彙量が増加する。また、教科書によっては、巻末の漢字のまとめで語・表現が提示されて増加する。
- 3) 学年進行にともなって、出現する対人評価語彙がゆるやかに増加する。
- 4) 慣用句／連語、形容動詞、名詞、形容詞の順で語彙量が多い。
- 5) 方言性向語彙や若者言葉の対人評価語彙に比べると、ポジティブ評価の語の割合が高い。
- 6) 語種では、和語と漢語が主であり、わずかに外来語が存する。
- 7) 「標準語」形の語が主であり、方言、古典語がわずかに存する。
- 8) 教科書間で共有される対人評価語彙は、特定の語を除いて、少ない。

3.1. 対人評価語が頻出するテキスト - 物語教材と伝記 -

小学校国語科教科書で用いられる対人評価語彙は、テキスト教材では、主に物語や伝記に出現する。また、読書案内や本の紹介にも登場人物の紹介として散見される。対人評価語彙のはたらきが人に対する評価や人間（登場人物）関係に関わるものであれば、物語や伝記類に出現するのは当然の結果である。ただし、対人評価語が用いられていない物語文もあった。典型的な人物造形になってしまうため、意図的に避けられていると思われる⁹。対人評価語彙が頻出する伝統的な昔話との相違である。

⁷ 2020年度より三省堂が抜けて、現在は4種類になっている。

⁸ 所属する具体的な語彙については、「小学校国語科教科書学年ごと対人評価語彙一覧」を井上博文「対人評価語彙・性向語彙の諸相—小学校国語科教科書の中の対人評価語彙の傾向性—」（全国大学国語教育学会『国語科教育84集』「シンポジウム基調講演3」2018年、17-21頁）、「品詞別分類小学校国語科教科書の対人評価語彙」を井上博文「小学校国語科教科書の対人評価語彙の傾向性」（大阪教育大学国語教育学会『国語と教育』第46号、2021年、19-29頁）に掲載。

⁹ 昔話では、例えば、「昔々、ある所にまめまめしく働くまめなじいとばあがいた。ある日の事、まめなじいは川に魚を捕を仕掛けた。これを見た、隣の怠け者のぶつくさじいは、真似をしてまめなじいよりも、もっと川上に籠を仕掛けた。」（絵本『はなさかじい』（文／松谷みよ子、絵／瀬川康男、フレーベル館）のように、対人評価語を用いて登場人物を対照的に描くことがよくなされる。

3.2. 類義語・対義語のまとまりでの提示

教科書によっては、性格・態度・気持ちを表す語彙を、類義語・対義語のまとまりで示すことで語彙量が増加する。例えば、「ことばのたからばこ」(光村図書二上)には、「お話のなかに出てきたのはどんなじんぶつだったかな。つぎのようなことばをつかってせつめいしてみよう」とあり、{明るい、ゆうきある、元気、親切、やさしい、しょうじき、しっかり、がまん強い、いじわる、そそっかしい、ずるい}の11語が記載されている。他の学年においても「言葉のたから箱」¹⁰の「どんな人物かを表す言葉」として類聚されている。

なお、本稿で対象とした対人評価語は、「気持ちの木」(教育出版)、「思う・感じる」(東京書籍)、「気持ちを表す言葉」「どんな物や事がらかを表す言葉」(光村図書)など、気持ちや心情を表す語のうち、人物の評価に用いることのできるものを含んでいる。例えば、「うっとうしい」は自分の気持ちを表すとともに、そう思わせる人物の評価ともなる。

東京書籍では、「言葉の広場」(東京書籍 四下)に「せいかく・たいど」として、{ほがらか、温かい、やさしい、親切、正直、すなお、真面目、熱心、きちょうめん、しんちょう、ていねい、えんりよする、ゆずる、がんばる、はりきる、はげむ、熱中する、努力する、ねばる、注意する、用心する/冷たい、勝手、わがまま、ずるい、ひきょう、むせきにん、だらしなない、そそっかしい、不注意、いかげん、よくばる、だます、ごまかす、うらぎる、なまける、ゆだんする、うっかりする}の19語が、ポジティブ評価とネガティブ評価の語に分けて記載されている¹¹。

3.3. 学年進行と語彙量の変化

「小学校国語科教科書学年ごと対人評価語彙一覧」を基に学年ごとの出現語数をグラフにしたものが下の(図1)である。学年進行にともなって、出現する対人評価語彙がゆるやかに増加する。ただし、教育出版では、4年生でいったん急激に減少する。反対に東京書籍では3年生から急

¹⁰ 光村図書 二上「ことばのたからばこ」122-123頁、三上「言葉のたから箱」128-129頁、四上「言葉のたから箱」126-127頁、五「言葉のたから箱」240-241頁、六「言葉の宝箱」246-247頁。テキスト教材では、出現する対人評価語と数量に偏り起こるので、それを補うはたらきがある。類義語・対義語のまとまりとして提示されることで語彙習得が効率化される。

¹¹ 東京書籍 四下「言葉の広場」168-169頁に「せいかく・たいど」「気持ち」に分けて類義語と対義語が記載されている。「気持ち」に所属する語の中にも対人評価語となり得る語が存在する。例えば、「ゆかい、つまらない、すばらしい、うっとうしい、こわい、やっかい…」など主観的な判断による対人評価語となる。

激に増加している。東京書籍の場合は、教科書末に記載された漢字の用例に多くの対人評価語が記載され¹²、上の学年でも同じ語と用例が重複して出現することに拠っている。全体的にはいずれの教科書も学年進捗とともに増加している。

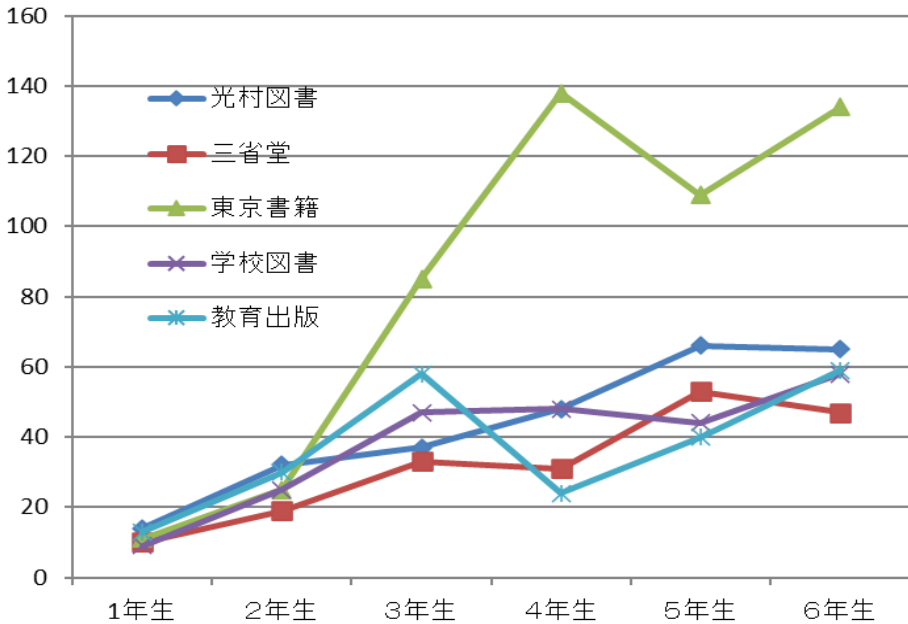


図1 学年進捗と語彙量

3.4. 品詞及び表現による語彙構成

総数650語の品詞・形式ごとの語数と比率、また各項目でのポジティブ評価とネガティブ評価の語数と比率を示すと、(表1)のようである。品詞に注目すると、形容動詞、名詞、形容詞の順で語彙が多く、全体では慣用句・連語の割合も高い。句形式は、類型化にはたらくよりも、個別の性向を描写することにはたらく。個別の方言性向語彙では比喻によるものが豊かであるが、国語科教科書では直接的な対人評価語が主である。

¹² 東京書籍では、「あたらしいこくご一上」から「新しい国語六」の各巻末に「新しく習った漢字」「～までに習った漢字」の項が設けられており、読み方とその短い用例が記載されている。

品詞/形式	語数	ポジティブ評価	ネガティブ評価
名詞	122 (18.8%)	66 (54.1%)	56 (45.9%)
形容詞	87 (13.4%)	41 (47.1%)	46 (52.9%)
形容動詞	151 (23.2%)	73 (48.3%)	78 (51.7%)
動詞	53 (8.2%)	31 (58.5%)	22 (41.5%)
オノマトペ	8 (1.2%)	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)
比喩	22 (3.4%)	18 (81.8%)	4 (18.2%)
慣用句・連語	152 (23.4%)	108 (71.1%)	44 (28.9%)

表1 ポジティブ評価とネガティブ評価

3.5. ポジティブ評価への傾き

対人評価語には、対象を肯定的に正の方向に評価するポジティブ評価と、それとは反対に、否定的に負の方向に評価するネガティブ評価とがある。評価の正負において中立的なものはほとんどないのが特徴である。性格、行動癖、人柄など人の「評価」においては、何らかの点で「普通・通常」から正負のいずれかに偏っていることに着目した造語がなされるからである。

語用論的な観点からは、用いられた文脈によって正負の評価が逆転する場合がある。全体として、{やさしい、元気、はたらき者、おだやか}等々、意味がポジティブ評価の語の割合が高い。これは、方言性向語彙に特徴的な<負>性の原理と逆の<正>性の原理となっている。

3.6. 語種

語種では、和語と漢語が主であり、わずかに外来語 {プロフェッショナル、リーダー、ヒーロー、デリカシーがない/〜がある人、お兄さん・お姉さんタイプ} の5語があった。形容動詞では漢語が多くなっている。一般的なことであるが、和語の対人評価語は描写的で具体的な性格や行動癖を表し、漢語の対人評価語彙は抽象的なものを表す傾向が存している。

3.7. 方言・古典語

小学校国語科教科書に出現する対人評価語彙は、現代語の「標準語」形の語が主であり、方言では {きもすけ、えらぶつ、デクノボー、メンコイ、悪ぼうず} の5語、古典語では {いかめな山伏、にくいやつ、やくたいもない、おごれる人、たけき者、横着者 (おうちゃく者)、無法なことを言う、しわい人} の8語が存する¹³。方言は、方言の紹介・説明、あるいは物語教材で舞台が地方や「田舎」であるために方言語彙が援用される場合であり¹⁴、古典語は、古典文学や伝統芸能を扱った教材の本文に出現する場合である。

3.8. 教科書間の共有率

小学校国語科教科書間で共有される対人評価語彙は意外に少ない。主に同じテキスト教材に用いられた特定の語や漢字熟語である。教科書間で共有されている語の多くは、「ごんぎつね」「大造じいさんとガン」のように同一のテキスト教材が採用されている場合である。使用する国語科教科書によって習得する対人評価語彙に差異が生じる。

4. 小学校国語科教科書の対人評価語彙の意味構造

総語数650語のうち、2社以上の小学校国語科教科書で共有されている116語を対象に、意味の観点から分類した。その結果、対人評価語彙に意味による偏りがあることがわかった。

4.1. 意味分類

室山 (2004)に示された方言性向語彙の分類枠をもとに165語を、以下の意味分類枠に分類した。「I. 動作・行為の様態に関するもの (a. 仕事に対する態度、b. 具体的な恒常的な性向)」、「II. 言語活動の様態 (a. 口数、b. 言語活動の内容、c. 言語活動の在り方)」、「III. 精神の在り方に関するもの (a. 固定的な性向、b. 知能・知識の程度、c. 人柄の善悪)。さらに評価の方向性によってポジティブ評価とネガティブ評価に

¹³ 光村図書六「狂言 柿山伏」、三省堂五「狂言 しびり」、東京書籍五「日本の言葉 古文を声に出して読んでみよう」の「平家物語」冒頭部、教育出版五下「古典を楽しむ」の「平家物語」冒頭部、学校図書六上「狂言 盆山」。

¹⁴ 学校図書5上「言葉のいずみ2方言と共通語」に「メンコイ (かわいい)」、学校図書六上・教育出版六上 いぬいとみこ「川とノリオ」に「悪ぼうず」がある。

分けて示したものが(表2)「意味分類表」、語数と比率を示したものが(表3)「意味分類枠に所属する語数・比率」である。

I. 動作・行為の様態		II. 言語活動の様態		III. 精神の在り方	
ポジティブ評価	ネガティブ評価	ポジティブ評価	ネガティブ評価	ポジティブ評価	ネガティブ評価
a. 仕事に対する態度		a. 口 数		a. 固定的な性向	
はたらし者 一人前 努力家 がんばる がまん強い ～が上手 ～名人 慎重 熱心	なまけ者 未熟	∅	おしゃべり	やさしい 温かい 明るい ほがらか 陽気 強い 心が広い 積極的 おだやか さわやか 気楽 竹をわったよう 真面目 すなお 気立てのええやつ 誠実 純情 純真 無邪気 正直	がんこ 頭が固い 気が弱い 心がせまい 心が貧しい 消極的 利己的 ばか正直
b. 具体的な恒常的な性向		b. 言語活動の内容		b. 知能・知識の程度	
対人関係を前提としないもの		∅	うそつき 人をだます		
c. 言語活動の在り方		∅	∅	c. 人柄の善悪	
元気 いつも元気 元気いっぱい 活発 勇かん 勇気がある 勇気のある子ども 勇者 勇ましい 英雄 きもすけ たくましい 頭領らしい おもしろい おとなしい いさぎよい のんびりしている ～を好む ～が好き ～が大好き	いじめっ子 いたずらばかりする いじわるな 悪ぼうず らんぼうもの 乱暴 けち 欲張り わがまま 自分勝手 おごり高ぶる人 弱虫 短気 おく病 こわがり 負けずぎらい はずかしがり屋 忘れっぽい そそっかしい ひきょうな のん気 生意気 大げさ	対人関係を前提とするもの			
人気者 たよりになる たのしい 気を配る	いぼる じまんする 無礼 ぶれいもの ひとりぼっち				

表2 意味分類表

意味分野	意味節	意味分野語数・%	+評価	-評価
Ⅰ. 動作・行為の様態	a. 仕事に対する態度	63	9	2
	b. 具体的な恒常的な性向	(54.3%)	24	28
Ⅱ. 言語活動の様態	a. 口 数	3	0	1
	b. 言語活動の内容	(2.8%)	0	2
	c. 言語活動の在り方		0	0
Ⅲ. 精神の在り方	a. 固定的な性向	50	20	8
	b. 知能・知識の程度	(43.1%)	6	2
	c. 人柄の善悪		7	7
総語数・%		116(100%)	66(56.9%)	50(43.1%)

表3 意味分類枠に所属する語数・比率

言語活動の様態に関するものがきわめて少なく、動作・行為の様態に関するものと精神の在り方に関するものが多い。また、動作・行為の様態に関するものを見ると、下位分類した「対人関係を前提にしないもの」の語彙量が多くなっている。ここに所属する語彙は、より具体的に性向を捉えている語群である。

4.2. 言語活動の様態に関するもの

表2、3では言語活動の様態に関するものがきわめて少ないが、教科書間の共有語でない各教科書のみ出現するものに注目すると、語数は増加する。例えば、ポジティブ評価のものでは、{話が上手、話のうまい人、話題に富む、おだやかな口調、言葉づかいがていねい、いつもおもしろい話をする}。ネガティブ評価のものでは、{うそをつく、大きな声を出す、無口、ほとんど話さない、無法なことを言う人、不平を言う、人の話にくびをつっこむ、口の悪い人、友だちをひやかす、あけすけなことを言う、いつもぶつくさいう、えらそうな言い方をする、うわさを飛ばす、激しい口調で言う、気どった声で言う}。

4.3. 表現者の主観によるもの

表現者の主観によるものに着目してみる。ポジティブ評価として {いい、えらい、すき、すばらしい、りっぱ、かわいらしい、かわいい} など。ネガティブ評価として {きらい、不気味、かわいそう、お気の毒、情けない、にくらしい、こわい、おそろしい、あやしい、じゃまもん} などがある。品詞では、形容詞・形容動詞が主である。これらは、評価対象の性向的特徴や在り方も関わるが、評価判断する基準は評価者としての表現者側の感情や捉え方に重さがある。評価対象をより対象の性向に即して個別的・具体的に捉えるものと評価者側の主観に即して捉えるものとの2つの方向のものが存している。

5. おわりに—対人評価語彙の活用と課題—

ここでは、小学校国語教科書の対人評価語彙の学習活動における読解・解釈活動と日常生活のコミュニケーション活動ではたらきについて述べる。

5.1. 読解・解釈活動

物語教材の中の対人評価語彙（あるいは対人評価表現）に着目することで、読解・解釈において、読みの深まりがもたらされる。一例を示せば、あまんきみこ『きつねのおきゃくさま』¹⁵は、「むかしむかし、あったとさ。」と語り始められ、「とびんぱらりのぷう。」と語りおさめられる昔話形式の物語である。「やさしい、親切、かみさまみたい、いさましい、ゆうかな」という対人評価語が用いられ、さらに対人評価に関わる、「きつねお兄ちゃん」（ひよこ→きつね）という呼称や「ゆう気がリンリンとわいた」という叙述がある。登場人物のひよこのポジティブ評価の対人評価語によって、取って食おうとしていた狡猾なきつねの心情や態度にしだいに変化がもたらされる。後半の語りを見ると、彼ら（ひよこ、あひる、うさぎ）を襲いに來た「おおかみ」によって危機に臨んだとき、きつね自ら勇敢に立ち向かい、いさましく戦って、わが身を犠牲にして彼らを守りきった。彼らは墓を作り、「せかいーやさしい、親切な、かみさまみたいな、そのうえゆうかなきつねのために、なみだをながした」。

対人評価語に着目して、場面性や物語展開に即して、登場人物の行動や発話、その変化、登場人物相互の関係、そして誰の視点かに顧慮することで読みが深まる。対人評価語彙のはたらきの一端が浮かび上がる、対

¹⁵ 三省堂「小学生のこくご二年」あまんきみこ「きつねのおきゃくさま」110-118頁。

人評価語を活用した物語である。また、「大造じいさんとガン」において呼称だけでなく、登場人物への対人評価語の変化に着目することも、読みを深める上で、重要となる。

5.2. 日常生活のコミュニケーション活動でのほたらき

身につけた対人評価語彙や表現の豊かさ・たしかさが、日常生活での他者や自己の理解とともに、他者や自己を言い表す表現生活の深みをもたらす。しかし、一方で、本来ならば複雑な人の性格や行動癖、人柄といった性を単純化して対立的に捉え、決めつけて表す対人評価語が特に若者言葉において増えてきた。例えば、{陰キャラ／陽キャラ、ネクラ／ネアカ、イケテナイ／イケテル、真面目／不真面目・チャライ、内向的／外向的、悲観的／楽天的、養殖／天然}など。こうした見分けは、一見、わかりやすく受け入れやすいものである。しかし、その判断基準は、そのときどきの感情や表面的な事象に拠ることが主であり、人間という複雑な存在を単純で短絡的な区別で納得してしまう危険性をはらんでいる。

運用によっては他者を貶すことに陥る。他者を傷つけ人間関係を壊してしまう危険性が大きい。硬直化した対人評価になってしまうことは避けなければならない。習得した対人評価語彙網の目によって掬い取られる価値を疑って、視点をずらして相対化することで、絶えず人物や人間関係を捉え直す柔軟なまなざしが求められる。冷静で本質的な他者・自己の捉えへとつなげていくことがいっそう必要ではないだろうか。対人評価語の習得と運用の学びは、教科的な学習にとどまらず、日常の暮らしの円滑化につながっている。

5.3. 課題

道徳科や英語科の教科書にも対人評価語彙を見出すことができる。英語科教科書に用いられる英語の対人評価語は、今後、外来語の対人評価語として借用し、増加することが予想される。また、教科書にとどまらず、子どもたちの言語活動全体を視野にした実態調査が必要である。一方では、異なる文化圏での対人評価語彙の比較・対照も興味深い課題である。小学校国語科教科書に共通して現れる対人評価語彙は、日本語(L2)学習においても基本語彙となると考えられる。

対人評価語彙のあり様は、その社会において、どのような人間が理想とされ、いかなる人間関係が求められているかを言語というかたちで具現化したものである。小学校国語科教科書の中の対人評価語彙の学びは、

日常生活におけるコミュニケーションの課題、教育活動全体における理想的な人間像・価値観の育成につながっている。志向される理想像として付言すれば、教材の文章や学習のてびきの課題の発問において、{友達、仲間、みんな}といった語の使用頻度が高い。テキスト教材の主題やメッセージでは、友だち・仲良しの関係、助け合いや協働・共同の推奨になっていることが多いように思われる。「元気、親切、やさしい」など、望ましいとされる価値観や対人関係において志向される「理想像」が織り込まれている。それは対人評価語彙そのものによって直接的に表されているのではないが、どのような人になってほしいのか、国語科教科書全体を通して、今を生き、次世代を担う子どもたちへの願いが込められている。

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Locative or dative? The adnominal (case) marker *-ni* in contemporary Japanese

Keywords: Japanese, nominal elements, inflection, locative case, dative case

Morphological approach

It is common in grammatical descriptions on Japanese to focus on the purely graphemic properties of Japanese script, with sinograms, borrowed from China and not related genetically to the properties of Japanese, viewed as uninflected entities identified with the nominal elements of the language. Grammatical values are encoded, according to such an analytical and isolating approach, by ‘particles’ *joshi* 助詞, (being literally, and rather paradoxically, ‘the auxiliary lexical elements’) described in terms close to other lexical dictionary units (free morphemes), with an indefinite number of particles and with their numerous, complex functions. Despite (rare) suggestions and attempts at the synthetic, inflectional description of Japanese nominal elements, the analytical and isolating approach is typical both for older¹ and fairly recent sources².

In the synthetic and inflectional approach proposed below, ‘agglutination’ *kōchaku* 膠着, the feature of Japanese often mentioned in general typology of the language, is a sub-type of ‘inflection’ *kussetsu/henka* 屈折・変化 (the literal “lay” meanings of the two Japanese terms: ‘refraction’ and ‘change’, respectively, seldom being clearly differentiated from the expert notion of inflection in linguistics in the traditional sources). Grammatical markers are described as a finite set of bound morphemes, being parts of declensional ‘word forms’ *gokei* 語形 (in strict terms: ‘cases’ *kaku* 格), with their systemic functions being clearly and concisely described and opposed on the basis of morphological paradigm.

¹ Rodrigues, *Arte de lingua de Iapam*, Chamberlain, *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese*, Yamada, *Nihon bunpōron*, Yoshida, *Chiisai kokubunpō*, Tokieda, *Kokugogaku genron*.

² Miller, *The Japanese Language*, Bloch, *Bernard Bloch on Japanese*, Martin, *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*, Kindaichi et al., *Nihongo hyakka daijiten*, Shibatani, *The Languages of Japan*, and many others.

Schematically, the analytical/isolating approach and the synthetic/inflectional approach may be opposed in two possible glossings of the Japanese nominal element *niwa* 庭 ‘garden’ with the grammatical marker *-ni*. In 1a, *niwa* and *ni* are glossed as two independent elements *niwa ni* (divided by [*space*] in romanization), according to the traditional approach of grammatical sources on Japanese. In 1b, *niwa-ni* (the hyphen is added to mark the boundary between the lexical and grammatical constituents of a synthetic word form *niwani*) is glossed as a regular, systemic form of the locative case, to be further described below in this paper. As can be seen, in the original Japanese script, the lexical stem of a nominal element is typically (most often) written with a sinogram (or with multiple sinograms), while the grammatical markers are usually supplemented with syllabic elements, with no spacing between the stem and the markers. This confirms that the analytical, isolating approach may be perceived as most natural and obvious, at least according to a kind of folk logic, in differentiating between the sinographic (ideographic) and syllabic (phonetic) content of the text. At the same time, the lack of recognition of nominal word forms appears as a serious obstacle in the process of the paradigmatic description of nominal phenomena in Japanese.

1.
 - a. 庭に *niwa* [*space*] *ni*
‘garden’ ‘grammatical particle with numerous functions’
 - b. 庭に *niwa-ni* (*niwani*)
‘garden-LOC’

The full paradigm of synthetic morphological nominal forms proposed for Japanese is presented in Table 1. The declensional word (case) form consists of the nominal ‘lexical stem’ *gokan* 語幹 (glossed as *N*) and a synthetic ‘grammatical marker’ *bunpōshihyō* 文法指標. Each grammatical element, described traditionally as “particle”, is mapped onto one (and only one) case form and glossed by the respective case term acronym (as LOC for ‘the locative case’). Certain markers, revealing functional affinity to other markers, are described as secondary case markers (allomorphs) for respective case forms, with minor semantic differences.

Table 1. The nominal case paradigm of Japanese (with proposed English, Latin and Japanese terms for the case forms, the main cases being marked by asterisks, the secondary case forms in brackets, with the LOC case and its three related cases in gray)

EN	LA	JP	Case form(s)
*NOMinative	<i>Nominativus</i>	主格 <i>shukaku</i>	N0 (morphological zero)
THEmative	<i>Propositivus</i>	題格 <i>daikaku</i>	<i>Nwa</i>
RHEmative	<i>Nucleativus</i>	指格 <i>shikaku</i>	<i>Nga (Nbakari, Ndake, Nho-do, Nkoso, Ngurai, Nnomi, Nshika)</i>
DIStinctive	<i>Distinctivus</i>	中格 <i>hūkaku</i>	<i>Nmo (Ndatte, Nsae, Nsura)</i>
ENUmerative	<i>Comitativus</i>	連格 <i>renkaku</i>	<i>Nto</i>
EXEmplificative	<i>Exemplificativus</i>	例格 <i>reikaku</i>	<i>Nya (Ndano, Nnado, Nnanka, Nnante, Nnari, Nyara)</i>
INTerrogative	<i>Dubitativus</i>	疑格 <i>gikaku</i>	<i>Nka</i>
VOCative	<i>Vocativus</i>	呼格 <i>kokaku</i>	<i>Nyo</i>
*GENitive	<i>Genetivus</i>	属格 <i>zokkaku</i>	<i>Nno</i>
*ACCusative	<i>Accusativus</i>	対格 <i>taikaku</i>	<i>N'o</i>
*INStrumental	<i>Instrumentalis</i>	具格 <i>gukaku</i>	<i>Nde</i>
*LOCative	<i>Locativus</i>	点格 <i>tenkaku</i>	<i>Nni (Ngoro, Nnite)</i>
TERminative	<i>Terminativus</i>	限格 <i>genkaku</i>	<i>Nmade</i>
ALLative	<i>Allativus</i>	寄格 <i>kikaku</i>	<i>N'e</i>
ABLative	<i>Ablativus</i>	離格 <i>rikaku</i>	<i>Nkara (Nyori)</i>

The paradigm may further (but: not prior to its definition) be analyzed, sub-divided or re-defined. Cases marked by asterisks are described as main cases, being opposed to related cases listed under them (the LOC case, most generally occurring in marking points in space and time, is opposed to the TER, ALL and ABL cases). Additionally, in Table 1, only single-marker case forms are described, but according to the agglutinative characteristics of the Japanese language, multi-marker forms may also be created, being systemic extensions of single-marker forms. Similarly, due to the relatively clear functions and order of grammatical markers, some markers may be subject to dropping. This may occur under certain conditions,

the basic of them being the possibility of the unambiguous reconstruction of full case form. In any instances, paradigmatic rules, with clearly defined case forms and functional oppositions between them, hold sway over specific semantic and syntactic nuances.

Definition order: morphology, semantics, syntax

In Table 1, the LOC case is described as a uniform synthetic case glossed in its primary form as *Nni*, with two secondary forms *Ngoro* and *Nnite*. Such a description is proposed, regardless of various semantic and syntactic usages raised by many up-to-date sources, including mainly its dative usage. The above is compatible with the basics of the morphological approach, with relevant factors taken into account according to the order: morphology, semantics, syntax.

On the 1st level of description (morphology), the nominal stem *N* connects the uniform grammatical marker *-ni* in the primary form of the LOC case. This occurs regardless of the semantic and syntactic variations in particular usage of the locative case. A certain, more salient differentiation may be observed in the usage of the secondary forms: *Ngoro* and *Nnite*. As may be seen, the basic assumption is that the unambiguous morphological marking of the case form in contemporary Japanese has to be backed by systemic prolegomena. The marking is simple and uniform, despite numerous detailed functions and usages of the case form. Should such a case form evoke misinterpretations among users of the language, the different meanings would probably have to be coded by different case forms, which is definitely not the instance here. This does not undermine the, frequently mentioned in the sources, relation of the contemporary grammatical markers *-ni* and *-nite* to the forms of copula. They are, however, of diachronic character and should not influence the synchronic description of the contemporary locative case in Japanese. In other words, contemporary, synchronic grammatical markers are not copula forms, despite being diachronically related to them.

On the 2nd level (semantics), the locative case of Japanese may be defined as pointing at a place, with an emphasis on a point in time or space. In this place, it is crucial to state that the reference to designates of the locative case forms in Japanese is contemporarily both of static and dynamic character. The former is pure locative, with relatively uniform reference to a point in space or time. The latter are twofold, that is, associated to the reference with two contrary vectors of movement – allative and ablative. As such, the semantic features of the contemporary locative case in Japanese seem to justify the recognition of its basic function as static, with dynamic extension variants – rather than the reverse. The comments

on its coherent recognition as locative case, also on the basis of the actual case term proposed in the paradigm, are the basic content of this paper.

On the 3rd level (syntax), the locative case always marks an indirect object of the predicate, often being a non-obligatory element of the sentence.

Despite the morphological, semantic and syntactic facts presented in the above paragraphs, the *Nni* case form of contemporary Japanese seems to be described very often as (only) of the dative case, if it is recognized as a case form. Below, various reasons why the DAT case may appear as a more salient case than LOC in the traditional approach are presented.

DAT vs. LOC – a “classic” approach

It may be observed that, in numerous sources of general character, the morphological, semantic and syntactic descriptions of case properties are often mixed. It is usually with semantic bias, as in the description of the Indo-European DAT case as marking an object towards which an action is directed, with allative usage developed from LOC, in its functions classified as concrete, in one of Polish’s encyclopedic sources³. In the same source, LOC is described diachronically in its forms, ranging from a static (non-dynamic) place marked by standalone LOC to prepositional constructions⁴. A similar approach is taken by another encyclopedic source in English, with the description of DAT as “the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb” and LOC as “the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action”⁵. The general orientation of encyclopedic sources may further be recognized as a reason to value semantics, with its allegedly universal features, as more salient than morphology, related to particular markers and word forms. A characteristic dead end of such an approach may be presented on the example quotation from another general source on case, stating overtly that: “We do not have a well-defined notion of case”⁶. This may be considered true and insightful only under the assumption that a researcher’s task is to describe all possible cases and their functions in all conceivable languages, which is rarely the instance. Usually, the task is to describe a case system in one particular language. For

³ Polański, Kazimierz, ed., *Encyklopedia językoznawstwa ogólnego* [Encyclopedia of general linguistics] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1999), 108.

⁴ Polański, *Encyklopedia*, 345.

⁵ Malmkjaer, Kirsten ed., *The Routledge Linguistic Encyclopedia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 256, after Fillmore, Charles, “The Case for Case”, in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, ed. E. Bach and R. T. Harms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1968), 24–25.

⁶ Butt, Miriam, *Theories of Case* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2.

this purpose, the morphological properties of case are basic in languages with inflecting features.

(Alleged) many “meanings”

Not only is the semantic bias, mentioned in the previous section of this paper, the cause of inadequate descriptions of particular cases in particular languages. In Japanese, the nominal elements are perceived as uninflected, the unambiguous adnominal case marker *-ni*, which could alternatively be treated as a synthetic marker of one inflectional case, being traditionally described as an analytic particle or postposition *ni*, of “meanings” allegedly differentiated according to context, such as: ‘in’, ‘into’, ‘to’ or ‘by’ “with a passive verb”⁷. The source quoted here dates from 19th century, but the manner of description does not seem to change significantly after that time. Such descriptions are representative not only of numerous grammars of Japanese, both older and contemporary, by Japanese and foreign authors, but also to the dictionaries of the language, in which *ni* usually appears as a separate entry, with detailed explanation on its “meanings”. Also in the 19th century, there were attempts among Japanese linguists at the description of nominal elements in terms of inflectional patterns, sometimes with significant remarks on specific features of Japanese. One source mentions that Japanese grammatical elements, differently from their Latin counterparts, are like “shoes, that one may take off”, not like “legs”⁸. Similar propositions, however, did not go beyond the narrow repertoire of grammatical markers traditionally perceived as adnominal, containing rather general remarks than postulates towards a systemic, morphological theory of Japanese declension.

“Mapped” approaches

An interesting technique of description is to resort to mapping another language’s grammatical oppositions into Japanese. Early attempts having been made in 17th century by the first missionary grammars, with inevitable comparisons to Latin, an interesting example to quote is an early 20th century grammar in German, with four cases, including the description of the DAT case opposed to the NOM, GEN and ACC cases⁹. Another example is mapping certain oppositions

⁷ Chamberlain, B. H., *A Handbook of Colloquial Japanese* (Tokyo: Shūseisha, 1898), 74.

⁸ Ōtsuki, Fumihiko, *Kōnihonbunpō bekki* [Japanese grammar in a wide perspective. Addition] (Tōkyō: Ōtsuki Fumihiko, 1897), 135–136.

⁹ Fujisawa, Rennosuke, *Langenscheidts Sprachführer: Japanisch* [Japanese conversation] (Berlin-Schöneberg: Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung G.m.b.h, 1910), 9–10.

of Indo-European and Russian case forms into Japanese, with the recognition of the *-ni* marker solely as of DAT case¹⁰. In both quoted sources, *-ni* is mentioned as the DAT marker only because it is usually described as such in German and Russian, respectively.

It is important to make here a remark that the mapped approach may, at least in some circumstances, be a convenient and effective means of explanation at the initial level of foreign language education. On the other hand, many actual oppositions may be obscured and harder to learn at higher levels of study. As such, mapped approaches may not be considered a scientific means of description towards the phenomena of other languages.

Even more “meanings”

Listing various “meanings” of the case (or rather, of the marker *-ni*, usually described as analytic *ni*), while being a very common technique of description, seems to neglect the fact of the generally unambiguous marking of the relatively uniform morphological nominal word form, regardless of its numerous usages with various semantic nuances. Not only is the grammatical (systemic, paradigmatic), not semantic (unsystemic, inherently irregular) function of the marker and case obscured in this way. Various grammatical sources present different sets of “meanings”, which may also lead to the (false) impression that it is only the native users of Japanese that are capable of identifying its actual functions, defined in terms of an alleged free morpheme, which *-ni* is not.

While a systemic description, based on morphological data, might at first provide a clear differentiation of the case and then stipulate its semantic nuances, the sources of semantic character focus primarily on the number of meanings of the marker, which are impossible to settle in strict terms. For example, one of the contemporary sources provides 16 “meanings” with sub-meanings (essive = mixed with copula [!], indirect object, pseudo-reciprocal, objective, stimulus, reason, cause, agent, specific time [...] and problematic [sic!])¹¹, while another one enumerates 18 “meanings” with their detailed sub-meanings (place, direction, abstract place/direction, indirect object, abstract indirect object, partner, reference, situational place and time, agent and others [...])¹². In technical terms, it is both

¹⁰ Feldman, N. I., *Japonsko-russkij slovar'* [Japanese-Russian dictionary] (Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdat'elstvo inostrannyh i nacionalnyh slovarej, 1951), 540.

¹¹ Martin, Samuel E., *A Reference Grammar of Japanese* (New Haven: Yale University, 1975), 40–42.

¹² Golovnin, I. W., *Grammatika sovremennogo japonskogo jazyka* [Grammar of contemporary Japanese language] (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo moskovskogo universiteta, 1986), 139–241.

possible to reduce at least some of the “meanings” enumerated in this way to a single grammatical function, and to extend the list further and detect more specific and nuanced meanings. Semantic descriptions may also become more complicated if they include the listing of case features which are not valid contemporarily, with reference to diachronic phenomena of Japanese, which is also not an exceptional instance, to say the least. This is not how a systemic description of case should look like, at least based on its clear contemporary morphological marker *-ni*.

Another group of grammatical sources on Japanese list the LOC meanings in terms of “double” or “multiple” functions of the case (or: the marker) reduced to several sub-functions. It may be the scheme of the DAT, AGT (agential, as an argument of a transitive predicate in passive usage) and LOC¹³ or the scheme of two meanings, tentatively labeled as DAT, marking “indirect object”, “passive” with “causative” extensions and “pure locative” meaning also “target”, “direction” and “time”¹⁴. Such schemes, differentiated on the base of purely semantic criteria, while not always coherent internally, are proposed also by Japanese sources, often with original (though not always intersubjectively intelligible) terms, as in the description of the ‘*ni* case’ *nikaku* に格”, with semantic terms like *arika* ありか格 ‘location case’, *aitekaku* あい手格 ‘partner case’ and *yokaku* 与格 ‘dative’¹⁵ or even in more variations and creativity, as *aikata* 相方 ‘comitative?’, *gen’in* 原因 ‘causative?’, *yukusaki* ゆく先 ‘allative?’ and *arika* ありか ‘locative?’¹⁶. Not only are the intentions of the authors of these original terms unclear (despite visible distrust towards the systemic functions of one unambiguous contemporary case marker), but, in the first place, the proposed schemes are often impossible to compare. In other words, it would probably not be an overstatement to postulate that every single source on Japanese grammar proposes a unique explanation of functions of the allegedly analytic and free morpheme *ni* in contemporary Japanese. This enriches the opportunities for the narrative technique known otherwise as storytelling, at the cost of the systemic explanation of phenomena marked morphologically by a uniform marker. The function of DAT marking, although not primary for the marker/case, is at the same time perceived as more important than other functions, at least by a majority of sources, probably also to a more salient recognition of the Indo-European DAT case over the LOC case, rendered additionally but significantly by the clear precedence of the DAT case over the LOC

¹³ Kiyose, Gisaburo N., *Japanese Grammar. A New Approach* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 1995), 32–33.

¹⁴ Huszcza et al., *Gramatyka japońska Tom 2* [Japanese grammar Vol. 2] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagellońskiego, 2003), 290–299.

¹⁵ Takahashi, Tarō, *Nihongono bunpō* [Japanese language grammar] (Tōkyō: Hitsuji Shobō, 2004), 27.

¹⁶ Nitta, Yoshio, “Nihongono kaku’o megutte” [On Case in Japanese], in *Nihongono kaku’o megutte* [On case in Japanese], ed. Yoshino Nitta (Tōkyō: Kuroshio Shuppan, 1993), 28–37.

case on the list of cases in declensional paradigms, and by the fact that the LOC case form is often used in prepositional constructions rather than independently. As a consequence, the chances of recognition of the synthetic form *Nni* as a single and unambiguous case in contemporary Japanese remain rather scarce.

Japanese LOC – contemporary usage

According to the definition level order: morphology, semantics, syntax, proposed above, it is possible to describe and verify on actual language data of contemporary Japanese, whether the locative case may be described as an unambiguous declensional word form, with relatively consistent basic function. Such an approach, ranging from certain (simple) morphological phenomena to (more complex) semantic and syntactic features of the case is presented below. The fact that on the level of morphology all the possible grammatical markers and case forms are enumerated, as in Table 1, facilitates their further assignment to specific cases considerably. The *Nni* form marks clearly and unambiguously the point in space and/or time, with its most representative usage(s) as in 2.a through 2.e below.

2.

a. 庭にいる。 *Niwa-ni* *i-ru.*
garden-LOC exist-NPST
 ‘SOMEONE/SOMETHING is **in the garden.**’

b. 壁に書いてある。 *Kabe-ni* *kai-te* *ar-u.*
wall-LOC write-CON RES(AV)-NPST
 ‘SOMETHING is written **on the wall.**’

c. 先に来る。 *Saki-ni* *kur-u.*
earlier[.time]-LOC come-NPST
 ‘SOMEONE/SOMETHING is going to come **earlier.**’

d. 先に立った。 *Saki-ni* *tat-ta.*
front[.place]-LOC stand-PST
 ‘SOMEONE/SOMETHING stood **at the front** [of others].’

e. 2日に始まる。 *Futsuka-ni* *hajimar-u.*
2nd.day/two.days-LOC start-NPST
 ‘SOMETHING starts **at the 2nd day** [of the month].’

The fact that *Ngoro* and *Nnite* are described as secondary forms of the locative case *Nni* in indicating a point in space and/or time is related rather to their similar functions (less salient and being subject to more limitations, as in 3.a and 3b below) than the usage of the primary form *Nni*. As can be seen, 3a marks a point in time (and: only in time), in some instances showing also more honorifically marked character than 2c or 2e. Similarly, 3b marking of a point in space (and: only in space) is of more archaic/formal/written character than 2a, 2b and 2d. These differences are of semantic, not of paradigmatic sort.

Consequently, it may be stated on the basis of unambiguous language data that the *Ngoro* and *Nnite* LOC forms reveal morphological oppositions to the primary form *Nni*, with a certain semantic affinity, being rather the “alloforms” (variants) of the latter than representing properties independent enough to classify them as separate case forms. Accordingly, from the technical point of view, it is also possible to gloss the *Nni* form as LOC1, *Ngoro* as LOC2 and *Nnite* as LOC3 in order to render this fact. Again, the relation of respective case markers to the copula, as indicated above, is of diachronic character, not directly related to their contemporary adnominal grammatical functions.

3.
 a. 2時ごろ *niji-goro*
2.o'clock-LOC
 ‘at/around 2 o'clock’
- b. 箱根にて *Hakone-nite*
Hakone(PN)-LOC
 ‘[written] at Hakone’

The basic (locative) function of the case, that is, marking a point in space/time, makes it more reasonable to label it as the locative case than as the dative case. As such, the case may merge three functions (“meanings”): locative, dative/allative and ablative. The latter two, however, seem to be less representative for the case, for the following reasons.

As may be verified, the dative/allative usage of the LOC case (4a through 4e below) and the ablative usage (5a through 5c, including the marking of the active agent of the passive action, as in 5b) are not differentiated morphologically, despite their particular semantics. The morphological form of the case is constant: *Nni*. The secondary case forms, *Ngoro* and *Nnite*, do not reveal the dative/allative or the ablative usage. The primary case form *Nni* is further, as is going to be shown below, clearly opposed in its locative usage to the INS case. The dative/allative and the ablative usages may be partly (although not automatically) interchangeable

with the ALL and ABL cases of the paradigm (cf. Table 1), especially if direction-marking is more important than point-marking. These facts also rather seem to support the recognition of the (dynamic) dative/allative and the ablative usages as extensions of the (static) locative usage than the reverse.

The most important factor in recognizing the *Nni* case form as locative is that its uniform (static) marking of point and space seems to be more coherent than the (dynamic) allative/dative and ablative marking, the latter being clearly opposed as to the direction of movement – towards (inwards) or from (outwards) the designate.

Finally, at least some of the static usages in the locative case may be interpreted alternatively in terms of their static or dynamic character. In 2b above, it may be argued that the usage is in fact dative/allative, since the inscription on the wall is of an outside origin. In the reverse manner, both some allative/dative usages as 4e or ablative usages as 5c may be interpreted as carrying static, locative meaning. This does not deny the generally coherent function of point-marking of the case. In other words, the morphological facts seem to support in a more coherent manner the usage of the locative case in the function of indirect object marked as a point in space or time for certain predicates than its specific static or dynamic semantic nuances. This may be proposed as a general rule, with some inevitable exceptions, without undermining the validity of the rule as such.

- 4.
- | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| a. 庭に行く。 | <i>Niwa-ni</i>
garden-LOC | <i>ik-u.</i>
go-NPST |
| ‘[I] will go to the garden. ’ | | |
| b. 家に着く。 | <i>Ie-ni</i>
house-LOC | <i>tsuk-u.</i>
get.to-NPST |
| ‘[I] will get home. ’ | | |
| c. 山に登る。 | <i>Yama-ni</i>
mountain-LOC | <i>nobor-u.</i>
climb-NPST |
| ‘[I] will climb the mountain. ’ | | |
| d. 弟にやる。 | <i>Otōto-ni</i>
younger.brother-LOC | <i>yar-u.</i>
give.out(1)-NPST |
| ‘[I] will give it to [my] younger brother. ’ | | |
| e. 大人になる。 | <i>Otona-ni</i>
adult-LOC | <i>nar-u.</i>
become-NPST |
| ‘SOMEONE will become adult. ’ | | |

- 5.
- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| a. 母にもらった。 | <i>Haha-ni</i>
mother-LOC | <i>morat-ta.</i>
get.in(1)-PST |
| ‘[I] got this from [my] mother .’ | | |
| b. あいつにやられた。 | <i>Aitsu-ni</i>
that.guy-LOC | <i>yara-re-ta.</i>
do-PASS-PST |
| ‘[I] was cheated by that guy .’ | | |
| c. 中部地方に発生した。 | <i>Chūbuchihō-ni</i>
Chubu[.district](PN) | <i>hassei shi-ta.</i>
occurrence-NOM
do(AV)-PST |
| ‘SOMETHING comes from /originated in Chubu district .’ | | |

Relations to other cases

The LOC case is clearly opposed, as indicated below, to other cases of the paradigm, especially the INS case (marking place and time collectively), and the TER, ALL and ABL cases (marking of different vectors of movement).

The INS case in Japanese primarily marks the indirect object of instrument, with various extensions related to its collective, not point-related, reference, including: reason, time span, amount or material. One of such extensions is a place or time marking, not in primary reference to the point as such, but rather in inexact terms, clearly opposed to the usage of the locative case, as in 6a, 6b and, in the reference of time span, in 6c, especially as compared to 2a, 4a and 2e, respectively. Should such usages as in 6a and 6b be replaced by the LOC case *Nni* for an object of considerable area, as *garden*, it is usually with the intention to mark the specific point of the action or state. This does not exclude the possibility of exclusive using either the LOC case *Nni* or the INS case *Nde* with some predicates. For example, 5c above is the LOC case usage towards the reference perceived as a point in space. Despite considerable size of Chubu district, the event must have occurred at certain point. Similarly, the predicate *hassei suru* 発生する ‘to occur’ may connect the INS case *Nde*, to refer to the occurrence of the subject in Chubu district viewed as a collective set of (multiple possible) locations. Alternatively, the ABL case *Nkara* may be used in 5c, in order to indicate the direction of the process originating (outwards) from a certain point. The three different “meanings” may hence be either neutralized by the LOC *Nni*, or emphasized contrastively by the INS *Nde* or the ABL *Nkara*. This is how a declensional system works in practice.

- 6.
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| a. 庭で会った。 | <i>Niwa-de</i>
garden-INS | <i>at-ta.</i>
meet-PST |
| ‘[I] met SOMEONE in the garden.’ | | |
| b. 庭で遊んだ。 | <i>Niwa-de</i>
garden-INS | <i>ason-da.</i>
play-PST |
| ‘SOMEONE played in the garden.’ | | |
| c. 2日で終わった。 | <i>Futsuka-de</i>
2nd.day/two.days-INS | <i>owat-ta.</i>
end-PST |
| ‘SOMETHING ended in two days.’ | | |

There may be certain exceptions from the general rule: INS for collective place marking, vs. LOC for point marking. Apart from this, the primary function of INS in contemporary Japanese is not to mark the place, and LOC typically does not mark collective reference or instrument. The paradigmatic opposition of the two cases is hence clear.

The three related cases of the locative case, as indicated in Table 1, mark direction in space and time. They are: the terminative case *Nmade*, marking the extreme range of the state or activity, as in 7a, the allative case *N’e*, marking the direction of movement towards the referent, as in 7b, and the ablative case, differentiated by its morphological forms *Nkara* and *Nyori*, in its two functions, marking the direction of movement from the referent, as in 7c, and the less-marked referent (object of comparison), as in 7d. In the former function, the secondary form of the ABL case *Nyori* may be exchangeable with the primary form *Nkara*, with some stylistic nuances. In the latter function, only the secondary form *Nyori* is used.

- 7.
- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. 庭まで行かない。 | <i>Niwa-made</i>
garden-TER | <i>ika-na-i.</i>
go-NEG-NPST | |
| ‘SOMEONE will not go [as far as] to the garden.’ | | | |
| b. 庭へ行く。 | <i>Niwa-e</i>
garden-ALL | <i>ik-u.</i>
go-NPST | |
| ‘[I] will go to the garden.’ | | | |
| c. 庭から出てきた。 | <i>Niwa-kara</i>
garden-ABL | <i>de-te</i>
go.out-CON | <i>ki-ta.</i>
RES(AV)-PST |
| ‘SOMEONE/SOMETHING came out of the garden.’ | | | |
| d. 庭より暖かい。 | <i>Niwa-yori</i>
garden-ABL | <i>atataka-i.</i>
warm-NPST | |
| ‘SOMEWHERE is warmer than [it is in] the garden.’ | | | |

The description above does not and cannot undermine the possible (but: less representative and unsystemic) lexicalized and exceptional or atypical usages, occurring in many systems of declension. In any instance, the basic (systemic) assumption is that regular, systemic rules of description should be applied first, with exceptions to be analyzed on the basis of the paradigmatic model, not as the facts denying the paradigmatic character and coherency of the latter. As a basic criterion of description, the morphological data should be analyzed in languages with inflectional features, to which group the Japanese language, with its agglutinative characteristics, with generally uni-functional grammatical morphemes, attached in fixed order to the lexical stems, surely belongs, despite the opposite views presented in its numerous analytical/isolating descriptions in grammatical sources to date.

Conclusion

The locative case (LOC), one of the declensional cases in contemporary Japanese, is unambiguously marked with the morphological marker *-ni* in its primary synthetic form *Nni*, with secondary forms *Ngoro* and *Nnite* revealing clear semantic limitations in usage.

In semantic terms, the primary form of the case *Nni* reveals 3 functions:

1. (Static) LOCative (spatial and temporal): 2a through 2e, with secondary-marker form extensions 3a and 3b, with certain detailed limitations.
2. (Dynamic) ALLative (merged with DATive): 4a through 4e.
3. (Dynamic) ABLative (with passive extension): 5a through 5c.

It seems reasonable to claim that the (dynamic) functions 2 and 3 above, due to their opposite vectors of movement, are extensions of the (static) function 1 above rather than the reverse. Hence, the uniform term for the case is proposed as the *locative case*.

The locative case in contemporary Japanese may be clearly opposed in its function of point marking to the general reference to place or time, to the INSTRumental case *Nde*. It is hard at the same time to regard the usage of the INS case for the reference to place and time as primary, precisely due to its collective (inexact) rather than point-related (exact) character. Its related cases in place and time marking in Japanese are the TERminative case *Nmade*, ALLative case *R'e* and ABLative case *Rkara/Ryori*. Their basic mutual relations are clear and systemic.

Glossing

ABL – ablative case
AGT – agential case
ALL – allative case
AV – auxiliary verb
CON – connective
DAT – dative case
INS – instrumental case
LOC – locative case
NEG – negative
NOM – nominative case
NPST – non-past
PASS – passive
PN – proper name
PST – past
RES – resultative
TER – terminative case
1 – 1st person

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対馬方言に見られる九州方言の要素

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Keywords: Tsushima dialect, Kyushu dialects, classification of dialects, Tōjō Misao

1. 対馬の位置および歴史の中の役割

対馬は九州北部からおよそ150キロ離れた島であるが、韓国の釜山からは約50キロの位置にあるため、天気の良い日には対馬の鰐浦の展望台から釜山が見える。人口は約2万9千人¹で、日本では北方領土と沖縄を除き、3番目に大きい離島である。対馬は、歴史的に韓国と日本の架け橋の役割を果たしたことで知られている。その特別な地理的そして歴史的な状況は対馬方言の中にも現れている。

古代から対馬は、大陸と九州本土の間の物資のみならず文化をも伝える重要な役割を果たしてきた。4世紀の後半に大和朝廷が中央政権として国家を統一すると、対馬は朝廷から国に準ずる扱いを受け、対馬国といわれた²。また、常に防衛、侵攻の最前線基地でもあったため³、664年に対馬に防人、烽火が配置され、667年には金田城も築かれた。対馬に送られた防人は主に東国の農民であったため⁴、その地域の方言が対馬方言に見られる。7世紀と8世紀には中国へ遣隋使・遣唐使・遣新羅使が派遣され、対馬を経由するコースが採られた。7～8世紀の日本最古の和歌集である『万葉集』の20巻には防人や遣新羅使が詠んだ対馬に関する歌が収められている。

中世になると宗氏の対馬支配が確立し、その後の江戸時代の幕藩体制では、対馬藩が置かれた。明治4年の廃藩置県後は厳原県が置かれ、現在は長崎県に属している。

また、17世紀から19世紀にかけて朝鮮通信使が対馬を経由して来日し、当時の最高の文人・技術者も派遣されていた。朝鮮国との交流は、日本の文化に多大な影響を与え、現在でも、江戸（今の東京）に至るまでの各地で朝鮮通信使行列に関連のある行事が残っている。厳原町では、毎年8月に朝鮮通信使行列を再現する行事が行われている。

¹ 長崎県対馬市 [15.03.2022]

² 長崎県対馬振興局2016：2。

³ 唐や新羅軍の攻撃の危険が生じた。

⁴ 瀬野精一郎1972：39-40。

対馬は、元 (蒙古)や刀伊 (女真)、朝鮮などの外国から侵攻された歴史がある。そのため明治維新後は国防の島と位置付けられ、砲台などが設置された。20世紀初頭の日露戦争における日本海海戦は、対馬の目前で行われたことから、世界的には「対馬沖海戦」とよばれている。また第二次世界大戦中には、要塞として軍の施設が置かれた。1953年、議員立法により離島振興法が成立し、それを契機に対馬の公共投資が促進されることとなった。そして開発が進み、道路が整備され、空港などの新しいサービス施設が建設された。

対馬は国境の島として、過去において文化的に隔離され、要塞地のため地形図はもとより、産業や人口その他統計調査に関する資料が公開されず、また正確な学術調査も実施されていなかった。そのため、1950年に日本八学会連合⁵による対馬総合調査が行われ、貴重な研究資料が集められた。その調査に同行した民俗学者宮本常一氏は、その後も度々対馬を訪れ、庶民の生活実態調査を詳細に行った。そのなかで、対馬の開発の立ち後れは、この島が長い歴史のなかで国防の島として封鎖され続けてきたことに大きく起因していると分析している⁶。

2. 日本語の方言について

2.1. 日本語の方言区分

日本語方言の研究において、最もよく知られている分類は、東条操が『国語の方言区画』(1927)で提唱した「方言区画」である。東条は、方言の相違だけでなく、行政区画や地形的区分、日本語史上の解釈などを総合的に考慮して、日本地図上に区画を示した⁷。第一次案(1927)、第二次案(1934)と第三次案(1954)と修正を加えて、最終案に至った⁸。

⁵ 日本八学会連合は、考古・人類・宗教・社会・地理・言語・民族・民俗の八つの学会が連携して学術調査研究を行うために1947年に結成された。

⁶ 長崎県対馬振興局2016: 12-13。

⁷ 安部清哉2014: 25。

⁸ 木部暢子(編)2020: 8。

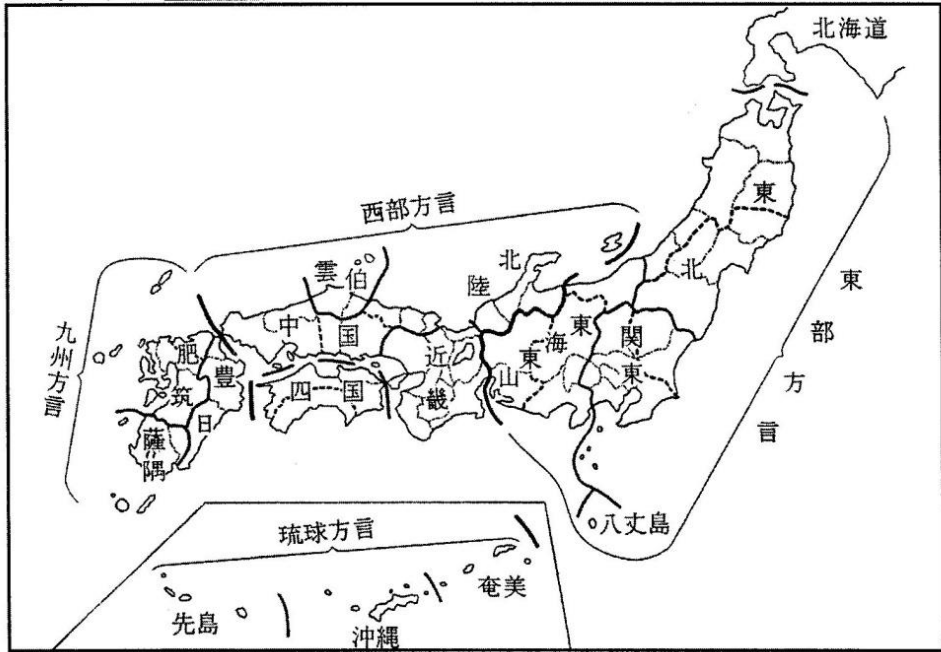


図1 東条操の方言区画 (第三案) (木部暢子 (編)2020 : 9より引用)

東条は、日本の方言を本土方言と琉球方言に大きく分類し、そして本土方言を三大方言である東部方言、西部方言、九州方言に分け、九州方言をさらに肥筑方言、豊日方言と薩隅方言に分けた。肥筑方言は肥前 (佐賀・長崎両県)と肥後 (熊本県)、筑前・筑後 (福岡県)の方言で、豊日方言は福岡県の豊前地区の方言と大分県の豊前・豊後の方言、それに日向宮崎県の大部分を加えた方言で、薩隅方言は旧島津領の大部分を占める方言、宮崎県諸県地方も含まれる方言である⁹。対馬方言は九州方言、そして肥筑方言に分類されている。九州方言と肥筑方言の特徴は以下のとおりである。

2.2. 九州方言の特徴

九州方言は九州地方で話される方言で、俗に九州弁とも言う。音韻の特徴は、語末狭母音の無声化や母音の脱落による撥音化・促音化、高齢者を中心に「せ・ぜ」を「しえ・じえ」と発音すること等である。文法の

⁹ 飯豊毅一、日野資純、佐藤亮一 (編)1983 : 7-8。

特徴は、連用形+「よる」「とる／ちよる」のアスペクト区別、否定助動詞「ん」、方向を表す助詞「さい／さん」などがある。

2.3. 肥筑方言の特徴

肥筑方言の特徴としては、形容詞の終止形語尾が「か」となる、逆接の接続助詞「ばってん」、終助詞「ばい」「たい」、主格を表す助詞「の」、対象を表す助詞「ば」などがある。

3. 対馬方言について

3.1. 九州方言・肥筑方言との共通点

以下、対馬方言で記述したテキストや住民の話の例を挙げることによって、九州方言・肥筑方言の特徴が対馬方言に見られることを明らかにする。

なお、例文は原文通りに表記した。方言の文の下にはローマ字表記および現代日本語訳が付いている。

① 格助詞の「ノ」

格助詞「ノ」は主格を表す。対馬には「ン」となることが多い。

以下、漁師の話の一部である。

例：

オレン、オソエツヤロー！¹⁰

Oren, osoeyyarō!

訳：わたしが、教えてあげよう。

② 格助詞の「サン」・「サイ」

目的格、つまり方向を表す九州特有の助詞には「サン」・「サイ」を使う。

「サン」を使う場合は文章の意味が強調される。

例：

アッチサン行ケ。

Atchi san ike!

訳：あっちへ行け！

③ 接続助詞の「ケー」

理由を表す助詞には「ケー」を使用する。

¹⁰ 吉町義雄 1952: 103。

以下、農・漁業にかかわっている年を取った夫婦間の会話の一部である。

例：

男：キョーワ オラー ヤマイキョ オモイタッテ、ウショー ツレテ
ハタケ カヤシー イテ コーチョ オモートルケー、ベントーオ
シモートウクレンヤ。

女：アイ、ナカ トモ トグチ ダシトルケー¹¹。

m : *Kyō wa orā yama ikyo omoitatte, ushō tsurete hatake kayashii ite kōcho omōtorukē, bentō o shimōtou kuren ya.*

f : *Ai, naka tomo toguchi dashitorukē.*

訳：

男性：今日は私は山行きを思い立って、牛を連れて畑をすきに行つて来ようと思つているから、弁当を用意してくれないか。

女：はい、それでは戸口に出してありますから。

④ 逆接の「バッテン」

逆接を表すには、「バッテン」で代表される。

以下、漁師の話の一部である。

例：

キョネンナ、イカレンジャッタバッテン、コトシャー、サッチ、イコー
トオモーチョル¹²。

Kyonen na, ikarenjatta batten, kotoshā, satchi, ikō to omōchoru.

訳：去年は行かれなかったけれど、今年こそは、是非、行くつもりだ。

⑤ 断定「ジャ」

対馬方言で指定の助動詞「ジャ」を使う。

以下、農・漁業にかかわっている年を取った夫婦の間の会話の一部である。

例：

アー ソージャ コタ ミンナ ソリジャ¹³。

Ā sōja kota minna sorija.

訳：ああ、そんなことはみんなそうだ。

⑥ 終助詞「バイ」

「バイ」は九州方言の特徴である。それ以外は対馬には終助詞として「ゲナ」、「ザイ」、「チャガ」が使われている。

以下、「つしまそびき唄」という対馬のはげまし歌の一部である。

例：

¹¹ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所(編)1981:172。

¹² 吉町義雄1952:102。

¹³ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所(編)1981:153。

ひじきん「てぼ」¹⁴かろうて、踊るばあさま言わせんばい¹⁵！

Hijikin „tebo” karōte, odoru bāsama iwasen bai!

訳：ヒジキ採りの籠を背負って、踊ってくれるお婆さんの踊りは最高なんだ！

⑦ 下二段活用の残存

下二段活用は元来、文語動詞にあったもので、共通語ではそれぞれ上一段と下一段に吸収されているが、方言では残っている。

「あくる」akuru＝あけるakeru

「しむる」shimuru＝しめるshimeru

以下、漁師の話の一部である。

例：

アメバッカ^ル、フッチョッター、ヨーヨーン、テンキーナッテ キモツ
ガ イー。ツユモ、アクルラシー¹⁶。

Ame bakkaru, futchottē, yōyōn, tenkī natte kimogga ī. Tsuyu mo, akuru rashī.

訳：雨ばかり、降っていたのに、やっと晴れたので気持ちがよい。梅雨も、あけるらしい。

⑧ 一段活用のラ行五段化

九州方言では、母音語幹（上一段，上二段，下一段，下二段）動詞が，r語幹（ラ行五段）動詞のような活用をみせることがある。対馬方言にもその現象がみられる。

「きらん」kiran＝きない kinai

「ふらん」furan＝ふらない furanai

「ならん」naran＝ならない naranai

以下、農・漁業にかかわっている年を取った夫婦の間の会話の一部である。

例：

女：ナンカ シラーンガ ハナシン ナラン¹⁷。

Nanka shirān ga hanashin naran.

訳：何かしらないが話にならない。

⑨ 完了の助動詞「チョル」

対馬方言では動作の結果を表す場合は、連用形+「チョル」を使う。

以下、漁師の話の一部である。

例：

カジャーフクバッテン、アメンフランケ、ヒトンゴーンデチョル¹⁸。

¹⁴ 「てぼ」は方言で竹の籠という。

¹⁵ 『つしまそびき唄』2013。

¹⁶ 吉町義雄1952：104。

¹⁷ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所（編）1981：157-158。

¹⁸ 吉町義雄1952：104。

Kajā fuku batten, amen furanke, hiton gōndechoru.

訳：風こそ吹くけれど雨が降らないものだから、人出が多い。

⑩ セ・ゼの口蓋化

それは古い音の残存として、年をとった人々を中心に、「せ・ぜ」を「しえ・じえ」と発音する。

「しえっかく」*shekkaku*=せっかく*sekkaku*

「しえんしえ」*shenshe*=先生 *sensei*

「じえんぶ」*jenbu*=全部 *zenbu*

3.2. 肥筑方言との差異点

対馬方言は肥筑方言に含められているが、非肥筑的な一面もみせる。例えば、ヨカ（よい）などのカ語尾形容詞はない¹⁹。終助詞は「ちゃ」「ばな」「ばで」である。対格も大部分の地域で「ば」ではなく、共通語と同じ「を」を使う。

3.3. 地理的・歴史的影響

対馬方言については、対馬と朝鮮の地理的・歴史的な係わりから、韓国語の影響が大きいと予測され、多くの研究が行われたが、結果的には対馬方言と韓国語との間には共通性はあまりみられない。借用語の例としては、朝鮮語の「トーマン（逃亡）カッタ」は対馬方言で「夜逃げ」の意味に、また、朝鮮語と共通する対馬方言は、例えば「チング」=友達、「ヤンバン」=金持ち、「ペー」=船、「チョンガ」=独身などがある²⁰。これらは九州北部でも使われているが、実際に生きた言葉として使う頻度は、対馬が一番高い。

歴史的影響としては、対馬方言に古語が多く残存していることが特徴である。例えば田畑を耕すことを「パル」という。沖縄方言でも開墾することを「パル」という。墾田というときの「ハル」に関連する語で、語頭の[p]音は古形を保っている²¹。また、『万葉集』に出てくる対馬の表現を見てみると、「オドロク」は「はっと目を覚ます」の意味で使われ、その他には「オラブ」（叫ぶ）や「アユム」（歩く）などがある²²。

対馬で使われている言語は一般的に「方言」というが、島内では、それぞれの集落間で使用される語彙は異なっている。例えば、「子牛」は対馬で一般に「メーノコ」、対馬久田で「ベタロ」という。「ふくろう」

¹⁹ 飯豊毅一、日野資純、佐藤亮一(編)1983: 145。

²⁰ 堀井令以知2001: 185。

²¹ 堀井令以知2001: 186。

²² 堀井令以知2001: 186-187。

は対馬仁田で「シミー」、峰で「シモエビ」、豆殿で「コーキチ」という。
 これまでに行われた対馬方言に関する多くの研究では、島内の異なる集落間の語彙に関する比較研究が主流となっている（奥村1954、西島1970参照）。まだ全体的な把握には至っていないが、この研究は今後の対馬方言研究者の課題である。

4. まとめ

対馬方言は、多くの地理的・歴史的などの要因によって形成されてきたと言える。「人種のるつぼ」という表現を対馬について言い換えると「語彙・言語るつぼ」と言えるのではないだろうか。しかしながら、島の使用言語はさまざまな影響をうけて発展したが、九州方言の要素が圧倒的であることは否定できない。対馬方言における終助詞「バイ」、一段活用のラ行五段化、逆接の「バッテン」などの言語上の現象は九州方言の特徴である。そのため方言区画上（図1参照）、対馬方言は九州方言、そしてその下区分である肥筑方言の一つとして区分されている。しかし、「言語のるつぼ」であることも考慮しつつ、どんな影響が対馬方言にあるのか、以後の研究は対馬の言語上の多様性に注目し、研究を進めたいと思う。

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ポーランド語のアスペクト体系から見た日本語のテイル形

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キーワード：日本語、テイル形、アスペクト、ポーランド語
Keywords: Japanese, *teiru*-form, aspect, Polish

1. はじめに

ポーランド語を母語とする日本語学習者にとって、日本語のアスペクト形式の一つであるテイル形は習得が困難である。テイル形には多くの用法があるため、学習者の負担が大きく、特に習得が困難な文法項目の一つだと言われている。

日本語教育では、学習者の母語の知識を活かすことも重要視されており、そのためには対照研究に基づいた体系的な記述が必要となる。この点については、すでに多くの研究者が着目しているところであり、日本語と英仏露などのヨーロッパ言語のアスペクト体系を対照させる試みが、これまでも様々な形で行われてきた¹。

そこで本稿では、その習得困難要因を探ることを主な目的として、日本語とポーランド語のアスペクト体系が根本的に異なることに留意しつつ、不完了体・完了体の形態的対立によって実現されるポーランド語のアスペクト体系の観点から日本語のテイル形を考察してみたい。

2. 始めるにあたっての注意事項

本稿においては、ポーランド語を母語とする日本語学習者の「～ている」習得の観点から、日本語の「～ている」とポーランド語の「不完了体・完了体」との実用面での対照を主な目的としているため、各言語におけるアスペクト研究に関する詳細²には立ち入らないことにする。

¹ 宗宮喜代子「英語と日本語の『時制・相』について」2007年、庵功雄「意味領域から考える日本語のテンス・アスペクト体系の記述：『母語の知識を活かした日本語教育』のために」2018年、津田香織「日本語の動詞テイル形と対応するフランス語の形式」2015年、柳町裕子「外国語教育における『外国語としての日本語』の視点：日本語とロシア語のテンス・アスペクトの対照研究から」2003年、松井一美『「～ている」の意味とロシア語のアスペクト』2015年など。

² 現在の日本語学における標準的なアスペクト体系については、1995年に出版された工藤真由美『アスペクト・テンス体系とテキスト：現代日本語の時間の表現』が

日本語の「～ている」表現をポーランド語で表した時、どのように表されるかに焦点を絞ることにより、類似点と相違点を整理することが、本稿の目的である。

なお、本稿前半部分におけるポーランド語のアスペクト (体)に関する記述は、主に木村彰一と吉上昭三の共著『ポーランド語の入門』(白水社)に基づいており、必要に応じて筆者が加筆修正したものである。

3. ポーランド語のアスペクト体系

アスペクトという概念においては、動詞が意味するものを「まとまりのある完了したもの」として捉えるか否かで完了体 (perfective)と不完了体または未完了体 (imperfective)という2つの「体」を区別するが、スラヴ諸語では、動詞の一部を除いて、完了体あるいは不完了体のいずれかに区分される³。ポーランド語にも「体 (アスペクト)」と呼ばれる文法カテゴリーがあり、ほぼすべての動詞が不完了体 (aspekt niedokonany)か、完了体 (aspekt dokonany)かのグループに分類される。

しかも多くの場合、辞書的意味が同一の2つの動詞が体のペアを形成している。例えば、日本語の動詞「書く」を例に挙げると、pisaćは不完了体動詞であるのに対して、同じ意味の完了体動詞はnapisaćになる (図1参照)。

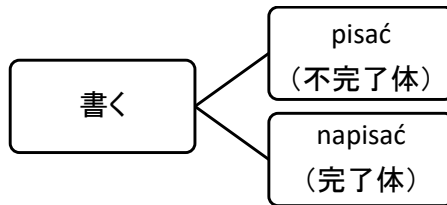


図1 日本語の動詞「書く」と対応するポーランド語の動詞

参考になる。また、現在のポーランド語学においては、2020年に出版されたマレク・ワジンスキ『ポーランド語の動詞のアスペクトに関する講義』(Marek Łaziński, *Wykłady o aspekcie polskiego czasownika*)の中で、独自の詳細なポーランド語のアスペクト論が展開されている。

³ 亀井孝・河野六郎・千野栄一『言語学大辞典 第6巻 術語編』1996年。

3.1. ポーランド語の不完了体動詞

不完了体動詞は、動作を（完了の有無は問題にせず）《過程そのもの》において捉える。

(1) *Pisałem ten list.*

例文 (1)は〈私はこの手紙を書いた・書いていた・書いたことがある〉を意味し、書き終わったか書き終わらなかったかは問題にしていない。

(2) *Proszę pisać po polsku.*

例文 (2)は〈ポーランド語で書くという動作をしてください〉の意味になる。

一般的事実（行為名称の表示）や行為事実の有無の確認、つまり「何をするか／したか（行為名称を問う）」や「するか／したか、しないか／しなかったか（行為事実の有無の確認）」の問答の場合は不完了体になる。

3.2. ポーランド語の完了体動詞

完了体動詞は、動作を《完了の瞬間》あるいはその《結果》において捉える。

(3) *Już napisałem ten list.*

例文 (3)は〈私はもうこの手紙を書いてしまった〉の意味で、話し手が言いたいのは《書くという動作をした》ことではなく、《書くという動作を完了した》こと、あるいは場合によっては《書いてしまったから、もう発送できる》など、事情はいろいろあり得るが、要するに《書くという動作を完了した》結果を表現している。

(4) *Proszę napisać ten list.*

例文 (4)は〈この手紙を書いてしまってください〉の意味で、例えば《手紙が書き上がったから、私が発送しに行きます》といったような《書き終わった》結果をふまえた裏の意味がある。

3.3. 日本語との対応

ポーランド語の体の区別をわかりやすくするために、対応する日本語の表現を便宜的に提案すると、概ね、以下のように考えることができるであろう（図2参照）。

pisać (不完了体)	napisać (完了体)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 書いている • 書いていた 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 書いてしまう • 書いてしまった

図2 ポーランド語の体と対応する日本語の表現

3.4. ポーランド語の体と時制

不完了体動詞は直説法で過去・現在・未来の3つの時制を有するが、完了体動詞には過去と現在の2つの時制しかない。

完了体動詞は動作を完了する瞬間、あるいはそのあとの結果を念頭に置いて表現するので、例えばnapisaćの1人称単数の現在napiszęは「私は書いてしまう」に相当し、過去napisałemは「私は書いてしまった」に相当すると考えることができる。

ただし、完了体動詞の現在形は（例えば日本語の「私は書いてしまう」がそうであるように）話し手が話す瞬間と同時を示すことができず、事実上未来の意味になることが多い。したがって、完了体動詞には過去と未来の2つの時制しかないと説明している文法書も稀に見受けられる。

4. 日本語の「～ている」とポーランド語の「体」との対照

日本語とポーランド語のアスペクト体系が根本的に異なることから、同一基準での比較対照は困難であることは言うまでもない。

しかし、日本語の「～ている」の用法とポーランド語の「体」の用法に類似点があることも事実である。

日本語の「～ている」習得に関する先行研究からも明らかのように、日常的に用いられる「～ている」の大半が「動作の継続」と「結果の状態」の用法である。

したがって、本稿においては、主な用法として広く使用されている「動作の継続」と「結果の状態」を中心に議論を進めることにする。他の用法については別の機会に譲りたい。

4.1. 動作の継続「～ている」

動作の継続の「～ている」は、ポーランド語では不完了体動詞で表現される。これは不完了体が表現する《過程そのもの》が「～ている」用法の一つである「動作の継続」と類似していることを意味する。

(5)少年が運動場を走り回っている。

(6)Chłopiec biega na boisku.

例文 (5)の「走り回っている」が、不完了体動詞で表現されていることから、ポーランド語では「走り回っている」は《過程そのもの》として認識されていることがわかる。

4.2. 結果の状態「～ている」

結果の状態の「～ている」は、主に次の3つのタイプに分類される。

- 不完了体動詞で表されるもの(「座っている」「立っている」等)
 - 完了体の被動形動詞で表されるもの(「壊れている」「ひび割れている」等)
 - 説明的／完了体動詞の過去形で表されるもの(「落ちている」等)
- 上に挙げた「～ている」の3つのタイプについて、順を追って検討していくことにする。

4.2.1. 結果の状態①：不完了体動詞

不完了体動詞で表されるタイプの例文は次の通りである。

(7)女の人がベンチに座っている。

(8)Kobieta siedzi na ławce.

(9)男の人がバス停に立っている。

(10)Mężczyzna stoi na przystanku autobusowym.

例文 (7)の「座っている」や (9)の「立っている」のような状態を表す動詞は、「動作の継続」と同様に、不完了体動詞で表されていることから、ポーランド語では「状態の継続」《過程そのもの》と認識されていることがわかる。

4.2.2. 結果の状態②：完了体の被動形動詞

《動作の完了によって生じた結果》の意味を含む完了体の被動形動詞で表されるタイプの例文は次の通りである。

- (11)車が壊れている。
(12)Samochód jest zepsuty.
(13)皿がひび割れている。
(14)Talerz jest pęknięty.

例文 (11)の「壊れる」や (13)の「ひび割れる」のような主体が不可逆的に変化する動詞を使って、変化結果の継続を表す場合、完了体動詞を使った被動形動詞による受動構文が用いられる。この構文では、「変化」を完了体動詞で、また動作の完了によって生じた「結果の継続」を連辞 *być* で表現している。前節までの日本語とポーランド語のアスペクト体系は形態素レベルでほぼ1対1対応をしているが、このタイプの場合は必ずしも1対1対応をしておらず、質的にも大きく異なっていることがわかる。

4.2.3. 結果の状態③：説明的

説明的、すなわち解釈を加えることで表されるタイプの例文は次の通りである。

- (15)ハンカチが床に落ちている。
(16)Chusteczka leży na podłodze.

例文 (16)は、例文 (15)の状況を表す自然な訳である。状態動詞「(表面にある)」は不完了体だが、仮に動作動詞「落ちる」を使用して表現しようとする、完了体の過去形による表現となり「ハンカチが床へ落ちてしまった。その結果、床の上にある」のような解釈を加えた説明的な訳になるであろう。

この用法の複雑さは、日本語・日本文学のポーランド語訳にも影響を与えており、誤訳の原因にもなっている。

4.2.4. 結果の状態③：説明的 (「Google翻訳」)

例文 (15)をポーランド語へ「Google翻訳」してみたところ、次のような結果となった (図3参照)。

ポーランド語では完了体動詞「落ちる」の過去形が使用されており、まさに「ハンカチが床へ落ちてしまった (その結果、床の上にある)」という説明的な解釈を加えざるを得ないであろう。

このポーランド語の訳文は「落ちる」という完了体動詞の過去形で表現されており「ハンカチが床へ落ちてしまった」となることから、「～ている」は過去に完了した動作の現在までの「結果残存」として認識されていることがわかる。

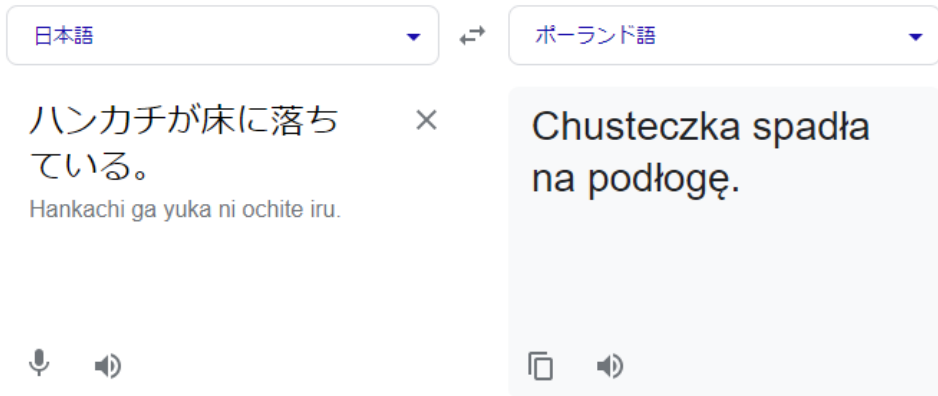


図3 「Google翻訳」の結果

4.2.5. 結果の状態③：ポーランドの日本語文法における説明

この用法を理解する上で、ポーランドの日本語文法における説明も非常に参考になる。ポーランドで出版された日本語文法⁴によると“*formy czasu teraźniejszego o znaczeniu rezultatywnym*”となっており、つまり「結果の意味を持つ現在形」と説明されていることがわかる。加えて「ポーランド語では過去形を使って表現されることが多い」という注釈も施されている⁵。この文法書で挙げられている例を以下に紹介する。

【結果の意味を持つ現在形】

- *shitte iru* 知っている ‘KTO wie; zna; dowiedział się’
- *shinde iru* 死んでいる ‘KTO nie żyje; umarł’
- *itte iru* 行っている ‘KTO jest GDZIE; pojechał’
- *kite iru* 来ている ‘KTO jest tutaj; przyszedł; przyjechał’
- *tōchaku shite iru* 到着している ‘KTO jest już na miejscu; dotarł; zjechał’

【文脈に応じて進行または結果の意味を持つ現在形】

- *kite iru* 着ている ‘KTO wkłada na siebie, ubiera się w co; ma na sobie, włożył na siebie’
- *kiite iru* 聞いている ‘KTO słucha, słyszy; usłyszał’
- *mushi shite iru* 無視している ‘KTO ignoruje; zignorował’

⁴ Huszcza Romuald.; Ikushima Maho.; Majewski Jan, *Gramatyka japońska. Podręcznik z ćwiczeniami*. Tom 1. 2003. p. 265.

⁵ 原文「Znaczenie takie bywa często po polsku oddawane za pomocą form czasu przeszłego.」

不可逆的な変化結果の継続を示すために、完了体動詞の過去形でも表現されていることがわかる。これは過去に完了した動作の「結果残存」として捉えるポーランド語ならではの表現方法と言えよう。これらの動詞はすべて、ヴェンドラーの4分類⁶に従うと、いわゆる「到達動詞 (Achievement verb)」に相当する。

5. おわりに

これまでの日本語学習者のテイル形習得に関する先行研究⁷では、いずれも「結果の状態」の方が「動作の継続」より習得が困難であるとの結論が出ている。

日本語とポーランド語のアスペクト体系は、「動作／状態の継続」において類似点が多く見られ、形態素レベルでほぼ1対1の対応関係にあることがわかる。これは同時にポーランド語を母語とする学習者にとって理解しやすいものであることを示している。ポーランドで書かれた日本語の文法書でもこの用法の例文にはすべて不完了体動詞が使われていることから明らかである。英語のような「進行形」がないポーランド語の場合は、ヴェンドラーの4分類による、いわゆる「動作動詞 (Activity verb)」や「状態動詞 (State verb)」に多く用いられている。

他方、「結果の状態 (継続／残存)」において、日本語との明らかな相違点があり、この相違点がテイル形習得を困難なものにしていることがわかる。特に「壊れる」「ひび割れる」のような主体が不可逆的に変化する動詞で結果の状態の継続や残存を表す際、完了体動詞を使った被動形動詞による受動構文や完了体動詞の過去形が用いられる点は、ポーランド語ならではの表現方法であり注目に値するであろう (図4参照)。

⁶ Vendler Zeno, *Linguistics in Philosophy*, 1967. pp. 97-121.

⁷ 黒野敦子「初級日本語学習者におけるテイルの習得について」1995年、許夏珮「日本語学習者によるアスペクトの習得」2005年、陳建璋「日本語のアスペクト形式『テイル』の習得に関する横断研究：動詞の語彙的アスペクトによる影響について」2014年などがある。

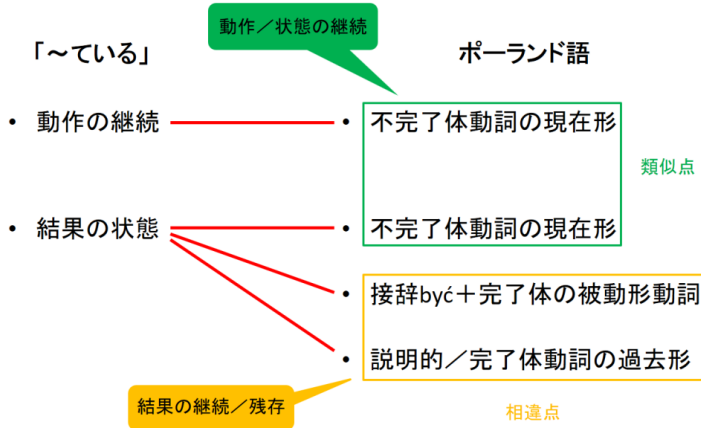


図4 ポーランド語の形式との対応

本稿で扱ったテーマであるポーランド語のアスペクト体系から見た日本語のテイル形は、両言語の対照研究における重要な問題の一つであるが、この知識は日本語からポーランド語へあるいはポーランド語から日本語へ翻訳する際によく見られる典型的な誤訳を避ける上でも、非常に有用である。また母語の知識を活かした日本語教育のための基礎的研究として位置づけることもできる。

日本語の「〜ている」とポーランド語の「不完了体・完了体」を対照させることにより、類似点と相違点を整理するという本稿の目的は、ある程度達成できたと思われる。

ただし、本稿では議論の対象を主な用法として広く使用されている「動作の継続」と「結果の状態」に限定したため、他の用法について触れることができなかった。また、テイル形の習得における動詞の種類と用法との関係についても分析を試みる必要がある。本稿は、断片的な論考であり、網羅的な研究からは程遠く、課題も多い。今後さらなる研究が期待されるテーマであると言えるであろう。

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Japanese Texts in the Digital Age: Thoughts on New Possibilities in the Transcription of Pre-Modern Japanese

Keywords: transcription, digital humanities, *kuzushiji*, *kana*, *hentaigana*, variant *kana*, optical character recognition, history of Japanese writing, unicode

At *Practicing Japan – 35 years of Japanese Studies in Poznań and Kraków*, I presented a paper on the challenges and opportunities that Japanologists face when approaching early modern Japanese texts with digital tools and methods entitled “Approaching Early Modern Japanese Texts Digitally: Challenges and Opportunities.” One potential area of opportunity, I argued, is the adoption of new transcription techniques that would allow texts to be displayed and analysed in new ways. In this paper, I explore issues associated with the transcription of historical Japanese texts and advocate for the potential benefits of using historical *kana* (commonly known as *hentaigana* or variant *kana*)¹ within transcriptions. I argue that by using historical *kana* within transcriptions – something that has been made easier by advancements in digital technology – scholars are able to not only produce more accurate digitized versions of historical texts but also analyse the contents of the text including the scribes’ and authors’ diction and *kana* usage more accurately. I also outline some of the potential barriers to, and limitations associated with adopting new transcription practices, ultimately arguing that new transcription practices should be used in tandem with, rather than as an alternative to traditional transcription practices.

¹ I avoid the use of the terms *hentaigana* and “variant” *kana* in this paper. These terms are misnomers, since “variant” *kana* are defined as such in relation to the modern Japanese syllabary. Historically these sorts of *kana* were “standard.” *Hiragana* ‘made up a pluralistic script, there typically being at least several (...) signs available to represent a particular syllable.’ Christopher Seeley, *A History of Writing in Japan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 127. In this paper, I use the term “historical *kana*” in order to distinguish between *kana* used historically and the modern Japanese syllabary. Nevertheless, I would like to advocate for the adoption of the approach taken by Yaeki Sato Habein who simply describes “variant” *hiragana* and *katakana* as *hiragana* and *katakana* thereby avoiding the creation of two conflicting categories of “variant” and “standard.” See Habein’s usage of the terms *hiragana* and *katakana* in: Yaeki Sato Habein, *The History of the Japanese Written Language* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1984).

Transcribing historical Japanese literature and documents serves the important functions of making historical Japanese texts written in cursive Japanese both legible for a modern audience illiterate (or semi-literate) in cursive characters (*kuzushiji*) and printable. Hashimoto Yuta notes that:

“Transcription” is a historiographic term used to refer to the process of converting texts preserved as written artefacts into actionable materials, that can then be reprinted or made available online.²

As suggested by Hashimoto’s inclusion of the internet as a possible location where transcribed materials may be published, transcription may also constitute a form of digitization. Indeed, transcription on a computer serves to convert the textual contents of a source, rather than the source’s appearance (which is the goal of other sorts of digitization such as scanning or photography), into a digital format.³ This creates what L.W.C. van Lit terms “digital print sources”⁴ which he describes as:

...printed works that are now digitally encoded as full-text, meaning that you can search through the contents, select it, and manipulate it (with limitations). We encounter them chiefly in two different flavors: either as plain text or as PDFs matching the [same] layout and formatting as the print source.⁵

Transcriptions may also be combined with photographed or scanned images of the source material.⁶ As indicated by both Hashimoto and Lit, transcription creates digital versions of specific primary sources, whilst simultaneously making the information that they hold more accessible and actionable. For example, once a text is transcribed a user can conduct simple keyword searches with the Find command (Ctrl+F/Cmd+F), analyse the text with online and offline tools, or for those with a higher level of computer proficiency engage in computational text analysis. Therefore, as well as making historical texts comprehensible and print-

² Yuta Hashimoto, “Transcription Project: Tackling Pandemics in Early Modern Japan (Part 1),” *Teach 311+ COVID-19*, July 20, 2020, <https://www.teach311.org/2020/07/20/hashimoto-1-en/>.

³ L.W.C. van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts: Philology, Codicology, Paleography in a Digital World* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 52. It must be noted that converting a source’s textual content into a digital format may result in changes to the text (such as formatting) depending on the approach taken to the process of transcription. On this topic refer to the brief description in: Sumayya Ahmed, “Engaging curation: a look at the literature on participatory archival transcription,” in *Participatory Archives: Theory and Practice*, Edward Benoit III and Alexandra Eveleigh, eds. (London: Facet Publishing, 2019), 75–76.

⁴ In this paper, I generally use the term “transcription” synonymously with “digital print source.”

⁵ Van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts*, 52.

⁶ Van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts*, 52.

able, transcription can provide potentially powerful new ways to interact with and approach a text and its contents.

Creating transcriptions is not necessarily a simple process especially for those of us engaged in Japanese studies. Generally speaking, transcribed materials may be produced by a human through their keyboard, by a computer through the use of optical character recognition (OCR), or through some combination of the two. OCR allows computers to convert ‘a digital scan or photographic image into machine-readable electronic text’⁷ or, in other words, generate a transcription from a photograph or scan. Nevertheless, OCR cannot be performed on all historical documents. Michael Piotrowski notes that:

If texts are only available on paper, parchment, or other media, the choice of digitization technique depends on several factors, most notably on the medium, the type of writing, and the language of the text...For printed texts typeset in roman type...and printed in good quality, the options are OCR or manual keyboard entry...If the texts are printed, but the print quality is low or the texts are set in blackletter types...or other type styles that are not used for modern texts, it depends on the language and the desired output quality whether OCR is still a viable option. Otherwise, manual keyboarding is likely to be required.⁸

Furthermore, ‘OCR has had little success converting handwritten documents into usable electronic texts’⁹ meaning that ‘manual keying by qualified personnel is generally the only option.’¹⁰ These issues are exacerbated by the nature of pre-modern Japanese texts. Woodblock printing techniques used in Japan involved copying characters from handwritten documents onto the blocks meaning that both ‘woodblock printed characters and handwritten characters share similar visual features.’¹¹ Describing woodblock printing and the sort of texts that it produces in more detail, Peter Kornicki writes that:

The consequence of the domination of wood-block printing was that each book had a different personality, and one that was closely related to calligraphy, to the written hand...Since the printing blocks are prepared by

⁷ Kenneth M. Price, “Social Scholarly Editing,” in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, eds. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2016), 139.

⁸ Michael Piotrowski, *Natural Language Processing for Historical Texts* (San Rafael, CA: Morgan & Claypool, 2012), 27.

⁹ Price, “Social Scholarly Editing,” 139.

¹⁰ Piotrowski, *Natural Language*, 27.

¹¹ Alex Lamb, Tarin Clanuwat, and Asanobu Kitamoto, “KuroNet: Regularized Residual U-Nets for End-to-End Kuzushiji Character Recognition,” *SN Computer Science* 1, no. 177 (2020): 2.

pasting a manuscript onto a block of wood and carving away all but the text, block-printing is in effect the reproduction of manuscripts and a block-printed text shares many of the characteristics of manuscripts. A given character... will not be identical throughout the text but is subject to the infinite variety of handwriting, and it will not be identical to occurrences of that character... in other printed texts, even if the manuscript was written out by the same scribe. Each block-printed text, by virtue of being a reproduced manuscript, is therefore unique and unrepeatable.¹²

In addition to this, text could be intertwined with illustrations, and although text was usually aligned and read vertically from right-to-left, it could be aligned in a number of different directions and even in a non-sequential order.¹³ In other words, due to the similarities between printed materials produced using woodblock printing techniques and manuscripts, those wishing to transcribe materials from pre-modern Japan and interact with them using digital tools or methods face the same sort of limitations as scholars working with manuscript sources. These and other features have made creating functional OCR models for pre-modern Japanese texts difficult. This situation has been exacerbated by the fact that differences between European and Asian texts and artefacts, and the Euro-centric nature of the digital humanities and computing, have led to a disparity in the development of digital tools for texts written in Latin scripts and those written in non-Latin scripts.¹⁴ In recent years, some OCR tools for use with pre-modern Japanese printed materials have been launched including *KuroNet*, *Miwo*, and *Fuminoha*,¹⁵ however, at present keyboarded transcription or perhaps the mixed system of using both OCR and human checkers proposed by Yamamoto Sumiko and Ōsawa Tomejirō¹⁶ seem to be the best methods to ensure a balance of accuracy, user expectations, and speed. Nevertheless, the fact that we still rely on keyboarded transcription

¹² Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 26–27.

¹³ Lamb, Clanuwat, and Kitamoto, “KuroNet: Regularized Residual U-Nets for End-to-End Kuzushiji Character Recognition,” 2, 7.

¹⁴ L.W.C Van Lit, James H. Morris and Deniz Çevik. “A Digital Revival of Oriental Studies.” *Revue de l'Institut des langues et cultures d'Europe, Amérique, Afrique, Asie et Australie* 39 (2020): 6–7.

¹⁵ Biligsaikhan Batjargal, “Recognizing Kuzushiji in Japanese Historical Documents – International ARC Seminar Review,” *Art Research* 22, no. 2 (2022): 1–4.

¹⁶ Yamamoto and Ōsawa propose that scholars use OCR for the initial transcription and follow this with checking and correction by both non-specialists and the scholar preparing the transcription. See: Yamamoto Sumiko and Ōsawa Tomejirō, “Kotenseki honkoku no shōryokuka: Kuzushiji o fukumu shinhōshiki OCR gijutsu no kaihatsu” [Labor Saving for Reprinting Japanese Rare Classical Books: The Development of a New Method for OCR Technology including Cursive Kana and Kanji Characters] *Jōhō kanri* 58, no. 11 (2016): 821. Similar systems have been used in other fields. See brief discussion in: Ahmed, “Engaging curation,” 75–76.

(unlike those engaged in some fields that focus on texts written in Latin scripts) also creates opportunities to experiment with alternative transcription practices.

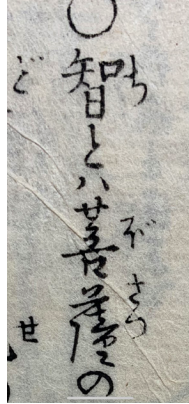


Figure 1. Excerpt from *Hannya shingyō wakun zue*.¹⁷

Current practice dictates that we adopt historical orthography (*rekishiteki kanazukai*) when transcribing historical documents, but not historical *kana*. So, whereas the word for butterfly, for example, would be rendered てふてふ (read *chōchō*) in historical orthography, and this would carry through into our transcription, our transcription would not indicate which particular *kana* were used in the source material. Whereas modern Japanese contains only one *kana* for each mora, historically there were multiple *kana* that could represent any particular mora. In this case, we are unable to determine what sort of *fu* ふ appears in the text without looking at the source material. Did the original source use a *kana* derived from the *jibo* 不 as a modern transcription suggests, or from a different character such as 婦 or 布? A further example might aid in elucidating this point. If we were to transcribe the partial sentence (which does not feature orthography that differs from modern Japanese) from the *Hannya shingyō wakun zue* (An Illustrated Japanese Reading of the Heart Sutra, 1846) which is pictured in Figure 1, we would write:

智とは菩薩の
ちとはぼさつの
Chi to wa bosatsu no

¹⁷ Yamada Yatei and Matsukawa Hanzan, *Hannya shingyō wakun zue ge* [An Illustrated Japanese Reading of the Heart Sutra] (Osaka: Okada Mohē, 1846).

In doing so we lose two important pieces of information from the text. First is the fact that *wa* は is written with the *kana* derived from the *jibo* 八 in the original text, but in the transcription it is written with the *kana* derived from the *jibo* 波. This could be resolved by rendering the letter in *katakana* as *wa* ハ which is derived from the correct *jibo* and which is indistinguishable from the *hiragana* derived from the same *jibo*. Indeed, it is not an uncommon approach for scholars to render this sort of *wa* as the *katakana* *wa* ハ. The second issue is the *furigana* ぼ which is derived from the character 本 in the original text, but is rendered as the *kana* derived from 保 in the transcription. For this, there is no easy work around. If we chose to write each *kana* as its *jibo* (i.e. 智止波本, 菩薩乃), for example, which would arguably help us to better understand the type of *kana* that was used in the original text, we would produce something that is not only difficult to read, but which fails to reflect the original source or the author’s intentions. This would also risk creating a false image of the relationship between *jibo* and *kana* and of the way that these relationships have been historically understood.

One of the primary reasons that historical *kana* aren’t represented in modern transcriptions is the aforementioned fact that through transcribing a text the scholar aims to make it both comprehensible to a modern audience and printable. Historical *kana* are no longer widely understood and there has been little demand for or efforts to create texts written in historical *kana*. This situation is the result of the standardization of *kana*. Christopher Seeley writes that:

...in 1900 the Education Ministry (Monbushō) issued new regulations aimed at simplifying the teaching of written Japanese at the primary level. The regulations involved...the setting-up of a limited number of *kana* signs as standard...¹⁸

As a result of this, historical *kana* fell out of common usage. This was not, however, a sudden shift. Zeniya Masato has shown that the use of historical *kana* in printing was already in decline following the introduction of moveable typeface printing during the Meiji period (1868–1912).¹⁹ He shows that in the *Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun* the character *ni* に was generally written using *kana* derived

¹⁸ Seeley, *A History of Writing in Japan*, 143. See detailed exploration in: Okada Kazuhiro, *Kindai hiragana taikai no seiritsu: Meijiki tokuhon to hiragana jitai ishiki* [The Establishment of the Modern Hiragana System: Meiji Readers and the Awareness of Hiragana Glyphs] (Tōkyō: Bungaku Tsūshin, 2021), 5–10.

¹⁹ Zeniya Masato, “<Ronbun shōkai> Zeniya Masato “Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun” ni okeru kana jitai oyobi kanamojizukai – Meijiki no shinbun ni okeru jitai no tōitsu ni tsuite” [<Introduction to a Paper> Zeniya Masato “Kana Glyphs and their Usage in the “Yokohama Mainichi Shinbun” – On the Unification of Glyphs in Newspapers during the Meiji Period]. *Nihongo no kenkyū* 10 no. 4 (2014): 48–66.; *NINJAL Project Review* 6, no. 2 (2015): 67–68. See also: Okada, *Kindai hiragana taikai no seiritsu*, 49–50.

from the *jibo* 尔, *ni* 爾 or 丹, but following a change of printing locations between issues 2689 and 2690, the newspaper began to use only the modern 𠬞 which is derived from the *jibo* 仁.²⁰ Historical *kana* continued to be used in some hand-written texts, and are even used today on signs and menus,²¹ but fell out of use in the worlds of transcription and printing.

In 2017, 286 historical *kana* characters became available in the Unicode Standard through the *Kana Supplement* and *Kana Extended-A* blocks, allowing users to easily input these *kana* into their computers if they download additional font packages such as *BabelStone*. In turn, this development paves the way to create transcriptions which more accurately represent historical Japanese sources – we would for example be able to render the above noted *bo* 𠬞 in *Hannya shingyō wakun zue* as the more accurate *bo* 𠬞. As well as allowing scholars to increase the degree to which our transcriptions mirror the historical sources, transcriptions that use historical *kana* open up new opportunities for research into *kana* and diction. It tends to be assumed that *kanji* are significant because they imbibe meaning, whereas *kana* are often thought of as only representing morae. However, this assumption is often made at the expense of the realization that *kana* also carry meaning (albeit in a different way than *kanji*) and that the decision to use *kana* may have significance for the author or scribe and their audience. Moreover, the choice of an author or scribe to use a certain iteration of a *kana* over another may also hold significance and influence understandings or perceptions of the text. Indeed, the historical use of multiple *kana* for the same mora (i.e. the use of “variant” *kana*) was not random or arbitrary. Takada Tomokazu, Yada Tsutomu, and Saito Tatsuya note the following four points about historical *kana*:

1. Specific words are written using specific *kana*.
2. Different *kana* are used for different parts of words, particles etc.
3. Different *kana* are used when the same syllables appear adjacent to each other.
4. Different *kana* can be used to distinguish between different phonetic values.²²

By using historical *kana*, these features can be carried into our transcriptions and can be subjected to further study using “traditional” or digital methods.

One of the most exciting prospects offered by the transcription of historical *kana* is the ability to compare authorial-scribal character choice (orthography) across

²⁰ Okada, *Kindai hiragana taikai no seiritsu*, 49–50.

²¹ Takada Tomokazu, Yada Tsutomu, and Saitō Tatsuya, “Hentaigana no kore made to kore kara: Jōhō kōkan no tame no hyōjunka” [The Past, Present, and Future of Hentaigana: Standardization for Information Processing], *Jōhō kanri* 58, no. 6 (2015): 439.

²² Takada, Yada, Saitō, “Hentaigana no kore made”, 439.

documents beyond the choice of *kanji*, or lack thereof, to which many analyses are currently limited. Table 1 shows a comparison of some different foods that appear across a selection of documents related to the 1862 measles epidemic.²³ It is possible to notice patterns that we are unable to see using traditional transcription techniques. We can quickly ascertain, for instance, that *ninjin* にんじん usually starts with a *ni* from the *jibo* 爾 (i.e. 𠂔) rather than the *hiragana* derived from 仁 that we use today (i.e. に), or that *daikon* is usually rendered *daikon* 大こん. We might also be able to speculate that the spelling of *azuki* あづき was standardized, since there is no variation in spelling across the documents. Moreover, the data invites us to explain differences in renderings. What is the significance of rendering *kanpyō* as *kanhyō* かんびょう in *Hashika yōjō no den* (Method for the Treatment of Measles, 1862) where most other documents render it *kanpyō* かんぴやう or *kanhyō* かんひやう? Why did the author of *Hashika teate no koto* (Treating Measles, 1862) use *yuri* ゆり rather than *yuri* ゆり? Why did the author of *Hashika taiji* (The Destruction of Measles, 1862) use *shiitake* しいたけ rather than *shiitake* しいとけ? The answers to these questions aren't immediately obvious and it is outside of the scope of this paper to delve into the potential answers, however, it is enough to note that without adopting the use of historical *kana* within our transcriptions we would likely fail to notice these patterns or investigate them. It begs the question – what secrets of pre-modern Japanese texts have been missed due to the standardization of *kana* and our use of standardized *kana* within transcriptions?

²³ These documents are a small book entitled *Hashika yōjō kagami* (A Book of Measles Cures, unknown) and five drawings about measles (*haskika-e* 麻疹絵) entitled *Hashika yōjō no den* (Method for the Treatment of Measles, 1862), *Hashika kokoroe no zue* (Pictorial Information about Measles, 1862), *Hashika o karoku suru den* (Method for Reducing the Severity of Measles, 1862), *Hashika taiji* (The Destruction of Measles, 1862), and *Hashika teate no koto* (Treating Measles, 1862). Refer to description in: James Morris, “Good Foods and Bad Foods: The 1862 Measles Epidemic and Diet in Edo,” *Environment & Society Portal, Arcadia* 4 (Spring 2022). <https://www.environmentandsociety.org/arcadia/good-foods-and-bad-foods-1862-measles-epidemic-and-diet-edo-0>.

Modern Kanji	Modern Hiragana	麻疹養生鑑	麻疹養生之伝	麻疹心得之 図画	麻疹を軽く する伝	麻疹退治	麻疹手当之 吏
大根	だいこん	大こん	大こん	冬どいこん	大こん	大こん	大こん
人参	にんじん	ふんじん	ねんじん	ふんじん	ふんじん	ふんじん	ふんじん
干瓢	かんぴょう	うんぴやう	うんむよう	うんひやう	かんぴやう	うんひやう	うんぴやう
隠元	いんげん	-	いんけん	いんげん	いんげん	いんげん	いんげん豆
ゆり根	ゆりね	ゆり	ゆり	ゆりのね	ゆり	ゆり	ゆり
小豆	あずき	あづき	あづき	あづき	あづき	あづき	あづき
梅干し	うめぼし	梅干し	梅干	梅干	梅干し	梅干	-
蒟蒻	こんにやく	こんふやく	こんふやく	こんふやく	おんふやく	こんふやく	-
椎茸	しいたけ	まいたけ	まいたけ	まいたけ	まいたけ	まいたけ	-
蕎麦	そば	そば	そば	そば	そば	そば	-
里芋	さといも	さといも	さといも	さといも	さといも	里いも	-

Table 1. The rendering of different food types.

Despite the potential benefits to transcribing with historical *kana*, the approach has some major limitations. Firstly, there are a limited number of historical *kana* that a user can input into their computer. For example, for those who want to type a *ni* derived from the *jibo ni* 爾 there are only two options available – *ni* 𛄁 or *ni* 𛄂. These may not clearly match the *kana* used in the source material, and the scholar must therefore choose the closest possible equivalent. Secondly, the text becomes less comprehensible and therefore less accessible, particularly to non-specialists. Thus, one of the main goals of making a transcription (making historical texts accessible to a modern audience) cannot be fulfilled. It is, of course, possible that transcriptions may be made with other purposes in mind, and I believe that this is one of those cases, however, it is clear that such transcription practices would reduce the accessibility of our transcriptions. Thirdly, it becomes more difficult to interact with the text with digital tools. Since the ability to type in historical *kana* is a relatively new phenomenon and since few have chosen to adopt historical *kana* in their transcriptions, words written in historical *kana* cannot be easily searched online, and do not feature in online dictionaries, or tools which rely on these dictionaries. For example, search engines tend to provide limited results that mostly pertain to the inclusion of historical *kana* in the Unicode Standard. This issue was even faced when writing this paper since the historical *kana* used did not display on the Editor’s computer properly. These are major drawbacks. These issues may not cause problems for scholars proficient in computational text analysis, but in order to make the digital analysis of texts transcribed in historical *kana* accessible to the casual digital humanities practitioner it is necessary to create or expand dictionaries and word banks so that digital tools and platforms can be updated to easily function with historical *kana*. This is, of course, a gargantuan and not necessarily realistic task. As such, I would not advocate the abandoning of traditional transcription techniques (which are essential for modern readers and casual digital humanities practitioners) but would encourage scholars to experiment with and concurrently use transcriptions written in historical *kana* so that we can come to better understand the potential benefits, new layers of understanding, and new types of analysis (both “traditional” and digital) that transcription in historical *kana* may provide. This experimentation is already beginning and we can observe the use of Unicode’s *Kana Supplement* and *Kana Extended-A* in some recent works such as Okada Kazuhiro’s 2021 work *Kindai hiragana taikai no seiritsu* (The Establishment of the Modern Hiragana System) which includes sections rendered in historical *kana* (often in parallel with modern equivalents or *jibo*) including transcriptions.²⁴

²⁴ See particularly: Okada, *Kindai hiragana taikai no seiritsu*, 57–71, 97, 105, 111–114, 141, 159, 205, 225–233, 252–254, 307–309. Some other recent works exploring historical *kana* and its usage have rendered historical *kana* using images rather than typed input or by using *jibo* as place holders, which have hitherto been the popular methods to render historical *kana*. Both

The transcription of historical Japanese texts aims to make these texts both accessible to modern audiences and printable. Alongside the standardization of *kana*, this has resulted in the use of limited *kana* syllabaries within modern transcriptions that do not accurately reflect the contents of historical texts. Although historical Japanese texts pose a number of challenges to scholars engaging with digital tools and methods, including difficulties associated with automated transcription, the inclusion of historical *kana* in the Unicode Standard in 2017 has made the input of historical *kana* accessible, opening up the possibility for the widespread adoption of new transcription practices. By including historical *kana* in our transcriptions, we are able to begin to explore questions about the use of “variant” *kana*, spelling, and diction which have hitherto not been widely explored. Although the adoption of historical *kana* poses limitations, I would encourage scholars to explore the possibilities of experimenting with and using historical *kana* in their transcriptions and analysis of texts in order to begin investigating historical Japanese sources in relatively new and novel ways.

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methods can be seen in: Saitō Tatsuya, *Kokugo kana hyōkishi no kenkyū* [Historical Research on Japanese Kana] (Tōkyō: Musashino Shoin, 2021).

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ロシア語母語話者による日本語の母音の曖昧化と その習得過程

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キーワード：第二言語習得、音韻の範疇設定、困難度の順序、ロシア人
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difficulty, Russian university students, instructing Japanese phonetics

1. 背景

日本の隣国ロシアにおける日本語教育は200年以上前から行われており、長い歴史を持っている。ロシアで学習者数の最も多い¹、高等教育機関における日本語教育の現場では、主に文献講読や翻訳、文法学習などが重視され、コミュニケーション能力に関わる音声教育はあまり行われていない²。またロシアの日本語教師の多くを占めるロシア語母語話者（以下、「ロシア人」とする）は、日本語の音韻には難しい発音が少ないので特別に指導する必要はないと考えている。これは、教師自身が日本語の発音について学習した経験が少ないことも一因だと考えられる。渡辺(2011)³の研究では、ロシア語圏の日本語教師には学習者に音声指導を行うための十分な知識がなく、学習者のニーズに答えられていないと指摘されている。

しかしながら、ロシア人の日本語の発音の問題は、単音レベルの調音に関するものが多いのだろうか。つまり、1つ1つの母音や子音の発音が容易であれば、発音指導は必要ないと言えるのだろうかという疑問がある。それに関して、まず実際にロシア人による日本語の発音の不自然さにはどのようなものがあるか、調査を行う必要がある。本研究では、教師や学生の自省や印象ではなく、実際の発話データをもとにしてロシア人による日本語の発音習得上の特徴や困難点を実証的に明らかにし、音声教育に役立てたい。

¹ 国際交流基金. 2021. 「ロシア (2019年度)」. <https://www.jpff.go.jp/j/project/japanese/survey/area/country/2019/russia.html>.

² 藪崎義雄. 2006. 「ロシアにおける日本語教育の現状と問題点」.

³ 渡辺裕美. 2011. 「ロシア語母語話者の発音の特徴と指導における問題点—日本人日本語教師に対する調査から—」.

2. 研究の目的

本研究の目的は、以下の3点である。

- 1) ロシア人による日本語の発音の不自然さの全体的な傾向を明らかにする。
- 2) ロシア人による単音レベルの発音の不自然さについて、どのようなものがあるかを明らかにし、その原因を分析する。
- 3) ロシア人にとって発音が困難な音声特徴について、日本語能力レベル別の習得状況を明らかにし、その習得過程を予測する。

3. 調査の概要

モスクワの大学にて日本語を学習しているロシア人に1人ずつインタビューを行い、発話の音声データを収集する。音声データの収集方法は、「I-JASコーパス」⁴ の手順に沿って行う。調査の対象と音声データの内容は、以下の通りである。

対象：モスクワの大学で日本語学を専攻するロシア人51人。学習者の日本語能力レベルはJ-CAT⁵テストで測定する。

音声：自然発話スタイルの独話である5コマ漫画のストーリーテリング⁶

4. 音声データの評価方法

ロシア人の発話の音声データについて、音声学の専門家⁷人に発音の自然さの評価を依頼する。評価の方法は、以下の通りである。

- 1) 各学習者の音声データを聞いて、発音の自然さの総合評価を「良くない」から「良い」までの5段階で評価する。
- 2) 発話中の発音の不自然な個所を抜き出し、その不自然度を4段階で記す。不自然度が低いものは1点、高いものは4点とする。

上記の方法によって評価された結果を集計する。⁸ その際、アクセントについてはバリエーションが多いため除外する。

⁴ 迫田久美子・石川慎一郎・李在鎬. 2020. 『日本語学習者コーパスI-JAS入門』参照。

⁵ J-CATの詳細は「<http://www.j-cat.org/>」を参照。

⁶ 学習者には、発音を評価する課題だと知らせずに話してもらい、各学習者の発話の長さは47秒～3分16秒であった。

⁷ 2人は言語聴覚療法士、1人は博士課程で音声学を専門とする大学院生である。

⁸ 評価者1人のみが不自然だと指摘し、しかも不自然度が1点のものを除く。

5. 結果と考察

5.1. ロシア人の発音の不自然さの種類と傾向

ロシア人日本語学習者の発話音声データの評価を集計して、不自然さの傾向を図1の棒グラフにして示す。それによると、主な不自然さは7つの分野に分類され、特に「発話リズム」と「単音の音色」と「イントネーション」に関するものが多いことが明らかになった。発音が不自然であるという指摘が最も多かったのは「発話リズム」に関するもので、これらの不自然さは全体の約46%を占めた。「発話リズム」とは、音の繰り返しに関する音声特徴である。次に、「単音の音色」に関するものが多く、割合は約28%であった。「単音の音色」に関する音声特徴としては、母音や子音の音色が挙げられる。3番目に指摘が多かったのは「イントネーション」に関するもので、約19%であった。「イントネーション」は、文末などにおける音の長さや高さの変化・音調などを指している。

本研究では、「単音の音色」について、どのような音声特徴が不自然さに影響している

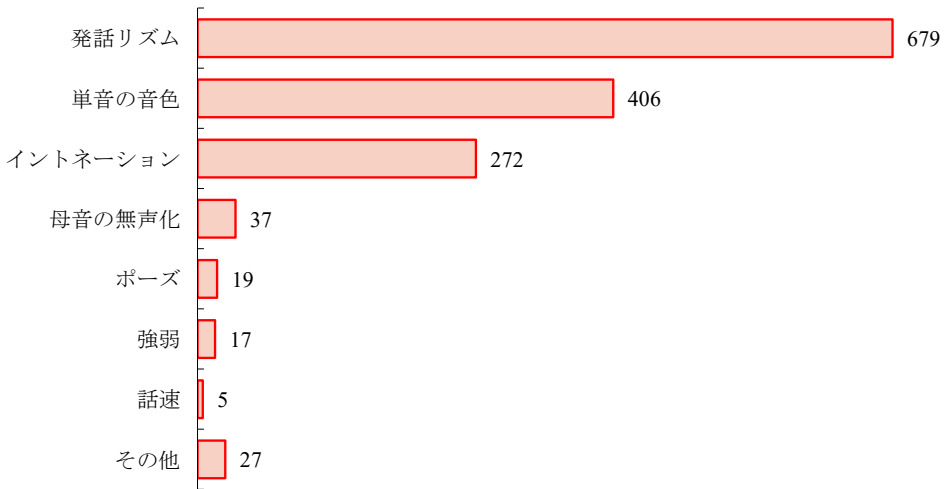


図1 ロシア人の日本語発音の不自然さの分類と傾向 (総出現数)

かを分析していく。単音の音色に関する評価の集計結果を、図2の円グラフに分類して示す。

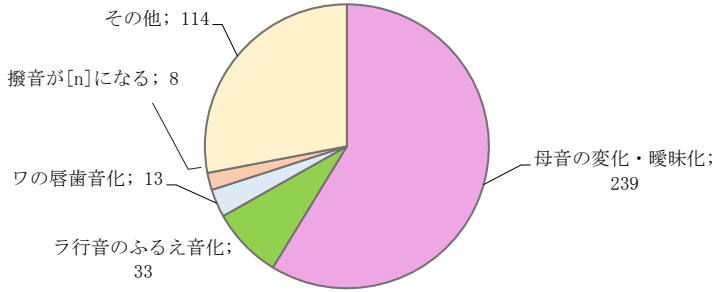


図2 単音の音色に関する発音の不自然さの分類と傾向 (総出現数)

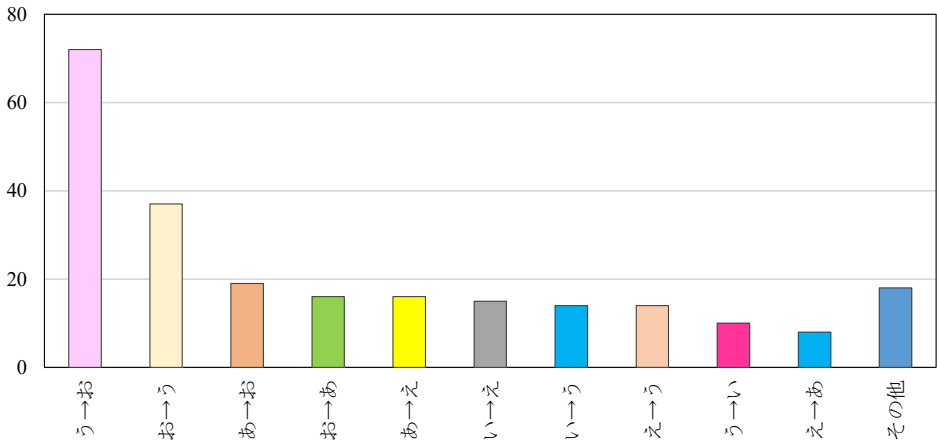


図3 母音の変化・曖昧化の種類と傾向 (総出現数)

図2に見られるように、単音の音色に関する発音の不自然さについての内訳は、「母音の変化・曖昧化」の現象が最も多く、約59%を占めることがわかった。

日本語の5つの母音に関しては、ロシア語にも同様の母音が存在している。ロシア語に存在しない音韻としては日本語のラ行の子音、ワの半母音、一部の撥音などがあるが、それらに関する不自然さの指摘は「母音の変化・曖昧化」に比べると多くないことがわかる。母音に関する不自

然さが最も多いという結果から、日本語には特に難しい発音がないので指導しなくてもいいというロシア人教師の主張は当たらないとすることができる。ロシア語にも似た音が存在する、日本語の5つの母音の発音に不自然さが多いと指摘されたのは、ロシア人学習者が日本語の母音の発音を新しい学習対象として留意していないためではないかと考えられる。

さらに、母音の変化・曖昧化について詳しく見ていく。どの母音がどのように変化・曖昧化して聞こえるのかについて集計した結果を図3に示す。図3を見ると、「う」の発音が「お」に聞こえる(以下、「う→お」と記す)という不自然さが最も多いことがわかる。次に多いのが「お」の発音が「う」に聞こえる(以下、「お→う」と記す)というものであった。このように「う」と「お」の発音が互いに誤って聞き取られる現象については、次節以降で、さらに詳しく見ていくことにする。

5.2. 日本語の母音「う」と「お」の違い

(1)口の形と開き

図4は、『日本語 はつおん』(1991)⁹に掲載された「う」と「お」の発音の際の口の写真である。国際交流基金(2009)¹⁰では、「お」の発音は「『ウ』よりももっと口を開いて発音します」と書かれているが、図4の写真を見ると唇の形や開きにはわずかな違いしかなく、そのため、実際に学習者にこれらの写真を見せて、「う」と「お」の口の形や開け方の違いを理解させるのは難しいだろうと思われる。

(2)舌の位置

次に、「う」と「お」の発音について舌の位置を確認する。図5は、『日本語 はつおん』(1991)に掲載された舌の位置を横から見た図である。「う」の舌の位置は「お」より前方かつ上方にあるが、ロシア人の「う」の発音が「お」に聞こえるということは、すなわち



口の開き「う」



口の開き「お」



口の開き「う」



口の開き「お」

⁹ 国際交流基金日本語国際センター、『日本語 はつおん』. 1991.

¹⁰ 国際交流基金、『日本語教授業シリーズ 第2巻 音声を教える』. 2009.

図4 「う」と「お」の唇の開きと形の違い (『日本語 はつおん』)

発音の際に、適切な「う」の位置より舌が後方かつ下方にずれているということになる。



「う」の舌の位置

「お」の舌の位置

図5 「う」と「お」の発音の際の舌の位置 (『音声を教える』)

言語の母語話者は、母語に存在する音韻を1つ1つ明確に聞き分け、発音することができる。それは、母語話者の脳内にはそれぞれの音韻の範疇が明確に設定されているからである。日本語母語話者が区別できる日本語の「う」と「お」の発音を、ロシア人学習者は明確に区別することができていない。つまり、ロシア人学習者は日本語の「う」と「お」の音韻の範疇が明確に設定されていないか、または範疇設定が不適切な状態であると言うことができる。

神山 (2012)¹¹ によると、ロシア語の[u]の発音は「アクセント下において基本母音8番[u]と同様の母音として発音」される。そして、ロシア語の[o]の発音は「アクセント下において基本母音7番[o]のやや広めの母音[o]として発音」され、「日本語のオにかなり近い」と述べられている。つまり、ロシア語の[u]は日本語の「う」より舌の位置が後方であり、ロシア語の[o]は日本語の「お」の舌の位置に近いということである。

ロシアの高等教育機関で最も多く用いられている日本語の教科書『日本語1』¹²では、母音の発音についてどのように記されているのだろうか。教科書の冒頭には発音に関する説明があり、「う」の発音は「/y/と/ы/の間の音。唇を前方に突き出さない、唇を丸くしない、唇を両側に軽く引き、舌を後ろに引く」等と記されている¹³。日本語学習者は学習の初期に、このように教科書で母音「う」の発音の仕方を学んでいるが、おそらくその後は母音の発音を意識する機会が少ないため、発音する際に

¹¹ 神山孝夫『ロシア語音声概説』研究社、2012年。

¹² Нечасва, Людмила『日本語1』2006年。

¹³ 筆者による翻訳。原文はロシア語。

注意を向けていない可能性がある。そのため、「う」の発音がロシア語の[u]の発音に近づいているのではないだろうか。

また、ロシア語にはストレスの置かれぬ母音は弱化するという発音システムが存在する。その影響で、「う」にストレスが置かれぬ場合、舌の位置が下がり「お」のように聞こえるという可能性もある。このように、「う→お」の現象は母語における発音習慣が転移したことが原因であると考えられることもできる。

しかしながら、「う→お」の現象の他に、「お」より舌を上方に持ち上げることによって「う」に聞こえる「お→う」という逆方向の現象も起こっていることから、単なる母語の習慣の転移だけでは説明がつかない。したがって、「う」と「お」の音変化は音韻の範疇設定と何らかの関係があると考えられる方が妥当なのではないだろうか。

5.3. 日本語能力レベル別に見た「う」と「お」の発音習得状況と範疇設定

ロシア人の「う」と「お」に関する不自然さの数について、日本語レベル別に1人ずつの平均を計算した結果を図6の棒グラフに示す。図6を見ると、「う→お」の不自然さは全体数が多いが、日本語能力が中級レベル以降はその数が漸減していく様子がわかる。一方、「お→う」の不自然さの数は中級前半レベルでは少ないが、中級前半レベルから中級レベルにかけて増加し、中級レベルから中級後半レベルにかけて微減し、上級前半レベルになると減少する様子が見られる。図6においてそれぞれのレベルの不自然さ数を点線でたどると、不自然さの数の変化の様子がよくわかる。習得の困難さという観点から考えると、不自然さの全体数の多い「う→お」の現象が中級後半レベルで大きく減少に転じる様子が見られることから、不自然さの総数が多い順に習得が困難であるとは限らないと言えることができる。

また、音韻の範疇設定という観点から見ると、学習者は中級前半レベルの段階で「う」の音韻の範疇が適切ではないと気づき、「う」の範疇設定を変えようと試みたと考えられる。その影響で、「う」と「お」の音韻範疇の境界が揺らぎ、それまで正しく発音できていた「お」の範疇が変化し、中級レベルの段階で不自然さが増す結果となったと考えられる。その後、中級レベルから上級前半レベルにかけて「う」の範疇設定が修正され、それとともに「お」

の範疇も適切な方向へ修正が行われたと解釈できる。

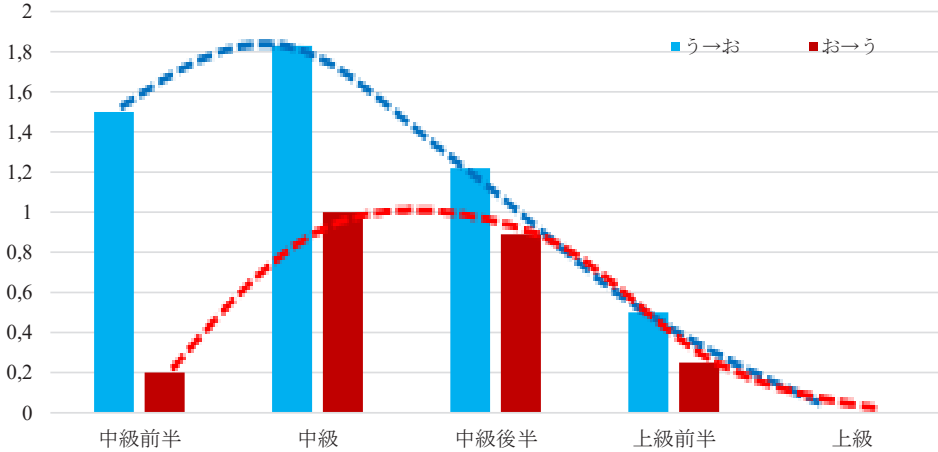


図6 日本語レベル別の「う」と「お」の発音の習得状況 (1人あたり平均数)

5.4. 上級前半レベル以上に表れる母音の不自然さ

上級前半レベル以上の高い日本語能力になっても表れる母音の発音の不自然さは、習得が最も困難な音声特徴である可能性がある。上級前半レベルの学習者にも表れる母音の曖昧さについて調べた結果、「う→お」と「お→う」、そして「あ→お」と「お→あ」の4つの現象が生じていることがわかった。それらの出現数を日本語能力レベル別にまとめて、表1に示す。これらは「う」と「お」、「あ」と「お」のように2つの音韻が対になっていることから、2つの音韻ごとに範疇の境界が適切に設定されていないことが原因ではないかと考えられる。

次に、これら4つの不自然さの現象に関して、日本語能力レベルごとに1人あたりの平均の不自然さ数を求め、図7の棒グラフにまとめた。「う」と「お」の音韻対については図6において検討したが、「あ」と「お」の音韻対に関しても図7のように中級前半レベルから上級前半レベルにかけて、学習者が音韻の範疇の修正を試みている様子が推察される。

中級前半レベルでは「あ→お」の現象が見られる一方で、「お」は正しく発音されていた。

表1 上級前半レベルの学習者に表れる母音の不自然さ (出現数)

	う→お	お→う	あ→お	お→あ
上級レベル (1人)	0	0	0	0
上級前半レベル (4人)	2	1	2	2
中級後半レベル (18人)	22	16	7	2
中級レベル (18人)	33	18	5	10
中級前半レベル (10人)	15	2	5	0

図7 上級レベルの学習者にも表れる不自然さ (1人あたり平均数)

学習者が「あ」の範疇を修正しようと試みた結果、「お」の範疇との境界が動いたために、中級レベルにおいて「お」が「あ」のように聞こえる現象が起きたと考えられる。中級後半レベルでは「お」の範疇は再びほぼ適切な状態になったが、上級前半レベルにおいてまた「お→あ」の現象が増加している。「あ」と「お」の2つの音韻範疇の設定は互いに影響し合い、片方の範疇が修正されると、もう片方の範疇もそれにつられて動くことが推察される。

図7において、レベルごとに不自然さ数をたどった緑色と橙色の点線が波打っている様子から、「あ」と「お」の音韻範疇の修正が常に適切な方向に進むわけではなく、範疇を修正し過ぎたために不適切に設定される段階があり、またそれを修正するという過程を経ていることが考えられる。しかしながら、上級レベルにおいては「う」と「お」および「あ」と「お」の音変化による不自然さが見られなかった。本研究の対象者には上級レベルの学習者が1人であったため一般化することは難しいが、これら2対の音韻の範疇は修正の過程を経て、上級レベルになると適切に設定される可能性がある。

これらの現象は、小熊 (2008)¹⁴の研究における音韻の範疇化プロセスの仮説を支持するものと考えられる。小熊によると、第二言語の音韻の習得過程においては、学習者の試行錯誤によって様々な音の変異が表れるが、その変化は一定の体系を持っていると仮定されている。本研究においても同様に、学習者の試行による音変化の過程が表れており、音韻の範疇化がそれに関わっていると考えられる。

¹⁴ 小熊利江『発話リズムと日本語教育』風間書房、2008年。

6. まとめ

本研究では、ロシア人の日本語学習者の発音の不自然さに関して分析を行った。その結果、主な不自然さは「発話リズム」「単音の音色」「イントネーション」の3種類であることが明らかになった。さらに「単音の音色」の不自然さに関して詳しく見ていくと、母音の変化・曖昧化に関するものが最も多いことが明らかになった。母音の変化・曖昧化のなかでは「う」と「お」の音韻対の曖昧化が最も多く起こっており、次に「あ」と「お」の音韻対の曖昧化が多く起こっていた。これら2対の発音の不自然さは日本語能力が上級前半レベルになっても生じており、習得が困難な音声特徴であると言える。

このようなロシア人学習者による母音の変化・曖昧化の原因は、母語の音変化（母音の弱化）の習慣による転移とも考えられるが、音韻の範疇化に関する音変化のシステムが関係している可能性がある。学習者によって不適切に設定された音韻の範疇を修正する過程で、対になった音韻の境界が揺れ動き範疇設定が互いに影響されながら変化する過程をたどることで、音韻の習得が進むことが推察された。

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小熊利江：

東京外国語大学卒業、お茶の水女子大学大学院博士前期・後期課程修了。人文科学博士。専門は第二言語習得、日本語学、音声学。日本の他にアメリカ、エジプト、イギリス、ロシア、ベルギーにて日本語教育および研究に携わる。セッター・オクトーバー観光学園大学講師、東京大学准教授などを経て、現在ルーヴアン・カトリック大学准教授。主な著書・訳書に『発話リズムと日本語教育』(2008)、『学びのイノベーション—21世紀型学習の創発モデル』(2016)など。

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Practical activities in vocational education for foreign students of Japanese

Keywords: vocational education, Japanese, COIL, foreign language learning, Japanese studies, student practice

1. Background

Vocational education and planning are important aspects to be considered in a program of teaching and training, to assist students in envisioning their future career and preparing for their future goals. There has been important progress in career guidance and counselling in universities in recent decades.¹ However, a more systematic approach is needed in career education, in order to build a firm theoretical framework on the one hand, and, on the other, implement it in practice in different fields and in various universities and regions worldwide. This is also the case for foreign language education including Japanese studies and the career guidance in them.

Below, we list a few career education examples targeted at Japanese language students in the Balkan region, mainly covering activities at Juraj Dobrila University of Pula in Croatia and the University of Ljubljana in Slovenia:

a) Career forum

Students are invited to join a Career forum organized once a year, where representatives of various companies and experienced alumni present employment

¹ Vincy Jing Sun and Mantak Yuen, "Career Guidance and Counselling for University Students in China," *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling* 34, no.3 (2012): 202–210.; Takao Mimura, "Vocational Guidance, Career Guidance, and Career Education phases in Japan," *Waseda daigaku daigakuin kyōshoku kenkyūka kiyō* [Department Bulletin of Waseda University Graduate School of Teaching] 8 (2016): 19–34.; Makie Tachikawa, "A Practical Report on a Career Design Class for International Students: As Part of a Research Subject." *Ōsaka daigaku nihongo nihon bunka kyōiku sentā jugyō kenkyū* [Osaka University Japanese Language and Culture Education Center Class Study] 19 (2021): 1–7.

possibilities, essential qualifications and other relevant career information for students of Japanese studies (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Asian Studies Japanese study course).

b) Student teaching practice

Students of Japanese as a foreign language conduct practice in teaching Japanese to the public or other students, while being mentored by teachers in Japanese language teaching methodology (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Asian Studies Japanese study course and Juraj Dobrila University of Pula Faculty of Humanities Department of Asian Studies Japanese study course).²

c) Career oriented courses

There are career-oriented courses offered within university degree undergraduate and graduate study programs, aiming to better prepare students for future careers in tourism, translation, education or lexicography, such as *Japanese language in tourism 1-4*, *Business Japanese 1-2*, *Extracurricular activities*, *Special lectures in professional translation 1-2* (Juraj Dobrila University of Pula Faculty of Humanities Department of Asian Studies Japanese study course).

d) Project *From student practice to early career development*

A three-year project oriented towards early career development in specific fields. The project was supported by European Social Funds from 2020 to 2023. The study program in Japanese studies at Juraj Dobrila University of Pula's Faculty of Humanities, Department of Asian Studies, is involved in the project, covering various aspects of career development, such as lectures on job paths and careers, webinars, simulated travel tours with Japanese speaking guides, attending conferences and so on.

e) The online event *Career designing for Japanese learners in the West Balkan countries*

An online event for teachers and students of Japanese studies on career designing in collaboration with more universities in the region – University of Sarajevo, University of Belgrade, University of Ljubljana, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula. Experienced alumni, representatives of companies made presentations and answered students' questions in break-out rooms.

As we can observe from the above list, some important steps towards career education targeted at Japanese language students have been made in the region, but the field still demands more analysis, more action and greater awareness.

² Nagisa Moritoki Škof and Stefani Silli, "Implementation of the course Practice Teaching of the Japanese Language and Culture," *Tabula* 18 (2021): 157–174.

2. Research objectives and methodology

The research has two main objectives: 1) To conduct practical activities, such as surveys, tasks, and a virtual joint seminar on career planning with foreign students of Japanese within the COIL environment (Collaborative International Online Learning),³ 2) To discover student attitudes in relation to career planning, relevance of conducting practical activities in vocational education, as well as the necessity for more support for Japanese language students in preparing for their future careers.

Two major parties are included in the activities. The first group are foreign students of Yokohama College of Commerce (YCC) located in Yokohama prefecture in Japan, eight students from China, one student from Vietnam and one from Korea. All together, there are 8 male students and 1 female. The students are from two different departments: Department of Tourism Management (3 students) and Department of Commerce (6 students) and they join the activities within the course Applied Japanese 4.

The second group includes the students enrolled in the master's program in Japanese studies from the Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula (later on referred to as "UNIPU") located on the Istrian peninsula in Croatia. The Croatian students are from different regions and towns in Croatia: Pula (3), Zagreb (3), Pazin (2), Osijek (2), Rovinj (2), Požega, Međimurje, Virovitica, Bošnjaci, Čakovec, Baška, Varaždin, Zadar, and one student is from Subotica in the neighbouring country of Serbia. There are 20 female students and one male.

The following methodology was used during the activities and research:

1. Teachers conducted a presurvey on career awareness with both student groups at YCC and UNIPU using a Google form and a descriptive questionnaire.
2. Teachers assigned students the task of preparing for the COIL activity. The students analysed the answers of the assigned presurvey topic on career awareness, made a summary of the topic and explored the additional information provided and related to the topic. The main topics were: 1) Student profiles and motivation for learning Japanese, 2) Future work and use of Japanese, 3) Required skills, 4) Preparation for work, 5) Obtaining skills at university, 6) Know-how and needs for future employment.

³ Jon Rubin, "Faculty guide for collaborative online international learning course development", SUNY COIL CENTER 2015, accessed March 23, 2022, http://www.ufic.ufl.edu/uap/forms/coil_guide.pdf ; Jon Rubin and Sarah Guth, "Collaborative Online International Learning: An emerging format for internationalizing curricula," in *Globally Networked Teaching in the Humanities: Theories and Practices*, ed. Alexandra Schultheis Moore and Sunka Simon (New York: Routledge, 2015), 15–27.

3. Teachers and students joined the COIL activity, including the joint international seminar on career education for YCC and UNIPU. During the joint seminar, teachers assigned roles, made relevant introductions, led sessions including student presentations about the various tasks and ensuing discussions.
4. Teachers conducted a postsurvey on career awareness and COIL activities with both student groups at YCC and UNIPU using a Google form and a descriptive questionnaire.
5. Finally, the presurvey and postsurvey are analysed for both groups and for each of the topics covered in the surveys. Due to the limited number of students, the questionnaires are used to collect descriptive answers and analysed qualitatively.

3. Presurvey results

In this section, we describe the results of the presurvey on career awareness that was prepared by teachers targeted at both student groups at YCC and UNIPU using the Google form and descriptive questionnaire.

a. Student profiles and motivation for learning Japanese

The YCC students have been studying at Yokohama College of Commerce for two years, and have been living in Japan two to four and a half years. All of the students have passed JLPT tests of Japanese, three out of nine students passed JLPT N1 and six of them JLPT N2. It is not standard practice to take an English language test, but one of the students has passed the TOEIC test. Two students have an official business skill test in bookkeeping, 2nd grade.

As for the YCC students' motivation for learning Japanese, it is primarily related to Japan as a location. They study, live and work in Japan, and consider Japan to be a good place for that, as a developed country. Some of the students received a recommendation or some kind of influence from an older friend or family member about Japan as an advantageous location for career development. A few mentions were about appreciation for Japanese culture and Japanese manga.

The UNIPU students have been studying at their university for four to five years, during which period six of the students spent time as an exchange student at a partner university in Japan for a half-year or one-year period. Before coming to UNIPU, four students had been learning Japanese for one to three years. It is not usual practice for students to take the JLPT test, yet two students passed the JLPT N3 test. A SPOT90 test for kanji and grammar showed their knowledge of Japanese to be intermediate JLPT N2 – JLPT N3 level. All of the students have a good command of various foreign languages, including English, Japanese, German and Italian, and believe that they can use these languages in their future work.

As for the UNIPU students' motivation for learning Japanese, the students' answers suggest that it is primarily related to admiration of Japanese language and culture, appreciation for Japanese culture through novels, writers, theatre, philosophy, traditional culture, East Asian history, but also a fondness for learning foreign languages in general. Japanese is also mentioned as being different from other languages usually studied at school, which attracted their interest, but also as a difficult language which is a challenge for learners. The influence of pop culture, mainly anime, but also manga, appeared in the students' answers, and some students referred to be interested in Japanese language and culture since many years ago (childhood, school period and similar).

b. Future work & use of Japanese

When the YCC students of Japanese were asked about jobs that they would like to do in future, they mainly replied that they would like to work in the domain of financial affairs (accounting) and commerce, but also mentioned tourism and cafe management. The majority specified that they want to use Japanese in their work.

As for the UNIPU students of Japanese, they mainly chose translation, teaching and tour guiding as future jobs. Other jobs they mentioned included working at the Japanese embassy, in theater, book publishing, teaching of Japanese history, and tourism related work in Japan. Also, the majority specified that they want to use Japanese in their future work, but some expressed their wish to try more different jobs, to try to use both study majors in their future career, and that they see their career as a process, for example working first in Japan and then coming back to Croatia.

c. Required skills

Both groups were asked to describe what skills foreign students of Japanese need for their future work. The majority of YCC students mentioned official business skills in bookkeeping, Japanese language skills (JLPT test) and communication skills. Besides that, there were mentions of expert knowledge (tourism, coffee shop, bakery, etc.), English language skills, PC skills, Business Japanese Proficiency Test (BJT) and retail marketing qualifications.

The UNIPU students listed communication skills, language skills (Japanese, English, Croatian), teaching methodology skills, knowledge of language and culture as being the most important skills to possess. Besides that, they mentioned critical thinking, interpersonal skills, writing skills, IT skills, performing skills, presentation skills, time management skills, but also soft skills such as persistence, enthusiasm, empathy and understanding.

d. Preparation for work

When asked about what kind of preparation they are making for their future work, the YCC students replied that they are taking qualifications such as book-keeping, commerce, the JLPT test, that they are improving their language skills (Japanese, Business Japanese, English) and that they are practicing at an internship/parent's business. Besides that, single mentions were made for practicing communication skills and saving money for their future career.

The UNIPU students, meanwhile, replied that they are mainly concentrating on the university program through studying teaching and learning methods, and that the courses taught in Japanese are good preparation for future work, such as courses in linguistics and translation, but that they are also preparing for their final thesis and the Erasmus student mobility program. The students also mentioned that they are practicing through projects or work, such as part-time student work, online teaching practice, volunteering and so on. Some students are active in translating Japanese texts/short novels, reading books in Japanese and foreign languages, following newly published books, reviews and network pages for translators, which they consider useful practice for their future career. They learn language through online texts, movies (subtitles) and theater performances. There was also a single mention of not preparing for their future work and a lack of self-confidence in their Japanese skills.

e. Obtaining skills at universities

Next, the presurvey covered the question of what student groups would like to learn more of and master at the university for the purpose of their future work.

The YCC students stressed the importance of studying how to improve expert knowledge related to their disciplines, such as commerce, tourism, accounting, marketing, and advertising. They emphasized the need to train and improve their Japanese and communication skills in particular, but some single mentions were about PC skills, interpersonal skills, business manners, and English language skills.

On the other side, the UNIPU students marked out the desire to master business communication and practice, including business manners, specialist terminology, better understanding of the market situation for foreigners in Japan, and real practice offered within the university. Besides that, students pointed out the importance of mastering communication in daily life through various dialogs and situations, nonverbal communication, and speaking practice with native speakers of Japanese. Furthermore, students wrote that they would like to learn more about translation practice and skills, such as CAT tools, the book translation process, but also to experience translation and read more works of Japanese writers at the university. As for mastering teaching methods, they want to learn more know-how on preparing materials for classes, as well as about Japanese language education for foreigners in Japan. Some single mentions were about learning more on aes-

thetics, philosophy, history and international relations, writing styles, and reading more of literature in Japanese.

f. **Know-how and needs for future work**

Finally, both student groups were asked what they would like to know, understand in relation to their future work, as well as what their needs are, and what kind of information they need in order to find a job.

The YCC students pointed out the skills and qualifications needed for a job (i.e. accounting), specialized knowledge, for example, for starting a convenience store, coffee shop, bakery and the like. There were a few inquiries about the Synthetic Personality Inventory (SPI) (“Is the SPI test obligatory to get employed?”), entering the tourism market (“Is it difficult to enter the tourism market?”), holidays, annual income, promising future work.

The UNIPU students inquired about job market related information, such as “Where can I get employed in Croatia with Japanese language skills?”, “Is translation work needed?”, they asked about the “Job market in Japan”, “Publishing market in Croatia”, “Companies in Japan that employ foreigners”, “Activities in searching for a job”, and “How do I get promoted?”. Some of the comments are related to Japanese language and cultural skills, such as the need of deeper understanding, language proficiency, knowledge of specialist terms in specific fields (e.g. history). Students also need various skills such as business manners, self-presentation skills, public speaking skills, communication skills, tourist guide skills, teaching method examples. Some single inquiries were on “How to overcome stress, anxiety, being nervous when speaking in Japanese”, and “Understanding of the recycling process”.

4. Virtual joint seminar activities (COIL)

Rubin⁴ defines collaborative online international learning (COIL) as “a new teaching and learning paradigm that develops cross-cultural awareness across shared multicultural learning environments.” Furthermore, de Wit describes it as follows:

Through innovative online pedagogies, it combines the four essential dimensions of real virtual mobility: a collaborative exercise of teachers and students; applied use of online technology and interaction; international dimensions; and it is integrated into the learning process.⁵

⁴ Rubin, “Faculty guide.”

⁵ Hans De Wit, “COIL: Virtual mobility without commercialisation,” *University World News*, June 1, 2013.

All of the four dimensions were covered during the COIL between YCC and UNIPU students and teachers. Prior to the seminar, teachers assigned tasks to the YCC and UNIPU students and the students prepared their talk. One or two students from each university were assigned 1) to make a summary on one specific topic from the presurvey and 2) to do some short additional research on the assigned topic (more specifically, see below Tasks A – E). Two teachers and 15 students (9 YCC + 6 UNIPU) participated in the online seminar with the following flow: 1) Welcome notes by teachers, 2) Main tasks A – E: talks prepared by students; discussion and information exchange on the specific task led by teachers, 3) Conclusion, final remarks and postsurvey.

Virtual joint seminar activities (COIL) consisted of the following tasks:

TASK A: Future work & use of Japanese

- According to the presurvey results, what kinds of jobs would the foreign students of Japanese like to do in the future? Please summarize the jobs that can use Japanese.
- Please explore about other jobs that can use Japanese, other than those mentioned in the survey.

TASK B: Required skills & reason

- According to the presurvey results, what skills do foreign students of Japanese need for their future work and why?
- Please explore about the skills necessary for work related to Japan / Japanese other than those mentioned in the survey answers (for example, check some recruitment information).

TASK C: Preparation for work

- According to the presurvey results, what kind of preparation do foreign students of Japanese do for their future employment?
- Please think about what other preparations and methods you could do, and make some suggestions.

TASK D: Obtaining skills at universities

- According to the presurvey results, what would foreign students of Japanese like to learn more of at the university for the purpose of their future job? What would you like to master?
- Please specify how it could be incorporated into the university program. Please think about it and make suggestions.

TASK E: What you want to know & your needs

- According to the presurvey results, what would the foreign students of Japanese like to know, understand in relation to their future work, what are their needs? What kind of information do they need in order to find a job?
- Please try to find out what is needed if you want to work in Japan. Explore and make some suggestions.

5. Postsurvey results

After the COIL activity, teachers conducted the postsurvey and collected the students' opinions on the overall practical activities.⁶ Students expressed very positive attitudes about the presurvey and the event, as well as the suggestions to organize similar seminars in future. Students especially valued the extra opportunity and skill development that transcended language learning itself, as depicted below:

I think the seminar was a valuable opportunity to practice listening and speaking Japanese in the context of organic conversation. I think it is a good idea to organize more similar seminars, if possible.

It was wonderful to be able to talk to everyone and very interesting meeting fellow foreign students. The themes were interesting and useful.

It was interesting to find out the views on Japanese language learning and the practical use of it from students on the other side of the world. In general, the meeting strengthened my belief that learning communication skills and various non-verbal communication skills is almost as important as learning the language itself.

Students were happy to express their reflections on their Japanese language skills, from positive attitudes about the opportunity to use the language (all the time) and the knowledge acquired from real-life communication, to concerns about speaking abilities and modest remarks, or surprise about the other group's good command of the language. Selected comments are listed below:

I had the opportunity to use Japanese after a while, so I'm happy that I can finally use my knowledge."

⁶ Some students' opinions were originally written in Japanese or Croatian and translated by the authors of the paper into English. All students' comments were proofread in English and corrected if needed.

“I was worried about my speaking ability, so I couldn’t clarify what I wanted to convey, but I think I was able to convey the main idea.

I was surprised that everyone *in the other group* [intentionally changed by the authors of this paper] was good at Japanese.

I enjoyed talking in Japanese all the time.

In student answers, some positive change in motivation for future career preparation and general attitude on career planning is observed, as quoted below:

I’ve realized that it’d be useful to take certain exams for qualification purposes. It’s clear that there’s a lot of bureaucracy involved. It’s also taught me to work on my speaking and presentation skills.

As I wrote, this seminar provided me with an insight into some skills and elements of communication that I need to improve as part of preparing for the profession. At least, in general, I think that every extracurricular seminar that we have actually provides stimulation and motivation to improve the use of Japanese for work, since most graduate courses are based on various “meta” topics related to Japanese rather than directly practicing communication in Japanese.

6. Conclusion

This paper describes practical activities on career planning targeted at foreign students of Japanese in online collaboration by two student groups with different backgrounds, fields of study and future career plans. While one group is located in Japan, consisting of students from East/Southeast Asian countries, mainly males who are studying tourism management and commerce, the other is outside Japan, consisting of students from Eastern Europe, mainly females who are studying humanities, more specifically modern languages and the field of Japanese studies. The point they have in common is the important fact that both groups are actually learners of Japanese as a foreign language, which is in line with their specific motivation for studying Japanese.

The results of the collaborative activities and analysis of students’ attitudes in relation to career planning showed that there are different levels of awareness on career planning, but also different needs expressed by both groups. Although there are individual differences as well, each group shows some common tendencies that are related to the students’ backgrounds, needs, expectations and awareness of

career planning importance. It is interesting to note that the YCC group's reflection on their motivation for studying Japanese is more related to future career and pragmatic reasons, such as Japan being chosen as a good work destination, while the UNIPU group mainly reflects on their motivation for studying Japanese in relation to fondness of and interest in the language and culture. Nevertheless, both groups managed to depict their ideas about future job opportunities and preparation for working in the future. Members of the YCC group prepare more by taking various qualifications, while the UNIPU group strives to build their knowledge and experience within the study programs, teaching or work practice, and part-time work.

The collaborative activity and postsurvey showed that the differences mentioned between the two groups can provide new inspirations and perspectives among students. Students' feedback confirmed the relevance of conducting these sorts of practical activities and the necessity to provide more support to Japanese language students in preparing for their future careers.

In relation to the above, it can be concluded that Japanese language study programs need to consider career guidance more carefully through the following steps: analyzing the needs of job market and the needs of students, reorganizing curricula, sharing practices and practical knowledge, networking, cooperating, mentoring, advising, following-up and documenting in order to provide a more sustainable and conscious vocational education.

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On the Use of *de+irassharu* and *de+orareru* in Spoken Japanese

Keywords: Japanese, verbs, honorific form, *irassharu*, *ikareru*

1. Introduction

Building on our previous paper on the use of *irassharu* and *ikareru* in textbooks and real-world situations¹, this paper considers shifts in the use of the Japanese verb *irassharu* (the honorific form of the Japanese verbs *iku*, *kuru*, and *iru*). In our previous paper, we identified a declining trend in the use of *irassharu* in favor of the more frequent use of the verb *ikareru* (i.e., the *mizenkei* or irrealis stem of the verb *iku* + the honorific auxiliary verb *reru*). In the present study, we shift our focus to the construction NOUN (OR VERB) *de+irassharu* in an attempt to analyze its usage in comparison with *orareru* (i.e., the *mizenkei* of the humble existential verb *oru* + the honorific auxiliary verb *reru*).

Our analysis originally employs a mixed-methods approach that integrates qualitative and quantitative research methods. This paper illustrates the result of the questionnaire survey based on the specific generational and gendered categories as qualitative research. It was found that that men aged in their 20s were more disposed toward the *de irassharu* construction than were men aged in their 50s, with a trend toward the expanded use of *orareru*. This suggests the formation of a social dialect among younger men.

2. The questionnaire

The following questionnaire was administered to the study participants. Only items for which significant differences were found are listed below for discussion.

¹ Kazuko Tanabe, Keiko Koike, “Keigo no kansoka to meisekika – “*irassharu*” to “*ikareru*” no kyōkasho kijutsu to shiyō jittai ni tsuite” [The Simplification and Clarification of Honorifics: A Description of *irassharu* & *ikareru* in the Textbooks and Everyday Use], *Kokubun Mejiro* 59 (2020).

(The questionnaire was administered in July 2021 to a total of 400 respondents consisting of four categories of 100 individuals composed respectively of men and women aged in their 20s and 50s).

Questions

We asked about the frequency with which respondents *hear* and *use* the words underlined in the questions in the course of their daily lives.

1. “Kono kata wa, Tanaka daijin no goshisoku de irasshaimasu.” [This is the son of Minister Tanaka.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

2. “Tanaka daijin wa, Orinpicu kaisai ni sansei no okangae de irasshaimasu.” [Minister Tanaka is in favor of holding the Olympics.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

3. “Yoshida tōdori wa, rainen wa A-ginkō to gappei o susumeru otsumori de irasshaimasu.” [President Yoshida intends to move ahead with the merger with Bank A next year.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

4. “Kachō, B-sha to no kōshō ga ketsuretsu shita koto o gozonji de irasshaimasu ka.” [Chief, are you aware that negotiations with Company B have broken down?]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

5. “Kaneda sensei wa, dochira no goshusshin de irasshaimasu ka.” [Where are you from, Dr. Kaneda?]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

6. “Okyakusama wa, nanji ga gokibō de irasshaimasu ka.” [(Addressing a customer) What time would you prefer?]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

7. “Kondō kyōju wa, kenkyū no shinkō guai ni kanari nayande irasshaimashita.” [Professor Kondo was quite worried about the progress of the research.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

8. “Ōji ga mizuumi de bōto o koide irasshaimasu.” [The Prince is rowing a boat on the lake.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

9. “Kimi no gōkaku o sensei ga totemo yorokonde irasshaimasu.” [Your teacher is very pleased with your success!]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

10. “Kono kata wa, Tanaka daijin no goshisoku de oraremasu.” [This is the son of Minister Tanaka.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

11. “Tanaka daijin wa, Orinpiciku no kaisai ni sansei no okangae de oraremasu.” [Minister Tanaka is in favor of holding the Olympics.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

12. “Yoshida tōdori wa, rainen wa A-ginkō to gappei o susumeru otsumori de oraremasu.” [President Yoshida intends to move ahead with the merger with Bank A next year.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

13. “Kachō, B-sha to no kōshō ga ketsuretsu shita koto o gozonji de oraremasu ka.” [Chief, are you aware that negotiations with Company B have broken down?]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

14. “Kaneda sensei wa, dochira no goshusshin de oraremasu ka.” [Where are you from, Dr. Kaneda?]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

15. “Okyakusama wa, nanji ga gokibō de oraremasu ka.” [(Addressing a customer) What time would you prefer?]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

16. “Kondō kyōju wa, kenkyū tēma no shinkō guai ni kanari nayande oraremashita.” [Professor Kondo was quite worried about the progress of the research theme.]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

17. “Ōji ga mizuumi de bōto o koide oraremasu.” [The Prince is rowing a boat on the lake.]”

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

18. “Kimi no gōkaku o sensei ga totemo yorokonde oraremasu.” [Your teacher is very pleased with your success!]

A: I hear it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

B: I use it (① often ② sometimes ③ rarely ④ never)

3. Questionnaire Results

3.1. Overall results from a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA)

A one-way ANOVA was conducted on the data for respondents' experiences of *hearing* and *using* the *irassharu* and *orareru* constructions, respectively, across the entire questionnaire. Significant differences were found between men aged in their 20s and 50s in terms of their *use* of *irassharu* and between men and women in their 20s, respectively, in terms of their experience of both *hearing* and *using orareru*. What this means may be summarized in the following two points.

- (1) Men in their 20s were found to use *irassharu* at a higher rate than were those in their 50s, reflecting generational differences in the use of *irassharu* among men (Fig. 1).
- (2) Significant differences were found between men and women in their 20s, respectively, in terms of their experience of both *hearing* and *using orareru*. The proportion of males was higher than that of females. The gender difference with regard to *orareru* could be said to have an impact on usage (Figs. 2 and 3).

Item	Total		Men-20s		Men-50s		Women-20s		Women-50s		Gender		Age		Interaction		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F-value	p-value	F-value	p-value	F-value	p-value	
irassharu_hear	23.2425	6.73067	23.04	6.96734	24.19	6.57927	22.92	7.40281	22.82	5.89192	1.224	0.269	0.808	0.436	0.862	0.354	
irassharu_use	26.795	6.42504	25.66	6.57854	27.69	6.25016	27.17	6.86972	26.66	5.87963	0.14	0.708	1.408	0.236	3.931	0.048	Fig. 1
orareru_hear	26.05	6.86917	24.44	7.29095	26.11	7.32354	27.49	6.43773	26.16	6.09971	5.182	0.023	0.062	0.803	4.853	0.028	Fig. 2
orareru_use	28.415	6.57616	26.78	6.69627	28.52	7.01006	29.68	5.94398	28.68	6.37051	5.511	0.019	0.322	0.571	4.419	0.036	Fig. 3

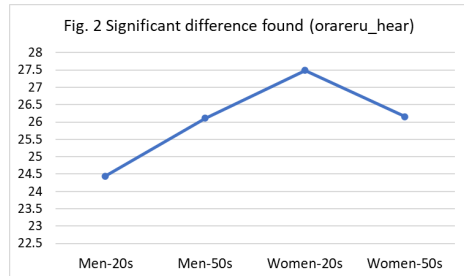
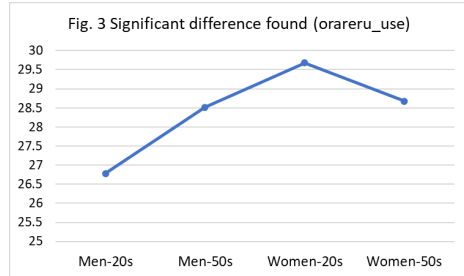
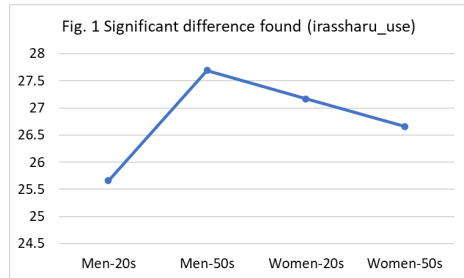
Table 1. Results of the one-way analysis of variance

Note: Explanation of Figs. 1–3 (See the right margin of the “Interaction” column in Table 1)

Fig. 1 Significant difference found between men in their 20s and 50s

Fig. 2 Significant difference found between men and women in their 20s

Fig. 3 Significant difference found between men and women in their 20s



(Note: Mean values were calculated using the values of the choices in the questionnaire as answered, with a value of 1 for “often” hearing or using a construction and 4 for “never” hearing or using a construction.)

3.2. Questions revealing significant differences in responses

The results of a chi-squared test revealed a total of 11 questions with responses showing significant differences, namely Q1: *hearing “goshisoku de irasshaimasu,”* Q2: *using “okangae de irasshaimasu,”* Q5: *hearing “goshusshin de irasshaimasu ka,”* Q10: *hearing “goshisoku de oraremasu,”* Q13: *hearing and using “gozonji de oraremasu ka,”* Q14: *hearing “goshusshin de oraremasu ka,”* Q15: *hearing and using “gokibō de oraremasu ka,”* and Q17: *hearing and using “koide oraremasu”*.

3.2.1. Responses about *hearing “goshisoku de irasshaimasu”* (Q1)

In response to this question, the proportions of women in their 20s who responded that they *heard* it “often” and women in their 50s who responded that they *heard* it “rarely” were significantly high, while that of women in their 50s responding that they *heard* it “often” was significantly low. This may be interpreted as a more or less inverse level of acceptance among women, due to generational differences.

Table 2. Results of the chi-squared test for *hearing “goshisoku de irasshaimasu”* (Q1)

Significant difference found		Q1.1			
Significantly more		p-value	0.002	Cramer's V 0.146	
Significantly fewer		hear_often	hear_sometimes	hear_rarely	hear_never
Men-20s	Frequency	16	30	30	24
	%	16.00%	30.00%	30.00%	24.00%
Men-50s	Adjusted residuals	0.8	-0.7	-0.6	0.8
	Frequency	9	34	33	24
Women-20s	%	9.00%	34.00%	33.00%	24.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.5	0.3	0.1	0.8
Women-50s	Frequency	24	28	25	23
	%	24.00%	28.00%	25.00%	23.00%
Total	Adjusted residuals	3.5	-1.2	-1.8	0.5
	Frequency	5	39	42	14
Total	%	5.00%	39.00%	42.00%	14.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-2.9	1.5	2.3	-2
Total	Frequency	54	131	130	85
	%	13.50%	32.80%	32.50%	21.30%

3.2.2. Responses about *using “okangae de irasshaimasu” (Q2)*

For this question, the proportion of men in their 20s responding that they *used* the constructions “sometimes” was significantly high. Moreover, when compared with the proportions of respondents indicating “never” among women in their 20s and “rarely” among women in their 50s, a clear gender asymmetry was apparent with respect to the proclivity for its use.

Table 3. Results of the chi-squared test for *using “okangae de irasshaimasu” (Q2)*

Significant difference found		Q2.2			
Significantly more		p-value	0.004	Cramer's V 0.141	
Significantly fewer		use_often	use_sometimes	use_rarely	use_never
Men-20s	Frequency	8	22	34	36
	%	8.00%	22.00%	34.00%	36.00%
	Adjusted residuals	1.6	2.9	-0.8	-1.9
Men-50s	Frequency	4	15	31	50
	%	4.00%	15.00%	31.00%	50.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.5	0.5	-1.6	1.4
Women-20s	Frequency	5	8	34	53
	%	5.00%	8.00%	34.00%	53.00%
	Adjusted residuals	0	-1.9	-0.8	2.1
Women-50s	Frequency	3	9	51	37
	%	3.00%	9.00%	51.00%	37.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.1	-1.5	3.2	-1.6
Total	Frequency	20	54	150	176
	%	5.00%	13.50%	37.50%	44.00%

3.2.3. Responses about *hearing “goshusshin de irasshaimasu ka” (Q5)*

A significantly higher proportion of women in their 20s responded that they “often” *heard* this construction, whereas significantly fewer women in their 50s responded that they “never” *heard* it, suggesting an overall tendency for women to be more supportive of *hearing* this construction.

Table 4. Results of the chi-squared test for *hearing “goshusshin de irasshaimasu ka” (Q5)*

Significant difference found		Q5.1			
Significantly more		p-value	0.033	Cramer's V	
Significantly fewer		hear_often	hear_sometimes	hear_rarely	hear_never
Men-20s	Frequency	20	41	23	16
	%	20.00%	41.00%	23.00%	16.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.4	-0.6	0.8	0.5
Men-50s	Frequency	16	46	20	18
	%	16.00%	46.00%	20.00%	18.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.5	0.5	-0.1	1.1
Women-20s	Frequency	31	36	15	18
	%	31.00%	36.00%	15.00%	18.00%
	Adjusted residuals	2.7	-1.8	-1.5	1.1
Women-50s	Frequency	19	52	23	6
	%	19.00%	52.00%	23.00%	6.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.7	1.9	0.8	-2.8
Total	Frequency	86	175	81	58
	%	21.50%	43.80%	20.30%	14.50%

3.2.4. Responses about *hearing “goshisoku de oraremasu” (Q10)*

For this question, as in the case of Q1 “*goshisoku de irasshaimasu,*” a generational difference was apparent, with significantly higher proportions of men and women in their 20s responding that they *heard* it “often” and a significantly lower proportion of women in their 50s responding likewise.

Table 5. Results of the chi-squared test for *hearing* “*goshisoku de oraremasu*” (Q10)

Significant difference found		Q10.1			
Significantly more		p-value	< 0.001	Cramer's V	0.16
Significantly fewer		hear_often	hear_sometimes	hear_rarely	hear_never
Men-20s	Frequency	20	26	29	25
	%	20.00%	26.00%	29.00%	25.00%
	Adjusted residuals	3.2	-0.3	-0.5	-1.4
Men-50s	Frequency	6	31	28	35
	%	6.00%	31.00%	28.00%	35.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.9	1	-0.7	1.1
Women-20s	Frequency	17	23	24	36
	%	17.00%	23.00%	24.00%	36.00%
	Adjusted residuals	2.1	-1	-1.7	1.3
Women-50s	Frequency	2	28	43	27
	%	2.00%	28.00%	43.00%	27.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-3.4	0.3	3	-0.9
Total	Frequency	45	108	124	123
	%	11.30%	27.00%	31.00%	30.80%

3.2.5. Responses about *hearing* and using “*gozonji de oraremasu ka*” (Q13)

Generational differences were evident for this question, with significantly higher proportions of men in their 20s responding that they *heard* this construction “often” and *used* it “sometimes,” and significantly fewer responding that they “never” *used* it, indicating strong support for its use in general. At the same time, women in their 20s were significantly more likely to respond that they “never” *used* it, indicating a clear difference between men and women in their 20s, respectively.

Table 6. Results of the chi-squared test for *hearing “gozonji de oraremasu ka”* (Q13)

Significant difference found		Q13.1			
Significantly more		p-value	0.024	Cramer's V	
Significantly fewer		hear_often	hear_sometimes	hear_rarely	hear_never
Men-20s	Frequency	12	26	29	33
	%	12.00%	26.00%	29.00%	33.00%
	Adjusted residuals	2.6	0.9	-0.6	-1.5
Men-50s	Frequency	5	25	27	43
	%	5.00%	25.00%	27.00%	43.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.7	0.6	-1.1	0.9
Women-20s	Frequency	6	12	35	47
	%	6.00%	12.00%	35.00%	47.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.2	-3	0.9	1.8
Women-50s	Frequency	3	28	35	34
	%	3.00%	28.00%	35.00%	34.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.6	1.4	0.9	-1.2
Total	Frequency	26	91	126	157
	%	6.50%	22.80%	31.50%	39.30%

Table 7. Results of the chi-squared test for *using “gozonji de oraremasu ka”* (Q13)

Significant difference found		Q13.2			
Significantly more		p-value	0.022	Cramer's V	
Significantly fewer		use_often	use_sometimes	use_rarely	use_never
Men-20s	Frequency	8	20	32	40
	%	8.00%	20.00%	32.00%	40.00%
	Adjusted residuals	1.6	2.4	0.5	-2.8
Men-50s	Frequency	6	11	27	56
	%	6.00%	11.00%	27.00%	56.00%
	Adjusted residuals	0.5	-0.7	-0.8	0.9
Women-20s	Frequency	4	8	24	64
	%	4.00%	8.00%	24.00%	64.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.5	-1.7	-1.5	2.8
Women-50s	Frequency	2	13	37	48
	%	2.00%	13.00%	37.00%	48.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.6	0	1.8	-0.9
Total	Frequency	20	52	120	208
	%	5.00%	13.00%	30.00%	52.00%

3.2.6. Responses about *hearing “goshusshin de oraremasu ka” (Q14)*

With this question, we can see an illustration of the contrast between not only men and women in their 20s, respectively, but also men and women in their 20s in both age categories. Whereas the proportion of men in their 20s responding that they *heard* this construction “often” was significantly high, so too were the proportions of women in their 20s responding that they “never” *heard* it and women in their 50s responding that they *heard* it “rarely.” The significantly smaller proportion of women in their 50s women who responded that they “never” *heard* it may be due to the fact that the majority of these respondents indicated that they *heard* it only “rarely.”

Table 8. Results of the chi-squared test for *hearing “goshusshin de oraremasu ka” (Q14)*

Significant difference found		Q14.1			
Significantly more		p-value	0.004	Cramer's V	
Significantly fewer		hear_often	hear_sometimes	hear_rarely	hear_never
Men-20s	Frequency	14	20	24	42
	%	14.00%	20.00%	24.00%	42.00%
	Adjusted residuals	3.3	-0.1	-0.9	-0.8
Men-50s	Frequency	6	24	23	47
	%	6.00%	24.00%	23.00%	47.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.3	1	-1.2	0.4
Women-20s	Frequency	3	18	23	56
	%	3.00%	18.00%	23.00%	56.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.7	-0.7	-1.2	2.5
Women-50s	Frequency	4	20	40	36
	%	4.00%	20.00%	40.00%	36.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.3	-0.1	3.2	-2.1
Total	Frequency	27	82	110	181
	%	6.80%	20.50%	27.50%	45.30%

3.2.7. Responses about *hearing and using “gokibō de oraremasu ka” (Q15)*

As with the case of Q13, we can see a contrast between men and women in their 20s in both age categories. In other words, it was found that men in their 20s were significantly more likely to respond that they *heard* this construction “often,” whereas women in their 20s were significantly more likely to respond that they “never” *heard* it, and women in their 50s were significantly less likely to respond that they *heard* it “often.” With regard to the use of the construction, it was found that whereas men in their 20s were significantly less likely to respond that they “never” *used* it, women in their 20s were significantly more likely to respond the same way.

Table 9. Results of the chi-squared test for *hearing “gokibō de oraremasu ka”* (Q15)

Significant difference found		Q15.1			
Significantly more		p-value	0.011	Cramer's V	0.134
Significantly fewer		hear_often	hear_sometimes	hear_rarely	hear_never
Men-20s	Frequency	13	22	26	39
	%	13.00%	22.00%	26.00%	39.00%
	Adjusted residuals	2.9	1.5	-0.3	-2.3
Men-50s	Frequency	8	16	24	52
	%	8.00%	16.00%	24.00%	52.00%
	Adjusted residuals	0.6	-0.4	-0.8	0.7
Women-20s	Frequency	4	11	25	60
	%	4.00%	11.00%	25.00%	60.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.3	-1.9	-0.5	2.5
Women-50s	Frequency	2	20	33	45
	%	2.00%	20.00%	33.00%	45.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-2.2	0.8	1.6	-0.9
Total	Frequency	27	69	108	196
	%	6.80%	17.30%	27.00%	49.00%

Table 10. Results of the chi-squared test for *using “gokibō de oraremasu ka”* (Q15)

Significant difference found		Q15.2			
Significantly more		p-value	0.039	Cramer's V	0.121
Significantly fewer		use_often	use_sometimes	use_rarely	use_never
Men-20s	Frequency	9	16	30	45
	%	9.00%	16.00%	30.00%	45.00%
	Adjusted residuals	1.9	1.4	1.5	-3.1
Men-50s	Frequency	6	11	19	64
	%	6.00%	11.00%	19.00%	64.00%
	Adjusted residuals	0.4	-0.4	-1.5	1.3
Women-20s	Frequency	2	7	22	69
	%	2.00%	7.00%	22.00%	69.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.7	-1.8	-0.7	2.5
Women-50s	Frequency	4	14	27	55
	%	4.00%	14.00%	27.00%	55.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.6	0.7	0.7	-0.8
Total	Frequency	21	48	98	233
	%	5.30%	12.00%	24.50%	58.30%

3.2.8. Responses about *hearing* and using “*koide oraremasu*” (Q17)

With regard to *hearing*, in quite the same way as in the case of “*goshusshin de oraremasu ka*” (Q14), tendencies for significantly more and significantly fewer were split along gender lines. Overwhelming acknowledgement on the part of men in their 20s contrasted with a negative attitude toward its acceptance on the part of women. With regard to *usage*, both genders showed a reluctance toward *using* it themselves.

Table 11. Results of the chi-squared test for *hearing* “*koide oraremasu*” (Q17)

Significant difference found		Q17.1			
Significantly more		p-value	0.003	Cramer's V 0.145	
Significantly fewer		hear_often	hear_sometimes	hear_rarely	hear_never
Men-20s	Frequency	15	26	30	29
	%	15.00%	26.00%	30.00%	29.00%
	Adjusted residuals	2	0	0.8	-2
Men-50s	Frequency	13	25	22	40
	%	13.00%	25.00%	22.00%	40.00%
	Adjusted residuals	1.3	-0.3	-1.3	0.7
Women-20s	Frequency	6	21	21	52
	%	6.00%	21.00%	21.00%	52.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.5	-1.3	-1.6	3.5
Women-50s	Frequency	5	32	35	28
	%	5.00%	32.00%	35.00%	28.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.8	1.6	2.1	-2.2
Total	Frequency	39	104	108	149
	%	9.80%	26.00%	27.00%	37.30%

Table 12. Results of the chi-squared test for using “*koide oraremasu*” (Q17)

Significant difference found		Q17.2			
Significantly more		p-value	0.024	Cramer's V 0.126	
Significantly fewer		use_often	use_sometimes	use_rarely	use_never
Men-20s	Frequency	8	20	36	36
	%	8.00%	20.00%	36.00%	36.00%
	Adjusted residuals	0.7	0.6	2.1	-2.7
Men-50s	Frequency	10	18	21	51
	%	10.00%	18.00%	21.00%	51.00%
	Adjusted residuals	1.6	0	-1.7	0.8
Women-20s	Frequency	3	13	23	61
	%	3.00%	13.00%	23.00%	61.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-1.6	-1.5	-1.2	3.1
Women-50s	Frequency	5	21	31	43
	%	5.00%	21.00%	31.00%	43.00%
	Adjusted residuals	-0.7	0.9	0.8	-1.1
Total	Frequency	26	72	111	191
	%	6.50%	18.00%	27.80%	47.80%

To summarize the above analyses, as concerns *de irassharu*, it was found that the responses varied considerably depending on the noun being used. In other words, the results showed that depending on the two factors of generation and gender, the groups differed from each other in terms of their acknowledgment of *de irassharu* appended to the terms *goshisoku*, *okangae*, and *goshushin*. Whereas a remarkable generational difference was obtained with regard to the construction *goshisoku de irassharu* (Q1), a gender difference (albeit one between men and women in their 20s in both age categories) was highlighted in the questions concerning *orareru* (Q10–Q18). Although the significant difference between men in their 20s and 50s with regard to the *use* of *irassharu* found in the one-way ANOVA in 3.1 was not reflected in the specific questions explored in 3.2, this difference can be interpreted as a cumulative result owing to the fact that the answers to the individual questions all showed a similar tendency.

4. Conclusion

This study sought to analyze the use of *de irassharu* /*de orareru* from multiple perspectives by means of a questionnaire survey. This resulted in the clarification of the following points. First, while it became clear that modern usage has seen the construction *de irassharu* used mainly by women and *de orareru* used mainly by men, some fluctuation has been observed in the contemporary usage of the

former. This can be inferred from the pronounced generational difference that has emerged among men in terms of the *use of de irassharu*, and that a generational difference has been observed among women depending on the noun to which the particle *de* is appended.

The tendency for the *de orareru* construction to be used primarily by men dates to the modern period and remains evident even today. In particular, the current contrast between men and women in their 20s may be thought to have become even more pronounced, irrespective of the modified noun. Overall, a clear proclivity exists among men in their 20s to use *de orareru*, which, it seems fair to say, has emerged as a linguistic social marker.

With the increasing simplification and clarification of honorifics in the use of *irassharu*,² a decrease is also apparent in the use of the *de irassharu* construction by men and women in their 50s, as is a strengthening tendency toward the use of the *de orareru* construction on the part of younger men.

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² Tanabe, Koike, “Keigo no kansoka”.

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Part II:
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Hori Tatsuo's (1904–1953) Essays on the Works of Marcel Proust (1871–1922)

Keywords: Hori Tatsuo, Proust, Japanese literature, essays, literary influence, comparative literature

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present and examine the essays of the Japanese writer Hori Tatsuo (1904–1953) on the works of Marcel Proust (1871–1922), the famous author of the monumental novel in seven volumes, *In Search of Lost Time* (*À la recherche du temps perdu*, 1913–1927).

In the Meiji period (1868–1912) when Japan was forced to open up to the Western world all aspects of life started to change, including art and literature. The influence of European authors on the works of writers such as Mori Ōgai (1862–1922), Futabatei Shimei (1864–1909) or Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916) is widely recognised and studied. Among such authors particularly inspired by European literature was also Hori Tatsuo, whose imagination and literary style were influenced the most by writers like Marcel Proust, Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), Raymond Radiguet (1903–1923), Jean Cocteau (1889–1963) or François Mauriac (1885–1970).¹

Reading fragments of *In Search of Lost Time* for the first time in 1931 started the long-lasting fascination of Hori Tatsuo with Proust and prompted him to write several essays about this author. Analysing these texts gives great insight into what Hori thought about his literature and, although to a much lesser degree, how he perceived Proust's influence on his own writing. The essays are a valuable point of reference for those interested in the topic of European influences in Japanese literature in general.

Possible influence of Proust's literature on Hori has been studied by some scholars but there is still the possibility of a broader and more thorough examination. Miwa Hidehiko wrote about the usage of the first person pronoun in Hori's

¹ Kokubo Minoru, "Hori Tatsuo e no shiten [A Look at Hori Tatsuo]," in *Ronshū – Hori Tatsuo* [Collection of Essays – Hori Tatsuo], ed. Kokubo Minoru (Tōkyō: Fūshinsha, 1985), 10.

novel *Utsukushii mura* (Beautiful Village, 1933)², which was written in Karuizawa in the summer of 1933, at the time when Hori's fascination with Proust was still fresh.³ The village described in the novel is as if "seen through Proust's glasses."⁴ It is known that Hori was interested in the Proustian motif of involuntary memory, which he discussed in the essays and used for instance in *Mugiwara bōshi* (A Straw Hat, 1932) as well as *Beautiful Village*.⁵ Further similarities based on associations can also be found. For example, *Tabi no e* (Travel Pictures, 1933), a fictionalised account of the writer's trip to Kobe, opens with a description of the protagonist waking up in an unfamiliar hotel room full of strange furniture, which brings to mind the young Marcel struggling to fall asleep in a hotel in Balbec.⁶ However according to Maruoka Akira, the "shadow of Proust" is felt only starting from *Kaze tachinu* (The Wind Has Risen, 1936–38), which has a distinguishably different "taste" (*omomuki*) than Hori's earlier works.⁷

The essays regarding Proust and his literature are *Purūsuto zakki* (Scribblings on Proust, 1932) and its continuation *Zoku-Purūsuto zakki* (More Scribblings on Proust, 1933), as well as *Bungakuteki sanpo* (Literary Walk, 1932) on the composition of Proust's novel, *Furōra to fōna* (Flora and Fauna, 1933) about the importance of plants in his works, and *Purūsuto no buntai ni tsuite* (On Proust's Style, 1934).

All of the essays (as well as most other texts by Hori) are available in Japanese on Aozora Bunko (www.aozora.gr.jp) through the links given in the bibliography. At the beginning of each section a link to the essay in question is provided in a footnote and, unless stated otherwise, all the information in each section is derived from the text of the essay. However, page numbers for citations from book publications were also given sparsely, where available to the author of this article.

² Miwa Hidehiko, "Hori Tatsuo to Purūsuto – 'Utsukushii mura' o chūshin ni shite [Hori Tatsuo and Proust – Around 'Beautiful Village']," in *Hori Tatsuo zenshū* [The Complete Works of Hori Tatsuo] vol. 2 (additional, *bekkan*) (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1997). The titles of Hori's works appearing in this paper, as well as quotations from Japanese, were translated by the author of this paper.

³ Jinzai Kiyoshi, *Hori Tatsuo bungaku no miryoku* [The Charm of Hori Tatsuo's Literature] (Tōkyō: Tōseisha, 1986), 20.

⁴ Takeuchi Kiyomi, ed., *Hori Tatsuo jiten* [The Hori Tatsuo Lexicon] (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2001), 197.

⁵ Takeuchi, *Hori Tatsuo jiten*, 195.

⁶ Takeuchi, *Hori Tatsuo jiten*, 195–96.

⁷ Maruoka Akira, "'Kaze tachinu, Utsukushii mura' ni tsuite [On 'The Wind Has Risen', 'Beautiful Village']," in Hori Tatsuo, *Kaze tachinu, Utsukushii mura* [The Wind Has Risen, Beautiful Village] (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 2013), 224.

***Purūsuto zakki* (Scribblings on Proust, 1932)⁸**

Scribblings on Proust take the form of three letters to Hori's friend Jinzai Kiyoshi (1903–1957), translator of French and Russian literature, dated 7th, 10th and 13th July 1932. From the first one, we find out that Hori had borrowed Proust's books from Jinzai several weeks earlier and was getting acquainted with them during that time. A fresh fascination with Proust is apparent here. Hori even admits his own surprise at how much he can write about Proust. At the end of the first letter he ensures that his "Proust fever" (*Purūsuto-netsu*) will last and he is going to continue examining all aspects of it.

Although Hori modestly states at the beginning that he does not know French very well,⁹ the fragments of Proust's intricate prose that he translated into Japanese prove that he had a good command of French. The writer very skilfully dealt with Proust's sophisticated style and the long, complex sentences.

Hori recounts a dream he had which reminded him of a past event – in this he clearly makes a reference to the famous Proustian motif of reminiscence. The narration in *In Search of Lost Time* starts with a description of Combray, a village where the protagonist used to spend summer holidays as a child, but the memories of the past are not vivid anymore. All the places and faces are only preserved in his mind as an amalgamation of indistinct images and impressions – that is until the taste of one of childhood's delicacies, a madeleine cake sipped in tea, gives a sudden impulse and the long lost memories are abruptly awakened. They start to flow back in a vivid stream, as though the whole world had just come out of this one cup of tea. A seemingly trivial situation was able to bring back to memory the details which otherwise would have been lost forever, it reincarnates a past which had almost been dead.

Similarly, Hori relates how he also experienced such unbidden return of memory. He was able to go back in time to his childhood: to feel the smell of fried

⁸ Hori Tatsuo, "Purūsuto zakki", Aozora Bunko, accessed July 20, 2022, https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001030/files/47962_34295.html. The essay *Purūsuto zakki* was also titled *Maruseru Purūsuto* (Marcel Proust) or *Mittsu no tegami* (Three Letters). Confoundingly, in some editions of Hori's works the following three texts – also analysed in this paper – have been published under the title of *Purūsuto zakki* as well: a major part containing letters to Jinzai Kiyoshi (titled *Mittsu no tegami*), *Furōra to fōna* (Flora and Fauna) and *Purūsuto no buntai ni tsuite* (On Proust's Style) – the latter sometimes also titled *Rira no hana nado* (Lilac Flowers and More).

⁹ Hori Tatsuo, *Gōkaban Nihon gendai bungaku zenshū* [Exclusive Edition of Modern Japanese Literature] vol. 32: *Hori Tatsuo-shū* [Hori Tatsuo Collection] (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1980), 369. According to Melanowicz, "[Hori] read Proust fragmentarily, as his insufficient knowledge of French made it difficult to get through the work in a systematic manner. Incidental memories and associations, so typical of Proust, moved Hori the most." (Mikołaj Melanowicz, *Literatura japońska* [Japanese Literature] vol. 2: *Proza XX wieku* [Twentieth Century Prose] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1994), 154–55).

shrimps when he ate them for the first time at a restaurant, or to hear the voice of his dead mother, which he normally could not remember very distinctly. It puts him in a good mood. Later in *More Scribblings on Proust* he will recount how, on another occasion, the taste of a candy reminded him of the emotions he felt during previous summer holidays.

In the letter, Hori admits he has not yet read the entire novel and that he has not been focusing on following the details of the plot from start to finish. Rather he was getting to know Proust's work fragment by fragment, sometimes choosing at random, because reading as much as one page a day would often make him feel weary. He calls Proust's style "difficult to understand".¹⁰ However, he became convinced that such fragmentary reading is also justified after having read the issue of the magazine *Nouvelle Revue Française* dedicated to the memory of Proust. In it he found Paul Valéry's (1871–1945) opinion that one can start and stop reading Proust at any point in the novel. He is also reassured by the information that even some French writers cannot get through Proust's novel smoothly. On the other hand, in an article from another issue of the same magazine dedicated to Jacques Rivière (1886–1925) he learns that Rivière also preferred a more flowing style and found Proust's technique to be problematic. Hori later decided to translate and include excerpts from Rivière's lecture in the third letter to Jinzai.

The challenge of making headway through Proust's writing was complemented with reading many critical and interpretative materials, as Hori was keenly interested in how other writers perceived Proust's prose. Of the texts he read he considered the transcript of Rivière's lecture and a paper by Charles de Bos (1882–1939) to be particularly good.

In his letters to Jinzai, Hori cites also an excerpt from an interesting interview with Proust conducted shortly after the publication of *Swann's Way* (*Du côté de chez Swann*), the first volume of *In Search of Lost Time*. Before reading that interview Hori had been convinced that the analysis of issues such as Bergsonism, the unconscious or the problem of time in Proust's novel was caused by some temporary fashion, but now he discovered that this fashion had been initiated by none other than Proust himself.

In this interview Proust states that in his novel he is not interested in ordinary "flat psychology" but rather in "psychology in time" (using the analogy of flat vs. spatial geometry). Hori translates this as "three-dimensional psychology" (*rittai shinrigaku*) but he gives the original French phrase *la psychologie dans le temps* in parentheses. According to Proust, the factor that gives the impression of things being three-dimensional is time. He says it is fascinating how a person standing before us can feel like someone completely different in a moment's time. Also, noticing such tiny changes makes us aware of the passage of time more than any-

¹⁰ Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*, 369.

thing. Hori considers this perception of time as innovative. It is also characteristic, he says, how Proust used the possibility of showing changes of characters over time (for example Odette de Crécy) within his novel.

Then Hori talks about his surprise upon returning to the description of the Duchess de Guermantes in the Combray church wedding scene and seeing how different it was from what he had originally remembered. The first time he must have involuntarily supplemented the description with various details because he remembered the duchess as an exceptionally beautiful woman. Reading the second time he found with surprise: “this is not the face of that Duchess de Guermantes of whom I read before.”¹¹ He felt he had been deceived.

In the letter dated 10th July, Hori relates how Proust’s novel prompted him to buy a collection of reprints of Auguste Renoir’s (1841–1919) paintings. He draws attention to the pictorial and Impressionist-like qualities of Proust’s prose, which is interesting, as Hori’s works are also sometimes described in such terms. Hori’s interest in Western art had already been quite evident, perhaps even matching his great fascination with European literature. He considered those two areas to be closely related. In the past, Jean Cocteau’s works had once prompted Hori to buy reprints of Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) and Giorgio de Chirico (1888–1978) (about which he also writes to Jinzai), but while reading Proust he discovered he was more interested in Impressionists such as Renoir, Édouard Manet (1832–1883) and Claude Monet (1840–1926).

From this letter, we learn about Hori’s many associations with Impressionist art. In his opinion, although it is common to point to Proust’s connections with the philosophy of Henri Bergson (1859–1941) or the ideas of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), it was the Impressionists’ influence that has manifested itself the most in his novel (however Hori admits to not having read neither Bergson or Freud). To prove his point, he quotes a fragment from the second book, *In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower* (*À l’ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*), and asks rhetorically: “does the scene not seem like straight out of a Claude Monet painting?”¹²

In the second letter Hori writes also about memory, both conscious and involuntary. He cites again the transcript of a conversation with Proust in which he explained the opposition between the two types. Proust said that one can understand the essence of involuntary memory when one suddenly recalls a smell or a taste from the past and discovers with astonishment how different it is from what one had remembered, as if our memories had been painted by an unskilled painter with poor judgment of colour. Finally Proust mentions the madeleine cake theme. In his view, the protagonist perhaps could have accessed the old details of his memory in another way, but such a conscious act of remembering would be devoid of any charm.

¹¹ Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*, 371.

¹² Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*, 373.

The final letter from Hori consists mostly of translations of the passages from Rivière's lecture which he found particularly interesting, followed by his commentary. It is worth going into some detail here, because the fact alone that Hori spent a lot of time translating these passages means that the text had made a great impression on him. It is possible that he adopted some of the views expressed by Rivière as his own (or at least that he was anxious to present them to his friend as faithfully as possible).

In the lecture, Rivière cites one anecdote related to Proust which in his opinion perfectly illustrates the nature of this maladjusted man, completely unable, says Rivière, to face the challenges of life. One late evening, he and Proust were just leaving Proust's apartment. As Proust went down the stairs, he touched the freshly painted railing and got paint on his glove. He then turned to his landlady and secretary Céleste Albaret (1891–1984) and began to awkwardly reprimand her for it in a very gentle tone. He did not tell her that she could have warned him about it or anything of the sort – as if he did not in fact believe, according to Rivière, in the possibility of him having any impact on the reality in which he lived.

Rivière found this scene deeply symbolic. In his opinion, the fact that Proust wrote such a great (also in terms of volume) novel should be considered a true miracle which could only have resulted from his specific mental construction, characterised by a complete lack of defense mechanisms. Proust was so close to life and had so many impressions of it because he did not try to fight it. He gained so much primarily because he never wanted anything. He could not in fact protect himself from anything – like getting a glove dirty. Only a third party could have saved him from it. However, despite the general passivity and oversensitivity fundamental to Proust's personality, one must not completely forget his stubbornness, the effort he put into turning this passivity (as if destined to him by fate) into action, his distrust towards all forms external, the innate pursuit of truth, and not being easily pleased.

Rivière also points out that the feature that would likely strike anyone who would read Proust's work with no preparation is the "density" of his prose, the immensity of feelings, impressions and emotions crammed together on every page. As a proof he cites extensive passages from the novel (which Hori also meticulously translated into Japanese). They illustrate how Proust in his novel describes *seconds*, as opposed to *hours* and *minutes*. Proust had the ability to capture things or phenomena which last only a few seconds and write about them in long elegant sentences full of embellishments. In this sense, he was able to control the passage of time, to cut a given moment out of the continuum and keep it on a page. It resembles capturing a fleeting moment on a canvas. When we view a work of art, we can constantly change our perspective: either embrace a painting or a sculpture in its entirety or slowly examine the details. It could be said that the point of focus in Proust's descriptions also changes in such a way.

At the end of the essay Hori quotes a story by Reynaldo Hahn (1874–1947), believed to be Proust's lover, as told by Rivière in the lecture. Hahn remembered once walking with Proust in the park when Proust stopped abruptly and said he would like to take another look at a tiny rose bush. He suddenly broke their conversation and went away for a moment to examine the plant in silence, then returned to Hahn and, as if nothing had happened, continued the conversation. This situation gives insight into Proust's interesting relationship with nature, which Hori discussed later in his essay *Flora and Fauna*.¹³

***Zoku-Purūsuto zakki* (More Scribblings on Proust, 1933)¹⁴**

More Scribblings on Proust revolves around Hori's impressions upon his return to reading Proust in late 1932. Hori read, among others, *Essai sur Marcel Proust* (Essay on Marcel Proust, 1926) by Georges Gabory (1899–1978), concerning the editing of the fourth and fifth volumes of the novel – *Sodom and Gomorrah* (*Sodome et Gomorrhe*) and *The Prisoner* (*La Prisonnière*) – which was conducted near the end of Proust's life and after his death in 1922. This made Hori eager to read both volumes. However, he was forced to stop due to a fever that occurred, as usual, in the autumn and forced him to rest for a month. Hori mentions his latest piece *Kao* (Face, 1933), the last one completed before turning thirty.¹⁵ He comments that he needed to finish it before he would be able to start anything new, although he was aware that it was only a repetition of previous themes.

He talks about an exhibition of French art in Tokyo's Ueno ward, where a painting by de Chirico moved him in particular, but he says it also made him acutely aware of the weakness of his own work he had just completed. After the exhibition he felt encouraged to read Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) (earlier during his illness he had read *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* – *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, 1795–1796) – although he admits that he finds reading in German difficult. Later, he decides to make a trip to Kobe, one which later turned out to be significant in his life. There, at the end of 1932 he purchased in a local store with various medicines, pipes and Western literature the essay entitled *Proust* by Samuel Beckett (1906–1989), a future Nobel laureate, about whom in 1933 Hori knew only that he was “a young

¹³ Hori Tatsuo, “Furōra to fōna” [Flora and Fauna], Aozora Bunko, accessed July 20, 2022, https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001030/files/47965_38462.html.

¹⁴ Hori Tatsuo, “Zoku-Purūsuto zakki” [More Scribblings on Proust], Aozora Bunko, accessed July 20, 2022, https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001030/files/47917_69893.html. First published under the title *Purūsuto oboegaki* (Notes on Proust).

¹⁵ This is according to the traditional Japanese way of counting the age (*kazoedoshi*). Born in December 1904, Hori writes that he was thirty when he began reading the last volume of Proust, by which he means the year 1933.

English poet“.¹⁶ This prompted the Japanese writer to finally read the last volume of Proust’s novel, *Time Regained* (*Le Temps retrouvé*). All the events leading up to this (the exhibition in Ueno, reading Goethe, the trip to Kobe) he considered to be significant in view of the closing of the third decade of his life.

Time Regained made Hori realise just how “deeply Proust was dormant inside of me”¹⁷ and he felt invigorated by this discovery. He says that he had a desire to explore two different minds – of Goethe and Proust – although he could not yet predict where this would lead him, “what zigzag trail it will leave behind me.”¹⁸ Proust’s style, which he previously had considered to be “sloppy and overloaded,”¹⁹ now makes him anxious about his own preference for brevity. He realises that he is in fact, just like Proust, more concerned with being faithful to his own thoughts rather than striving to simply be a competent writer.

In the second part of *More Scribblings on Proust*, Hori focuses on the above-mentioned essay on the editing of two volumes of Proust’s novel. Hori was impressed by the fragment in which Gabory recounts how he found out about Proust’s death from a short newspaper article mentioning only his winning of the Prix Goncourt²⁰ for 1919. At the time Gabory was just about to edit the manuscript of *The Prisoner*, full of tiny handwritten notes made by the writer who used to so often reflect on death and was so aware of his condition.

Gabory says that although he had read a fragment of *Swann’s Way* before, he found it difficult and bizarre, he thought the sentences were too long, so he never read Proust again until he was commissioned to edit *Sodom and Gomorrah*. He draws attention to the similarities between Proust and Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867), such as the use of original extended epithets. He claims that Proust’s snobbery is a direct counterpart to Baudelaire’s diabolism. However, according to Gabory, Proust was not influenced by Baudelaire as such – rather, they must have both drawn inspiration from the same sources.

Gabory admits that after some time he could not put Proust’s text down and was now reading it, pen in hand. At times his attention would be drawn to the beauty of individual phrases, other times it was the feeling of passionate regret in the text, but most of all he could not shake off the vision of Proust correcting and rewriting his novel in the middle of the night, in the room which always had its shutters closed, lying in the bed that was to become his deathbed.

Hori translated this fragment of Gabory’s essay very meticulously, noting that it was only the beginning of Gabory’s longer argument, in which he moves on to

¹⁶ Hori Tatsuo, *Hori Tatsuo zenshū* [The Complete Works of Hori Tatsuo] vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1996), 393.

¹⁷ Hori, *Hori Tatsuo zenshū*, 388.

¹⁸ Hori, *Hori Tatsuo zenshū*.

¹⁹ Hori, *Hori Tatsuo zenshū*.

²⁰ Prix Goncourt – French literary award for the best work of prose, awarded annually since 1903.

an analysis of dreams and lesbian love in Proust's novel. However, before reading that, Hori decides to first read volumes four and five himself.

The last part of these notes is about the essay by Beckett, in which he discussed Proust's method. This part takes the form of notes for Hori's personal use. He lists eleven most important episodes in Proust's novel (five being from the last volume, *Time Regained*) relating to involuntary memory, as proposed by Beckett, and describes them all in detail – except for the first, most famous scene with the madeleine, which he had already discussed in his letters to Jinzai. Hori also briefly mentions Benjamin Crémieux (1888–1944) who said that Proust's work is characterised by a classic pyramidal composition (the idea which Hori later explains in *Literary Walk*).

Finally, Hori drew attention to the narrator's observations from the beginning of the second chapter of *Time Regained*, where he reflected, among other things, on his own literary skill and the reality of literature, but most importantly experienced a whole series of involuntary memories. It is here that the madeleine theme from the first volume was brought back, and Proust “autothematically” explained how he wrote his book.

Bungakuteki sanpo (Literary Walk, 1932)²¹

In his letters to Jinzai from July 1932, Hori did not yet touch upon the subject of the composition of Proust's novel, which at that time he had read only in fragments. He believed that in order to be able to comment on it one would have to read the whole work from beginning to end.

Nevertheless, during the initial reading Hori was already interested in the construction of Proust's novel and searched for information on this topic in the articles he read. For a time he found few but eventually came across the piece *XX^e siècle* (Twentieth Century, 1924) by Benjamin Crémieux which shed a new light on the matter. It shattered, as Hori says, his supposition that perhaps Proust's work may simply not have any distinct structure.

Hori briefly discusses three essential points made by Crémieux. He presents these concepts accurately but concisely, leaving them with virtually no comment of his own. He writes that he is curious whether he would be able to agree unconditionally with such an interpretation once he has read the entire novel himself.

The first of these concepts is the pyramidal composition borrowed from Renaissance painters. At the beginning of the novel two parallel independent worlds are described: Combray with its inhabitants and the Verdurin salon – linked only

²¹ Hori Tatsuo, „Bungakuteki sanpo” [Literary Walk], Aozora Bunko, accessed July 20, 2022, https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001030/files/47932_50031.html .

by the character of Swann. Over time, both worlds begin to develop and gradually overlap. Novelty events such as visits, balls and dinners always show a certain stage of their clash.

The second idea is the rosette design, referring not only to the entire monumental work but also to its individual components which should also be considered independently. The readers can trace the intricate connections between them. The lines of those connections are, as is the case with an architectural rosette (rose window) shape, sometimes more exposed, sometimes hidden, and tend to go in unexpected directions. Crémieux argues that this is how, for example, Odette, Swann's wife, is presented. She is shown during the course of many years, not always chronologically, and from various sides.

The third point that Crémieux draws attention to are the similarities to Richard Wagner (1813–1883), one of the composers who had a great influence on Proust. The writer supposedly borrowed from him the idea of leitmotifs for individual characters. These can first appear while blended into various other threads and give only subtle hints before we finally see the characters in all their glory on the novel's pages. For example, the appearance of Albertine is preceded by several mentions of her from other characters. Even after Albertine is finally presented to the reader, her theme would still gradually develop.

Hori notes that the plot in Proust's work is rather chronological, with the exception of events described in the section *Swann in Love* (*Un amour de Swann*) in the first volume, *Swann's Way*. They precede the main character's childhood in Combray by several years, but this is no accident. As Swann is the character who will come to have a great influence on the main character, Marcel, the thorough presentation of his state of mind in flashback, even before Marcel's birth, will be useful later to describe various emotional states of the protagonist.

Finally, Hori mentions Proust's liking for great cathedrals, said to be the influence of his reading of John Ruskin (1819–1900), an English art critic. Proust admired him a lot and translated his works into French. Hori says that perhaps it was the love of great churches that made Proust's work as "grand and monumental as a cathedral of letters."²²

***Furōra to fōna* (Flora and Fauna, 1933)²³**

Hori starts the short essay *Flora and Fauna* by plainly stating that Proust must have liked describing flowers. The town of Combray, where the narrator spent the summer holidays in his childhood, was almost flooding in flowers – hawthorns,

²² Hori, *Hori Tatsuo zenshū*, 383.

²³ Hori Tatsuo, „*Furōra to fōna*”, Aozora Bunko.

lilacs and water lilies. Hori notices how in the second volume (whose title *In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower* already suggests a love of flowers) the young protagonist would sometimes spend whole nights watching an apple branch and its white flowers without any weariness, until they turned red in the light of dawn. This fragment impressed Hori greatly.

Hori cites a comment by Ernst Robert Curtius (1886–1956), a German literary historian, from his essay sent to Hori by a friend. According to Curtius, writers can be divided into those who see and describe society as “flora” and those who see it as “fauna”. Of course, in his view, Proust belongs to the “florists.” Hori delves into this topic, using once more the essay by Beckett, and notes many interesting ideas from the two texts. He says that in a way Proust treats his characters like plants and, at the same time, has almost no interest in animals: “in Proust’s novel you won’t find either a black cat or a loyal dog.”²⁴ Proust’s characters do not have a conscious will, but only a “blind” will, as do plants – and therefore they adopt an extremely passive attitude towards life. Moreover, just like flowers, “they display [their] sexual organs without shame.”²⁵ Proust is not concerned with morality, nothing is in itself good or bad, he usually leaves his characters without judgment. Hori notes that perhaps it is because of such “florization” that the homosexuality in Proust’s novel, open or hidden, is not stigmatised, or at least, “certainly not [considered] immoral.”²⁶

Then Hori goes on to talk about the village (Karuzawa) which was at the time he arrived there in early June, like Combray, drowning in flowers. Wild azaleas grew everywhere, wisteria flowers dangled from the branches, and acacia trees were just beginning to bloom along the river. Walking in the rain enjoying the scent of flowers, Hori suddenly noticed how the petals were sticking to his umbrella and boots.

He recalls a postcard-like scene where he saw children playing ball in the square in front of a church one Sunday morning. The trees, whose names Hori did not know, were in full bloom. One boy climbed a tree and, encouraged by another child, reached out to smell its flowers, but then grimaced in disgust at the unpleasant smell and threw the twig onto the ground.²⁷

Hori talks about how he would also pick flowers during his walks and ask the owner of the inn whenever he came across some unknown species, and how he would be disappointed because he always got the same answer. Only later did he discover with surprise that the host was right, all the flowers belonged indeed to

²⁴ Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*, 378.

²⁵ Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*.

²⁶ Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*.

²⁷ This scene was also described in Hori’s letter to Maruoka Akira from “*Utsukushii mura*” *nōto* (Notes on “Beautiful Village”).

the same genus. It is worth mentioning that a scene in which the protagonist asks an innkeeper the name of a flower appears in Hori's *Beautiful Village*.

At the end, Hori admits that although he knows nothing about flowers, he likes to describe them. He concludes by saying that perhaps, like Proust, he too may be counted among the "florists."

*Purūsuto no buntai ni tsuite (On Proust's Style, 1934)*²⁸

Hori begins his essay on Proust's style by stating that "the essence of prose is in expressing one's thoughts."²⁹ In this sense, he considered, for example, Stendhal (1783–1842) or Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) to be true prose writers but he thought Proust was also outstanding in this regard.

Unlike many of Hori's essays, often taking the form of notes or letters to fellow writers with whom Hori wanted to share his most interesting discoveries, *On Proust's Style* is more like a lecture. This time Hori is addressing the readers.

Proust's style at first glance seems difficult and chaotic, he says, but it should not be criticised too easily for that. To give a specific example Hori translates into Japanese the description of asparagus from *Swann's Way*, although pointing out that it is only a loose translation. He argues that even with a good translation it would not be easy to understand such intricately complex sentences after reading them just once. The reader may be surprised that an image so rich could emerge from such a short fragment (the description of asparagus in the original is only two, albeit quite lengthy, sentences).

The protagonist of the novel is charmed by the sudden presence of the asparagus. The reader can appreciate the beauty of the asparagus all the more because it appears suddenly, without any warning, which is another quality Hori considers characteristic of Proust's descriptions. Hori also notes that Proust first sets the general tone and only then delves into the finer details of the description, each evoking memories and associations: from the colours of dawn and rainbow to the blue evenings and the smells of late night. The sheer richness of such impressions makes the described scene look like an Impressionist painting transferred onto paper.

On the other hand, there is a quality in Proust's prose which distinguishes him from the Impressionists. Hori repeats the anecdote described in *Scribblings on Proust* about how, while taking a stroll in the garden, Proust walked away from his friend to look at rose bushes and acted as if he had completely forgotten about

²⁸ Hori Tatsuo, "Purūsuto no buntai ni tsuite" [On Proust's Style], Aozora Bunko, accessed July 20, 2022, https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001030/files/47963_34296.html. Other titles: Rira no hana nado (Lilac Flowers and More), *Maruseru Purūsuto no bunshō* (Marcel Proust's Texts).

²⁹ Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*, 379.

him. Both in this almost arrogant behaviour and in the literary attempt to capture the essence of asparagus, Hori sees a tormenting need for constant searching. He cites from the last volume, *Time Regained*, where Proust's narrator says he wanted to bring his sudden impressions out from the dark and give them an intellectual equivalent. According to Hori, those attempts to extract fleeting, bubble-like, momentary impressions and transform them into something lasting and spiritual distinguish Proust from "ordinary" Impressionism.

Hori then cites a passage that Curtius praised in particular as an example of the power of Proustian metaphor. He argues that the description of lilacs is so effective that even those who have never seen such flowers could enjoy the passage as if they knew them.

Curtius talks also about the greatness of Proust's phrase and its rhythm, but this particular charm, Hori says, is beyond the Japanese writer's understanding; he does not provide a translation here as he believes that this charming aspect of the text can only be enjoyed in the original. He then emphasises how important the sound of phrases was to Proust, as illustrated by an anecdote told by one of his friends. One night, Proust paid his friend an unannounced visit. He very kindly apologised for coming late and asked for the exact pronunciation of the phrase *sans rigueur* in Italian. The friend gave him the pronunciation of *senza rigore* but Proust asked him to repeat it and then said it himself, slowly and with intent, eyes closed, and listened to the sound of the words. After that he thanked politely and just disappeared, leaving his friend somewhat confused and irritated.

Hori is aware of what many commentators have said about the grammatical errors in Proust's writing and he admits that even looking at the writer with a favourable eye it is impossible not to notice how awkward some of his sentences are. According to Hori, this results from the aforementioned desire to give a sudden feeling an eternal form, to transform it into something permanent, as well as from the richness of memories and associations involved in this process. It can be said that Proust existed within the realm of emotions completely unknown to most people. Hori concludes that if Proust wanted to describe feelings no one had properly described before, of course he could only do so imperfectly, but such is the fate of all truly original writers.

In December 1943, almost ten years after the initial publication, Hori made a short note to the new edition, in which he confessed that he had read Proust several times since writing the first essays, and each time his admiration for the author grew even greater. He saw Proust as an unparalleled writer who, in his own original way, constantly tackled the intricacies of human life and gradually discovered its suffering. Hori declares that although he would like to write more about Proust, he did not have the opportunity to do so, so for the time being he decided to re-publish the old texts without alterations.

Other texts

In addition to the texts presented above, Proust's name is mentioned in the essay *Pōru Mōran no "Tandoru sutokku"*³⁰ ("Tender Shoots" by Paul Morand, 1932), in which Hori reflects on the title of the first collection of short stories by Paul Morand (1888–1976), *Tender Shoots (Tendres Stocks, 1921)*, translated into Japanese as *Sannin onna* (Three Women). Hori cites an excerpt from the preface to this collection by Marcel Proust. He finds it interesting that Proust mentions Anatole France (1844–1924), who in turn wrote the foreword to Proust's first collection of texts, *Pleasures and Days (Les Plaisirs et les Jours, 1896)*.

Proust also appears once in the dialogue *Veranda nite* (On the Veranda, 1936), in which one of the characters mentions many, mostly French authors. When talking about the prose of Mauriac, he states that his method resembles that of Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821–1881) and of Proust, who probably had a great influence on Mauriac.³¹

Summary and conclusions

The essays on Proust, all written between 1932–1934, surprise with the variety of forms. Some of them, like the letters to Jinzai Kiyoshi, have a very specific addressee, others are aimed to a wider audience, and some take the form of notes (at least in part) for the writer's own personal use and give the impression that they were not originally intended for publication at all. What is common to all the essays is that Hori writes from the perspective of a reader, not a critic. In these texts he shares his genuine interest in Proust, writes honestly about what he thinks and invites readers to participate in the adventure which is reading Proust's famous novel.

It is evident that at first Hori was not a very careful reader of Proust. He admitted that he read *In Search of Lost Time* in fragments, selecting random passages. *More Scribblings on Proust*, written at least a year after the initial contact with the novel, would suggest that at the time of writing it Hori knew the contents of the seventh volume better than the fourth and fifth, so perhaps he was reassured by the opinion that one can start reading Proust's novel from any point.

Reading was both fascinating and tiring for Hori and, especially at the beginning, caused him many difficulties. Nevertheless, Hori persisted, and with the passion worthy of a literary scholar he read numerous articles on Proust as well.

³⁰ Another title for this essay is *Bungakuteki sanpo* (Literary Walk), which is the same as another text discussed in this article. It was later included in the collection called *Kitsune no tebukuro* (Foxglove).

³¹ Hori, *Gōkaban Nihon*, 396.

It is not clear what the criteria for their selection was. Hori usually implies that he came upon them by accident. However, it can be assumed that he read many more critical articles than the ones he mentioned in the essays. He discussed in detail only those he found particularly interesting and inspiring.

Hori's texts generally show a good knowledge of the content of Proust's novel, so it is possible that Hori used a synopsis as well. Through studying the articles he became well acquainted with many of the main interpretative concepts of Proust's work dominant in Europe in the early 1930s. Hori understood them (otherwise he would point out which passages were unclear to him) and, having this theoretical preparation, would later become an exceptionally discerning reader.

In all the essays, Hori consistently makes it clear when he is referring to or translating someone else's opinions and when he is speaking for himself (the essays seem somewhat conservative, as there are significantly fewer such passages).

The writer very rarely mentions Proust's direct influence on his own works. Perhaps the most valuable and insightful in this regard would be the observations made in *Flora and Fauna*, as well as his stating in *More Scribblings on Proust* that, like Proust, he now cares more about being faithful to his own thoughts than about brevity, as was the case before.

Although Hori's essays are a great help for a researcher of his work, they can also mislead. What is known for certain is only that Hori read Proust, absorbed a lot of information about him and took many notes which were probably very useful to him in his later work. However, we cannot ascertain to what extent he was planning to consciously employ them in his own writing.³²

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³² Miwa, "Hori Tatsuo to Purūsuto – 'Utsukushii mura' o chūshin ni shite," 100.

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Re-reading Lafcadio Hearn's Short Fiction, *Ningyō no haka*, Applying Jack London's Interpretation of Hearn's Understanding of Japanese Culture

Keywords: Lafcadio Hearn, Jack London, memory, Romanized Japanese

1. Introduction

Ningyō no haka is included in a book, *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields* published in 1897, written by Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904). This paper examines this text considering the relationship between memories and artists' creations, applying Jack London's (1876–1916) interpretation of Hearn's understanding of Japanese culture. This short story has been studied as a proof of Hearn's interest in Japanese culture, especially the superstitions believed by the common people. In addition, Makino sees this text as representing a clash between modern Japanese, who are free from superstitions, and pre-modern Japanese, who allow superstitions to exercise restraint on their lives. Makino says that the brother of Ine, a Japanese girl and also one of the narrators in the text who will be introduced more thoroughly soon, rejected ancestral customs, values and traditions as, so to speak, a pre-modern. The author of this paper does not intend to disagree with what Makino says, but rather read the text from a different perspective, which is reading the text while looking at two words and phrases idiosyncratic to English-speaking readers in the text, *Ningyō no Haka*, with the help of Jack London's interpretation of Hearn's understanding of Japanese culture.

2. Jack London's relationship with Japan, and that with Hearn

Jack London is an American English-language writer, who is best known especially for his works set in Alaska, such as *To Build a Fire* (1902), *The Call of the Wild* (1903), and *White Fang* (1906). In addition to Alaska, London also visited Hawaii, Tahiti and other areas during his trip round the world on his ship,

The Snark, and wrote stories set in these places, such as *The Chinago* (1909), and *The Koolau the Leper* (1909).

One thing that should be noticed about London's life and his works is the close relationship between London and Japan, as Tsujii states, "On considering the life of Jack London, if Japan and the Japanese are completely absent from the discussion, the argument may be empty."¹ For example, London's debut work was *The Story of a Typhoon off the Coast of Japan* (1893), which is a short fiction inspired by his visit to Japan as a crew member of a seal fishing ship. London revisited Japan, and also Korea and China, as a reporter during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and then published articles about Asian countries, such as *The Yellow Peril* (1904). Lafcadio Hearn had a reasonable readership worldwide in the period that Jack London wrote his stories about Japan. In the aftermath of Russo-Japanese War, Hearn's writings were translated into several languages. For example, the first German translation of Hearn's works were published in 1905. Therefore, it can be said that Hearn himself and also his writings regarding Japan are something that Jack London might not have been able to avoid thinking about when writing his works regarding Japan. In fact, London published an essay in 1909, *If Japan Awakens China*, in which he mentioned Lafcadio Hearn's understanding of the Japanese and predicting the rise of China. London introduced the essay in the following way.

When one man does not understand another man's mental processes, how can one forecast the other's future action? This is precisely the situation today between the white race and the Japanese. In spite of all our glib talk to the contrary, we know nothing (and less than nothing in so far as we think we know something) of the Japanese. It is a weakness of man to believe that all the rest of mankind is moulded in his own image, and it is a weakness of the white race to believe that the Japanese think as we think, are moved to action as we are moved and have points of view similar to our own.

Perhaps the one white man in the world best fitted by nature and opportunity to know the Japanese was Lafcadio Hearn. To begin with, he was an artist, and he possessed to an extreme degree the artist's sympathy. By this I mean that his sympathy was of that order that permits a man to get out of himself and into the soul of another man, thus enabling him to look at life out of that man's eyes and from that man's point of view—to be that man, in short.² (underlined by the author of this paper)

¹ Tsujii Eiji, *Chikyūteki sakka Jack London wo yomitoku daishizen to ningen—taiko/ genzai/ mirai* [Reading the Global Writer Jack London; Nature and Man—Ancient Times/ Present/ Future] (Tōkyō: Tanshisha, 2001), 272.

² London, Jack, "If Japan Awakens China", The Grand Archive, accessed December 12, 2021, <https://thegrandarchive.wordpress.com/if-japan-awakens-china/>.

A lack of understanding of the difference in ways of thinking between others and oneself, according to London, is what prevents cross-cultural understanding. In this essay, London introduces Lafcadio Hearn as an expert of understanding Japan, and goes on to argue that with having a deep understanding of the Japanese mind, Hearn was aware of what he did not understand, which is what made Hearn a true master of comprehending Japan.

What this paper would like to draw your attention to is 'the artist's sympathy,' which London points to as having played an important role in Hearn's understanding of Japan. 'The artist's sympathy' is getting out of himself and into another man, and in doing so looking at things through the other man's eyes. In other words, 'the artist's sympathy' is to be the other man, that is, the co-existence of being oneself and being the other.

3. *Ningyō no haka* and exotic words in the text

The following is the plot of *Ningyō no Haka*: Ine, a Japanese girl, is invited to tell her family history in the house of the narrator, a Westerner, living in Japan and Manyemon, an old Japanese. Ine starts telling her story while sitting on a Japanese styled cushion. The story is awfully sad, with the successive deaths of her family members being told. After her father and mother died one after another in a short period, her older brother was advised by the neighbors to make a *ningyō no haka*, a doll's tomb, or there would be another death in her house. However, a *ningyō no haka* was not made, portending her brother's death. Ine concludes her story, mentioning only her younger sister being adopted and going to school, which is believed to evoke Ine's difficult life. Finishing her story, she leaves the cushion, and then the Western narrator is about to sit on the cushion. At that moment, Ine stops the Westerner from doing so, mentioning a superstition, which is that somebody's fate would transfer to a man if he sits down on the place made warm by the ill-fated. However, the Western narrator sits down on the cushion, and Manyemon explained to Ine that the narrator is willing to take her sorrows upon him.

Ningyō no haka is a frame narrative, in which there are two narrators: one of the narrators is the Western narrator, 'I,' and the other narrator, 'I,' is Ine, who is the narrator of the embedded story or an inside story of the text. It means that there are two different 'I's in this text.³

³ Makino Yōko, "'Ningyō no haka' o yomu: Lafcadio Hearn to Nihon no 'kindai'" [On Lafcadio Hearn's "Ningyō no Haka"], *Seijo daigaku keizai kenkyū* [Seijo University economic papers] 205 (July 2014): 81.

Ningyō no haka contains some Japanese phrases in Romanized form within the English text. Among them, there are two phrases for which no English translation has been given.

One of them is ‘ningyō-no-haka’, which is also the title of the text. This phrase is not translated into English, but the things related to it are explained in the text.

“It was the middle of the hot season. Father had always been healthy; we did not think that his sickness was dangerous, and he did not think so himself. But the very next day he died. We were very much surprised. Mother tried to hide her heart, and to wait upon her customers as before. But she was not very strong, and the pain of father’s death came too quickly. Eight days after father’s funeral, mother also died. It was so sudden that everybody wondered. Then the neighbors told us that we must make a ningyō-no-haka at once---or else there would be another death in our house. My brother said they were right; but he put off doing what they told him. Perhaps he did not have money enough, I do not know; but the haka was not made.” • • •
“What is a ningyō-no-haka?” I interrupted.
 “I think,” Manyon made answer, “that you have seen many ningyō-no-haka without knowing what they were;—they look just like graves of children. It is believed that when two of a family die in the same year, a third also must soon die. There is a saying, *Always three graves... ..*”⁴ (underlined by the author of this paper)

The text, *Ningyō no haka* does not provide an English translation of the Romanized Japanese phrase, ‘ningyō-no-haka’. Instead, the Western narrator of the text asks the question, “What is a *ningyō-no-haka*?” The text is designed to help readers who do not understand the Romanized Japanese to comprehend the phenomenon, not the meaning of the individual words. The answer given in the text to the question, “What is a *ningyō-no-haka*?” is “I think that you have seen many *ningyō-no-haka* without knowing what they were.” It means that the place where the Western narrator, ‘I’, is living, is a place where such a series of deaths is a daily occurrence. Furthermore, what the readers understand is that a series of family deaths is experienced not only by the girl, Ine, who tells the story, but also by many others in the community.

Ine relates how her healthy family members suddenly died one after another. This series of death maximizes the ghastliness in her story so that it could be mistaken for a mere ghost story, and it has been mainly studied as such. However, this story is far from being just a horror story. The current situation that we are

⁴ Hearn, Lafcadio, *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields: Studies of Hand and Soul in the Far East in The Writing of Lafcadio Hearn* vol. 8 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 125–126.

facing, with the COVID-19 disaster and the problems in Ukraine, Myanmar and other areas, helps readers to notice the situation in the text representing the reality in the world. Ine's family may have died from cholera or other infectious diseases that were prevalent in Japan in the Meiji era (1868–1912).⁵

Ine's family's episode of not building a 'ningyō no haka' and violating the rules of the community might be a special case in that community. However, Ine's experience of family members dying one after the other is a shared communal experience. Ine is speaking not only of her family's memory, but the memory of the community. Therefore, it means that there are many 'I's in the community, in other words, the narrator 'I', Ine is not only Ine herself but also another 'I' belonging to the community. Ine is a plural 'I'.

Some researchers consider Ine to be a *kadozuke*, a kind of troubadour, who narrates stories in the street to earn money, although the text, *Ningyō no Haka* does not make this clear. Whatever it is, as Ilan Stavans says:

“(...) to remember is to recreate. Remembering is not a return to the past but the adaptation of a past event to the circumstances of the present; it is a reorganization and the giving of new meaning to what was lost.”⁶

It can be said that Ine's act of storytelling is an artistic practice. Her experience of her lost family, described as sorrow, is being recreated through her storytelling.

Another notable Romanized Japanese phrase included in the text, *Ningyō no haka* is uttered by Manyemon after the end of Ine's story: “Aa fushigi na koto da!--aa komatta ne?” No English translation or explanation is provided for this phrase. This phrase is shown as follows:

.....She is kindly treated: she even goes to school!”
“Aa fushigi na koto da!--aa komatta ne?” murmured Manyemon. Then there was a moment or two of sympathetic silence. Ine prostrated herself in thanks, and rose to depart. As she slipped her feet under the thongs of her sandals, I moved toward the spot where she had been sitting, to ask the old man a question. She perceived my intention, and immediately made an indescribable sign to Manyemon, who responded by checking me just as I was going to sit down beside him.
“She believes that to sit down upon the place made warm by the body of another is to take into one's own life all the sorrow of that other person---
--unless the place be stricken first.”
Whereat I sat down without performing the rite; and we both laughed.

⁵ Hearn referred to the cholera epidemic in Japan at the time also in “In Cholera-Time” in *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life* (1896).

⁶ Stavans, Ilan, “Memory and Literature”, trans. Brian G. Sheehy, *AGNI* 48 (1998): 84.

“Ine,” said Manyemon, “the master takes your sorrows upon him. He wants”-
 -----I cannot venture to render Manyemon’s honorifics-----“to understand
the pain of other people. You need not fear for him, Ine.”⁷ [underlined by
 the author of this paper]

Before investigating the Romanized Japanese phrase “Aa fushigi na koto da!-
 --aa komatta ne?” in *Ningyō no haka*, it is necessary to consider Hearn’s idea of
 including Romanized Japanese in his writings. Hearn did, in fact, include such
 in his writings, recognizing the significant impact that exotic and unintelligible
 words would convey, after he, himself, experienced being surrounded by Japa-
 nese words in the Japanese streets, which he could not comprehend.⁸ Words in
 Hearn’s texts are not a mere medium to refer to the meaning of words. However,
 applying exotic words so as to stir the readers’ sensations could be misunderstood
 as just a device to create the color of exoticism in the texts. For example, B. H.
 Chamberlain (1850–1935), a friend of Hearn and a linguist, evaluated the inclu-
 sion of Romanized Japanese with English texts as just an exotic flavor in texts.
 Chamberlain stated as follows:

And thus it is that I feel a repugnance to unintelligible words inserted in an
 English text. [...] It strikes a false note on my ear, or, to change the meta-
 phor, seems to me like a mouthful of consommé in the middle of a plate of
 strawberries. Both kinds of food are good, but they don’t mix well. Have
 you seen Sir Edwin Arnold’s “*Adzuma*”? It is such a patchwork of Japanese
 words [...].⁹

Chamberlain insisted that the reader is moved by texts exclusively because of
 the combination of meaning and sound conveyed by the letters in texts. He argued
 that the Japanese words mixed in English texts would be incomprehensible to
 most readers, and that the Romanized Japanese in English texts was nothing but
 decoration or, even rather, noise in English texts.

In response to Chamberlain’s claims about using exotic words in texts, Hearn
 wrote to him as follows: “That no words of an unknown foreign language should

⁷ Hearn, Lafcadio, *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields: Studies of Hand and Soul in the Far East in The Writing of Lafcadio Hearn* vol.8 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 129–131.

⁸ For more on the matter, see Fujiwara Mami, “‘Kimyō ni gotagatashita tanoshii konton’ ron—Rafukadio Hān niokeru moji no kansōgakuteki kōsatsu—” [On ‘A Delightfully Odd Confusion’—Lafcadio Hearn’s Physiognomic Study on Written Letters—] in *Rafukadio Hān—kindaika to ibunkarikai no shosō* [Lafcadio Hearn—Some Aspects of Modernisation and Cross-Cultural Understanding] (Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005), 101–116.

⁹ Chamberlain, Basil Hall, *Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1936), 22.

be introduced into artistic work, *except such as may, because of their sound, etc., have a striking effect on the imagination*".¹⁰

By using cursive writing, Hearn emphasized that the unintelligibility of words were efficient literary devices to affect readers' senses and sensibilities.¹¹ The sensitivity to be able to be moved by weirdness in words, which one is required to have in reading Hearn's texts, is similar to one that Roland Barthes (1915-1980) expressed in *La langue inconnue* in *L'Empire des signes*, as following: "Le rêve : connaître une langue étrangère (étrange) et cependant ne pas la comprendre (...)" (The dream: to know a foreign (strange) language and yet not to understand it (...)).¹² Being unable to comprehend the mere semantic meanings of words and relishing the condition would allow readers to more profoundly perceive the texts. Therefore, the phrase, "Aa fushigi na koto da!---aa komatta ne?" in the text, *Ningyō no haka*, which "is peeled away the semantic membrane,"¹³ would stimulate readers' minds so that Hearn's readers would be able to grasp the essence.

As the semantic membrane of the phrase, "Aa fushigi na koto da!---aa komatta ne?" is peeled away for the majority of readers, without being distracted by the meaning of the phrase, readers are able to profoundly sense the phenomenon which the enigmatic phrase implies. Manyemon relates the phrase at the end of Ine's story, playing a role to announce the closing of the story. The phrase suggests that Manyemon who addressed the phrase and Ine who received it both belong to the same communion, to which 'I' a Western narrator, do not belong, due to the lack of ability to recite the phrase together with Manyemon. As mentioned before, Ine's story is not simply her family's memory but the memory of the community. Through saying the phrase, "Aa fushigi na koto da!---aa komatta ne?", Manyemon declares himself a member of the community who is able to experience Ine's sorrow as another 'I' in the community.

Obviously, 'I', the Western narrator who does not recite the phrase, "Aa fushigi na koto da!---aa komatta ne?" together with Manyemon, but sitting on the cushion against Ine's request to not do, is a stranger to the communion. He does not allow himself to sneak into the community to which Ine and Manyemon belong and to disguise himself as another 'I' in the community by reciting the strange phrase together with Manyemon. Instead, being aware of the impossibility of mutual

¹⁰ Hearn, Lafcadio, "Life and Letters 3" in *The Writing of Lafcadio Hearn* vol.15, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 441.

¹¹ For more on the dispute on English texts including Romanized Japanese words between Chamberlain and Hearn, see Fujiwara Mami, "Letters as Fetish—Letters in the Writings of Lafcadio Hearn" in *Civilisation of Evolution Civilisation of Revolution Metamorphoses in Japan 1900–2000* (Krakow: Manggha Museum of Japanese Art & Technology, 2009), 9-18.

¹² Barthes, Roland, *L'Empire des signes* (Genève: Skira, 1970), 11.

¹³ Lee Yeounsuk, *Ihō no kioku—kokyō/ kokka/ jiyū* [Memory of an Exotic Place—Homeland, Nation and Freedom] (Tōkyō: Shōbunsha, 2007), 81.

understanding created by languages, the Westerner sits where Ine sat and accept Ine's warmth into his own body. This is a similar attitude toward foreign culture which London mentioned in *If Japan Awakens China*. London suggests 'the artist's sympathy', which leads people to be the other man, so as to comprehend others' cultures in that essay. 'I', the Western narrator, nullifies the boundary between Ine and the 'I' through accepting her warmth into himself. This is not a violation of the superstition that Ine believes, but, rather, is following the superstition. According to the superstition, an interaction between an individual and a non-individual occurs through warmth, and subsequently, the sorrow of the other would be unintentionally transferred through the warmth. Exploiting the fragility of the boundary between self and non-self in the community's superstition, the Western narrator, 'I' deliberately incorporates the sorrow of Ine into himself, and in doing so allows the coexistence of self and non-self, as in the structure of the frame narrative, the text, *Ningyō no haka*, where two different narrators, which are the Western narrator, 'I' and 'I' as Ine, coexist. The behaviour of 'I', the Western narrator who sits on the cushion, is an artistic activity that transforms the story of Ine, the story of the community for multiple 'I's, into a story of us, a story for imagined communities where I and not-I coexist. The action by the Western narrator, 'I' is not a violation of rules but an artistic creation through what London called 'the artist's sympathy.'

4. Conclusion

The text, *Ningyō no haka* is a frame narrative, with Ine's story within the narrative by the Westerner 'I'. Ine's narrative, which is re-created each time it is told, is not only the memory of her family but also the memory of the community. It is the story of plural 'I's belonging to the community. The gesture of the Western narrator 'I', who takes Ine's sorrow into himself, which is similar to the gesture Jack London describes as Hearn's understanding of Japan, shows how the multiple 'I' story which Ine tells, is transformed into 'our' story, where I and not-I coexist. In other words, the text, shows the possibility of individual and also communal memory being transposed into a literary creation.

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能楽の文学性に関する諸問題 — 現代の新作能に関する一考察 —

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キーワード：能、文学表現、世阿弥、和歌、新作能

Keywords: *nō* theatre, literary expression, Zeami, *waka* verse (Japanese poem), new *nō*

1. はじめに

日本の古典芸能である能は、舞台芸能・総合芸術という領域として定位され、舞台空間・作り物などの大道具・小道具・装束・能面や囃子方や謡の持つ音楽性、所作・舞という舞踊性等は実際には身体表現が伴う視覚性・音楽性を伴う。

しかしながら、その一方で、能の台本は文学研究対象としての文芸的性質をもつ。それは実際に、古典文学全集の類に『謡曲集』が分類され詞章が掲載されるという事実¹からも首肯できる。謡曲の詞章自体は日本の古典文学を典拠としつつも単なる梗概ではなく再構築され、詞章は和歌・漢詩・物語文学に拠りつつ、縦横に日本の伝統的な修辞法・技巧的な修飾語を多用しながら展開する。特に世阿弥時代の複式夢幻能は、文体の上で作者自身が意図した韻文的な性質を保持しつつ、読む台本詞章としての性質を保っている。文学的主題は共通する土壌から生まれた想像力を媒介として身体表現（身体言語）の領域を拡大化し、神話・修羅闘諍・恋慕・狂乱・鬼神怪異という異次元空間の現出を可能とする。能の台本としての謡曲詞章は、伝統的に文学として享受され、或いは一休宗純禅師の能を題材とした漢詩、或いは白隠禅師の能を題材とした書画、後世の松尾芭蕉・井原西鶴などの江戸俳諧文学に影響を与えたテキストであることを忘れてはいけない。

本稿では日本の謡曲詞章の受容の在り方から、再生芸術にとどまらぬ能の文学性の問題と新作能の可能性について考察する。

¹ 横道萬里雄他校注『謡曲集』上・下 日本古典文学大系、岩波書店、1960年。小山弘志他校注『謡曲集』日本古典文学全集、小学館、1973年。伊藤正義『謡曲集』上中下 新潮日本古典集成、新潮社、1983年。西野春雄校注『謡曲百番』新日本古典文学大系、岩波書店、1998年。

2. 文学としての謡曲詞章の受容

はやく坪内逍遥 (1934)は『美文としての謡曲文』(謡曲大講座 謡曲大講座刊行会、3-4頁)において、研究の本領として、

第一 文学上より観たる謡曲文(詞章)の特質及び価値如何。

第二 音楽上より観たる能楽の特質及び価値如何。

第三 楽劇としての能の特質、本領及び価値如何。

という文学・音楽・楽劇の三要素をあげている。これは、重要な指摘である。つまり文学(台本・文飾に満ちた詞章)・音楽(囃子方・謡)・楽劇(演劇的身体性・舞台空間などの総合芸術性)は研究領域として確立できる分野といえる。

研究史としては、戦前の一連の作品研究は、文学的テーマ性の問題や出典のモチーフの扱い、思想的観点や、民俗学的観点など多岐にわたる。1950年代以後、能楽研究は飛躍し文学と能楽との関係は、能楽史研究や演出史研究などの歴史研究の視点や厳密な実証的方法論からすれば、文学的事象の研究視点は相容れないものがあり、両者の議論は平行線をたどった。一方で比較文学的な観点からは謡曲詞章の文学的研究の可能性は大きく、田代慶一郎氏『謡曲を読む』(朝日選書1987)、同氏『夢幻能』(朝日選書1994)は謡曲を文学として読む立場による。前書の帯文には「謡曲がすばらしい文学であることには異論がなかるう」(ドナルド・キーン、Donald Keene氏)とあり、実際にドナルド・キーン氏が編集したコロンビア大学において謡曲詞章の文芸性に着目して翻訳した *Twenty Plays of the Noh Theatre, Columbia University Press, 1970.* が存在し、その功績は大きい。

実際、謡曲詞章に関しては、歌語・仏教用語・漢文体等の語句の意味解明にとどまらず、典拠研究、原典との比較研究、事象レベルでの文化史研究等がある。やはり文章・文辞についての解明が方法論として妥当であり、世阿弥自筆能本などの存在により詞章がほぼ台本として固定化している事実もある²。むしろ演劇的な側面は流動性があり、時代の推移とともに、装束の組合せもさることながら演出や音曲、謡等は実際には時代の変遷の影響を免れず、一例をあげれば、近年の五流の謡は見所側に対して詞章の文辞が聴覚的に「理解しやすい水準」に基準を定めた結果、戦前に指摘されていた各流派の特徴、連声・連濁など発声の難解さなど流派に抛る特色がすでに希薄化していることも、見逃しがたい事実である。

一方謡曲詞章を読む伝統については、江戸時代において町入り能以外、武家階級になれば能を直接みる機会はなく鑑賞は専ら謡(聴覚的要素)による。幕藩体制の農・工・商の身分制度に属する場合には、謡の流行に伴い謡講があり謡文化の延長として読む対象として観世流小謡集の絵入版本が存在する。例えば小謡集『当流改正百三十番 宴楽小謡童要

² 表章監修『世阿弥自筆能本集』影印篇・校訂篇、岩波書店、1997年。

集』(川勝徳治郎刊)には能道具や舞台の絵入もあり、『泰平小謡萬歳大全』(文政六(1823)年山本長兵衛)も絵入本で当時の謡講などの様子を伝える。また寺子屋においては、一定の教養主義に基づき「習字」「読書」「礼法」に並んで必須科目となっている³。

詞章の視覚的芸術性という点では、所謂美文調と美麗本という関係性が現れたのは江戸時代の光悦謡本である。光悦謡本は慶長末年頃に刊行された観世流の古活字版謡本(嵯峨本)で、書そのものが美的鑑賞の対象として定着し、詞章自体が文芸的意義をもち、『伊勢物語』『源氏物語』・大名家嫁入り本のような美的性質をもつ文学的価値を有していた。

近代以後においては能を理解する端緒として、古典文学テキストをよむという所謂読書という行為も、同様に能の文学的優位性の一側面を示している。この謡曲詞章におけるテキストの独立性・優位性は、明治期以後、夏目漱石や芥川龍之介、泉鏡花、谷崎潤一郎など近代作家に影響を与え、その教養となり、坂口安吾などは時間がかかる能を鑑賞するよりもむしろ読むことを推奨さえした。さらに海外へ向けて能の存在を大きく知らしめたのは三島由紀夫『近代能楽集』の存在である。それはドナルド・キーンの翻訳Yukio Mishima. *Five modern Noh Plays*. の力もあり、世界各国へ翻訳され、謡曲から想を得た近代文学作品に関する論は、増田正造(1990)『能と近代文学』平凡社、松田存(1991)『近代文学と能楽』朝文社等の通りである。

3. 詩劇と劇詩—能のもつ時空をこえた詩的性質と文学的な構造

謡曲台本を「読む」行為について、実際、西洋文学には劇詩dramatic poetryというジャンルの存在、叙事詩・抒情詩と並ぶ詩の三大部門の一つとして「韻文によって書かれた劇」形式の詩の伝統があり、上演されずとも読む戯曲形態があった点には着目すべきである。

一方詩劇とは、Poetic Drama韻文劇であり詩(韻文)形式の台詞による演劇をさすが、セネカ(Lucius Annaeus Seneca)に始まる一連の古代ギリシャ悲劇「メデア」や「アガメムノン」はルネッサンス期の文学(モンテーニュ・シェイクスピア・ラッシーヌ)への影響が指摘されている。ギリシャ悲劇と能楽との関係性について作品内に通底するテーマ性の指摘はすでになされていた。実際フランス文学研究者である渡邊守章は冥の会(観世鍔之丞家の観世寿夫発足)において「アガメムノン」(1972)・「メーデーア」(1975)をはじめとした作品を演出・発表する。M. J. スメサーズ著、木曾明子訳(1994)『アイスキュロスと世阿弥のドラマトウルギー—ギリシア悲劇と能の比較研究—(Dramatic Action in Greek Tragedy and Noh: Reading with and beyond Aristotle)』にギリ

³ 中尾薫「江戸時代における謡文化と庶民教育」—人文学における日本研究：江戸庶民文化の諸相—、ハイデルベルク大学・大阪大学ジョイント・シンポジウム、2015年。

シヤ悲劇との類似性は明らかであり、直接的な影響関係がないにもかかわらず、構成と文体からの類似性、劇的諸契機と詩的言語表出とが渾然一体となって優れたドラマトゥルギーを形成した点を指摘する。

すなわち世阿弥 (Zeami, 1363頃 - 1443頃)の能は芸術性の高い普遍的なテーマを扱った言語表現をもつ点で卓越しており、詩的言語表出と劇的な表現性が一体化し深化した思想として表出されているといえる。

この文学性の確立は世阿弥により為され、その後、様式として作品形態は定型的に踏襲された。謡曲詞章においての特徴は七五調や掛詞、序詞、縁語、三代集など古歌をもとにした本歌取がなされ綴れ錦という文体を修辭的に用いて、韻文形式を単元的に導入し、優れた詩的性質を發揮する。さらに連歌的手法によって文章が美的かつイメージの流動を伴いつつ台詞全体が整えられる⁴。

詞章が作品全体を和歌的な季節感を彩るイメージの連環性を示し、場面構成を詩的磁場として名所旧跡を歌枕として示しつつ、同時に主人公の心理に収斂させるという心象風景としてのイメージ趣向をとる。ワキの次第や移動場面では所謂「道行文」を持ち、またシテとワキとの対話形式の中でも和歌を引用するなど韻文形式としてある。「種・作・書、三道より出たり。一に能の種を知る事、二に能を作る事、三に能を書く事也。」(世阿弥『三道』)⁵。これは、[典拠・構成・表現]を意識した世阿弥の言葉であり、そのために出典として世阿弥が能を大成化する過程において、古典主義をつらぬき、三代集、『和漢朗詠集』、『伊勢物語』・『源氏物語』・『平家物語』、『白氏文集』などの漢詩文を能の出典として、よむ謡曲詞章、文学として扱う流れは、「聞より出来る能」という性質にもよる。

これはシェイクスピア劇 (W. Shakespeare, 1564-1616)のblank verseやラッシーヌ (J.B.Racine, 1639-1699)alexandrineとの類似性も指摘されるが、それよりも世阿弥は百年以上前、時代的には早く注目すべき点がある。

例えば、能楽と西洋の戯曲が往還した例としては、1916年ロンドンで初演されたW・B・イエイツ作《鷹の井戸》(At the Hawk's Well)があり、一幕物詩劇で象徴主義的な技法を用いている⁶。内容は、永遠の命をもたらす泉の湧き水を待ち続けて数十年の孤独な老人が登場する。そこへ若者アルスター伝説の英雄クーフリンが登場し老人と対立する。クーフリンは、不死の水を求めるが、泉の精霊である鷹の化身の女に惑わされて、命の水の湧き出る瞬間を逃してしまう。自己の運命を悟り、老人が止め

⁴ 三宅晶子氏による一連の作詞法の御研究もある。

⁵ 世阿弥能楽論の本文は表章校注『世阿弥・禅竹』、日本思想大系、岩波書店、1974に拠る。

⁶ この作品は、エズラ・パウンド能の翻訳と当時ロンドンに留学していた日本人伊藤道郎・久米民十郎(1893-1923)・郡虎彦(萱野二十一1890-1924)などの協力に拠る。ちょうど時代はイースター蜂起(Easter Rising, 1916年4月24日-5月1日)アイルランドで起きたイギリスからの分離独立運動の時代でイエイツの代表作「1916年復活祭」(Easter 1916)がある。

るのも聞かずに攻め寄せる女軍との戦いに向かう、というものである。《鷹の井戸》は翻訳を介することによって能から生まれた新たな作品であり、共通項目である詩的言語・イメージを媒介として作品が成立する。つまり日本の能からインスピレーションをえて作られた⁷。その後、舞踊家伊藤道郎により、「往還する詩劇」として日本に回帰して、横道萬里雄が翻案し、1949（昭和29）年新作能《鷹の泉》（喜多実作曲）として喜多流で上演された。これは古典の能の類型的手法による。横道氏は《鷹の泉》にさらに改訂を加え自由度の高い演出や詞章に変化させて翻案し新作能《鷹姫》をつくった。こちらは、現代にいたるまで多くの上演回数を重ね、新作能として最も成功した部類となっている⁸。日本の能とイエイツの《鷹の井戸》とは演劇的性質からみると根本的に異なり、また《鷹の井戸》と横道の《鷹姫》は演劇的な様式性も異なるが、通底する箇所は「能」という共通項目であり、主題・詞章・テーマが重なる。クーフリン神話というアイルランドの民族的事象は象徴的な普遍性を纏ったまま、勇者像としての若者に置き換えられつつ展開する。詩劇としての能がW・B・イエイツのイマジネーションにより戯曲として結実し、それを再び能の台本にし、さらに新作能として能舞台に生まれ変わる点は詩的性質がもたらすイメージ性や言葉の力、読む刺激としての性質によるところが大きい。

4. 霊界と現世の円環構造—心理性と祈祷・懺悔・供養・鎮魂の問題

能の作品構造の特徴についてであるが、能の作品がもたらす所謂「普遍性」、普遍的テーマの問題は、物語の構造で「夢幻能」にその特徴があり、思想的に一人の人間の一生を俯瞰する構図、霊界と現世の円環構造になっている。能の様式性が典型化されるのも夢幻能形式である。前場・中入り・後場に分かれ構成が様式化している。死者が語る物語として前場（化身）において登場する人物が、中入りのアイ狂言をはさみ、時空を舞台内現在の時間と過去の事績の時代において交差させる。さらに後場（靈魂の生前の姿）で本体を示しその時の状況下の心理を示す点に着目点がある。すなわち名もなき化身（シテ）が、歌枕をたどり由緒ある場所を訪れた旅の来訪者（ワキ）に、その場に秘められた物語の梗概を語る。ワキの夢に生前の姿でシテの魂が現れ、死後の視点からその場の物語の状況を生前と同じように再現するが、夜明けとともに夢かうつつか不明なうちに靈魂は消えていく。

⁷ 成恵卿『西洋の夢幻能 イエイツとパウンド』河出書房新社、1999参照。

⁸ 初演は1967年12月19日・22日東京観世会館。新作能『鷹姫』-横道萬里雄作、[作曲・作舞]観世寿夫、[演出]野村万之丞、[音楽監督]藤田大五郎・老人 観世寿夫・空賦麟 野村万作・鷹姫 観世静夫(八世)

これはシテ中心主義の手法ともいわれ、夢幻能ではシテの内面を視点として事件を主人公中心に語る。前場は古典の典拠にもとづく古典主義重視の手法により王朝文学など土地の謂れに関する物語などから、出来事を三人称的な観点から化身として語る。さらに後場においてワキの夢の中で本体をしめし一人称としてその事件を回想・再現して、その時の心理を語ることで懺悔する。夜明けとともに薄明の中へ消える点では缥缈漠々とした印象が残る。

その際にワキは優れた聞き役として、名所旧跡の土地を訪ね、シテへの質問をすることでシテ内面の回想形式を可能とし、シテは心理的に深い「思い」をもつゆえに現世から離れがたく心理的に閉ざされ行動が固定化する。主人公はその場にとどまる霊魂という設定であり、事件の再現性を体験・回想しつつワキによる供養、精神を慰撫することで過去の意義づけをおこなう。これは夢見の中で時空をこえて、死者への供養や鎮魂など祈りを行うことで、宗教的な鎮魂の性質を重視した儀式的な機能をもつともいえる。ロマン主義的な色彩、闇・夜・月・心象風景は西洋にも通じる美意識と思しい。

例えば世阿弥が確立したといわれる修羅能は「近来推し出だして見えつる世上の風体」として《通盛》・《忠度》・《実盛》・《頼政》・《清経》・《敦盛》が挙げられるが、源平の争乱の武将を描いており、シテ主人公を中心とした視点からみた状況と語りがある。ほとんどが敗者の文学とその後の心理描写を世界観として提示する形になっているが、勝ち修羅と呼ばれる《八島》でさえも、船戦として修羅鬪諍の場面においては剣・盾・兜と打ち合い差し違える殺戮の鬼気迫る場面は現実の描写と見まがう。義経は壇ノ浦の合戦において、今日の修羅の敵は誰かときき、敵である平教経の手並みはよく知っているといいつつ合戦を繰り広げる様子は以下の通りである。

今日の修羅の敵はたそ。

何能登の守教経とや。あら物々し手なみは知りぬ。

思ひぞ出づる壇の浦の。そのふないくさ今は早や。その舟軍今は早や。閻浮に帰る生き死にの。海山一同に震動して。舟よりは関の声。陸には波の楯。月に白むは。剣の光。潮に映るは。兜の星のかけ。水や空空行くもまた雲の波の。打ち合い差しちごうる。舟軍のかけひき。浮き沈むとせし程に。

春の夜の波より明けて。敵と見えしは群れゐる鷗。関の声と聞こえしは。浦風なりけり高松の。浦風なりけり高松の。朝嵐とぞなりにける。

(《八島》)

一方、義経の眼に映ったのは幻影で「思ひぞいづる」という内面的世界であり、心理的な展開をたどっているにすぎず、敵と見えたのは群れ入る鷗の姿、戦の開始の関の声と聞こえたのは高松の浦風であったというのである。つまり、修羅・軍体のもつ恐怖心はそのまま目に見えぬ敵を

心理の中に出現させ、憎悪と共に激しい戦闘場面を呼び起こすのである。

これは輪廻転生という仏教思想がもたらした身心二元論の反映でもあり、霊魂不滅という思想の中でも魂魄理論として、過去の重大な傷痕がその時代にとどまり囚われた妄執を生きる魂魄となる。この形式は特に修羅能の独自の達成ともいえ、彼岸と此岸とを永遠に繰り返す魂の在り方を人間悲劇、暗黒の不条理ともいえる場面におかれた際の人間心理として示している。「思い故の能」というのも、主人公の行動がすべて悲嘆や悲痛な願望など内的心理から発している点で重要である。こうした構造をもとに主人公の内面世界を詩的な表現性により描写するのは、謡曲詞章の一特徴ともいえる。

5. 詩的性質と象徴性—詞章の翻訳がもたらした海外への影響

歴史的な背景からすれば、明治維新以後、能楽が古典芸能として実演披露される以前に、謡曲詞章は文学として翻訳され海外に渡った。謡曲はその神話性や象徴性、悲劇性など詩劇としての面で、特に英語翻訳とフランス語の翻訳によって文学的に扱われ、欧米文学文化圏に影響を与えたといえる。それは黒船来航・日本開国によって、日本の制度が急激に変化し各国大使や帝国大学へ所謂お雇い外国人教師という知識人階級が日本へ渡航し、実際に日本で謡や能を体験したことで、翻訳が成立した。

一例をあげればマリー・ストーブス (Marie Stopes, 1880–1958)はPlays of Old Japan: The No. 1913で扱ったのは《求塚》・《景清》・《隅田川》・《田村》梗概である。またアーサー・ウェイリー (Arthur David Waley)はThe No Plays of Japan (『日本の能楽』1921年)を上梓している。エズラ・パウンドはフェノロサの遺稿整理を手伝い、翻訳が完成した (Noh': Or Accomplishment, a Study of the Classical Stage of Japan. Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound, マクミラン社, 1916.)。パウンドは実際に能を見たことはなかったが〈卒都婆小町・通小町・須磨源氏・熊坂・猩々・田村・経政・錦木・砧・羽衣・景清・葵上・杜若・張良・玄象〉能役者、番組、梅若実との対談、役者の稽古、気質、口伝、能面等をフェノロサの原稿をもとにまとめた。先に述べたW. B. イェイツの《鷹の井戸》他の一連の戯曲作品に影響を与えた点で重要である。

折しも時代背景としては、1862年ロンドン万国博覧会や1867年パリ万国博覧会において、オリエンタリズムからジャポニズムへと流行が移行し、明治維新以後1870年代～1880年には英仏のコレクターが来日し日本の伝統的な文物を蒐集していくことで、印象派の美術にも影響を与えつつジャポニズムブームが広がった。

また所謂ベル・エポックの時代 (Belle Époque)、つまり1890年代19世紀末から第一次世界大戦前においては、世紀末芸術としてから幻想的・神秘的な性質が尊ばれるそれは第一次世界大戦 (1914年～1918年)という戦争の時代との接点が日本の室町時代の戦乱 (日本の皇統を分断させた南北朝の乱と京都を壊滅させた応仁の乱)と通底する点で重要である。

一方、能のフランス語翻訳は1921年のノエル・ペリ (Noël Péri, 1865–1922)の謡曲十作品の翻訳やG. ルノンド (Gaston Renondeau, 1879–1967)による謡曲の翻訳や研究がある。またポール・クロードル (フランス駐日大使: 1921–1927)は『朝日の中の黒い鳥』(L'Oiseau noir dans le soleil levant) (日本印象記)1927年刊 (藤田嗣治画⁹⁾)において大きな影響を与えた。ルネ・シフェール (René Sieffert, 1923 - 2004)は、フランス国立東洋文化研究所 (INALCO)の初代所長でもあり、世阿弥能楽論のフランス最初の翻訳書 (Zeami, *La tradition secrète du no*, Gallimard/Unesco, 1960)日本古典文学研究家で翻訳家であるが、世阿弥の能楽論を出発点として日本古典文学の翻訳を開始した点が注目すべきであり、能楽論から謡曲を翻訳する中で和歌、その出典の『万葉集』・『源氏物語』の翻訳へと展開する。

たとえば、フランス人女優・舞踏家エレヌ・ジュグラリス (Hélène Giuglaris, 1916–1951)は能を一度も見た経験がないにもかかわらず、想像力と自身の創作によりギメ美術館で舞うに至る (1949)。第二次世界大戦下のナチスドイツ軍が侵攻した閉塞感ただようパリにおいて能、羽衣 (Hagoromo)を自力で学び、羽衣に対する文学的なあこがれを舞踊の形にした。フランス、アルザスCEEJAに資料があり、静岡県三保の松原にエレヌを顕彰した記念碑「羽衣の碑」がある。

この例のように、新たな様式性と身体性を背後に展開する一つのジャンルとして能の性質にある文学的優位は、哲学・倫理の問題も含めて人間存在の根源的な在り方に関わる点で重要である。

6. 現代の新作能-能の持つ普遍的なテーマと可能性としての指標

能の持つ普遍的なテーマは古典能を再現するのみならず、現代的な問題を扱いグローバルな観点から、新作能として世界を席卷する可能性があり、その点で国際間の文化交流が可能になる¹⁰。特に能の台本は伝統的に文学としての性質が強い点ことから、期待値が高い。

⁹ 注 (内藤高訳『朝日の中の黒い鳥』講談社学術文庫、1988年)その内容は、日本滞在中に戯曲・詩・評論・演劇活動が示され能《道成寺》・《翁》・《隅田川》・《砧》などを観劇したこと等である。またクロードルは舞踊詩劇《女と影》を作った (七代目松本幸四郎らによって上演)。

¹⁰ 日本は宗教に対して寛容であり、もともと八百万の神という世界観をもち多神教的な性質のある日本の信仰の在り方は、宗教的世界観との親和性があり2012年キリシ

現代の新作能は、以下の通り、大きく二つの系譜に分かれるがいずれも詞章の文学的優位性は踏襲されている。

A能の古典的な性質(構成・演出・所作・舞・謡等)を踏襲した作能法
B能の構成を踏襲しつつ、演出や新たな要素を加えて¹¹、自由度を上げる
試み

日本側で創作される新作能はAの系譜であるが、今後伝統的な古典能と同時にBの新たな可能性、現代的な諸問題を扱った作品が登場することにより、問題提起となり伝統的な能の世界と新作能とが両輪のごとく活性化していく期待はある。

ここで新作能について歴史的に見れば¹²、日本において西洋文学を最初に能に翻案したのは1916年(大正五)高浜虚子作《鉄門》であり、これはメーテル・リンクの戯曲《タンタジールの死》の翻案となっており、復曲されている。近代に入り新作能は200曲以上が作られ再演されぬままの作品も多いがその後令和の時代に入り、次々と新しい作品が創作され発表されている。四世梅若実(玄祥)が取り組んだ一連の新作能への出演は、マリーアントワネットを演じる等現代能ともいえる新しい試みに満ちているし、最近で最も注目を集めているのは京都観世会の片山九郎右衛門氏の《媽祖》(2022年4月)がある¹³。玉川かおる氏の台本に基づき和歌を配した文学的な詞章である。

無論、宝生流辰巳満次郎氏が演じたシェイクスピア作品を能にした「新作能マクベス」・「新作能オセロ」の存在も見逃せず、こちらは梗概はシェイクスピアの原作通りであるが、詞章は非常に難解な文飾になっている¹⁴。

さらに現代において、注目すべきなのは、現代の社会問題を新作能にするという動きである。たとえば現代社会の抱える闇や類例のない原爆投下による被爆など世界的にもテーマ性ある問題をあつかったのが、多田富雄(1934–2010)である。《無明の井》(脳死問題)・《一石仙人》(アインシュタイン相対性理論)・《原爆忌》(広島原爆)・《長崎の聖母》・《沖縄残月記》・《横浜三時空》・《花供養》¹⁵などがあるが、社会問題と倫理的な問題が交差する。また、現代日本の代表的な文学作家のひと

タン能《聖パウロの回心》や2017年バチカン国交75周年《復活のキリスト》(宝生九郎)バチカン版演出などはキリスト教圏にとっては興味深い内容であろう。

¹¹ 新たな要素という場合には西洋における伝統的なクラシック音楽・バレエ・現代ダンスなど異分野コラボレーションの場合には、伝統的な能の形式に新しい音楽性・舞踊性を取り込むことになる。

¹² 西野春雄『新作能の百年』1・2・3 (『能楽研究』29・30・42法政大学能楽研究所、2005・2006・2018)参照。

¹³ 《媽祖》片山九郎右衛門企画作能・玉川かおる原作2022年4月2日初演、京都観世会館。京都観世会館では子供向けのリトミック能・昔話能などの一連の試みは世代をこえて能に対する普及活動の一端を担っている。

¹⁴ 泉紀子編『新作能マクベス』和泉書院、2015年。同氏『新作能オセロ』和泉書院、2018年。

¹⁵ 多田富雄・笠井賢一編『多田富雄新作能全集』藤原書店、2012年。

りでもある石牟礼道子 (1927–2018)の能《不知火》・《沖の宮》も環境活動への問題提起となっている¹⁶。

一方で、能が文学的なテーマ性を保ちつつ、新たなテーマ性を導入することによりコラボレーションをする試みも斬新である。

ポーランドと日本の関係性でいえば、エステラ・ジェロムスカ (Estera Żeromska)氏の一連の日本の古典芸能の御研究はポーランドへ日本の伝統芸能の在り方を伝えた点も含み大きな功績といえる¹⁷。

また着目すべきは、ヤドヴィガ・M・ロドヴィツチ (Jadwiga Maria Rodowicz)前ポーランド駐日大使の新作能「調律師—ショパンの能」2011年2月28日が上演されたが、ショパン (Chopin)の音楽と祖国への愛を作品内において定位している。ショパンは日本の人気も高く「ピアノの詩人」として著名であるが、その恋人であるジョルジュ・サンド (George Sand)は文学者としても著名である。

この新作能はワルシャワの聖十字協会と日本の国立能楽堂 (東京)において披露されたが、能楽堂にグランドピアノが初めて入った点で伝統芸能としては画期的な試みであった。形式は複式夢幻能のワキ画家のドラクロワ (Ferdinand Victor Eugène Delacroix)がジョルジュ・サンドの別荘で、ショパンの化身・靈魂に会うという内容が詩的な文飾あふれる詞章で語られ、さらに舞の場面ではショパンの靈魂が現れる。ショパンのピアノ作品によりポーランドの幻想的な雰囲気醸し出される¹⁸。すなわち、クラシック音楽と能楽とのコラボレーションでありつつドラクロワとショパンとの会話は文学的である。

また、2016年11月14日国立能楽堂で上演された同氏の《鎮魂》という作品は、福島 (東日本大震災・津波・原発事故)とアウシュビッツ強制収容所での痛みが時空をこえて交流する。ビルケナウ博物館を舞台に、アウシュビッツを訪れた日本人とポーランド人が刻まれた心の傷とを交流させて、悲痛な想いを超えて魂を鎮めていく。ここで注目すべきは、大震災翌年の「歌会始」で天皇皇后両陛下の「岸」の歌が詞章に織り込まれている点にある。

津波来し時の岸边は如何なりしと見下ろす海は青く静まる (天皇陛下)
 帰り来るを立ちて待てるに季のなく岸とふ文字を歳時記に見ず (皇后陛下)

日本の和歌が詞章に盛り込まれ、つぶさに生命が剥奪される「不条理ともいえる死」がもたらされ、日本とポーランドとの間の鎮魂が豊かな文

¹⁶ 石牟礼道子《新作能不知火》平凡社、2003年。

¹⁷ *Japoński teatr klasyczny: korzenie i metamorfozy*, tom 1.: *Nō, kyōgen*, tom 2.: *Kabuki, bunraku* (2010, Nagroda „Książka Miesiąca Grudnia 2010 roku” przyznana przez „Magazyn Literacki KSIĄŻKI”).

¹⁸ 中入りの際に①〈子守唄〉作品番号57変二長調②〈前奏曲〉作品番号28の4ホ短調が演じられ、そして後場においては③〈夜想曲〉作品番号27の17番嬰ハ短調④〈ノクターン〉作品番号20嬰ハ短調「遺作」が展開される。

学性によって表現される。台本のもつ詩的性質はそのまま詩劇といえる。

7. 結論

以上、能は一方で身体表現として体幹やすり足や肚の力、丹田の力や所作单元など舞台芸術上における表現の力がある。そしてその劇的表現の性質を展開する根源となる詞章は、文学的言葉の指示する内容を始点とすることで身体表現性が紡ぎ出され、同じ所作单元を用いる場合でも作品の表現性により変化が生じる。それぞれの意味性・テーマ性によって言語表現の差異により身体表現にも差異ができる。すなわち、再生芸術といわれる古典能の持つ可能性としては、劇を展開させる根源的な力をもつのは文学的事実であり、この詩的文学性が重要な箇所を占める。能の持つ詞章、言葉の力は韻文の性質により様々なイメージーションの源泉として他国の芸術に影響を与える可能性があるのは、普遍的ともいえる文学的主題であり問題提起といえる。また謡曲詞章は和歌的言語の持つ力・日本独自の修辭的な文体を駆使している点で、時に複雑で深い意味性が付与され、回想場面の中に独自の心理劇として神秘的で幽玄な世界を展開する。日本の古典、能の作品自体が本来的に持つAdaptationの性質・様式や構成が劇を展開する上での单元となり、詩的な性質が優位になっている。さらに物語の構造として詩的性質をもつ单元として置き換え可能な性質をもつ点も重要である。前場は古典文学など物語（ストーリー）を典拠とした箇所・中入り—間狂言（狂言方）による説明的箇所（コラボレーションとして違う芸術ジャンルの代替可能な箇所）・後場は、シテ主人公の心理的な葛藤描写から、昇華へ（鎮魂）という構成である。

普遍的な人間のもつ心理というテーマ性、心象風景として統一イメージに込められた月・花など和歌的な題材、さらに普遍的な題材—神（天下泰平・国土安穩・五穀豊穰への祈り—平和への祈り）、修羅能（修羅鬪諍の描写と供養）、鬘能（恋情の純粋性と苦悩と葛藤）、物狂い能：親子離別など愛別離苦の苦しみと葛藤、鬼（鬼神・変化の世界観）という分類の中に思想を盛り込みやすい。以上能の持つ文学的性質の可能性について概略をみてきた。能の持つ劇的な形式、例えばバレエとのコラボレーションのような完全な身体芸術としての表現性はまた身体芸術を軸とした見方であるが、一方で能本来の詞章の伝統は文学的性質が色濃く、新たな素材としての文芸創作の典拠としての位置や文学研究の対象としての要素が非常に強い点で、同じ古典芸能であっても台本が流動的である歌舞伎とは異なる位置にあり、その点でも能のもつ文学的様式性はその象徴的な性質や根源的な人間の生の在り方を問いかける力をもつ点で、混迷した現代社会において今後新たな展開をむかえる可能性が期待できる。

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Anime Landscapes and Real-life Places

Keywords: anime, *nichijōkei*, *seichijunrei*, *butaitanbō*, Shinkai Makoto, Kyoto Animation

Japanese animation is famous for its ability to create fantasy landscapes and otherworldly sceneries, yet the one thing anime is not known for, is its pursuit of realism. Animation as a medium is rather used for creating new worlds than depicting the existing one. According to George Andrew Stey, “Animation is undoubtedly highly formalistic in nature when compared to live-action film. Unlike the photography-based live-action mode of film, everything in an animated film is necessarily created by an animator rather than relying partly on a mechanical process. This allows creators to adapt and alter the world and its laws free from constraint.”¹ But in the last two decades, anime has made a remarkable shift in its orientation towards realism by including real-life Japanese sites into films. As Stey claims: “Certain works of Japanese animation appear to strive to approach reality, showing elements of realism in the visuals.”²

While recognising realistic elements in anime landscapes, one may ask the question posed by Michael Vito:

why, when animators begin with a blank sheet of paper and are constrained only by what their minds can conjure up, do so many recent productions extensively model real places. (...) Given realism of the setting is a design goal of these works, creating backgrounds purely from the mind will inevitably result in contradictions or inconsistencies. The contradictions are anachronistic inclusion of technologies, or landscapes that don't appear plausible. But modelling does not just provide bounds for deciding what to exclude. Neighbourhoods are complex, with variables such as topography, climate, local culture, subtle variations in colours, and the extent of deterioration of the built environment all interacting to create the essence of a place. The amount of information is so massive that animators, regardless of how imaginative

¹ George Andrew Stey, “Elements of Realism in Japanese Animation”, (M.A. diss., University of Ohio, 2009), 1.

² Stey, “Elements”, 1.

they may be, would not be able to generate all of these to a sufficient extent in a fictional setting. Ultimately, the most effective way to draw a world that feels like a real place is, not too surprisingly, to use a real place.³

Probably one of the first anime filmmakers who included realistic imagery of Japan in his film is Takahata Isao (1935–2018), in *Hotaru no Haka* (*Grave of the Fireflies*) from 1988. The film is based on the semi-autobiographical short story of the same name, written by Nosaka Akiyuki (1930–2015), published in 1967. The short story is based on the author's experiences before, during, and after the firebombing of Kobe in 1945, when his younger adoptive sister Keiko died of malnutrition. The story, and Takahata's film, are strongly autobiographical in more than one way. It is Nosaka's own story, but the filmmaker also lived through this period in history, he was in the fourth grade at the time, so he remembered the war and its aftermath.⁴

In 1987, during the film's production, Nosaka said that many offers had been made to create a film version of *Hotaru no Haka*. He argued that "it was impossible to create the barren, scorched earth that's to be the backdrop of the story."⁵ The author expressed surprise when an animated version was suggested. After seeing the storyboards for the anime, Nosaka concluded that it was not possible for such a story to have been made in any method other than animation, and expressed surprise in how faithfully the rice paddies and townscape were rendered.⁶ Creating the scenography for this film was a challenge for Takahata, who said in an interview while making the film:

I haven't depicted «Japan» before. That's because, in Japanese animation, you're not allowed to depict Japan with much realism. We can research a lot about foreign countries, though. If it's *Heidi, Girl of the Alps*, we can go to Switzerland and do field research. But that hasn't been done for a Japanese story.⁷

Bearing that in mind, *Hotaru no Haka* can be regarded as a breakthrough anime in terms of realism, because its animation team conducted thorough research to realistically portray war-time Japan, and because of the authentic story that is told in the

³ Michael Vito, "Animation, Urbanism and Tamako Market: A Discussion with Moriwaki Kiyotaka", *Like a Fish in Water*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://likeafishinwater.com/2014/11/27/animation-urbanism-and-tamako-market-a-discussion-with-moriwaki-kiyotaka/> .

⁴ "The Animerica Interview: Takahata and Nosaka: Two Grave Voices in Animation", *Animerica* 11, no. 2 (1994), 10.

⁵ "The Animerica Interview", 8.

⁶ "The Animerica Interview".

⁷ "The Animerica Interview".

film. *Hotaru no Haka* is an important initiator of realistic landscapes in anime, yet here these landscapes are from the past, so they offer almost no reference for today's viewers because these places of scorched earth and total devastation are long gone.

The staple of contemporary real-life locations in anime is obviously Tokyo. The Japanese capital has been portrayed extensively in many films and series in the 21st century, but there are also important examples in earlier films. Oshii Mamoru (born 1951) infused his films with realistic images of Tokyo as early as in 1989, in *Kidō Keisatsu Patoreibā: Gekijō-ban* (*Patlabor: The Movie*, 1989) and its sequel *Kidō Keisatsu Patoreibā the Movie 2* (*Patlabor 2: The Movie*, 1993). The story takes place in what was, at the time of its release, the near future of 1998–2002. Both films are set in Tokyo and the city's architecture is featured extensively in them. Stey claims that "Oshii achieves reality effects mainly through the visuals of his works, such as character designs and settings replete with detail."⁸ In *Patlabor*, Oshii's repeated use of long sequences that fully capture Tokyo's ever changing architecture afford him the scope of documenting the hybrid nature of the contemporary Japanese metropolis. The sequel develops the trend from the first movie, gaining significantly from the director's hands-on involvement in the exploration of the actual urban spaces from which the semi-fictional Tokyo portrayed in the film would emanate. To obtain this effect, Oshii undertook carefully planned fieldwork. Apart from relying on hundreds of photographs taken by location scouts, he took part in helicopter rides over Tokyo to conceive realistic bird's-eye views of the city. According to Stey: "Oshii clearly achieves much of the detailed settings through the use of photography, taking photographs of real locations to serve as models for drawings. This method of creating the setting of a film allows for an extremely high level of detail."⁹ Such a practice can be considered as the first step towards including real-life locations in anime, before digital photography and computer software facilitated and enhanced this process.

This photographic evolution of realistic backgrounds in anime can be seen in titles from the late 1990s and 2000s, such as Tōkyō *Goddofāzāzu* (*Tokyo Godfathers*, 2003) by Kon Satoshi (1963–2010). Stey claims that the director:

has consistently incorporated multiple elements of realism in his films. Reality effects are primarily brought about through visuals; detailed character designs, elaborate settings, light effects, and the use of colour all contribute to a realistic world portrayal. (...) The settings in Kon's films are also highly realistic, featuring an enormous amount of detail in contrast to most animation.¹⁰

⁸ Stey, "Elements", 17.

⁹ Stey, "Elements", 19.

¹⁰ Stey, "Elements", 7.

The plot of *Tōkyō Goddofāzāzu* set during Christmas time in the Japanese capital, yet the image of the city is far from festive and colourful. According to Stey:

Snow in Tokyo is gray and brown, the city is full of traffic cones, telephone lines and booths litter the sky and the streets, and rust and trash are plainly visible in the environment. This emphasis on imperfections and avoidance of beautification produces a clear reality effect, seeming as if the real world. (...) Details of settings in Kon's films further suggest reality by emphasizing imperfections and avoiding beautification in settings.¹¹

The importance of details and imperfections produces clearly realistic effects, the locations from the movie can be easily identified. "My ideas for movies come from the world I live in," Kon told *Time* magazine.¹² The level of detail in art design of Kon's films is achieved by the use of photography. The pictures of the locations were taken and used as models for drawings of settings. This process allows for an extreme level of detail which amplifies the realism. As a result of the use of photography, images such as city intersections, parks, bridges, and the Tokyo skyline all appear as if part of a live-action film rather than animation. According to Andrew Osmond "Many anime films have a city as a central character (...). Never, though, has an animated city seem so *real* (...), yet so distant."¹³ Yet in *Tōkyō Goddofāzāzu* "we see Tokyo's ever-crowded central districts from an outsider's perspective."¹⁴ It is important to notice that it is Kon's own perspective, because he wasn't a Tokyo native, he came to Tokyo from Hokkaido, when he was 19 years old, to study graphic design.

Shinkai Makoto (born 1973), another anime director famous for his elaborate images of Tokyo, shares a similar fate to Kon. He came to Tokyo from the Nagano prefecture, to study Japanese literature. As a teen, Shinkai wanted to leave the countryside for Tokyo and when his dream came true, he made his vision of Tokyo part of his films. The director is famous for realistic and detailed backgrounds of his animation. At the beginning of his career, in the short film *Kanojo to Kanojo no Neko (She and Her Cat, 1999)*, he used digital pictures of his apartment and its surroundings to present the story of a cat living in a small flat with its female owner. Shinkai used photographs to create very detailed backgrounds. He took pictures of cityscapes and the streets, and used them as a basis for his hand-drawn animation. In this case, realistic art design based on photographs is a key element in creating the climate of the film. Looking at Shinkai's renderings of Tokyo apartment blocks, the endless telephone and train wires, we are always aware that we

¹¹ Stey, "Elements", 8.

¹² Andrew Osmond, *Satoshi Kon. The Illusionist* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2009), 59.

¹³ Osmond, *Satoshi Kon*, 72.

¹⁴ Osmond, *Satoshi Kon*, 72.

are looking at a drawing. But it's a drawing made out of a picture and that is why it is vivid, accurate and recognisable.

Fourteen years later, in 2013 Shinkai employed similar methods to create his film *Kotonoha no Niwa* (*Garden of Words*), the visually stunning story of a teenager named Takao, and the mysterious 27-year-old woman he keeps meeting on rainy mornings at the Shinjuku Gyoen National Garden. While Takao is skipping his morning class to sketch shoe designs, the woman is avoiding work due to personal problems. Yet the emotional struggles of both characters are only an excuse to present the beauty of Shinjuku Gyoen, mostly during the rainy season when everything comes to life. The original idea for *Kotonoha no Niwa* came from Shinkai's desire to capture the beauty of the daily scenery in modern Tokyo and showcase it in a film. Having lived for ten years in Shinjuku¹⁵, he selected it as the location of the film and took thousands of photos, upon which he created his storyboards.¹⁶ As the director said:

The very first idea I wanted to put into this anime, was that of modern Tokyo, just the daily scenery that I see, and snapshots of the beautiful town that I live in. (...) In my work, especially *Garden of Words*, I want to share the beauty of my favourite places in Japan. The park in the film is a real place in Shinjuku that I like to visit. I would like to share the peace and harmony of unique places like this, and the love I have for my country. Maybe it will inspire people to visit.¹⁷

Shinkai modelled the garden in the film to match Shinjuku Gyoen. Following the Tōhoku earthquake in March 2011, he was worried that the park could be destroyed one day and wanted to preserve it in an animated film as his way of keeping it forever.¹⁸

The director is well known for his animation technique, which involves photography and rotoscoping, where filmed footage is traced over by animators. These two combined give his films a hyper realistic feel. He said that

The identity of Studio Ghibli movies is how the characters move. They move like live, real people. But how I work is in the backgrounds. The background is really important. So we actually go location hunting, and we want to recreate as much as possible. And when we have backgrounds without people in them, we still want to get proper details. That's us.¹⁹

¹⁵ Bamboo Dong, "Makoto Shinkai Q&A", Anime News Network, accessed May 2, 2022, <https://www.animenewsnetwork.com/convention/2013/anime-expo/27> .

¹⁶ Cynthia Webb, "Love in a Japanese Garden", The Jakarta Post, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/06/02/love-a-japanese-garden.html> .

¹⁷ Luke Carroll, "Interview: Makoto Shinkai", Anime News Network, accessed May 2, 2022, <https://www.animenewsnetwork.com/interview/2013-05-01/makoto-shinkai-the-garden-of-words-interview> .

¹⁸ Webb, "Love in a Japanese Garden".

¹⁹ Will Jones, "We Spoke to Makoto Shinkai, the Director Being Called «The New Hayao Miyazaki»", Complex, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.complex.com/pop-culture/2016/10/your-name-makoto-shinkai-interview/>

Like any other anime, *Kotonoha no Niwa* was created using a combination of hand-drawn animation, rotoscoping and computer animation, which Shinkai used to create a realistic appearance of the film's rain sequences. But unlike other anime, he made half of the film's backgrounds by using his photographs of Tokyo locations as a base and then drawing over the top with Photoshop, but he didn't use Photoshop to modify the pictures. Such a process resulted in the photorealistic quality of the scenery, especially Shinjuku Gyoen. The viewers can almost feel the film's environment because of how life-like and vibrant it is.

In his next film, *Kimi no Na wa* (*Your Name*, 2016) Shinkai combined realistic locations of Tokyo and the countryside, with a fantasy plot of gender swapping and apocalyptic disaster. Yet although the story is far from realistic, the filmmaker placed it in real-life, present-day Japan, represented by Tokyo and countryside locations. The backgrounds in his film are so faithfully rendered that the real-life places presented in *Kimi no Na wa* have become tourist attractions visited by hundreds of thousands of devoted fans, not only in Tokyo, but also in Hida (Gifu prefecture) with its now famous library, Hida Furukawa train station, and even the small Miyagawa Ochiai Bus Stop. *Kimi no Na wa* was so successful that shortly after its opening it became the highest grossing anime in Japan and across the world. The movie is also responsible for the revival of the anime pilgrimage phenomenon in Japan.

Fans' visits to places featured in anime are called *seichijunrei*, a sacred site pilgrimage. Some of these places, like Tokyo's districts of Akihabara and Ikebukuro have been popular among anime fans for decades, but "other places traditionally left out of conventional tourist routes have turned into high-profile destinations thanks to the spontaneous development of *seichijunrei*, fan pilgrimages to places that inspired the background settings for popular anime [films and] series"²⁰, writes Antonio Loriguillo-López. The first anime pilgrimages date back to the 1990s, "when fans began to seek out sites connected with specific anime. One of the earliest known pilgrimages occurred when fans inspired by the series *Bishō-jo Senshi Sērā Mūn* (*Sailor Moon*, 1992–97) gathered at the Hikawa Shrine in Azabu, that inspired the shrine featured in the series", states Dale K. Andrews.²¹ The Japan National Tourism Organization has started publishing guidebooks and websites dedicated to anime destinations around the whole country. But the term *seichijunrei* has only begun to receive media attention since 2008, and became

²⁰ Antonio Loriguillo-López, "Scene Hunting for Anime Locations. Otaku tourism and Cool Japan," in *The Routledge Companion to Media and Tourism*, ed. Maria Månsson, Annæ Buchmann, Cecilia Cassinger and Lena Eskilsson (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), 287.

²¹ Dale K. Andrews, "Genesis at the Shrine: The Votive Art of an Anime Pilgrimage," in *Mechademia. Vol. 9: Origins*, ed. by Frenchy Lunning, (Minneapolis-London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 218.

a huge phenomenon after the success of *Kimi no Na wa*. According to Michael Vito “Hida City officials have already located numerous scenic spots from the anime *Your Name* and have posted train times for when would be the best time to capture a shot of the specific train coming through the station as in the film.”²² Shinkai’s painstaking recreations of everyday Tokyo scenes have prompted fans to pursue *seichijunrei* to many locations from the film, such as the stairs near Suga shrine in Shinjuku, Yotsuya Station, the Shinano-machi Station pedestrian bridge or Cafe La Bohème and many others.

The *seichijunrei* experience can be further extended into a fan practice called *butaitanbō* – stage exploring, which means a more exhaustive exploration and the creation of photographs of the area to match the way the location appears in the film as precisely as possible. Presenting side by side image comparisons is aimed to show how closely many anime settings are based on existing locations. Some shot-for-shot recreations are extremely accomplished. The frames are accompanied by the title of the film or episode, some even include precise minutes and seconds within the running time. The *butaitanbō* material provides a comfortable grasp of the spaces photographed due to their morphological traits, sharpness, accurate scale and perspective, well-lit scenes even indoors and composition as faithful to anime as possible. Captions of the actual shots include useful information about addresses, bus stops, GPS coordinates or Google Maps link. Some of the posts conclude with a Google Map that records each one of the steps taken in each *butaitanbō* session in case other fans are interested in reproducing it.²³

Movies of Shinkai Makoto encourage *seichijunrei* and *butaitanbō* practices because they are based on real-life places which are faithfully rendered in the film and can easily be recognised, even if they are not located in Tokyo. According to Dale K. Andrews, “Fans, who begin their journey by viewing the two-dimensional anime, travel through three-dimensional space of Japan and then proceed to document this categorically «analogue» activity in a digital space online.”²⁴ There are numerous websites and blogs featuring journeys and images from places featured in Shinkai’s films *Kotonoha no Niwa*, *Kimi no Na wa* and the latest so far, *Tenki no Ko (Weathering with You, 2019)*. These side-by-side comparisons also reveal the extent to which Shinkai and his team went to precisely depict Tokyo and other locations. Even small details like letterings on signs, antennas on top of buildings and tree branches in the park were correctly recreated. Such a meticulous rendering of real-life places encourages *butaitanbō* sessions and is especially rewarding for fans.

²² Michael Vito, “Pilgrimage to Hida for Kimi no Na wa.”, *Lika a Fish in Water*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://likeafishinwater.com/2017/04/03/pilgrimage-to-hida-for-kimi-no-na-wa/>.

²³ Loriguillo-López, “Scene Hunting”, 292.

²⁴ Andrews, “Genesis at the Shrine”, 219.

Another crucial factor in enhancing anime fans' activities, such as *seichijunrei* and *butaitanbō* comes from the recent evolution of anime genres. According to Loriguillo-López:

There is the noteworthy emergence of the *nichijōkei* (or daily life anime) since the middle of the last decade. This subgenre is associated with the works of studios such as Kyoto Animation, whose detailed rendering of everyday life spaces and meticulous animation (...) have become the model for fans and artists.²⁵

Kyoto Animation (KyoAni) has become recognised for its high production values resulting in the high quality of animation, as well as thematic orientation in presenting

sensitivity to the wonders and quandaries of ordinary life. (...) Stylistically, the effectiveness of KyoAni's proposition regarding the importance of everyday life typically depends on a subtle interplay of distillation (fostered by a penchant for minimalism and stylization) and realism (borne out primarily by a preference for vivid details and a pervasive atmosphere of immediacy). (...) Minimalism and stylization are at times so refined as to a verge of the surreal, yet the visuals never lose contact altogether insofar as impeccable stylishness and painstaking attention to minutiae infuse the at all times with a strong sense of verisimilitude²⁶

– writes Dani Cavallaro.

Nichijōkei ('slice of life') fiction, is a new genre in manga and anime, which became dominant in the late 2000s. In her article about trends of fiction in 2000s Japanese pop culture Tanaka Motoko writes: "According to a study by Kinema Junpō Research Institute, this genre was born in the *yonkoma* manga (four cell manga) format, and describes teen drama in daily school life by using slice of life narrative techniques. Stories in *yonkoma* manga are often developed as animated series or films."²⁷ The slice of life anime has become KyoAni's specialty, since the studio produced a great number of series representing this genre: *Clannad* (2007), *Raki Suta* (*Lucky Star*, 2007–08), *K-On!* (*Keion!*, 2009–2011), *Nichijō* (2011), *Hyōouka* (2012), *Free!* (2013–14), *Tamako Māketto* (*Tamako Market*, 2013), *Hibike! Yūfoniamu* (*Sound! Euphonium*, 2015–16), *Kobayashi-san Chi no Meidoragon*

²⁵ Loriguillo-López, "Scene Hunting", 290.

²⁶ Dani Cavallaro, *Kyoto Animation: A Critical Study and Filmography* (Jefferson and London: McFarland and Company, 2012), 12–13.

²⁷ Motoko Tanaka, "Trends of Fiction in 2000s Japanese Pop Culture", *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies*, Vol. 14, (Issue 2, 2014), https://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/ejcs/vol14/iss2/tanaka.html#_edn13.

(*Miss Kobayashi's Dragon Maid*, 2017–21). *Nichijōkei* works have a number of specific features. The setting of the story is limited to daily life in contemporary Japan, such as the main characters' schools or neighbourhoods. The main characters in most *nichijōkei* works are usually high school students who eventually grow up and graduate. They have highly fictive features, but the background of the animation uses real settings, real landscapes, or real materials. Thus, the *nichijōkei* genre is based on the idiosyncratic characteristic of hybrid reality and fiction, and this hybridity is a feature that has appeal to its fans.²⁸

According to Dani Cavallaro “KyoAni’s ability to evoke images, which are patently artificial but feel consummately real, is memorably demonstrated in all of its productions, by a tendency to use real-life locations as the bases of its settings, to pay homage to their distinctive features with naturalistic punctiliousness (...). Among the many real-world places featuring in KyoAni’s anime as luminously transfigured settings are Jindai High School in Chōfu, Tokyo Metropolis (*Full Metal Panic? Fumoffu* and *Full Metal Panic! The Second Raid*); Nishinomiya Kita High School in Hyōgo Prefecture, Kansai (*The Melancholy of Haruhi Suzumiya*); Kōnan Hospital in Central Tokyo (*The Disappearance of Haruhi Suzumiya*); the fishing village of Kasumi (a.k.a. Kami) in Hyōgo Prefecture, Kansai (*Air*); the towns of Moriguchi in Osaka Prefecture, Yokohama in Kanagawa Prefecture, Tachikawa in Western Tokyo and Sapporo in Hokkaido (*Kanon*); Komaba Junior-high and High School affiliated to the University of Tsukuba in Setagaya, Tokyo (*Clannad*); Kasukame School in Saitama Prefecture, Kantō (*Lucky Star*); Toyosato Elementary School in Shiga Prefecture, Kansai (*K-ON!*, *K-ON!!* and *K-ON! movie*); Kyoto Tower, Kinkakuji Temple, Kitano Tenmangu Shrine, Arashiyama and Hanazono Kaikan Hotel in Kyoto (*K-ON!!*); London, UK (*K-ON! movie*).”²⁹

Keion! from Kyoto Animation is one of the most successful and representative *nichijōkei* anime. The story revolves around four girls who join the light music club at Sakuragaoka Girls’ High School to try to save it from breaking up. The stories in *Keion!* intentionally erase all dramatic events, focusing instead on the mundane details of the daily lives of the characters in the slice of life mode. What is important in *nichijōkei* characteristics is a realistic setting based on real-life locations. KyoAni has made its trademark detailed renderings of existing sites, and the settings in *Keion!* are no exception. As Cavallaro writes:

Most of the settings deployed by *K-On!* are based directly on real-life sites and, in keeping with KyoAni’s legendary reputation in the field of background art, are astonishingly accurate in their rendition not only of material details but also defining ingredients of particular venue’s ambience. This is

²⁸ Tanaka, “Trends of Fiction”.

²⁹ Cavallaro, *Kyoto Animation*, 13–14.

blatantly obvious to most viewers in the case of the places depicted in the Kyoto-trip episode. (...) The majority of the places seen by the girls in their ramblings, which invariably fall in the category of iconic sites, include Kyoto Tower, the Kinkakuji and Kitano Tenmangu Shrine as well as Arashima with Iwatayama Monkey Park and the Moon Crossing Bridge. (...) It is worth pointing out, however, that even Sakuragaoka Girls' Highschool – which constitutes the anime's principal setting throughout its unfolding – is meticulously modelled on a real-life location: the Toyosato Public elementary School. The real-life Toyosato is situated in the Inukami District in Shiga Prefecture, near Kyoto Prefecture.³⁰

According to fans who visited Toyosato, the visuals used in *K-On!* to depict school are virtually identical to the old campus of the Toyosato Public Elementary School, particularly the music rooms and the auditorium. Many unique elements from the actual school are faithfully recreated in the fictional school. The old Campus has also been given a new life by its fresh image as the prime setting of a well-loved anime. According to Matthew Li:

There's a history to this building; designed by William Merrell Vories, an American Christian missionary, in 1937, it served as a symbol to the modernization of the town. However, in 1999 it was planned to be demolished and replaced by a new school. Residents successfully preserved the building and currently use it as a library and daycare center.³¹

The school was relocated in 2004 and its remaining building is now used as a town library. Thus it accepts visitors and has become a 'mecca' for fans of the show who arrive in the small town of Toyosato to have tea or play music in the school's music room, just like the protagonists of their favourite series. Guests leave messages on the blackboard, these messages are photographed at the end of every day and put online for everyone to see. Toyosato, the 20th smallest town in Japan, is around two hours away by local line from Kyoto, so it is not easily accessible, yet even such a remote location can become famous and attract a lot of visitors by appearing in a popular anime series.

Anime has been the subject of pilgrimages thanks to both its aesthetic evolution and the changes in the online world. The aesthetic evolution has led to realistic and detailed settings based on real-life locations, such as in the films of Oshii Mamoru, Kon Satoshi and especially Shinkai Makoto or Kyoto Animation. The filmmakers used photography to different extents in creating the backgrounds for their films,

³⁰ Cavallaro, *Kyoto Animation*, 144.

³¹ Matthew Li, "The Longevity of Anime Pilgrimages", AnimeTourism, accessed May 6, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20171107005511/http://animetourism.com/longevity-of-anime-pilgrimages/>.

so the evolution of photographic image technology is also one of the factors that changed the image of Japan in anime. By including real-life locations and filling them with as much detail as possible, anime creators encouraged another level of fan engagement in anime. One of the most significant notions is the level of commitment the fans undertake in their *seichijunrei* and *butaitanbō* practices. By travelling to the films' locations, documenting those journeys and publishing side-by-side image comparisons, viewers prove not only their devotion, but also a high level of media literacy. Consequently "online groups, blogs and social networking sites help otaku to spread both their emotional responses and precise information about their favourite films. Thus, fan activities, such as *seichijunrei* and *butaitanbō*, appear as an extension to emotional networking that makes full use of individual information technologies"³² claims Loriguillo-López. In those new fan activities the evolution of anime as a medium can be noted. From one that creates fantastic landscapes, into one that gives a new visibility to existing locations. Images taken from reality become a part of the imaginary universe of anime. Then, owing to the new participatory practice of *seichijunrei*, the images from anime become real places again. And then, owing to the creative aspect of *butaitanbō*, they enter the hyperreal domain of online digital images.

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³² Loriguillo-López, "Scene Hunting", 290.

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旅と芸術—東影智裕を中心に

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キーワード: 旅 日本現代美術 ずれ

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序

かつて詩聖、松尾芭蕉(1644–1694)は『奥の細道』¹冒頭で「月日は百代の過客にして、行きかふ年もまた旅人なり (月日は永遠の旅人であり、やってきては過ぎていく年も旅人である)」と述べた。ここでは月日や年が「永遠の旅人」に譬えられている。芭蕉自身もまた生涯旅に出て、数多くの名句を残した旅人であった。辞世の句「旅に病んで 夢は枯野を かけ廻る」は、元禄7年(1694年)9月29日夜から下痢を発病して病床に就き、10月8日深更に作句したとされる。あるいは日常の暮らしの中でも、流れてゆく時間に無情を感じ、旅人と自分を重ね合わせてみる心性は、鴨長明(1155–1216)の『方丈記』² からも見てとれるだろう。『方丈記』の冒頭で鴨長明は「行く川の流は絶えずして、しかも、もとの水にあらず。淀みに浮かぶうたかたかは、かつ消え、かつ結びて、久しくとどまりたるためしなし。世の中にある人とすみかと、またかくのごとし。」(流れていく川の流は絶えることがなくて、それでいて、(その水は刻々移り)もとの水ではない。流れの淀んでいるところに浮かぶ水の泡は、一方で消えたかと思うと、一方ではまたできて、いつまでもそのままの状態が存在していることはない。このように生まれてきている人と住まいも、また、同じようなものである。)と書いた。水は常に動き流れており、人もまた同じように留まっではない、無情のあわれを感じさせる。平安末期から鎌倉時代にかけて、度重なる

¹ 元禄文化期に活躍した俳人、松尾芭蕉の俳諧集、紀行文。芭蕉の崇敬する西行500回忌にあたる元禄2年(1689年)に、門人の河合曾良を伴って江戸を発ち、奥州、北陸道を巡りながら東北各地に点在する歌枕や古跡を訪ねた。全行程約2400km、約150日で東北・北陸を巡って元禄4年(1691年)に江戸に戻った記録を芭蕉没後の1702年に刊行。

² 鴨長明による鎌倉時代の随筆。日本中世文学の代表的な随筆。建暦2年(1212年)執筆とされる。平安末期から鎌倉初期にかけて、干ばつや台風、地震、火災など天変地異が続き、世の中は不安定であった。長明は安元3年(1177年)の都の火災、治承4年(1180年)に都で発生した竜巻、福原京遷都、養和年間(1181年~1182年)の飢饉、元暦2年(1185年)に都を襲った大地震(文治地震)など、自らが経験した天変地異も記述。

争いで都は荒れ、また頻繁に火災や地震が発生して形あるものが失われる喪失体験を数々経験していた。鴨長明は下賀茂神社をつかさどる神職の次男として生まれながらも、後ろ盾を失って出家した。物や権力に翻弄される現世に対する無常観をひしひしと感じ、それを随筆に託していたのかもしれない。

こうした無常観、移ろいゆくものへの諦念や、その儚さを尊ぶ心性は、平安時代の貴族たちによって「もののあわれ」として形容され、芸術の主要なテーマともなってきた。四季折々の変化を細やかに感じ、いつくしむと同時に、震災や洪水、干ばつなど天変地異や、長引く戦いを嘆き、現世に留まるよりも極楽往生を遂げたいと救済を願う気持ちは、祈りや敬虔な宗教者を敬い貴ぶよう人々を向かわせたのかもしれない。例えば先に述べた、芭蕉が憧れ慕った先達、西行法師（1118年—1190年）は、平安時代末期から鎌倉時代初期にかけての高名な武士、僧侶であり歌人である。歌と仏道の二つの道を歩んだ存在として多くの人々より崇拜され、彼の旅路での姿が、様々な逸話や伝説を伴って説話集として読み継がれている。1140年、20代前半で出家して西行法師と名乗り、30才頃より東北や四国などへ旅に出て和歌を詠んだ。その姿は西行物語絵巻など多くの絵画にも描かれ、後世への影響も極めて大きい。西行に限らず旅人の姿は、絵巻物はじめ多くの日本絵画作品にも多く描かれてきた。恐らくは、中国の老荘思想³や隠遁の思想からも影響を受け、日本の山河の美しく包み込むような景観と合わさって、日本の絵画は独自の発展を遂げ、人々から愛されてきた。旅人たちが住み慣れた土地を離れて彷徨う寂しさ心もとなさは、郷愁を掻き立てるとともに、はるかな世界への憧れと畏れを感じさせるものでもある。

こうした両義的な移ろい彷徨う感覚、故郷を離れて旅する、あるいは故郷を喪失して彷徨う無常観は現代にも受け継がれており、様々な場面で「旅」が重要なモチーフとして、あるいは比喩として登場する。とりわけ芸術家たち自身こそが常に、自身の居場所を求めて道なき道に分け入り、さまよい続ける「旅人」とも言えよう。「旅」は人々の憧れをかきたて、遙かな想像の世界へと誘う。2019年年末以降世界を襲ったコロナ禍によって、緊急事態宣言が発令されるなど異常事態が続き、移動が大きく制限される中、「旅」への渴望は一層高まっていた。馴染みの場所を物理的に離れ、異郷を経めぐる旅もあれば、日常の洞察を通して旅人の視点を獲得することもある。人生そのものを旅に譬えることもできる。旅は、比喩的表現も含めて様々に解釈され、多様で豊かな芸術作品を生み出し続けてきた。旅にまつわる移ろい彷徨う感覚や、儚い無常観、故郷喪失の寂寥感などは、芸術家にとって本質的に共有される感覚かもしれない。つまり先述のように、芸術家自身が、居場所を探してき

³ 中国発祥の哲学思想。老子と莊子を合わせた名称で、道家の中心思想としてとりわけ魏晉南北朝時代に取りあげられた。老荘思想が最上の物とするのは「道」である。道は天と同義で使われる場合もあり、また天よりも上位にある物として使われる場合もある。「道」には様々な解釈があり、道家の名は「道」に基づく。

まよい続ける「旅人」とも呼べるのではないか。こうした観点より本稿では、「旅」と芸術との関係について考察を行う。ここでは、旅を象徴的に捉えることで、その本質に迫る。とりわけ、兵庫県生まれの東影智裕(1978-)に注目し、彼がポーランドと日本とを行き来した際に強く感じた「ずれ」と表現の変遷を中心に論じた。

1. ポーランドとの出会い

ポーランドの古都クラクフは、中世の佇まいの残る美しいヨーロッパの街である。歴史的にも政治・経済・文化の重要な拠点として栄え、過去多数の芸術家を輩出してきた(図1)。19世紀末から20世紀初頭にかけて「若きポーランド」⁴運動の中心となり、また20世紀後半を代表する芸術家・舞台演出家のタデウシュ・カントル(1915–1990)⁵の活動の拠点でもあった。一方、度重なる闘いや占領に翻弄された複雑な歴史の影も色濃く残る。それらはホロコーストの記憶と共に街の至る所に入り込み、息づき、美しさと悲しみの混じる、光と影とを併せ持った場所として人々に愛され、受け継がれている。この地で、東影智裕は五島記念文化財団の助成を得て2017年3月から1年間を過ごした。東影は1978年兵庫県に生まれ、東京を拠点として活動した後、現在は兵庫県に戻って制作を続けている。初期には版画の技法を学び、やがて動物と機械とを組み合わせたような立体作品を制作(図2)、そして兎や犬、牛、ラクダなど主に草食動物の頭部を精巧に作成し、エポキシパテを用いて丹念に毛並みを入れて仕上げる作品で注目される(図3)。その穏やかな表情は、見る者を惹き込み、喜びと悲しみ、生と死、光と闇など対概念を同時に伝え、毛並みが周囲の空間へと侵食してゆくような広がりを持つ。鑑賞者はそれぞれの記憶を遡りつつ、作品に感情移入することができる。

兵庫県出身である縁もあり、2011年の龍野アートプロジェクト初回「刻の記憶」⁶に、同じく兵庫県出身で故郷ゆかりの、ユン・ヒチャン、小谷真輔と共に参加した。かつて醤油蔵として使われていた場所で、そこにあった道具たちを巧みに用いながら、精巧に作成した動物

⁴ 1890～1918年のポーランドにおける新芸術運動。当時オーストリア領（ガリツィア）だったクラクフを中心として興り、ワルシャワ、ルヴフにも広がった。当時のヨーロッパのモダニズム、退廃主義などの影響を受けて、伝統的な実証主義、写実主義と決別。

⁵ ポーランドの芸術家、舞台演出家、ハプニング作家、画家、芸術理論家。20世紀後半における独創的芸術家として知られる。特に演劇において新たな表現を切り拓き、広く影響を与え続けている。クラクフを拠点として活動し、同市にカントル芸術資料館クリコテカがある。

⁶ 芸術監督は筆者。龍野アートプロジェクトは2011年から2020年まで継続し、2021年からはたつのアートシーンとしてリニューアル開催。アーカイブはHistory | たつのアートシーン (tatsuno-artscene.jp) 参照 (2022年9月23日閲覧)。

の頭部を展示し、見る者の視線を捉えた（図4）。鑑賞者はリアルだがどこか物憂く、擬人化されているような動物たちを見つめ、あたかも感情移入をするような経験を得ると同時に、かつての醤油蔵で多くの職人が作業し生産していた頃の活気あふれた賑わいの様子が思われ、時空間が広がり、つながってゆくようであった（図5）。続いて2013年の龍野アートプロジェクト「刻の記憶」にも東影は参加し、今度は江戸時代の数寄屋風の茶室である聚遠亭浮見堂（図6）を会場として、動物の頭部や表皮の広がりを流木などとも組み合わせ、より空間を強く意識させるような展示を実現した（図7）。2013年の龍野アートプロジェクトに同じく参加していたポーランド現代美術作家、ミロスワフ・パウカ（1958-）の作品と接する機会を得た。パウカは元醤油蔵の土壁にモノクロームの映像作品《The Fall》（2001）を投影したが、ゆっくりと流れ落ちる砂と、地面より立ち現れる新たな風景とが、まるで死と再生を表すようにも感じられ、使われなくなって朽ちかけた建物が新たに蘇って活気づいてゆく姿とも重なって見えた。東影はこのパウカのシンプルであるが力強く、象徴性の高い崇高とも言える作風に感銘を受けたに違いない。また2015年のタデウシュ・カントル生誕100周年記念年に際しては、日本でも各地で催しが行われ⁷、カントルの世界が80年代に続いて改めて日本で広く紹介された。論者も京都市立芸術大学ギャラリー@KCUAにて「死の劇場—カントルへのオマージュ」展を企画し、合わせて演劇の記録映像の上映会や講演会、シンポジウムなどを行ったが、こうした機会を通じてカントルの世界の魅力に東影も惹き込まれていったという。こうしてポーランドの歴史や文化に対する興味が深まり、幸いにも五島記念文化賞を得て、2017年3月から翌年3月までのクラクフ滞在が実現する。光と影が同居する創造と破壊の街での新しい経験は、さぞ刺激に満ちたものであったに違いない。しかし／だからこそ、それは同時に、自分自身と再度出会い、創造の原点に戻る体験にも繋がったのではないだろうか。

東影にとって初めての異国での滞在は驚きに満ちた豊かなものであっただろう。1年という限られた時間ではあるが、だからこそ、あえてポーランドでは制作には取り掛からず、彼はクラクフでの日々を最大限に味わい、吸収しようとしてつとめた。彼は観察し、感じとり、つかの間の旅行者として、そこで起きている全てを味わおうとした。旅人であること、すなわち、慣れ親しんだ文化とは異なる場所に身を置き、違いを味わい、発見を楽しむ。定住するのではなく、いずれ立ち去ることが前提とされているからこそ、瞬間を味わい尽くし、一期一会の出会いを得難い貴重なものとして、その本質に迫り発見することができたのではないだろうか。ちなみに、このクラクフ滞在期間の出会いをきっかけと

⁷ 例えば東京芸術劇場「ポーランド演劇の現在形」<https://www.geigeki.jp/performance/theater104/>、「死の劇場—カントルへのオマージュ」展、京都市立芸術大学ギャラリー@KCUA https://www.kcuu.ac.jp/20151010_kantor/（共に2022年9月23日閲覧）。

して、彼の作品3点が後にクラクフ現代美術館のコレクションに収蔵され、常設展示で活用されている(図8, 9, 10)。

帰国後2018年に大阪のGallery Nomart で開催された個展「LIVING IN LIGHT」では、クラクフ滞在中に感じた光の印象を取り入れた作品が映像と共に示された(図11, 12)。時間を置かず、2019年の日本ポーランド国交樹立100周年を記念する展覧会「セレブレーション：日本ポーランド現代美術展」⁸にも東影は参加し、京都、ポズナン、シチェチンの三都市で作品を展示した(図13, 14, 15)。「セレブレーション」展については、2019年ワルシャワで開催された「直筆」シンポジウムでも短い報告を行ったが、そこではポーランドと日本の中堅若手作家たちの作品を展示しつつ、美学と批評の間を探り、「儂い詩情」の現れとしての現代美術の在り方や、歴史や文化的背景が大きく異なるにも関わらず、日本とポーランドの作家たちに見られる共通性について考察を行った。特に東影の作品は、生と死の狭間にあって、静かに観客に訴えかける力強さ、記憶や時間の現れに注目したものであり、バウカやカントルへの応答であったとも言えよう。ただし、作品自体は海外滞在以前のものを受け継ぐ形で展開であり、在外研修の成果が結実するには更に時間が必要であった。

2. 帰国記念展

2021年に、東影は帰国成果展として、東京と大阪にて個展「見えない時間」を開催した。東京展の会場となったのは、岡倉天心に師事し、近代彫刻の基礎を築いた平櫛田中が暮らし、制作していた旧平櫛田中邸アトリエである。木造家屋の柔らかな陰影が印象的な部屋や、広い天窓から自然光の差し込む、かつて日本では珍しかったであろうアトリエなど変化に富む屋内で、当時の面影を残す家具や道具などと共に、東影の最新作が配置された(図16)。動物の頭部などを毛並みの細部まで繊細に表現する自らのスタイルを引き継ぎながらも、更にセメントや陶器を用いたり、樹脂を用いずモルタルに水粘土を混ぜた作品が登場するなど、これまでにはない新しい試みも伺えた(図17)。流木の表面に毛並みが侵食していったり(図18)、既存の照明器具や窓枠なども毛並みで覆われてゆくような(図19)、どこからか忍び寄り寄生してゆく気配が会場に広がる。まるで作品たちが独自に生命を得て、建物と密やかに会話を始めているようにも思えた。作品に取り入れられた流木は、台風などの折に山

⁸ 日本ポーランド国交樹立100周年記念 「セレブレーション—日本ポーランド現代美術展—<https://culture.pl/jp/event/%E3%82%BB%E3%83%AC%E3%83%96%E3%83%AC%E3%83%BC%E3%82%B7%E3%83%A7%E3%83%B3%EF%BC%8D%E6%97%A5%E6%9C%AC%E3%83%9D%E3%83%BC%E3%83%A9%E3%83%B3%E3%83%89%E7%8F%BE%E4%BB%A3%E7%BE%8E%E8%A1%93%E5%B1%95>
<https://www.kac.or.jp/events/25636/> (2022年9月23日閲覧)

奥から流されて川を下って海に流れ着き、そして長い旅を経て浜辺に打ち上げられたものである。山で木々が成長するために費やされたであろう長い時間、激しい嵐、風雨によって下流へと流された時間、海で漂流していた年月、そして海辺で東影に発見され、アトリエで作品として生まれ変わる様々な時間を流木は内包している。流木の意図しない自然の造形は東影の感性と呼応し、彼によって新たな生を得ることとなった。東影がそれまでは主として、エポキシパテを用いて数センチ角ごとに少しずつ毛並みを入れながら、時間をかけて仕上げてゆく制作スタイルであった。しかし新たな試みとして、粘土を使うことで、彼の手の痕跡をじかに残すことが可能となり、また制作過程がよりリアルに感じ取れるだけに、そこから時間の流れをより強く感じさせる作品となった。クラクフでの経験と彼自身のそれまでの記憶とが絡まり、反応して新たなものが生みだされている。その新しさはしかし、元々彼の中で眠っていた要素でもあるだろう。異国での経験が触媒となってもたらされた、とも言える。東影の作品には、これまで牛や兎、ラクダなど動物の頭部が登場することが多かったが、今回の個展においては、尚頭部らしき形も見られるものの、モルタルの塊や、流木と陶器の重なりはもはや具体的な動物の姿を取っていない (図20)。それでもそこに、抽象的になった生き物の気配が濃厚であり、抒情性とどこか哀しみを帯びた存在として立ち現れ、瞳の奥から、あるいは重なりや亀裂の奥深くより、見る者に語り掛けているようだ。

作品が語り始めるような経験がはっきりと見てとれたのは大阪のギャラリーノマルで開催された帰国記念展第二弾であった。ホワイトキューブの会場は東京会場とは趣が異なり、そこに東影の最新作を含む作品が配置され、緊張感のあるたたずまいを見せた (図21)。会期中には「彫刻 × バレエ × ピアノ—即興の共振」すなわち、世界的バレエダンサー針山愛美 (えみ)と演奏家のsara(.es)⁹と東影作品のコラボレーションイベントが開催された。会場は照明が消され、2階からの明かりだけが微かに漏れてくる薄闇の中、まず白い衣装を身にまとった針山が静かに登場し、長年培ったバレエのポーズを取りつつパフォーマンスで介入し、眠りにまどろむ作品たちに呼びかけ、隠れたものを引き出してくる。続いてsaraがハーモニカを吹きつつ深紅の衣装で登場し、ピアノの前におもむろに座る。鍵盤に触れる前に、椅子を打ち鳴らして打楽器とバレエと彫刻とのセッションがしばし続いた (図22)。一旦針山が退場するとsaraのピアノ即興演奏の波が押し寄せ、激しく、また心地よい流れが会場を包む。続いて針山が赤の衣装に着替えて登場し、saraの演奏に乗りながら会場の作品たちに近づき、眺め、あたかも作品と対話を交わしている

⁹ .es (ドットエス)2009年、大阪の現代美術画廊「Gallery Nomart (ギャラリーノマル)」にて結成。橋本孝之 (alto sax, guitar, harmonica) + sara (piano, others)の二人によるコンテンポラリー・ミュージック・ユニット。現代美術ディレクター林聡がプロデューサー。結成当初より現代美術など様々な領域とのコラボレーションを重ね異彩を放つ。

ような時間が続いた。時間の流れが変化し、会場全体もまた、どこか異次元へ紛れ込んでいるような特異な感覚が得られた(図23)。時間と空間との交錯、心地よい緊張と高揚の中、終盤クライマックスに差し掛かって突然部屋の照明が入り、明るい中での針山、saraと東影作品とが息づき、即興演奏を通じて、作品たちが今にも動き出しそうに感じられ、確かに「対話」がそこで進行していることが伝わって、互いの呼びかけに満ちた空間が出現していた。どこか、ここではない場所へ誘われたような、得難い貴重な経験であった。

3. 見えない時間とずれ

東影によれば、時間の移り変わりははっきりと目に見えないものの、陰影の微かな変化によって感じ取ることができる。また日本とポーランドと、それぞれの場所でも独自の時間が過ぎており、世界中がそうした見えない時間で構成されている、そんな中で、作品もまた作者の手を離れて独自の時間を生き始めているのではないか、といった思いから、帰国記念展には「見えない時間」というタイトルをつけたという。ポーランドで過ごすうちに、東影はかえって自身の日本的な感覚を意識するようになった。更にまた、一般的に語られる「日本的」なものと自身の実感との微細な「ずれ」に目を向けるようになった。それはあたかも、かつて平櫛が西洋彫刻と出会い、日本の伝統的木彫との違いを意識しながら両者を融合しようとしたことにも似て、その時代から約100年を経て、東影もまた、ポーランドと日本の光や湿度の違い、かすかなずれを体感し、その実感を通じて、一般的に語られているものとの「ずれ」の感覚も、より強く意識するようになった。

この「ずれ」はまた、ポーランドと日本という場所の物理的な距離の隔たりによっても生み出されたものだと思われる。東影は前述のように、クラクフ滞在中には「旅人」となって、その土地の光を味わい、人々や物事と出会うことに集中していた。あえて制作には取り掛からず、流れに身を任せ、自らを触媒として、そこから何かが生まれてくるのを待ち続けた。滞在中にはあえて制作をしなかったことによって、彼の感じ取った微細なずれ、その差異の感覚は彼の身体に染み込み、意識の深くまで行き渡った。場所との対話を重ね、憧れつつどこか彷徨う旅人として、全て移ろいゆく儂さと、瞬間における存在の確かさとを存分に味わうことが可能になったのではないだろうか。

旅人は自分がその場における異邦人であると自覚しており、最初から「ずれ」を含む存在として、つかの間そこに滞在する。自覚しているからこそ、通り過ぎる感覚を楽しみ、その過程で異なるものを進んで自ら受け入れ、味わうことが可能になる。異なる時間と空間に身を委ね、置

換すること、すなわち転置¹⁰ Displacementから新たなものが芽生える。この「ずれ」そして置換のもたらす違和感を積極的に楽しみ、味わうことから自身の変容のきっかけがもたらされ、東影作品の変化へと繋がったと考えられる。

結論 永遠の旅人 儂さと創造性

かすかな違和感や「ずれ」に関する微細かつみずみずしい感覚を保ちつつ、東影は2021年の帰国報告展にて、制作することの原点に立ち返っているようだ。彼は作品独自の「見えない時間」を生み出し、その中で作品は建物と対話している。またその作品と向き合う人々にも、その都度の、見えない時間の豊かな経験を贈り続けることが可能となった。出発点となった東影の「旅人」としての異国滞在の経験は、帰国してからも続く。日々を旅とした詩聖・芭蕉のように、あるいは全てが移ろうと考察した僧侶・鴨長明のように、物事の本質を見つめ、儂さを感じながらも、それらへの尽きせぬ憧れを抱き、儂さと永遠とを同時に感じさせる作品がそこから生まれるのではないだろうか。生と死を見つめ、流れてゆく時間を空間へと呼びこんで、東影は自身の作風を一層深化させているように思える。旅人として滞在したポーランドの歴史やそこで暮らす人々との交流を通じて、一旦は経験が彼の中に蓄積し、沈殿したものから作品が生まれつつある。旅から生まれたとも言える作品たちは、見る者に移ろう時間の儂さと貴重さを伝えつつ、逆説的に確かな存在としての力強さも生み出し、存在している。このように、旅することは芸術家にとっての尽きせぬ豊かな泉であり、「ずれ」すなわち「転置」は創造の原点として欠かすことができない。だからこそ、芸術家は本質的に放浪者であるのかもしれない。

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¹⁰ 筆者はかつて「転置」をテーマにグループ展を企画したことがある。『京芸Transmit Program#2 転置 -Displacement-』2011年4月9日—5月22日、京都市立芸術大学ギャラリー@KCUA。京都市立芸術大学を卒業・修了して間もない作家ら5名による展覧会で、いずれも身近な素材や技法を用い、生活のひとコマを切り取ったようでありながら、どこか違和感を感じさせるような作品を発表しており、なじみの光景が未知のものへと変化する驚きや発見がもたらされた。

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- 兵庫県立美術館 (編) 『東影智裕 触知の森』パンフレット 兵庫県立美術
館、2021
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144

加須屋明子：

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ランドの前衛美術—生き延びるための「応用ファンタジー」』 (創元
社、2014年)など。



図1 クラクフ中央広場 (著者撮影)2019



図2 東影智裕《兎》2014 ©東影智裕



図3 東影智裕《視界 camel d-007》2013 ©東影智裕



図4 「龍野アートプロジェクト2011」東影智裕展示風景



図5 「龍野アートプロジェクト2011」東影智裕展示風景



図6 聚遠亭浮見堂 (筆者撮影)2013



図7 「龍野アートプロジェクト2013」東影智裕展示風景



図8 東影智裕《視界 sight hound B-002》2011 coll.クラクフ現代美術館MOCAK



図9 東影智裕《視界 rabbit s-006》2012 coll.クラクフ現代美術館MOCAK



図10 東影智裕《視界 cow s-006》2013 coll.クラクフ現代美術館MOCAK



図11 東影智裕個展「LIVING IN LIGHT」展示風景 Gallery Nomart (大阪)2018



図12 東影智裕《在る》2018 © 東影智裕



図13 東影智裕《在る》2019「セレブレーションー日本ポーランド現代美術展」展示風景 京都芸術センター 2019



図14 東影智裕《在る》2019「セレブレーション—日本ポーランド現代美術展」展示風景 京都芸術センター 2019



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図16 東影智裕《在る場所》2021 東影智裕個展「見えない時間」展示風景 旧平櫛田中邸アトリエ全景 2021 ©東影智裕



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2021 ©東影智裕



図18 東影智裕《丘陵》2021 東影智裕個展「見えない時間」展示風景
旧平櫛田中邸 2021 ©東影智裕



図19 東影智裕《静かな呼吸001》2021 東影智裕個展「見えない時間」展示風景 旧平櫛田中邸 2021 ©東影智裕



図20 東影智裕《呼吸001》2021 東影智裕個展「見えない時間」展示風景 旧平櫛田中邸 2021 ©東影智裕



図21 東影智裕個展「見えない時間」展示風景 ギャラリーノマル 2021 ©東影智裕



図22 東影智裕個展「見えない時間」パフォーマンス 針山愛美、sara (.es) ギャラリーノマル 2021年12月18日 ギャラリーノマル



図23 東影智裕個展「見えない時間」パフォーマンス 針山愛美、sara (.es) ギャラリーノマル 2021年12月18日 ギャラリーノマル

Tokyo – the city of wanderers in the early 1920s as seen through the eyes of *Diary of a Vagabond's* protagonist

Keywords: consumerism, Hayashi Fumiko, *Hōrōki*, mass culture, psychogeography, Tokyo

In this paper I intend to analyse Hayashi Fumiko's (1903–1951) debut novel *Hōrōki* (*Diary of a Vagabond*, 1928–30) as a work thanks to which readers can uniquely explore the streets of Tokyo as they were in the early 1920s. I believe that *Diary of a Vagabond* enables readers to witness certain social changes which took place at the turn of the Japanese Taishō era (1912–1926) and at the beginning of the Japanese Shōwa era (1926–1989). *Diary of a Vagabond* was serialised from 1928 under the title *Uta nikki* (Poetic Diary) in the “Nyonin geijutsu” (Women's Arts) magazine. Twenty instalments appeared through two years with a four month break¹. In 1929, the *Kaizō* (Restructure) magazine editor took an interest in Hayashi's work and thanks to his efforts in 1930 *Diary of a Vagabond* was finally published in book form as part of the *Shin'ei Bungaku Sōsho* (Innovative Literature Series) publishing series by Kaizōsha. Eventually, a few years later, the sequel of *Diary of a Vagabond* appeared on the book market and after the war the third part of this story was published. This paper follows an English version included in Joan E. Ericson's publication *Be a Woman. Hayashi Fumiko and modern Japanese women's literature*².

Diary of a Vagabond became a bestseller in Japan after being published in book form in 1930³. After its spectacular success, the writer was able to travel abroad. Readers were interested in the author's life, so she returned to Japan as the most popular writer in the country⁴. Indubitably, Hayashi had a turbulent life marked by homelessness. She was born out of wedlock. Both her father and her foster-father

¹ Miyata Toshiyuki, *Hana ni kaze. Hayashi Fumiko no shōgai* [Flowers in the wind. The life of Hayashi Fumiko] (Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 2020), 94.

² Hayashi Fumiko, “Diary of a Vagabond”, transl. Joan E. Ericson in *Be a Woman. Hayashi Fumiko and modern Japanese women's literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 1997), 119–215.

³ Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of Modern Era*, An Owl Book, (New York: Henry Holt and Company 1984), 1141.

⁴ Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 1142.



Pic. 1: Hayashi Fumiko.

Retrieved from: Fujin Gaho, 2021. <https://www.fujingaho.jp/culture/interviewcelebrity/g35898670/fujingaho115/culturehayashi-fumiko/?slide=2> [15.03.2022]

were working as travelling salesmen, so the young Hayashi was forced to lead a nomadic life⁵. In 1922, she moved to Tokyo where she earned her living in various kinds of jobs, all the while leading a rough love life, and meeting people connected to the literary world.

When *Diary of a Vagabond* was finally published as a book the prologue titled *Hōrōki izen* (which literally means Before a *Diary of a Vagabond*) was added. The prologue itself does not take place in the capital city of Japan but is absolutely crucial for the reader to get acquainted with the heroine and simultaneously the narrator of the story. At the very beginning, she calls herself a “wanderer”, who knows no home but the road. She comes from a broken home and during her childhood she used to move from place to place a lot with her mother and her step-father wandering through Kyushu’s villages

and towns. Through almost the whole plot her name remains unknown. In the prologue it is mentioned that parents call her Fu. It takes a long time for her full name to be revealed. As the prologue of the novel ends, the factual part of the diary begins. Believed to be a *shishōsetsu* (Eng. I-novel) story, *Diary of a Vagabond* drew attention to the author’s life. Writing from personal experience, Hayashi Fumiko manages to capture the atmosphere of the city, relishing the consumerism as well as presenting light and shadow of mass culture. The circumstances of the heroine’s relocation to the capital city of Japan are not revealed. Readers fall straight into the circle of events. It is December and the narrator is living in Tokyo, working for Professor Chikamatsu Shūkō (1876-1944)⁶ as a maid. The first impression of the big city focuses on the lights and the view of Tokyo at night:

⁵ Mikołaj Melanowicz, *Historia literatury japońskiej* [A history of Japanese literature]. (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN SA, 2012), 385.

⁶ It is believed that Hayashi was working for a professor in 1924 for two weeks. See S. Fessler, *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 10.



Pic. 2: Shinjuku in 1930.

Retrieved from: Konjaku photogatari. https://konjaku photo.com/?p_mode=view&p_photo=9608[20.03.2022]

I opened the window in the toilet, and could make out dimly lit evening lights. They burned like red rhododendrons I had seen long ago in the mountains of Shinshu. The lights were extraordinarily beautiful.⁷

However, the vagabondage of the protagonist is yet to begin. In the next entry, also written in December, she mentions being fired from her job. The situation is tragic – she has nowhere to go, she has little money and no perspective. Even so, she decides to find a new job while staying at a rooming house in the Shinjuku area. Reading her diary is another stage of experiencing Tokyo. The narrator's perspective enables her to show the capital city of Japan without embellishment. In her narrative, Hayashi Fumiko focuses on the details of everyday life like work, leisure activities or shopping. She mentions songs, movies and play titles as well as cites fragments of songs or novels. She also vividly describes living conditions and visited places. With the heroine wandering through the bustling city, there is no doubt that *Diary of a Vagabond* can be interpreted as a window on Tokyo of the 1920s.

I intend to take a closer look at the psychogeography of the city, beginning with historical and sociological contexts and finishing with an examination of the relationship of the protagonist with some of Tokyo's districts. Psychogeography is

⁷ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 129.

an exploration of the city, a way to dive into the stream of urban areas. It focuses on people's psychological experiences of the metropolis. The first person to use this term was Guy Debord (1931-1994), who believed that drifting (Fr. *dérive*) is a form of slow wandering without any plan through the city and getting lost. Practices of psychogeography demarcate spaces of particular emotional, psychological states. As Catharina Löffler notes, psychogeographical literature shows a very specific moment in the life of the city and of life in the city⁸. It is not a journalistic report. Using metaphors, "building" cities which are not only backgrounds for the plot, psychogeographical writing captures and keeps information about how the physical environment affects the behaviour and perception of individuals, making them authentic. Reading makes it possible for the reader to go on a mental journey by tracing the footsteps of an individual – the protagonist, narrator, sometimes the author himself. There is only one viewpoint of how one perceives the city. *Diary of a Vagabond* can be regarded as an example of an unintentional psychogeographical literature. According to Angela Coutts, such a narrative used in Hayashi Fumiko's debut novel reflects the volatility of the protagonist's life, who is trying to survive in Tokyo⁹. Entries in the diary seem to be both chronological and random – readers know the month of each record, but days and years remain a mystery. There are also many gaps between entries, sometimes lasting several months. Readers are not informed of what happened between them. The atmosphere of uncertainty is also stressed by the poems, letters, and fragments of songs included in the narrative. The heroine wanders in the broadest sense of this word and takes readers on a tour through the text of her journal and through a suffocating Tokyo.

Upon her arrival in the capital city of Japan, the protagonist is soon left to sink or swim, almost destitute. Her savings shrink until she does not have anything to eat. She considers herself a "wreck that was sinking as far as it could"¹⁰. Still, she decides to find a job. In the mid-1920s many young women from the country moved to the cities to find employment soon after finishing elementary school¹¹. Only female teachers, office workers, nurses, telephone operators, sales clerks and typists were classified as professional working women (Jap. *shokugyō fujin*). In fact, the bulk of them finished women's higher schools. The main protagonist witnesses those social changes and concurrently is an integral part of them. The protagonist has to face the truth – getting employment as a woman of her age will not be as easy as she expected. Looking for a job in the Kanda area, which

⁸ Catharina Löffler, *Walking in the City: Urban Experience and Literary Psychogeography in Eighteenth-Century London* (Giessen, Germany: J.B. Metzler 2017), 57.

⁹ Angela Coutts, "Self-Constructed Exoticism: Gender and Nation in Hōrōki by Hayashi Fumiko", *Culture, Theory & Critique*, 45(2), (2004): 120.

¹⁰ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 132.

¹¹ Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman. Modernity, media and women in interwar Japan*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press 2003), 139.

nowadays is a part of Chiyoda ward in Tokyo (Chiyoda-ku), is a starting point of another stage of her wandering – from post to post, from one profession to another. As the plot moves forward, readers learn that the narrator takes up different kinds of work – from waitress through maid to worker at the celluloid doll factory. It should be mentioned that at the end of the Taishō era and the beginning of the Shōwa era (1926-1989), and so during the 1920s, educated women, who were employed in the big cities, used to abandon professional activities after marriage¹². At that time it was believed that every woman's life goal should be becoming a “good wife and wise mother” called in Japanese *ryōsai kembo*. The heroine of Hayashi's story needs a job as a source of income, which was uncommon in those days¹³. What Hayashi's narration conveys is the problem of the attitude of society towards working women in the 1920s and 1930s. For a girl from the provinces getting a job better than physical labour or as a waitress was difficult. Hayashi's heroine is a perfect example of a woman, who has little chance of improving her economic situation due to the lack of education. The receptionist in one of the job agencies mocks her application:

(...) Won't you settle for being a maid? There are oodles of female high school graduates to work in offices, and you won't be able to get that kind of job. But there are lots of openings for maids.¹⁴

Finally, for some time she is employed as a maid, but it is the waitress profession which is brought up most frequently in the diary¹⁵. The developing city was a heartland of growing consumerism. Cafes and department stores were icons of materialism. It is noteworthy that in 1926 the first department store in Shinjuku named Hoteiya was built and just at the beginning of the Shōwa period Shinjuku was a popular area, famous for its bars, restaurants and cafes¹⁶. *Diary of a Vagabond's* protagonist works as a waitress in one of those food establishments. One might be tempted to say that she dislikes both working as a maid and as a hostess. Her reluctance is mirrored by negative entries in the diary and emotional jottings.

¹² Aleksandra Szczechła, “Literacki obraz kobiety w powieści japońskiej pierwszych dekad XX wieku” [The literary image of women in the Japanese novel of the first decades of 20th century] in *Zmiany społeczne w Japonii w XIX i XX wieku. Wybrane zagadnienia* [Social changes in Japan in the 19th and 20th centuries: Selected Issues], ed. Elżbieta Kostowska-Watanabe (Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas 2012), 114.

¹³ Szczechła, “Literacki obraz kobiety”, 114.

¹⁴ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 133.

¹⁵ William O. Gardner, “Mongrel Modernism: Hayashi Fumiko's *Hōrōki* and Mass Culture”, *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Winter), (Society for Japanese Studies 2003): 91.

¹⁶ Shinjuku Historical Museum. Jōsetsu Tenji Kaisetsu Shiito (9) Shōwa shoki: Shinjuku Umaji Mono Tabearuki. Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://www.regasu-shinjuku.or.jp/rekihaku/exhibition-room/104/>.

This time, those feelings come not only from poor working conditions, but also from customers' attitude. The narrator feels overwhelmed by the sexualization of her body. The episode when a man offers her money for sex is especially horrifying for her:

July

"I was off to buy me a prostitute, but I've taken a liking to you, so how about it?" a balding man propositioned me this evening. Rolling my apron into a ball I choked back tears of heartwrenching loneliness.

I cried out "Mama!" sick of it all. I threw myself down in a corner of the maid's room on the second floor. [...]¹⁷

What the lead character cannot accept is the exploitation of people – especially women – by other people. The possibility of "buying" a person or a human body is unacceptable to her. To make matters worse, she observes that no attention is paid to age when it comes to consuming women's bodies. Both teenage girls and 40 year old women make use of their bodies as a source of income, and men are the customers who willingly use their services.

Consumerism and urbanisation were also strictly connected to the changing image of femininity. New cultural aspects contributed to creating new kinds of jobs for females. Barbara Sato revealed that all new job offers addressed to women during that time had one thing in common: these occupations aimed to lure customers to use the services of the company¹⁸. Women were mainly employed as objects of desire. It is enough to mention positions like mannequin girl (Jap. *manekin gāru*), who was simply a department store fashion model, or the gasoline girl (Jap. *gasorin gāru*), who was inviting drivers into petrol stations. New professions were both an opportunity and a curse for women. Also waitresses, like Hayashi's vagabond, were objects of sexual curiosity. The presence of café waitresses called *jokyū*, who were originally wearing kimonos and aprons, was desirable to male customers. The café waitress lured the male clients into the cafés which resembled bars when it comes to the atmosphere and the menu¹⁹. They were supposed to chat with patrons, selling not their bodies, but erotic contact as entertainers. Although they were not trained performers, they were supposed to converse with customers and sing for them. In Hayashi Fumiko's novel, some of them learnt to change this situation to their advantage. Despite the first-person narration, the author with diligence gives readers another perspective. The protagonist's acquaintance, Tōko, serves as an example of a woman who takes revenge for humiliation. She arranges get-togethers

¹⁷ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 166.

¹⁸ Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*, 121.

¹⁹ Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (London, England: University of California Press, Ltd. 2006), 78.

with many different male customers at the same time and place and then stands them up. This merciless method allows waitresses to feel in control during their days off. It is also an abreaction, because during shifts they have to hide their tiredness and sorrow behind smiles.

The novel sheds light on the role reversal: among working women from the heroine's milieu most of them are supporting partners, husbands or families (as daughters) financially. It might feel strange, when one recalls the traditional Japanese family system, according to which men were supposed to support the family whereas women had a role of a guardian of the family as „good wives and wise mothers”. Angela Coutts observed that the narrator is often involved with men who need financial assistance²⁰. In doing so Hayashi Fumiko challenges the vision of the perfect Japanese family. An author of the diary comments that “there was no shortage of suffering women”²¹ around her.

For working women, the city in the mid-1920s was a toxic place. Particularly female waitresses are shown as the victims of mass culture. They either became accustomed to those harsh circumstances, or like the heroine – suffocate in this erotic atmosphere, unable to resign themselves to reality. They wander between the world of service, and the world of people who have an opportunity to be served. Some of the waitresses seem to teeter on the brink of collapse. However, they are not the only group experiencing the cruelty of the metropolis.

Diary of a Vagabond's plot encompasses the problem of the existence of poor people in the big city, especially their struggles and worries. The fragments concerning working at the celluloid doll factory make it possible to take a closer look at the industrial face of the capital city of Japan, and the people being a part of its scenery:

Twenty women and fifteen men worked in this small factory. Kewpie dolls poured out on the world from our lethargic, leaden hands. Celluloid butterflies and kewpies that would begin the color of boiled squid filled our world from seven in the morning until five in the evening. Buried in stinking plastic scraps, we rarely had time to lift our heads up to look out the window.²²

Working conditions are miserable – the employees are treated by the employer's wife like machines, and the wages are terrible. During the 1920s working hours in Japanese factories were as often as not about ten hours a day²³. Soon after the cited record, it turns out that the owner and his wife are forcing workers to do overtime.

²⁰ Coutts, “Self-Constructed Exoticism: Gender and Nation in *Hōrōki* by Hayashi Fumiko”, 122.

²¹ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 175.

²² Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 142.

²³ Tamio Takemura, “The Embryonic Formation of a Mass Consumption Society, and Innovation, in Japan During the 1920s”, *Japan Review*, no. 10 (1998): 181.

As the protagonist notes: “they squeezed from us long hours, youth, and health”²⁴. However, it seems that everyone painting dolls desperately needs money. An author of the diary mentions a girl named Ochiyo, who works to help her father. Her family consists of six children. They live near the factory, in the back alley. Another aspect of vagabondage comes up – for people from lower classes, including the heroine, physical labour is a road that never leads to a decent wage. Each day seems to be the same, without events that could change their lives.

It is no surprise that, earning a pittance, the heroine lives in substandard housing. Depending on her current job and circumstances, she has to move many times. When she lives in a dingy room with her mother (who comes to Tokyo for some time), they have almost nothing to eat. Dying from hunger, the narrator states that she is sick and tired of Tokyo. The city challenges her forbearance. Living with other girls in the room for employees compensates her a bit for earlier discomfort, but on the other hand, finding time for herself and her passions is difficult in such conditions. In a shared room there is no privacy, so the balance between work and free time becomes blurred. Especially, when the employer can get the staff to do the tedious work any time. It is enough to mention an entry, which describes forcing the heroine to work despite the toothache: “How about putting up with the pain for a little bit and coming downstairs and working?”²⁵. A little peace and time alone are rare. A feeling of tiredness is floating in the air upstairs, whereas downstairs the joy of the customers overcomes the fatigue of the workers²⁶. It feels like two different worlds.

While the description of life in staff rooms provides a glimpse into the situation of workers in one or two professions, cheap motels are a staging point for marginalised people, regardless of their employment (or unemployment). As William O. Gardner points out, the bunk house in Shinjuku, one of the places where the main wanderer decided to stay, appears to be a bridge between Tokyo and the regional subculture of vagabonds²⁷. Those are prostitutes with their customers, labourers and other people searching for a better future for themselves:

“Where are you from?”

[...]

“You mean me? From Sakhalin. And from Toyohara. Do you know the place?”

“From Sakhalin? Did you come all alone?”

“Yes...”

“Boy, you’re a plucky one, aren’t you?”²⁸

²⁴ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 142.

²⁵ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 168.

²⁶ Fukuda Tamami, “Basho no keiken: Hayashi Fumiko no *Hōrōki* wo chūshin toshite” [The Experience of Place: focusing on *Hōrōki* by Hayashi Fumiko], *Ningen chiri*, no. 43, (3/1991): 76.

²⁷ William O. Gardner, “Mongrel Modernism: Hayashi Fumiko’s *Hōrōki* and Mass Culture”, 84.

²⁸ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 173.

The nomads often come from faraway places in Japan, like the new hire in a cafe, Toshi, who comes from Toyohara city in Sakhalin, which nowadays belongs to Russia as Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. In the face of flourishing mass culture, the truckload of people from all over the country rolled into big cities, with Tokyo being the primary destination. In 1925 almost 4,5 million people lived in Tokyo, whereas 5 years later, in 1930 – about a million more²⁹. *Diary of a Vagabond* focuses on those local immigrants who were mainly penniless and therefore forced to tolerate humiliation. They see Tokyo without embellishment. This perspective “from below” is not innovative in 20th century Japanese literature in terms of its subject, but this narrative from bitter personal experience makes it stand out as one of the most authentic works among Japanese novels³⁰.

The protagonist is not going to return to her parents’ place, even if the working environment, combined with other personal problems like romantic relationships, impacts her mental condition. The price of resistance is that high. Readers witness her ups and downs, her breakdowns and outbursts. She has a choice between being a poor, starving and homeless person or continuing to change jobs until she succeeds as a writer and poet, which is her dream. She is aware that her dream coming true is not guaranteed, but still wants to give it a chance. Despite her strong will, there are moments when leaving Tokyo seems to be the right decision for her. She even mentions setting up a house in Kobe (Hyōgo prefecture) or staying in Osaka (Osaka prefecture) for some time. For a long time she lives in the capital city of Japan as a person “from outside”³¹, she finds it problematic to settle into the big city. In fact, in her evaluation, every city appears to be a better place to work than Tokyo. “Living in Tokyo can wear out even someone like me,”³² she wrote.

The heroine spares no bitter, strong words, when she is angry, desperate or tired. She builds a toxic relationship with metropolis and ascribes blame to it when it comes to her moments of weakness. In that sense, Tokyo represents a society facing the growing wave of consumerism and mass culture, which in the wanderer’s eyes becomes cruel. The gap between rich and mighty becomes a ravine. The gap between women and men seems to be smaller, but it turns out to be a pure illusion – employment of women entails new problems and challenges for consumer society. It might be shocking that in the narrative vulgarisms and slang expressions can be found next to the poems of Japanese poets like Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942)³³ and those written by Hayashi herself. This dynamic shows

²⁹ Statistics of Tokyo. Danjobetsu jinkō oyobi jinkō seihi – Tōkyō-to, Kuchi chōson. Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/tjinko/2009/to-data.htm> .

³⁰ Ericson, *Be a Woman*, 65.

³¹ Fukuda, “Basho no keiken: Hayashi Fumiko no *Hōrōki* wo chūshin toshite”, 78.

³² Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 187.

³³ *Tanka* poet and founding member of “Subaru” (The Pleiades) magazine, where he published the groundbreaking poetry collection *Jashumon* (Heretics, 1909).

the protagonist's mood swings and at the same time gives a reader the opportunity to sense the uneven pace of noticeable changes resulting from popular culture and consumerism flooding Japan.

The protagonist's intricate feelings are built by Hayashi Fumiko concomitantly with the building of image of the city. Hayashi Fumiko, as befits an urban writer, is not only a figure within the streets of Tokyo; she is in a sense the founder of a city, one that is related to but distinct from the concrete-covered areas, and which the reader is able to mentally traverse. Writing about experiencing the urban space needs an exploration and is inherently connected with making decisions about what part of this landscape will be described in detail, which can be diminished and where main action will take place. It resembles a private map. As Catharina Löffler points out, "just as a map represents a selection of the world, psychogeographical writings also only describe fragments of (urban) space and those experiences encountered within it"³⁴. In *Diary of a Vagabond* Tokyo appears as a labyrinth city, whose map is almost impossible to copy due to the fragmentariness of the narration. Readers have no time to get accustomed to the places – it is only possible to take a look and move on. According to Löffler, each literary city is unlike its real-life referent city³⁵. For each metropolis described in literature, its own autonomous reality is created. The imaginary blends into the newly created fictional world of the literary text, which has its roots in representations of reality. *Diary of a Vagabond* might be a good source of information about how Tokyo used to look, but readers must take it with a grain of salt. Hayashi Fumiko's novel provides knowledge about areas of the metropolis which no longer officially exist. For contemporary readers it is a chance to discover places like Yotsuya, which nowadays is a part of Shinjuku, but until 1943 was a ward of Tokyo: "In the evening I went to have a look at the Mitsuwa Hall in Yotsuya. It was already full of people. As usual, the play was *Razor*"³⁶³⁷. The description might be distorted, but the fact of reorganisation of Tokyo's wards in 1947 is indisputable.

In *Diary of a Vagabond*, the perception of Tokyo's districts seems to be determined by the narrator's feelings and inner states. Fu often forgets about happy moments spent in the capital city of Japan, as they are overridden by bad ones. The diarist's emotions often blend in with the urban space, which creates a framework for her new life far away from Kyushu. Each ward of the city corresponds with her inner states, her troubles, and her longing. Shinjuku area, which was mentioned earlier, seems to be a synonym of loneliness, exploitation of people and exhaustion. Vagabonds need a location of rest, a place where they will be able to take a rest

³⁴ Löffler, *Walking in the City*, 57.

³⁵ Löffler, *Walking in the City*, 32.

³⁶ Jap. *Kamisori* – theatre play written by Japanese playwright, Nakamura Kichizō (1877–1941).

³⁷ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 152.



Pic. 3: "Denkikan" cinema in Asakusa.

Adapted from: Taito City Central Library. Retrieved from: Asakusa Shinnaka, 2015. <https://www.asakusa-shinnaka.com/project/電気館/> [20.03.2022]

from reality. One of the protagonist's favourite Tokyo's districts is the Asakusa area, which in the 1920s was a major entertainment district in Tokyo. The streets of this part of the city were filled with cultural places like cinemas and theatres. As early as the Meiji period (1868-1912), in 1903 in Asakusa the first cinema in Japan³⁸ was opened. Indeed, we learn that the author of the diary went to the cinema to watch the French silent film *La roue*³⁹. Asakusa is, however, a promising place for another reason:

³⁸ "Geinou", Asakusa Kankō no Otomo, Accessed March 13, 2022. <https://asakusakanko.com/geinou/>

³⁹ Directed by Abel Gance (1889–1981), released in 1923. In Japan the premiere took place in 1926. See IMDb site. Accessed May 11, 2023. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0014417/releaseinfo/?ref_=tt_dt_rdat

December

Asakusa was a great place.

It was always a great place no matter the occasion. I was wandering Kachusha⁴⁰ twirling around in this quickly flashing light. (...) If I didn't drink sake, the world would be too crazy for me to pass through without cracking up. He said he had another woman.

(...)

Asakusa was a great place to drink. It was a good place even when you were sober. Sweet sake for five sen a cup, sweet bean soup for five sen, a skewer of grilled chicken for two sen, what a feast!⁴¹

Asakusa responds to the needs of the protagonist during her torrid times. It is a place of solace, which fills the role of comforter, who will not ask about reasons for her actions but will help her forget about her worries, even if only for a while. It is also a place where these nomads can get food and drinks costly. Only then can they forget about being socially excluded and satisfy their basic needs.

Meanwhile, Ueno is a district, which symbolises getting lost, both figuratively and literally. The following extract, written in December the following year after the first entry, is an expression of the lead character's life governed by unpredictability and uncertainty. She does not know how her life will turn out and seems to be completely lost. She has no particular long-term life plan prepared, so her vagabondage may continue for a long time.

I broke loose from Matsuda and jumped on the streetcar.

I didn't have a destination in mind. I then hopped on the streetcar going in the opposite direction and regretted stepping on my own shadow when I alighted in the cold at Ueno.⁴²

Ueno is a kind of faraway land. The atmosphere of this place in the novel is rather overwhelming. Ueno and its neighbourhood give an impression of an unpleasant, dangerous area. The distance between the much-loved Asakusa, or the familiar Shinjuku is not that far, thanks to the streetcars, which also symbolises a development reached along with urbanisation and mass consumption. In 1924

⁴⁰ The heroine of Soviet folk-based song and military march "Katyusha" (Russian: Катюша). She sends her song to her love of life – a soldier serving in the army. A girl named Katyusha (full name: Katerina Mikhailovna Maslova) was also the protagonist of the novel *Resurrection* (Russian: Воскресение) written by Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910). Katyusha had an affair with her master and engaged in prostitution to get money. Susanna Fessler believes that Hayashi associated with the heroine of Tolstoy's book and saw her as a poor woman similar to herself. See S. Fessler, *Wandering Heart: The Work and Method of Hayashi Fumiko*, 23.

⁴¹ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 183–184.

⁴² Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 145–146.

alone about 819 million trips were made using public transport in Tokyo, of which almost 60% of them took the streetcar⁴³. A few years later, in 1927, Tokyo's Metro Ginza Line (the first subway line in Japan and Asia), which carried passengers between Ueno and Asakusa, was opened. However, the Tokyo transport system does not give the protagonist a sense of security. Even with municipal transport, the capital city of Japan is still a place where one can get lost:

Faced with no other alternative, I started to walk. I reached the bottom of Ueno Park but couldn't for the life of me move any farther. The dark slope was intimidating, and I stood still, straight as a rod. (...) Wasn't here someone I could walk with? It didn't matter who. I found myself looking for a large street.⁴⁴

It can be concluded that the narrator feels safe only in places she already knows. The rest of the city is like a big maze. She blindly wanders through the unknown area which is a metaphor of her life marked by vagabondage. For literary psychogeography, an entity moving around the city on foot is always a necessity, as it is through this occasion that earth, mind and parts of the body are linked⁴⁵. Hayashi Fumiko's debut novel meets the requirements of psychogeographical writings, which are based on that of a tramp whose roving is unplanned, and who lets himself being dragged into the city. Walking is strictly connected to exploring the unknown. Despite having an access to streetcars, the heroine of *Diary of a Vagabond* sometimes decides to go on foot: "Deciding not to board the streetcar, I walked along the edge of the moat"⁴⁶. She celebrates these moments of awe, and absorbs the city with her whole body:

As long as I was out, I decided to walk by the evening stalls of Aizome Bridge, my bundle dangling from my arm. The shops sold cut flowers, Russian bread, sweet bean-filled cakes, dried fish, vegetables, used books – I haven't been in the area for some time⁴⁷.

It does not take long for the reader to realise that the urban space of Tokyo is slowly dragging Hayashi's character into its abyss. It should be stressed that surprisingly the Ginza area, known for being a centre of cultural life in Tokyo of the mid-1920s, is not often mentioned in the narrative. However, when it finally appears in the plot, readers can observe that over time the protagonist unconsciously

⁴³ Takemura, "The Embryonic Formation of a Mass Consumption Society", 179.

⁴⁴ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 151.

⁴⁵ Löffler, *Walking in the City*, 58.

⁴⁶ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 134.

⁴⁷ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 144.



Pic. 4: Waitresses and customers. Inside the Cafe Kuroneko in Ginza.

Adapted from: National Diet Library Digital Collections. Retrieved from: Warakuweb 2021. <https://intojapanwaraku.com/culture/144336/> [20.03.2022]

gets used to the bustling streets full of lights and like other people becomes a part of this scenery. Maybe she is still a person “from outside”, an intruder, but an intruder who can adapt to the pace of the city. When she first brings the Ginza area up, it is commented on as beautiful district with noblemen’s cars on the streets, but one year later, she is familiar with the Ginza and knows places worth visiting nearby: “In the evening I went to the Pine Moon cafe on the Ginza, where they were holding an exhibit of John Donne’s⁴⁸ poetry.”⁴⁹ Being familiar with the metropolis, or rather getting used to wandering through the streets of Tokyo, leads the narrator to another level of experiencing it. Urban experience is not limited to what the eye can see; instead, it involves a sensual perception. Everyday life in the big city should be regarded as a multi-sensual, multi-dimensional, never-ending adventure. The heroine inhales smells floating in the air, savours the local dishes and favourite snacks (when she has enough money), sometimes is overwhelmed by the sounds of the city and touches surfaces, discovers textures and feels the city with her body. Maybe that is the reason why she always returns to Tokyo. She is

⁴⁸ English metaphysical poet, who lived 1572–1631.

⁴⁹ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 157.

aware that the capital city of Japan is for her simultaneously a place offering hope for a better future and a place threatening to destroy her mentally and physically. The same goes for her job as waitress: “There were days when I thought about going out and finding a job in another cafe. I was depressed about being irresistibly addicted to this work, as if I were smoking opium.”⁵⁰

New experiences for Fu also include prosaic, simple pleasures. The big city leads to making new habits, hobbies and interests. It should be noted that during the 1920s department stores changed from high-ranking stores into shops for the masses.⁵¹ Mass consumer demands increased: starting with shoes through cosmetics to leisure activities available for everyone, not only for rich people. The diarist is, whether she wants it or not, a consumer and recipient of mass culture herself. Her observations come from experiencing the consumerist world for herself. Whenever she has the cash, she enjoys cultural activities, goes to the hairdresser, cinema or theatre. For a girl coming from provincial Japan, it feels like another world. Hayashi Fumiko manages to describe Tokyo’s panorama by paying attention to everything that her heroine comes across. She sometimes humanises buildings or compares urban elements to nature (for example, the revolving door of the Jiji Company reminded her of a water wheel). Again, the writer of *Diary of a Vagabond* proves that her novel can be defined as literary psychogeography. The descriptions of the city focus not only on topographical references, but also on depicting the mood caused, the thoughts provoked by the geographical surroundings:

It was as if the towering building was telling me that it didn’t matter if an insignificant nobody like myself lived or died. If I could own that building and sell it, I would buy a lifetime’s supply of all my necessities, besides sending a long telegram back home⁵².

In Hayashi Fumiko’s narrative Tokyo is depicted simultaneously as a fascinating, breathtaking city and as a sinister metropolis. Readers can take a look inside its streets and buildings observing through the narrator’s eye the life of working classes, working women and consumers. The capital city of Japan symbolises a world full of contrasts and boundaries difficult to cross. Through *Diary of a Vagabond*, readers have an opportunity to discover trends of cultural life in Japan in the first half of the 20th century. It is almost like complimentary time travel. *Diary of a Vagabond* is an example of urban fiction at its finest, where the capital city of Japan emerges as a city of wanderers. One could say that through Hayashi’s narrative just for a moment readers can also become vagabonds.

⁵⁰ Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 171.

⁵¹ Takemura, “The Embryonic Formation”, 180.

⁵² Hayashi, *Diary of a Vagabond*, 211.

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Parting the Bamboo Curtain: Kabuki Invades Chinese Stages, 1955 and 1960

Essay

Before 1955, mainstream kabuki had made only one foreign tour to play for non-Japanese audiences. That was in August 1928, when a company led by Ichikawa Sadanji II (1900–1940) traveled to the Soviet Union to perform in Moscow and Leningrad (St. Petersburg). The result was a resounding success and had a definite impact on the nation's theatrical and cinematic leaders, such as Vsevolod Meyerhold (1874–1940) and Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948). The world would have to wait another twenty-seven years before kabuki attempted anything similar. Then, following Japan's defeat in World War II, and within the space of one decade, there would be multiple international tours.

Perhaps the least well-known of these visits are the two made to China, in 1955 and 1960. The first was led by a big star, the second by an actor whose communist connections made him and his company's visit perhaps even more memorable. Today, after many more tours have taken the bloom off the rose, it is hard to realize just how politically, socially, and artistically significant they were at the time. One can only imagine the interest stirred up by cultural interchanges between postwar China and Japan, nations that had been ruthlessly at war twice over in the past previous sixty years.

In 1994, the Shōchiku Company, which has produced most mainstream kabuki since the early twentieth century, published a book called *Grand Kabuki Overseas Tours*,¹ with brief accounts of all Shōchiku-sponsored kabuki tours from 1928–1993. It has a nine-page chapter on the 1955 visit, headed by Ichikawa Ennosuke II (1888–1963, later called Ichikawa En'ō). However, it completely ignores the 1960 visit by of the communist actor, Nakamura Kan'emon (1901–1982), and his equally leftwing troupe, the Zenshin-za. Aside from my own 2014 book, *Kabuki at the Crossroads*,² I am not aware of any other discussion in English of the 1960 Zenshin-za tour.

¹ Nagayama Takeomi, et al., eds. *Grand Kabuki Overseas Tours 1928–1993* (Tokyo: Shōchiku Company, 1993).

² Samuel L. Leiter, *Kabuki at the Crossroads: Years of Crisis, 1952–1965* (Leiden and Boston: Global Oriental, 2013).

In this paper, I discuss both visits. But before doing so, it is necessary to first introduce the Zenshin-za, which actually got to China first, or at least its leading actor, Kan'emon, did. In fact, he was there to greet Ennosuke when he arrived.

Zenshin-za

The Zenshin-za (Forward Advance Theatre) was founded in 1931 by two Shōchiku actors, Kan'emon III and Kawarasaki Chōjūrō IV (1902-1981), who broke away from Shōchiku. They founded their politically progressive troupe because they were unhappy with the old-fashioned feudalistic policies that dominated *kabuki*. They and the thirty-one actors who joined them wanted both to improve their own lives and raise their artistic goals. I can offer only a few things here to help bring them into focus.²

Over the years the company gained respect for its performances not only of traditional *kabuki* but of modern plays as well, historical and contemporary. They sometimes also did Western and Chinese plays, including *Suikoden* (The Water Margin), a play based on the classic Chinese novel of the same name.

Over the years, the company was active in bringing low-priced theatre to children throughout Japan. They also spent many years as a touring company, performing in cities and villages. However, they lacked a big-city home base. They rehearsed far more extensively than regular *kabuki* companies, and built up a substantial repertory. The troupe itself was organized on progressive lines in order to recognize talent over *kabuki*'s hierarchical family system. In March 1949, the company detonated a bombshell when it announced that its entire membership of seventy-five had joined the Communist Party. Later the same year, the People's Republic of China was founded, and a significant number of Communist Party members were elected to the Diet, so the company's decision can be viewed as part of a postwar trend to the left.

Such an orientation, which soon became apparent in their interpretations of classic plays, came to be unwelcome in cold war Japan's growing conservative atmosphere; 1949, in fact, was the year that the notorious, U.S.-supported, Red Purge began. The Zenshin-za quickly found itself shut out of Japan's first-class theatres. For several years, the company had no alternative but to play to shopkeepers, students, farmers, and laborers in rented halls, movie houses, factories, open fields, and streets—wherever a stage could be set up. They also supplemented their income by making films. Slowly, however, as their reputation recovered, they were able to book performances in more conventional big-city venues.

² For the only previous in-depth treatment of the Zenshin-za in English, see Brian Powell, "Communist *Kabuki*: A Contradiction in Terms?" in *A Kabuki Reader: History and Performance*, edited by Samuel L. Leiter (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002).

Their increasing visibility signaled a perceptible thaw in post-Occupation political attitudes. The Kremlin denounced Stalinism in 1956, and the Japan Communist Party agreed to abandon extremism the same year. However, the troupe had to do so for three years without the presence of Kan'emon, who was in self-imposed exile in China from 1952 to 1955.

Here is where I must explain what happened by making a long story short.

The Akabira Incident

China's influence on the Zenshin-za was strong not only because of shared political beliefs, but because of what happened to Kan'emon, who was forced to hide from the authorities in China. In 1952, while touring Hokkaidō, he was about to be arrested for trespassing by performing in a school without permission. He escaped by fleeing to China, where he was given shelter by the theatre community. While he was gone, the company suffered poor business and was forced to alter its repertory and raise its prices, and it began even more diligently to seek bookings in major theatres, where it could earn enough to sustain itself.

On November 4, 1955, Kan'emon returned home to stand trial, which took place in April

1956. He was charged with trespassing and of violation of a court order forbidding him to leave Japan. The events had happened in May in Sorachi, a sub-prefecture of Hokkaido. I have room here only to declare that a mining company for whose workers the troupe was scheduled to play decided to forbid the performance on the grounds that it was Communist Party propaganda designed to stir up its workers. The local labor union tried to fight the ban by setting up an alternative performance site, but the authorities prevented the performance. The troupe had no choice but to continue its tour, but ran into trouble again at a union-sponsored performance for the Akabira Coal Mine Company. Despite the local union's having negotiated a performance space in an elementary school, with as many as 2,000 tickets already sold, the school changed its mind at almost the last minute. Soon, the police arrived, several troupe members and citizens were arrested, and the remaining troupe members moved on to other towns, adding actors who came up from Tokyo. In Sapporo, Kan'emon learned that the police were after him. Knowing the venue was surrounded, he performed the title role in *Shunkan* (name of the central character), and then he disappeared. The troupe moved to other towns, Kan'emon using disguises to avoid his imminent arrest. Finally, in Sorachi, another actor went on for Kan'emon and was actually mistaken for him and arrested.

Meanwhile, helped by supporters, Kan'emon flew to Beijing, which also broke the law. He was not only protecting his fundamental human rights, but he also

wanted to participate in the Asia Pacific Peace Conference in Beijing scheduled for October. One of its purposes was to discuss the ongoing oppression of cultural activity by rightwing factions in the wake of the San Francisco Peace Accord.

Then, surprisingly, he appeared in Beijing as the Japanese representative to the Peace Conference. With Kan'emon in China, the Zenshin-za was struggling with many internal problems, but all he could do was communicate by mail. Moreover, company members were being tried, convicted, and sent to prison.

Kan'emon contracted beriberi, but received care from the Chinese government. His ideology helped make his residence as a distinguished foreign artist as comfortable as possible. He kept busy visiting Chinese theatre and actor training schools. Japanese visitors brought recordings from his family and pictures drawn by his children. He gave interviews to Japanese journalists, speaking of his interest in bringing kabuki to China. By 1955, negotiations to bring him home were underway.

Ennosuke's Tour to the PRC

1955, of course, was also when the first postwar kabuki tour to a foreign country happened. It came in October, when, as I mentioned before, veteran actor Ichikawa Ennosuke led his troupe to China. Given the shaky relationship between China and Japan, this kind of theatrical diplomacy was essential to Japan if it were to tamp down anti-Japanese resentment and build bridges that might pay off down the line in improved trade relations. The tour was “the first cultural exchange with China during the period before official diplomatic relations were established between China and Japan.”³

Interestingly, just as Western theatre at the time was fascinated by the conventions of Asian theatre as an antidote to the excesses of dramatic realism, both Chinese and Japanese artists were highly interested in the training methods and staging techniques of their respective traditional theatre arts. Following Ennosuke's trip, there were a number of other exchanges in the following years, and Japanese theatre artists began staging plays with Chinese backgrounds more frequently, sometimes even using traditional Chinese acting techniques in their performance.

This tour was a perfect opportunity for the adventurous Ennosuke, and it was a hit. At the first performance, Ennosuke very warmly shook hands on stage with the fugitive actor, Kan'emon. In fact, Ennosuke's trip loosened the diplomatic knot keeping Kan'emon in China, and the Zenshin-za actor was allowed to return home a month later, where he would face judicial hearings.

Ennosuke's sixty-one-member troupe would be one among many national representatives participating in a festival celebrating the PRC's National Day (October

³ Nagayama Takeomi, *Grand Kabuki*, 13.

1); in addition to Japan, the national theatres taking part were from the USSR, Albania, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Burma. All expenses were paid for by China.

The repertoire included three pieces taking three and a half hours: *Kanjinchō* (The Subscription List),⁴ the most famous dance drama; *Domo Mata* (Stuttering Matahei), an 18th century Chikamatsu classic about a stuttering painter; and *Meoto Dōjōji* (Male and Female Dōjōji), a version of the popular *Dōjōji* dance about a jealous woman and a temple bell, in which the leading role, usually a female, is divided into two roles, one male and the other female.

Some concessions had to be made for kabuki's architectural needs, particularly the *hanamachi* path, which was not only higher than usual but placed at an oblique angle, instead of running straight through the auditorium.

The program began at 7:30 p.m. and ended at 11:00. After thirteen shows in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, playing to 32,000 people, the company returned to Japan on October 28.

The visit was a big success. Female-role specialist Mei Lan-fang (1894–1961), Chinese theatre's most renowned actor, who had appeared in Japan in 1919 and 1924, and would return in 1956, wrote a very positive commentary.

The Zenshin-za Tour

We turn now to the 1960 tour by the Zenshin-za. There had been talk of inviting the Zenshin-za to China as far back as 1951, but, in order to strengthen the Sino-Japanese cultural ties it was deemed wiser to bring over a politically neutral company first, as happened with the Ennosuke tour in 1955.

When Ennosuke arrived in China he had been welcomed by Kan'emon, deeply moved to be among kabuki actors again. During a rehearsal that Kan'emon visited, he broke into tears at the sound of the shamisen. He accompanied the troupe on its tour, during which a couple of kabuki critics, who were also following the company, urged him to return to his homeland.

However, Kan'emon was afraid that he would be taken straight to a prison cell. But because of political realignments in the government and the hard work of certain distinguished Zenshin-za fans in politics and finance he learned that would not happen. The arrest warrant had actually been dismissed as a "minor offense." Following consultations, Kan'emon flew to Tokyo on November 4,

⁴ In Tokyo, Ennosuke was a highly experienced Benkei, but the casting of Danshirō and Chūsha as Togashi and Yoshitsune would not have been considered ideal. Benkei is the protagonist and Togashi the antagonist in a tense confrontation that takes place at a border crossing through which Benkei's party, which is trying to smuggle its disguised leader, Yoshitsune, to safety from his despotic brother, the *shōgun*.

1955. A crowd of 300 to 400 awaited him at Haneda Airport. After a brief press conference surrounded by police he agreed to go voluntarily to the Kabata Police Station, where he underwent three hours of interrogation. He admitted to erecting a stage in the Akabira gymnasium and to leaving the country without following legal procedures, but he refused to answer questions about his escape.

Eventually, he was charged with trespassing and “illegal exit and entry from the country.” Then he had to report to the Musashino Police Station several times a week for further questioning.

The Zenshin-za became a powerful advocate for the art of Chinese traditional theatre, and Kan’emon was active in promoting Mei Lan-fang’s 1956 visit. When Mei arrived, his company went en masse to see Kan’emon perform. They taught Kan’emon’s son, Nakamura Umenosuke (1930–2016), a traditional Chinese play and the Zenshin-za was gifted with all the props, wigs, and costumes needed to produce it, which they did in 1961, combining kabuki and Peking opera, *jingju*.

Kan’emon endured twelve hearings over three and a half years. Meanwhile, over the next five years, the Zenshin-za continued to grow in prestige, even appearing at important Tokyo theatres, although it would take somewhat longer before they played at the Kabuki-za.

On October 31, 1959, Kan’emon was given a two-year suspended sentence, following his being sentenced to six months in prison on the charge of trespassing. Then came a series of appeals, even to the Supreme Court, all of which were turned down. Ultimately, he never spent a day in jail.

The timing was unfortunate because negotiations had been underway for additional cultural exchange with China, and the Zenshin-za had been invited to travel there in February 1960. This was in the middle of Kan’emon’s suspended sentence, so it looked like he would have to remain in Japan, which would have meant cancellation of the trip. But permission to travel was granted and the sixty-nine-member troupe departed.

Part of Kan’emon’s plan was for the company to study Chinese theatre while there, and then spread knowledge of it in Japan in the interests of international cultural exchange. But the tour was to be made precisely when ratification of the Japan-US New Security Treaty (Anpo) was creating a great uproar in Japan. The treaty made China out to be a hostile nation, necessitating a security alliance between Japan and the US that allowed American military bases to remain on Japanese soil. China was not happy with the treaty, so Kan’emon saw it as his responsibility to do all he could to advance friendship between Japan and China through his company’s art.⁵ Still, his visit lacked any sort of Japanese official

⁵ Nakamura Kan’emon, *Gekidan Gojū Nen: Watashi no Zenshin-za Shi* (Fifty Years a Company: My Zenshin-za History) (Tōkyō: Miraisha, 1980), 356–357.

backing. Support came instead from various groups in China itself, particularly the Chinese People's Foreign Culture Association.

The company flew from Haneda on February 6. For their shows, they felt obliged to present Japan's representative theatre art—kabuki. Four plays, all centerpieces of the Zenshin-za's repertory, were selected, two on program A and two on program B. Program A premiered at Beijing's 1,200 seat Capital Theatre⁶ on February 16 and was repeated on February 17. Its plays were *Sakura Sōgorō* (The Tale of the Martyr of Sakura), and *Kanjinchō*. *Sakura Sōgorō* starred Kan'emon as a peasant whose sacrifice in the interests of his overtaxed fellow villagers was ideal for China's audiences.

The ubiquitous classic *Kanjinchō* (with Chōjūrō as Benkei and Kan'emon as Togashi), had also been presented by Ennosuke, after which it had become the focus of considerable study by Chinese theatre people. The plight of Yoshitsune, forced to flee for his life for political reasons, resonated deeply with Chinese spectators, many of whom had experienced similar hardships during China's modern political turmoil.⁷

Program B presented *Shunkan* and *Narukami* (name of the central character, meaning, "Thunder God"); both were plays that the Zenshin-za performed with socially progressive interpretations. *Shunkan*, whose tragic hero is a statesman sent into exile on a barren island, resonated with Chinese audiences, who had no difficulty sympathizing with a man victimized by a repressive government.

Narukami is about a wicked priest of that name who captures the dragon god of rain and causes a drought as a means of getting his wishes granted. A beautiful princess is sent to seduce him as a trick to have the dragon freed so rain will fall again. The Zenshin-za approached such plays from a modern political perspective. In their version of *Narukami*, the princess's mission is for the benefit of suffering farmers. The play ends with the no-longer chaste Narukami making a leaping exit (*roppō*) on the *hanamichi*. Kan'emon believed the Chinese audience would not accept this as proof of the character's punishment, so the troupe added a conventional "demon-queller" (*oshimodoshi*) character to vanquish him.⁸

There was so much demand for seats that an additional performance of program B was offered on February 20. In March, performances were offered in Xian, Wuhan, and Nankin, with each program offered on one day in each city, while Shanghai

⁶ A *nihon buyō* troupe led by Hanayagi Tokubei had appeared here in 1959 because it was considered very well equipped.

⁷ "Zadankai: Chūkoku yori Kaerite" [Roundtable: Back from China], *Enggekikai* 18, no. 5 (May 1960): 63.

⁸ The *oshimodoshi* is an exaggerated superman-type character, wearing flamboyant makeup, a padded costume with oversized weapons (usually a thick stalk of bamboo), and behaving in a theatrically heroic way. He is typical of the "rough style" (*aragoto*) specialty of the Danjūrō acting line. Although there is even a play called *Oshimodoshi* in The Kabuki Eighteen collection (*Kabuki jūhachiban*), it is no longer performed. The best existing example of such a character appears at the end of the dance play known as *Musume Dōjōji* (The Maiden at Dōjōji Temple).

had two days for each program. The closing performances were in Guangzhou. In total, there were nineteen performances spread over six cities.

To help audiences follow the dialogue, Chinese translations were flashed on a screen above the *hanamichi*. This was actually standard practice in China even for traditional Chinese theatre, as the multiplicity of dialects in that country made it necessary for the sung passages to be projected so people could follow them.⁹

Chinese audiences held a special affection for Kan'emon, their onetime fugitive guest, so his performance as Sakura Sōgorō made the strongest emotional impact. The scene where Sōgorō, knowing he is leaving on a mission that will result in his certain death, says farewell to his children was especially poignant, as he took his leave and plodded off through the blowing snow. Many people were in tears at this commonly shared theme of suffering peasants.

All the sets were built in China from plans sent over in advance. Things went smoothly, except for one interesting dilemma. The scene of Sōgorō's parting from his children requires that part of the set consist of a bamboo thicket. On the surface, this would not seem to present a problem, since China obviously has no shortage of bamboo. But to obtain the bamboo from a bamboo forest meant going through a thicket of red tape, so, in the end, the production had to make do with faux bamboo manufactured by the crew.¹⁰

The Capital Theatre management insisted that intervals be as brief as possible, whereas in Japan they can last ten minutes or longer to allow actors to change costumes and makeup from one piece to another and for extensive scene changes to be made.¹¹ Language difficulties caused the scene changes in rehearsal to go on too long, and they had to be repeated to cut the timing down, forcing everyone to prepare much more quickly than they were used to.

The Capital Theatre had unusually capacious wings. Normally, kabuki's larger scenic pieces, such as Sōgorō's home and the boat used in *Shunkan*, were disassembled and stored in sections. But in Beijing they were stored intact with no need to dismantle them, which helped make the job of getting them off and on stage much easier.

The trip to China was important not only because of how successful the performances were and how much positive word of mouth it spread about Japanese theatre and its representatives. Just as important was the impression it made on the

⁹ While spoken language is often incomprehensible to those not familiar with a specific dialect, everyone in China uses the same written system

¹⁰ *Asahi Shinbun*, February 29, 1961, cited in Ōzasa Yoshio, *Nihon Gendai Engeki Shi: Shōwa Sengo Hen* [History of Japanese Modern Drama: Postwar Period Volume] Vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Haku-suisha, 1998), 272.

¹¹ Intervals of twenty to thirty minutes are also used, but they are typically those between one play and another and are mainly intended to give audiences an opportunity to eat their lunch or dinner. Spectators typically do so either by purchasing box lunches and eating at their seats or in the well-furnished lobbies, or in restaurants in the theatre itself or close by.

Japanese who took part, an impression memorably embodied in a book published the same year that the troupe returned to Japan. Little known now, the book, called *Zenshin-za Chūgoku Kikō* (Journal of the Zenshin-za in China), and edited by Miyagawa Masaharu,¹² is a collection of over thirty essays about the trip, mostly by leading members of the company, but also by several Chinese writers, including reviews. It provides glowing eyewitness accounts of the progress China was making under Mao Zedong's leadership, with numerous references to the big slogans of the day, like "The Great Leap Forward," "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom," and "Walk on Two Legs." The troupe was honored with multiple flower-strewn banquets, including a big one celebrating their thirtieth anniversary.

They filled their days with numerous activities, visiting major tourist sites, factories, communes, housing complexes, schools, movie theatres, and cultural centers. Of prime importance and interest was their attendance at theatrical performances in many genres, including provincial ones. They were especially fond of visiting theatrical training academies, all of which they described in rhapsodic terms. They engaged in some training exercises and once even gave a workshop in kabuki stage fighting, *tachimawari*. Chinese theatre, as practiced in the new society, had never looked so good. And no one could argue with how theatre was being made an integral part of the people's lives.

The company members praised the rapid progress being made to modernize China under Maoist principles. Seeing some of the huge infrastructure projects, both those completed and those in progress, was awe-inspiring. They were thrilled at the idea of artists having to spend part of every year going off to farms in order to do manual labor, or having to indulge in political self-criticism. The living conditions in the communes, with their model apartments, seemed perfectly acceptable. Crime barely existed, in their opinion. And ideological education was making huge advances in uniting the country.

The Zenshin-za writers denounced the evil influences of American, bourgeois culture, and were rhapsodic about the way all plays, even old ones, had to express socialist themes. They condemned Japanese society's capitalist preoccupations and hoped that China's advances could be imported to Japan. In their eyes, the Chinese were hardworking but happy people; everywhere they went they saw only the smiling faces of people content to be working for the common purpose of serving their country's needs. And the more they were moved by the energy and devotion of the Chinese people, who seemed to hold no resentment toward their Japanese visitors, the more they felt shame about how the Japanese had treated them during the war. One actor, in fact, who had fought in China, was especially guilt-wracked for his nation's behavior.

¹² Miyagawa Masaharu, ed. *Zenshin-za Chūgoku Kikō* [Journal of the Zenshin-za in China] (Tōkyō: Kabushiki Gaisha Gakujutsu Seihansho, 1960).

There is so much material in the *Zenshin-za* book that finding something specific to include in the remaining space has been difficult. One day, I will describe the book in more detail, but for now the following extracts from the company's meeting with Chinese theatre expert Ma Shabao (1918–2009), a high official in many theatre organizations, writer, and theatre reformist,¹³ might be useful, since they emphasize the principles of a leading Chinese theatre expert on the ethical duties he believed the *Zenshin-za* shared with Maoist ideology. They also touch on the shared tradition of men playing women in classical theatre, which was then being phased out in China, but remained strong in Japan.

What follows is taken from the report by Kawarasaki Chōjūrō, co-founder and leader of the *Zenshin-za*:

Ma was around 50,¹⁴ narrow face, pale, thin, tall. He was somewhat sickly looking and extremely gentle in manner and quiet. He plunked himself down in a large leather chair, lit up a cigarette, and said, "Since everyone has been hoping for the *Zenshin-za* to visit China, this is proof that anything is possible. When you return to Japan please let everyone know that the group chief offers friendship on behalf of the Chinese people. And that I hope there will be many opportunities for our good Japanese friends to visit China."¹⁵

Ma then praised the company for its ideology, humanity, and acting skill. He said the Chinese people make great demands on the theatre. They seek through theatre spiritual nourishment and, at the same time, require artistic pleasure. Neither one nor the other can be lacking. The *Zenshin-za*'s repertory fulfilled these requirements, he said, being very rich in humanity, showing that a noble, ethical spirit was implanted in the Japanese people. He pointed to Chinese stage characters who exemplify the same ideals as the characters of *Shunkan* and *Benkei*.

He continued to extol the *Zenshin-za* with platitudes about its confirmations of the human soul and its promise of a brilliant future as a representative of traditional art, so important to the progress of the Chinese and Japanese people, who must both inherit tradition and advance it. He expressed his love of classical Japanese theatre arts, but insisted they could not stay still, but must continue to develop or they would lose contact with the masses.

In the Chinese theatre world, according to Chairman Mao's teachings, let history serve the present. In other words, classical traditional theatre should

¹³ My gratitude to Prof. Elizabeth Wichmann-Walczak, University of Hawaii, who provided this (and other) background of Ma Shabao.

¹⁴ He was actually only forty-two.

¹⁵ Kawarasaki Chōjūrō, "Ma Shabao to Kabuki o Ronjiru" [Discussing Kabuki with Ma Shabao], in *Zenshin-za Chūgoku Kikō*, 302.

serve the present. That is, the art of theatre is stage art. Since theatre is active on a stage, naturally it has a psychological connection with the audience. Through the stage it has a large advantage in educating the people. In other words, unless the stage is used to serve the people the psychological connection with the people will come to an end... And if something like that happens, the art of the stage will die.

Ma used *nō* and *kyōgen* as representatives of the walking on two legs problem, insisting that they preserve their original form but develop it for the modern world, creating completely new contents and begin to attract young audiences.¹⁶

Ma then moved on to kabuki, offering what he thought of it. I have no space to discuss his ideas but they tend to be both lofty and impractical, and to introduce problems that kabuki had been seeking to solve since the late nineteenth century, such as the attempt to write new plays. Chōjūrō politely treats these ideas, many of them based on post-liberation Chinese theatre reforms, as more enlightening than they are, and agrees with Ma's request to bring them back to Japan. Using Chinese political lingo, Chōjūrō told Ma: "I had come to understand clearly 'Let 100 flowers bloom' and the Great Leap Forward, and I felt as if I'd gained one million soldiers. Or even more. He smiled and looked into my eyes. 'Under your leadership an army of a million will surely achieve victory.'"

At this time, China was beginning to abandon the use of male actors to play female roles, *tan*. Kabuki had been debating the issue then for well over half a century, but, despite the frequent debates, the female roles, or *onnagata*, weren't going anywhere. China still had male *tan* actors, but they were slowly disappearing or becoming teachers of the young women who were replacing them. Ma said:

"Actresses haven't been appearing on stage recently, but I was wondering if actresses and *onnagata* couldn't comprise a walking on two legs policy. Of course, actresses have to be trained, I think. Actresses playing female roles henceforth would be one leg and they would get increasingly thicker. Women are suited to playing women. . . ."

Ma asked. "After you came to China did you see *onnagata* performing?"

Chōjūrō answered: "Yes, we saw them in Xian. But in Beijing we saw only actresses." "Mei Lan-fang and his son perform as *onnagata*," said Ma.

Chōjūrō responded: "In other words, that's the two legs policy, right?" "Yes," said Ma. "However, walking on two legs is different from when both of our legs walk with the same power. That is, even when there are two legs

¹⁶ Kawarasaki, "Ma Shabao", 307.

there is a leading leg. For example, the hand has five fingers but the thumb and pointer finger are central.”

Chōjūrō asked, “To a degree . . . that is, mustn’t there be a focal point, a central point?”

“Yes. In that way there has to be a leadership quality. In everything. There can’t be equalization. For example, when it comes to the two legs of actress and *onnagata*, an actress playing a female role takes the lead and a male playing a female becomes secondary, I believe.” Chōjūrō thanked Ma for his advice and promised to report it back home.

Ma Shabao was finished and hoped his words had been helpful.

We shook hands and Ma had a happy face as he smiled broadly and said farewell as he disappeared down the long hallway, waving his hand.¹⁷

Chōjūrō continues to discuss the actress problem, noting that in 1960 female-role specialists were still respected in China, with Mei being head of the Beijing Opera Institute, and his son, Mei Baojiu (1934–2016), being a popular *tan* actor, while another great, Ouyang Yuqian (1889–1962), had stopped acting and become head of the Central Drama School. This was a trend represented by other important examples among men who were aging out of the profession and being replaced by young women, while the men were serving as their instructors in the many schools that had cropped up all over. For China’s traditional theatre, the age of the female-role specialist was dying, and that of the actress was being born.

To those who visited China with the *Zenshin-za* in 1960, what they witnessed was a utopia, one they wished to emulate back in Japan. Needless to say, they did not succeed. The *Zenshin-za*, in its ninety-first year in 2022, continues to produce new plays and kabuki, even after having sold its Kichijōji theatre in 2013, and having lost several of its leading actors even earlier. And, of course, China’s theatrical utopia vanished overnight six years after the *Zenshin-za* visited when the Cultural Revolution took over in 1966.

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¹⁷ Kawarasaki, “Ma Shabao”, 312.

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Figure 1: Ichikawa Sadanji II meets Konstantin Stanislavski in Moscow, 1928. From *Grand Kabuki Overseas Tours 1928-1993*.

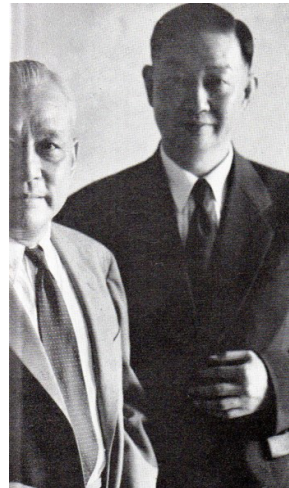


Figure 2: Ichikawa Ennosuke II meets China's greatest traditional actor, Mei-lan Fang, in Beijing, 1955. From *Zenshin-za Chūkoku Kikō*.



Figure 3: Ichikawa Ennosuke II, as Benkei in *Kanjinchō*, poses with Mao Zedong and various Chinese and Japanese officials and theatrical figures. From *Zenshin-za Chūkoku Kikō*.



Figure 4: *Kanjinchō* at the Shanghai People's Grand Theatre, 1960. From *Zenshin-za Chūkoku Kikō*.



Figure 5: Nakamura Kan'emon (left) and Kawarasaki Chōjūrō at a train station in Guangzhou, China, 1960. *Zenshin-za Chūkoku Kikō*.

翻訳文学の挿絵の系譜

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1. はじめに

西洋の文学作品は、日本では明治時代以降に多数の翻訳が刊行されてきた。添えられた挿絵は、ヨーロッパのものを利用している場合が多い。そうした影響を受けたのは、挿絵だけではなかった。江戸時代後期の浮世絵師歌川国芳（1797–1861）の作品にみられる舶来の絵画資料からの影響については、近年研究が進められている。「近江の国の勇婦於兼」（天保年間）（図1）は、暴れる馬の端綱を下駄で踏んで鎮めた女性を描いている。それは通りかかった遊女のお兼（お金）で、「浮世絵美人」として描かれている。ところが馬のほうには陰影があり浮世絵らしくない。そのため既に1996年の国芳展の図録において、「亜欧堂田善の銅版画か『ヨNSTON動物図譜』から抜け出てきたような品格のある馬の、渦巻く尾とタテガミ、そして灰褐色の陰影が、背景の雲と美しく響き合う」¹と評されていた。後に、手本とされたのは『イソップ寓話』の「馬とライオン」の挿絵（図2）であることが確認された²。描いたのはイギリスのバーロウ（Francis Barlow, 1626?–1702）で、画家の石川大浪（1765–1818?）³がフランス語版の『イソップ寓話集』を所蔵しており、それが国芳の手に渡ったとみられる。とはいえ『イソップ寓話集』は版種が多く、「尻尾、陰影、鬃、顔、脚など、各部位の形が少しずつ異なる。今後、国芳が拠った原本が見つかる可能性が」ある⁴。たとえば図2は英語版の挿絵だが、こちらのほうはタテガミが国芳の馬に近いが、その他はフランス語版と同じである。今後、より類似する挿絵を収めた版の発見が期待される。

¹ 名古屋博物館他『生誕二〇〇年記念 歌川国芳展』日本経済新聞社、1996年、257頁。

² 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年。

³ 「杉田玄白像」「ヒポクラテス像」のほか、蘭医書に挿絵も描いた。

⁴ 勝原良太「国芳の洋風版画と蘭書『東西海陸紀行』の図像」『日本研究』34号、国際日本文化研究センター、2007年、249–271頁。



図1歌川国芳画。「近江の国の勇婦於兼」.[天保年間]. (国立国会図書館蔵).



図2フランシス・バーロウ画。「馬とライオン」. Aesop's Fables. London: H. Hills jun. 1687. (イェール大学蔵).

国芳は、お兼と馬を「忠孝名誉奇人伝 兼女」(1843年頃)(図3)にも描いている。図3は、お兼が下駄で端綱を踏む前の場面である。馬の向きは反転されているが、暴れかたはバーロウの挿絵(図2)に酷似している。



図3 歌川国芳画「忠孝名誉奇人伝 兼女」、1843年頃 (国立歴史民俗博物館蔵)

国芳作品への洋画からの影響は、これだけに留まらない。「忠臣蔵十一段目 夜討之図」(1831年頃)は、高師直の館が襲撃される忠臣蔵のクライマックスの場面だが、風景に日本らしさを感じられない。それもそのはずで、ここで参照されたのはバタビア (現在のジャカルタ)の「町の役人と職人の家」で、オランダの旅行家ニューホフ (Johan Nieuhof, 1618-1672)の『東西海陸紀行』に収められた銅版画だったのである⁵。国芳は「南国の風景を、満月の冬空に雪のはえる江戸の街並みに、ヤシの木を雪がつもる松に」変えたのである⁶。

「近江の国の勇婦於兼」(図1)に関しては、中央奥に描かれた山並みの「稜線と屋根筋」がさらに『東西海陸紀行』の挿図「De Haven St. Vincent」に似ているという指摘がある⁷。実際に比較すると、引き写したというほどまでには酷似しておらず、この類似点だけでは判断が難しいが、この『東西海陸紀行』は、国芳が「忠臣蔵」にも参照している蘭書であるため、ここでも同様に用いたという指摘には説得力がある。国芳はこの蘭書を、さらに『唐土二十四孝』の「孝子・大舜」の挿絵にも活用している。具体的には、「Brasilia」の地図の右下に小さく描かれた天使の姿と「Carte vande Cabo de Bona Esperança」の中央右手に描かれた二

⁵ 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、195頁。

⁶ 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、195頁。

⁷ 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、254頁。

頭の象のうちの左側の一頭を模写している⁸。こうして二枚の挿図から小さな部分を取り出し利用したのである。『東西海陸紀行』で天使が指さしているのは地図に描かれた大陸である。国芳は、天使の羽を取り去り、「畑仕事を手伝いに来た象に「あちらの畑を耕しておくれ」という意味になるように」変えた上で、全く関係のない『唐土二十四孝』に活用したのである⁹。

この『東西海陸紀行』も、『イソップ寓話』と同様に石川大浪から歌川国芳の手にわたったと考えられるが¹⁰、そこに収められた挿図を国芳は「二十年以上にわたって」¹¹複数の作品に利用したのだった。

本稿では西欧に着目しているが、こうした影響は、むしろ西欧からのみ受けたわけではない。清朝(中国)の『万寿盛典』(1717年)と19世紀日本の「照代勝覧」の関係も注目されている¹²。

2. 日本からの影響

また影響関係は相互的で、日本の美術が影響を与える場合もある。ゴッホ(Vincent van Gogh, 1853-1890)と浮世絵の関係はよく知られている。

「タンギー爺さん」(1887年頃)中にはいくつもの浮世絵が描き込まれおり、ひとつは溪斎英泉の「雲龍打掛の花魁」(文政期)で、一足先に1886年に「パリ・イリュストレ」誌の日本特集号の表紙も(左右反転された状態で)飾った絵であった。歌川広重(1797-1858)の「名所江戸百景」(1856-58)は、「大はしあたけの夕立」や「亀戸 梅屋舗」がゴッホの1887年の油絵に、「亀戸天神境内」の橋がモネの「睡蓮の池と日本の橋」(1899年)に引き写されている。

同様に葛飾北斎(1760-1849)の「富嶽三十六景」(1822?-32?)の「神奈川沖浪裏」は、ドビュッシーの交響詩「海」の楽譜の表紙をはじめ、フランスのジョソ(Henri Gustave Jossot, 1866-1951年)やプラハ出身のホフバウエル(Arnost Hofbauer)¹³の作品にとどまらず、現在でもその影響力を発揮し続けている。

⁸ 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、261-262頁。

⁹ 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、260頁。

¹⁰ 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、201頁。

¹¹ 勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、268頁。

¹² 江戸東京博物館『北京と江戸—18世紀の都市と暮らし』2017年。

¹³ ジョソ「波」(1894年)やホフバウエル「マーネス美術家協会第2回展覧会」ポスター(1898年)など。国立西洋美術館『北斎とジャポニズム』2017年、249、251頁。

3. 西洋文学の翻訳と挿絵

国芳が参考にしたのは蘭書で、江戸時代には商館長によってもたらされたものである。ドドネウス (Rembert Dodoneus, 1517–1585)の『草木誌』が1659年に、ヨNSTON (Johannes Jonstons, 1603–75)の『動物図譜』が1663年に献上された。読める者がおらずそのままになっていた『草木誌』を、徳川吉宗の命により野呂元丈 (1693–1761)が翻訳して『阿蘭陀本草和解』(1741–50年)を刊行している。

ヨNSTONの『鳥獣虫魚図譜』(1660年)も舶来し、そこに描かれたライオンの絵など14点を、江戸中期の画家である宋紫石 (楠本幸八郎1715–1786)が『古今画藪』(1770年)に取り入れている¹⁴。

有名な医学書『解体新書』(1774年)は、前野良沢と杉田玄白がオランダ語 (1741年)¹⁵から翻訳したものだが、邦訳に掲載された木版の「図譜」を手がけたのは小田野直武であった。ただし、図譜の数は底本よりも多い。それは、アムステルダムで刊行されたビドロウ解剖アトラス『人体解剖学』(1685年)¹⁶等からも図版を模写し、利用したためであった。このほか、先にも言及した画家の石川大浪も、医学書の挿図も手掛けていたという。

次に、西洋文学の邦訳本の挿絵の考察に移ると、ダニエル・デフォー原作『ロビンソン・クルーソー』(1719年)の本邦初の翻訳は江戸時代で、洋学者の黒田翹蘆 (1827–1892)がオランダ語から翻訳した『漂荒紀事』(推定1848年)である。次は1857年で、横山保三 (横山由清1826–1879)による『魯敏遜漂行紀略』(図4)であった。

¹⁴ 「獅子図」他。勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、64頁。

¹⁵ 原著はクルムス (Johann Adam Kulmus, 1689–1745)がドイツ語で著した『解剖図譜』(1722年)だが、翻訳底本はオランダ語版の第2版という。

¹⁶ これを剽窃したカウパーの解剖書を利用した可能性もあるという。勝盛典子『近世異国趣味美術の史的研究』臨川書店、2011年、66頁。

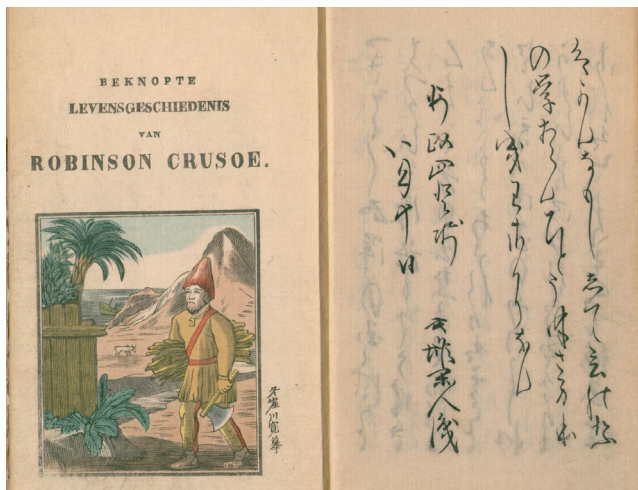


図4 川上冬崖画『魯敏遜漂行紀略』瓊華書屋蔵版、1857年（国立国会図書館蔵）

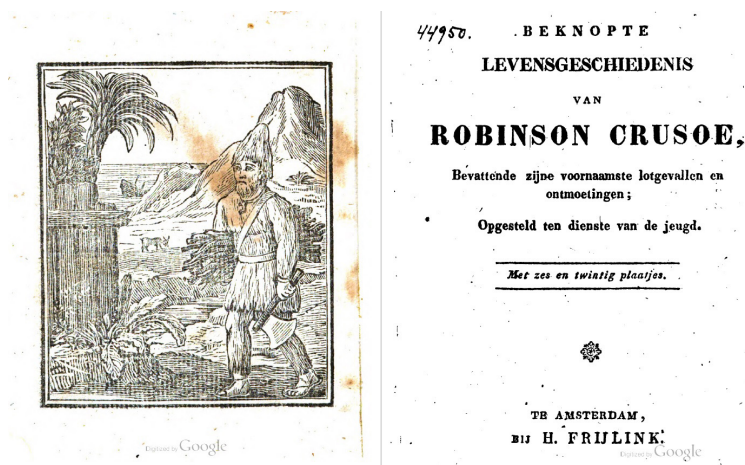


図5 画家不詳。Defoe, Daniel: Beknopte levensgeschiedenis van Robinson Crusoe. Amsterdam: Frijlink, 1850. (National Library of the Netherlands蔵)

こちらには挿絵が3枚添えられており、4丁表（図4）の挿絵の上にはオランダ語のタイトルが、右横には絵師の川上冬崖（1827-1881年）の名前が記されている。このタイトルから底本となった小冊子（図5）が判明して

いる¹⁷。邦訳版の挿絵は、3枚ともこの蘭書から模写したものである。ただし邦訳版では彩色されているため、実際に手本として用いたのも彩色された版本だったと推測されている。

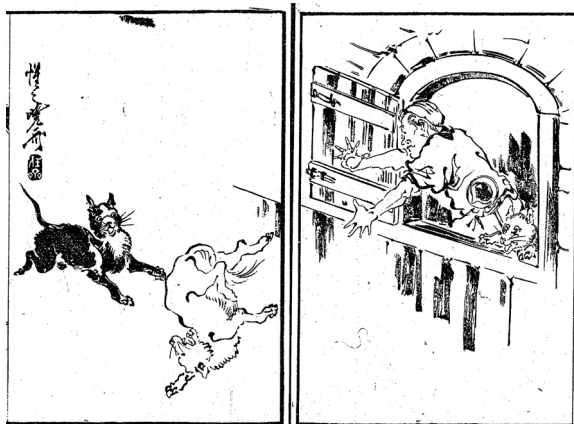


図6 河鍋暁斎画『通俗伊蘇普物語 卷之2』1875年(国立国会図書館蔵)

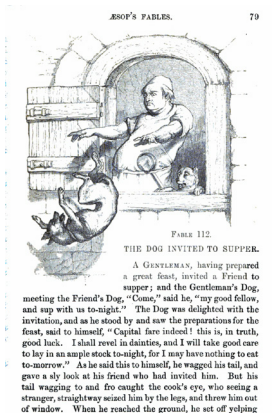


図7 テニエル画. Æsop's fables: a new version by Thomas James. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1852. (オックスフォード大学蔵)

¹⁷ 平田守衛編著『黒田麴廬の業績と『漂荒紀事』』京都大学学術出版会1990年、165頁。川戸道昭「横山保三訳『魯敏遜漂行紀略』の再評価」『東日本英学史研究』第20号、2021年、35-49頁。

これに比べて、イソップ寓話の邦訳の嚆矢は早く、1593年の九州天草版『エソポのハブラス』がある。これは日本における最初の西洋文学の翻訳本といわれる。テキストはローマ字で表記され、挿絵は付けられていなかった。江戸時代には、1659年に『伊曾保物語』(画者不詳、出版者は伊藤三右衛門)が出されたが、登場人物は着物を纏っており、挿絵は日本風に描かれている。明治になっても、1886年の香雪散人訳『密画挿入 伊曾保物語』においては、蛙が着物を着ているなど、滝村弘方(1868-1889)が描いた挿絵はやはり日本風である。一方で、1875年の渡部温訳『通俗伊蘇普物語』(全六巻)¹⁸の挿絵は洋風である。手がけたのは藤沢梅南(1835-1889)、榊篁邨(榊令輔、1823-1894)、河鍋暁斎(1831-1889)の3名だが、それらがどのように描かれているかに着目したい。翻訳底本には英語のジェイムズ版とタウンゼント版が使われたのだが、挿絵はジェイムズ版によるという¹⁹。ジェイムズ版の挿絵を描いたのは、『ふしぎの国のアリス』(ルイス・キャロル作、1865年)等で有名なイギリスの挿絵画家テニエル(John Tenniel, 1820-1914)と動物画を得手としたウルフ(Joseph Wolf, 1820-1899)であった。『通俗伊蘇普物語』の挿絵は、原著の挿絵に確かに似ているのだが、3名の絵師とも日本的な風味を加えている。河鍋暁斎による「第八十 饗餐に招かれた犬の話」(図6)は、テニエルによる挿絵(図7)²⁰に似ており、これを参考にしていることが分かるが、男性の手の描写などは日本画風である。この図6は、先行研究で指摘されているように「縦長から横長への転換がもっとうまく解決されている例²¹」である。『通俗伊蘇普物語』では、挿絵を見開き二頁にわたって横長に配置しているため、それに合わせたレイアウトに変える必要があったのである。テニエルは追い払われた犬を一匹だけ描いているが、横長になったことにより生じたスペースに暁斎は犬をもう一匹描いている。訳文にはそれが登場するためである。これはすなわち「暁斎が訳をきちんと読み込んでいることを立証できる好例」でもある。この他「第三十六 旅人と熊の話」においては、「縦長図を暁斎は、左側に木をデザインすることで、左右を逆転させ、右から左への視線の動きを、日本化するのに成功している」²²(図8、9)。

¹⁸ 東洋文庫の翻刻版の「解説」によれば、底本はジェームズの英訳1863年版である。巻六には、タウンゼント版も使われた。この他、渡部が明治2年に刊行した『経済説略』からも数話が収められている。谷川恵一『通俗伊蘇普物語』平凡社、2001年、284頁。

¹⁹ 三宅興子「イソップ寓話における図像の移植とその日本化」2009年、271-294頁。

²⁰ ジェイムズ版の初版は1848年だが、本書図9は、オクスフォード大学蔵の1852年版である。

²¹ 三宅興子「イソップ寓話における図像の移植とその日本化」2009年、283頁。

²² 三宅興子「イソップ寓話における図像の移植とその日本化」2009年、281頁。



図8 河鍋暁斎画『通俗伊蘇普物語 卷之1』1875年(国立国会図書館蔵)

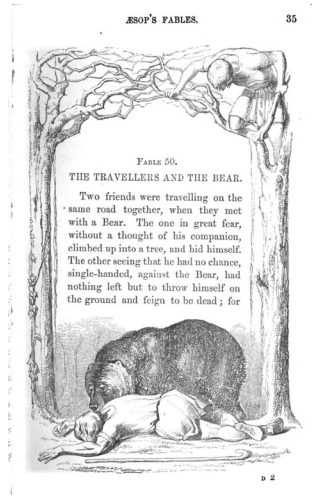


図9 テニエル画. Æsop's fables: a new version by Thomas James. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1852. (オックスフォード大学蔵)

4. 『グリム童話集』について

『グリム童話集』は、ヤーコプ (Jacob Grimm, 1785–1863)とヴィルヘルム (Wilhelm Grimm, 1786–1859)のふたりが編纂したもので、日本でも数多くの翻訳が出版され愛読されている。初版の第一巻の刊行は1812年だが、日本語への翻訳は遅く、明治時代以降である。ヨーロッパでは、当初は全話ではなく部分的であるにしても、初版の刊行後すぐに英語やフ

ランス語に翻訳されたのに比べて、日本での紹介は半世紀ほど遅かったわけである。

明治期の『おほかみ』（1889年）は、国語学者上田萬年（1867-1937）²³が翻訳した「狼と七匹の子やぎ」の絵本で、挿絵が日本風である。登場人物はみな着物を着ている。『伊曾保物語』（イソップ寓話、1659年）でも、江戸時代の挿絵が和風に描かれていたのと同様である。

それよりも2年前に統計学者の呉文聰が訳した『八ツ山羊』（1887年、弘文社）は、日本で最初の「狼と七匹の子やぎ」の絵本で、絵師の名前は明記されていないが、小林永濯（1843-1890）²⁴と推測されている。その洋風の挿絵は、日本で独自に描かれたと考えられてきた。ところが、これは『ドイツの子ども童話集』（推定1884年）²⁵のロイテマン（Heinrich Leutemann, 1824-1905年）の挿絵に酷似しており、それを手本として描かれたと考えられる²⁶。これは『八ツ山羊』の翻訳底本でもあり、そこに収められた挿絵を模倣していることは、江戸時代の『ロビンソン・クルーソー』、明治初頭の『イソップ寓話集』の翻訳の場合と同様である。



図10 画家不詳『西洋妖怪奇談』澁江保訳、博文館、1891年。（筆者蔵）

²³ 他に『新訳伊蘇普物語』（1907年）や『安得仙家庭物語』（1911年）の翻訳がある。

²⁴ 狩野永恵の門人。『耶蘇一代弁妄記』『義烈回天百首』の挿絵などを手掛けた。

²⁵ *Deutsche Kinder-Märchen: 12 Lieblingsmärchen für die Jugend*. Stuttgart u.a., 1884.

²⁶ 西口拓子『挿絵でよみとくグリム童話』早稲田大学出版部、2022、第1章。

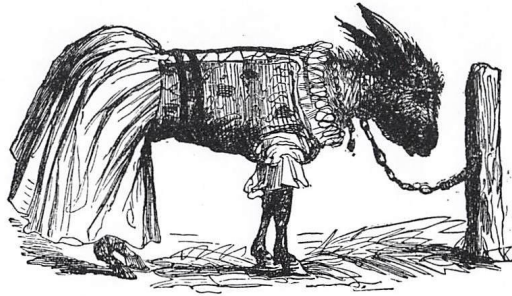


図11 ウェーナート画. Household Stories. Collected by the Brothers Grimm. London: Addey and Co., 1853. (筆者蔵は1900年頃の再版)

『西洋妖怪奇談』(1891年、澁江保訳)にもグリム童話が38話収められており、挿絵は洋風である。手がけた絵師の名前は詳らかでないが、その多くはイギリスのウェーナート (Edward Henry Wehnert, 1813-1868年)の挿絵に酷似している。それらは英語訳『グリム童話集』(1853年)のために描かれたもので、テキストも併せて調査したところ、挿絵の手本としてだけでなく翻訳底本としても、この英訳版が用いられたと考えられる²⁷。『西洋妖怪奇談』の挿絵には、ウェーナートの挿絵をほぼそのまま模写しているものもあるが、ここではアレンジされた絵を紹介しておく。図11がウェーナートによる原画で、ロバは静的に描かれているが、『西洋妖怪奇談』のロバ(図10)は、歌川国芳の「近江の国の勇婦於兼」(図1)の馬を彷彿とさせる躍動感にあふれている。そうした違いはあるが、ロバの着用する洋服が同一であること、他の挿絵にウェーナートの挿絵を引き写したのがあることなどから、ここでもウェーナートの挿絵が参照されたことが分かる²⁸。

大正時代になり、洋装の普及に伴ってグリム童話の挿絵も洋風のものが増える。富山房の「模範家庭文庫」のシリーズとして1916年に刊行された『グリム御伽噺』には、中島孤島(中島茂一1878-1946年)が翻訳した41話のグリム童話と、洋風の挿絵が多数収められている。挿絵と装丁を手がけたのは岡本帰一(1888-1930)であった。

先行研究により、岡本はポガーニー (Willy Pogany, 1882-1995)やラッカム (Arthur Rackham, 1867-1939)らが描いた挿絵を引き写したり、参考にしたりしていることが知られている²⁹。たとえば『鏡国めぐり』(1912

²⁷ 西口拓子『挿絵でよみとくグリム童話』早稲田大学出版部、2022年、第3章。

²⁸ 西口拓子『挿絵でよみとくグリム童話』早稲田大学出版部、2022年、第3章。

²⁹ 千森幹子『表象のアリス』法政大学出版局、2015年。千森幹子『ガリヴァーとオリエント』法政大学出版局、2018年。三宅興子『比較児童出版美術史・事始め』東京書籍、2003年、41-71頁。三宅興子『「絵本」の「翻訳」史・試論』大空社、2007年、11-29頁。

年)は、ルイス・キャロル作『鏡の国のアリス』(1872年)の邦訳だが、岡本が描いた挿絵には明らかにテニエルの挿絵の影響が見て取れる³⁰。テニエルの挿絵は、先にも述べたように、1875年刊行のイソップ寓話の邦訳版の挿絵にも影響を与えている。

先行研究で、岡本帰一に手本として使われたことが明らかにされてきたのは、英語圏の書籍に添えられた挿絵であったが、『グリム御伽噺』の挿絵には、英語圏ではなく、ドイツ語圏の挿絵画家からの影響がみられる³¹。



図12 岡本帰一画『グリム御伽噺』富山房、1916年(筆者蔵)

³⁰ 千森幹子『表象のアリス』法政大学出版局、2015年、292-298頁。

³¹ 西口拓子『挿絵でよみとくグリム童話』早稲田大学出版部、2022年、第7章。



図13 ゲプハルト画. Rotkäppchen. Sneewittchen: Bilder von Otto Gebhardt. Mainz: Scholz, 1911. (筆者蔵)

岡本の「白雪姫」の挿絵（図12）のガラスの棺や花輪などは図13に酷似している。図13はドイツの挿絵画家ゲプハルト (Friedrich Otto Gebhardt, 1874–没年不詳)によるもので、岡本はそれを手本として描いたとみられる。岡本は、縦長の絵を横長に変更しているが、同様の変更は、暁斎もイソップの寓話の挿絵で行っていた。暁斎のように、岡本も訳文を丹念に読み、それに合わせた変更も加えている。図12と図13を比較すれば、元の絵にあった王子の姿がなく、木に置き換えられていることが分かる。「白雪姫」の王子は、存在感がないためだろう。「いばら姫」では姫にキスをして目覚めさせるという華々しい役割があるが、ここでは白雪姫の美しさに魅せられ、王子はガラスの棺を引き受けるのみである。姫が目覚めるのは、棺を運ぶ家臣がつまずき、その衝撃で喉から毒リングが取れるためである³²。暁斎も、横長に変えることにより生じたスペースに、もう一匹の犬を描き加えていたが、それと同様に、図12でも手前に小人の姿が加えられている。

³² ディズニーのアニメーション映画「白雪姫」(1937年)では、王子がキスをして目覚めさせている。

岡本の例をもうひとつ見ておくと、「いばら姫」(図14)は、ミュラー＝ミュンスター (Franz Müller-Münster, 1867-1936)の挿絵(図15)を手本としている。岡本がここで参照したのは、ひとつの挿絵にとどまらない。クリムシュ (Eugen Klimsch, 1839-1896)の図16からは小僧をたたくコックを、グロート＝ヨハン (Philipp Grot Johann, 1841-1892)の図17からは、右端に描かれたキスをするカップルを取り入れている。挿図から一部のみを写したり、複数の図から部分的に取り入れたりすることは、国芳が『唐土二十四』で取っていた手法と同じである。



図 16クリムシュ画. Kinder-Märchen: Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. 23. Auflage. Stuttgart: Loewes Verlag Ferdinand Carl, [1894]. (筆者蔵)



図 17 グロート＝ヨハン画。Kinder- und Hausmärchen: Gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. Stuttgart u.a.: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1893. (筆者蔵)

この岡本の挿絵は、元のミュラー＝ミュンスター挿絵 (図15)よりも動的な描写となっている。それは読者の視線の動きが配慮された結果だと考えられる。ドイツ語版の読者の視線は、文字の流れに沿って、左から右へと動く。一方で、日本語版の読者は縦書きの文字を追って、右から左へと視線が動く。つまり図14では、右側の頁が最初に目に映るのである。そのため、左頁は、王子がキスをした後の中庭の様子になる。つまるところ、皆が目覚めた後の様子を描かなくてはならないため、岡本はこれを躍動感のある絵に変えたのである。元のミュラー＝ミュンスターの挿絵 (図15)では、中庭を通った後に姫を見つけてキスをし、城全体が目覚めずため、中庭ではまだ皆が寝ているのである。蛇足ながら、こちらの話ではキスをする役割を担う王子は、岡本によって樹木などに書き換えられることもなかったわけである。

他にも岡本は、「狼と七匹の子やぎ」の挿絵において明らかに読者の視線を意識している。そこでは全体を反転させつつ手本を利用している。暁斎がイソップの寓話「第36 旅人と熊の話」で行った変更につらなる配慮である。

その他、岡本は「金のがちょう」のドイツの挿絵を、全く別の「幸せなハンス」に使うこともしている。国芳が、天使の羽を取り去り「孝子・大舜」に使ったのと同じ手法で、その系譜上に位置づけられる。こうしてみると、挿絵画家の洋書の利用の仕方は、ほぼ引き写す場合もあれば、翻訳文を読んだ上で加筆する場合もあり、また別の物語へ使うなどの場合もあるが、おのずと似通った方法になっていることが分かる。

5. 国を超えた受容

このような挿絵の利用は、日本でのみ行われていたわけではない。1823年に刊行された英語の選集版『グリム童話集』(German Popular Stories)は、非常に好評を博し、早くも翌年に、これを底本としたフランス語版が刊行された。英語版に添えられていたクルックシャンク (George Cruikshank, 1792–1878)の挿絵も、フランス語版で模刻されている。このフランス語版は、さらに1837年にポルトガルで3話のグリム童話の翻訳底本となり、そのうち2話には挿絵が (フランス語版から)模刻されて使われたのである。つまりは原典のドイツ語版ではなく、英語版が孫コピーのように使用されたわけである。

クルックシャンクの挿絵のような受容の連鎖はアジアにおいてもみられる。ドイツの挿絵画家リーバーマン (Ernst Liebermann, 1869–1960)の絵本『蛙の王様』(1908年)の挿絵を、岡本が前述の『グリム御伽噺』で利用し、それが1923年に韓国の雑誌『東明』でさらに使われたのである。リーバーマンが描いた石の建造物は、日本ではそのまま写し取られたが、韓国では松の木に変えられた。「韓国人にとって老松は「苦難に負けず変わらない」イメージであるため韓国の昔からの風景画によく描かれる素材として馴染み深い」ためだという³³。一見同じような絵に見えるが、そうした変容をしながら異なる国で受容されたのである。『東明』に掲載されたグリム童話は、翻訳底本としても『グリム御伽噺』を用いている。韓国での初期の翻訳には、この他にも日本語訳が底本として利用された可能性がある。今後も挿絵と底本に着目しながら研究を進めたい。

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『うつほ物語』の手紙

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Keywords: *Utsuho Monogatari*, letter, *zotoka* (poetry exchanged between a man and a women)

はじめに

平安時代中期 (10世紀末)成立の『うつほ物語』は二十巻からなる長編物語である。簡単に物語の流れを説明しておきたい。巻頭の「俊蔭」巻では清原俊蔭が遣唐使として派遣されたものの船が難破してしまい波斯国¹に漂流する。漂着した先で俊蔭は三人の天人から琴を習うが、それらの琴は天変地異を引き起こすような秘琴であり、その演奏は人々を感動させる。俊蔭は23年後に帰朝して、後に結婚して一女をもうけ、秘曲を娘が小さい頃から伝授する。その後、俊蔭は娘に秘琴を遺言して死去、娘は賀茂神社に参詣中であった藤原兼雅と結ばれて仲忠を生む。しかし、兼雅はその後ひとり歩きを禁じられたため、娘のもとに行くことができない。父俊蔭亡きあと荒廃した邸で暮らす娘は貧しさのため、幼少の仲忠と大樹のうつほ (空洞)で生活せざるをえず、そこで仲忠は母から秘琴の技を教わることになる。数年後、兼雅は二人に再会して、仲忠を引き取るという、空想的で超自然的な内容で物語は始まる。

様々な内容が入り組んだ物語であるが、主に清原俊蔭、その娘、藤原仲忠、犬宮の四代にわたる琴の名人一家の繁栄と、源正頼の娘あて宮が仲忠ら多くの青年貴族の求婚をしりぞけ、東宮妃となり、やがて皇位継承争いが生じる過程を描く物語である。今回取り上げる箇所は、4巻目の『春日詣』の巻で、あて宮の父源正頼が一族を連れて春日神社に参詣する華やかな場面である。その場面に兵部卿の宮があて宮に手紙を送る部分がみられる。この手紙に着目するのが本論文の目的である。

総じて日本古典文学にあらわれる手紙についても考えていきたい。数年前から平安時代における物語や日記文学における手紙の機能や役割について研究を進めており、その一環での発表となることを述べておく²。

¹ 波斯国 (はしこく)の地理上の位置は不明である。

² 今までの手紙に関する研究は以下の拙稿にまとめてあるのでご覧いただきたい。拙稿「『落窪物語』における手紙と和歌との考察」(小山利彦編『王朝文学を彩る軌跡』武

1. 春日神社への参詣

現存する奈良市春日野町の春日神社は藤原氏の氏神として多くの貴族が参拝した神社である³。『うつほ物語』の「春日詣」が巻名にあるようにまず源正頼の春日詣から始まるのも、藤原氏の血統が強調され、氏子である藤原一族の血筋を再確認する意味もあるのであろう⁴。日時としては「二月二十日になむ詣でたまひける⁵」とあるので旧暦の春である。参詣する一族のきらびやかな装束や車、大勢のお供や舞人の数までもが記載され、いかに参詣が素晴らしく世の中の評判になったのかわかる描写である。到着後、正頼と兵部卿の宮の二人の会話は以下のように始まる。兵部卿の宮はあて宮の叔父にあたる人物である。

かかるに、おとど、人々に「あやしく所々見たまふるに、おもしろく興ある所は、この御社になむある。同じき木草の姿も、ここのは情けありて、おもしろくなむ見ゆる」とのたまふ。兵部卿の宮、「げにさおはします宮なり。この宮に詣でたまふこと、十度なり。そがうちにも、今年にあやしく年急ぎて、遅き花とく咲き、同じく開けたる花も、萌え出づる木の芽など、心ことなる年になむ」などのたまふ。あるじのおとど、うち笑ひて、「正頼この宮に詣ではべる年なれば、まさに木草も、心づくろひせざらむやは」などのたまふ⁶。

春日神社の自然風景も例年とは違って、いつもより木も花も早く咲き乱れていると、つまり正頼一族の繁栄を春日神社の自然と重ね合わせて寿ぐ。この後、威勢のよい正頼は、この正頼が参詣したのだから、木草も心用意をしないことはないでしょうと自信たっぷりに発言する。自然をまさに味方につける思考は自然界を掌握したいという欲望の現れであ

蔵野書院、2014年5月)、拙稿「平安時代の文」(Poland: Language and Literary Traditions of Japan, Jagiellonian University Press, 2014)。なお最近では歴史学のエゴ・ドキュメントの視点から古典文学の手紙をみるとどうなのか、という点にも関心を向けている。

³ 『千載和歌集』巻第十七・雑歌中に「春日山松に頼みをかくるかな藤の末葉の数ならねど」(春日山の松に、官位昇進の頼みをかけることだ。私は藤の末葉、藤原氏の末孫としては物の数にも入らない存在なのだが)とあるように、藤原氏の藤をあげて藤原氏の栄華や繁栄を祈願する歌もある。松と藤との組み合わせは藤原氏の繁栄によく使われる表現である。

⁴ 中心となる人物である源正頼は源氏であるが、「左大将、男、女、皇子、源氏におはしませど、母方藤氏におはします(左大将源正頼は、北の方は内親王、ご自分は源氏でおいでになるが、お二人とも母方は藤原氏でいらっしゃるうえに)」(中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、257頁)とあるように、もとは藤原氏である。

⁵ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、258頁。

⁶ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、259、260頁。

り、『春日詣』は正頼一族の繁栄を見せつける巻として威風堂々と始まる。そしてこの巻の特徴としては、あて宮への求婚歌がたくさん導入されることである。そして歌を送ってきた相手のほとんどにあて宮が返事をしないというのも注目すべきである。

兵部卿の宮は正頼のこの発言の後に、あて宮に前からあなたのことが気になっていたという手紙を書く。なぜこのタイミングであて宮に手紙を出すのだろうか。また、手紙の送り方がかなり風変わりであるにも関わらず、あて宮が返歌をしていることについても考えたい。次は兵部卿の宮とあて宮との贈答歌である。

兵部卿の親王、おもしろき梅の花を折らせたまひて、沈の男作らせたまひて、花の雫に濡れたるに、かく書きつけて、あて宮の御もとに奉れたまふ。

立ち寄れば梅の花笠匂ふ野もなほわび人はこころ濡れけり
さるは、二葉にもと思ひたまへつるものを」とて奉れたまふ。あて宮見たまひて、蓑虫つける花折らせたまひて、それが下に笠着せたる者ども立てて、かく書きつけたまふ。

隠れたる三笠の山の蓑虫は花の降るをや濡るといふらむ⁷

平安時代の文学作品には多く手紙に関する言及がみられ、それらを恋という観点からまとめた研究に川村裕子著『王朝の恋の手紙たち』⁸がある。氏の研究を参考にして、以下五点、平安時代の手紙を考察する場合に必要な点をまとめてみた。

- 1) 手紙の作法について (文体、言葉遣い、筆遣い、敏速な返答)
- 2) 文使いの存在 (信頼性、的確な働きぶり、応対の美しさ)
- 3) 文房四宝 (筆、墨、紙、硯)、料紙と折枝などの送付の仕方
- 4) 代筆 (教養豊かな人物の存在)
- 5) 手紙強奪の実態 (プライバシー侵害、自己防衛の重要性)⁹

手紙は直接当事者同士でやり取りされるだけでなく、手紙を届ける使者が必要となる。時にはその使者に手紙以外にも言付けをする場合もあり、手紙による情報と、使者の口からの情報という二重の伝達もおこなわれる。今回の場合、口伝はなく、手紙のみで、手紙には料紙や折枝などの送付方法にも工夫がみられる。兵部卿の宮の場合、「おもしろき梅の花」を折ってさらに小細工として香木で作った人形を花の雫に濡れたように作って、それを手紙と同封する。つまり手紙と人形のセットである。先にあげたように手紙は「立ち寄れば梅の花笠匂ふ野もなほわび人

⁷ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、260、261頁。

⁸ 川村裕子『王朝の恋の手紙たち』角川学芸出版、2009年。

⁹ 注2にあげた拙稿「平安時代の文」にも同様の手紙に関する要点をまとめた。

はこころ濡れけり」の和歌と、続けて記される「さるは、二葉にもと思ひたまへつるものを」の散文で構成される。和歌ではあて宮を恋い慕って嘆く心境が吐露され、散文では幼い頃から妻になって欲しいと思っていたのですよ、と伝える¹⁰。和歌にある「立ち寄れば梅の花笠匂ふ野もなほわび人はこころ濡れけり」の「わび人」は兵部卿の宮を指し、「濡れけり」は人形が花の雫で濡れることと涙で濡れることを表す。「沈の男」を花の雫で濡れたように装ったのは自身の嘆きを表現してのことである。「梅の花笠」についてはすでに指摘があるとおりの¹¹、『古今和歌集』の巻第二十「神遊びの歌」に同様の表現がある。『古今和歌集』の1081番歌である。

青柳を片糸に縫りて鶯の縫ふてふ笠は梅の花笠¹²
 (青柳の枝を片糸として縫り合わせた糸で鶯は傘を縫うというが、その笠とは梅の花笠であるよ。)

この「青柳」は神楽が終わり陪従が退出する時に歌われるものであり、『源氏物語』「若菜上」巻「青柳遊びたまふほど、げにねぐらの鶯おどろきぬべく、いみじくおもしろし¹³」とあるように、鶯が目を覚まさんばかりにたいそう盛り上がっている場面にもみられる。このように「梅の花笠」は華やかな歌であることがわかるが、兵部卿の宮の和歌での「梅の花笠」は、「笠」という本来は雨を防ぐ道具であるのに、和歌に添えられる人形「沈の男」は濡れてしまっているので、笠の意味をなさないほど笠の下で泣きわめく自分をアピールしているとも読めよう。それに対してあて宮は蓑虫がついている梅の花を折って、その下に蓑傘を着た人形をいくつも立てて、私への思いは何かの間違いでしょうと返答をする。あて宮の和歌「隠れたる三笠の山の蓑虫は花の降るをや濡るといふらむ」の「笠」「蓑」「降る」「濡る」は、雨に関する縁語であり、「蓑虫」は兵部卿の宮のことを指す。兵部卿の宮の和歌同様に、手紙と人形のセットであるが、ただの梅の花ではなくて蓑虫付きの花が折枝となり、蓑笠を着た人形は複数となっている。先にも述べたように、なぜこのタイミングで兵部卿の宮はあて宮に手紙を送るのだろうか。そして、なぜあて宮も心が動かされないのにも関わらず花やら人形やら細工をして送り返すのだろうか。このあて宮の返歌

¹⁰ このような和歌と散文との組み合わせの手紙は、和歌では言い切れなかったため散文がしたためられると注2にあげた拙稿「『落窪物語』における手紙と和歌との考察」において論じたことがある。

¹¹ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、260頁の頭注七。

¹² 小沢正夫・松田成穂校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 古今和歌集』小学館、1994年、1081番歌。

¹³ 阿部秋生・秋山虔・今井源衛・鈴木日出男校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 源氏物語④』小学館、1996年、60頁。

の後には、盛大な歌会の場面となることからしても、読者にとって異質で不自然な印象を抱く部分である。このような構成上の疑問があると、『うつほ物語』は初期の物語なので整合性が悪かったのだろうと一言で済まされてしまうことが多い。しかし、この兵部卿の宮とあて宮との和歌はかなり重要な意味を含んでいるのではないだろうか。まず、前述したように兵部卿の宮は「今年はやしく年急ぎて、遅き花とく咲き、同じく開けたる花も、萌え出づる木の芽など、心ことになる年になむ¹⁴」と、自然もすべてが正頼一族の権力の味方であるという発言をしていた。兵部卿の宮はあて宮にとっては叔父にあたる。つまり正頼一族の栄華は自分たちにも大きな影響力があることであり、正頼と一緒に春日詣を率先して行うことに誇示の意味があるわけである。そのような正頼の権力を笠に着た自尊心があて宮に手紙を送ることにつながっているのではなかろうか。風情のある梅の花を折枝として、つまり例年よりも趣の異なる威勢の良い木々に言づけて、自らの長年抱いていた思いを吐露するのである。兵部卿の宮は香木で男を作って自分がいかに嘆いているのかアピールしたが、あて宮は蓑虫がついている梅の花を折って、その下に蓑笠を着た人形を複数立てて返事をする。梅の花についている蓑虫は兵部卿を指すのは先にも述べた通りであるが、蓑笠を着た複数の人形は、兵部卿のようにあて宮に懸想している男性たち複数を指すのだろう。一つの人形ではなく、あえて複数というのには重要な意味があるのである。

ここであて宮が返事をしない選択もあろう。後に確認するが、現にあて宮は「春日詣」巻で繰り広げられる懸想人たちの贈歌にことごとく返事をしないのである。あえてここで返事をするのはなぜかと不思議に思う箇所なのである。それは叔父への敬意もあろうが、兵部卿の宮も含めて、多くの懸想人たちへの拒絶の伏線にもなるのではなかろうか。その理由として、この文の後にあて宮への求婚者が複数登場することがあげられる。彼らにほぼあて宮が拒否する姿勢がみられることから、拒絶への伏線がここでみられるのである。人形が蓑笠を付けているのは涙で濡れた兵部卿の宮の姿から雨を想起したからであり、同じように雨の涙に濡れる男たちが将来もたくさんいるという暗示となるのである。

兵部卿の宮は正頼の威勢に便乗するかたちで今まで密かに抱いていたあて宮への思いを伝えるのだが、それは見事に失敗する。一方、あて宮の手紙の送り方には、兵部卿の宮と似通った折枝や人形などの道具を使い、返歌も兵部卿の宮の和歌に合わせた言葉遣いでバランスの取れた丁寧なやり取りになっている。しかし、肝心の内容としては、兵部卿の宮の思い違いでしょうとそれ以上の対応をしない。兵部卿の宮の手紙がこの場面で突如として登場してあて宮から拒否されることは、正頼の権力に便乗した愚かさの返報となる。そのように考えるとこの部分に兵部卿

¹⁴ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、259、260頁。

の宮とあて宮との贈歌がみられることに納得できるのではなからうか。後の懸想人たちへの拒絶への一歩が兵部卿の宮への対応からみられるということである。

2. あて宮に贈歌する人々

この後の展開としては盛大な歌会がおこなわれ、総勢38首の題詠が詠み手・題・和歌という三点のみで羅列される。兵部卿の宮も「鶯を迎ふ」という題で歌っている。その後、行者である忠こそが熊野への途中春日神社に立ち寄り、偶然あて宮を見ることになる。仏道修行の身ながらもあて宮の美しさが頭から離れない苦悩について、散り落ちる花びらに自らの血で和歌を書きつけるという場面もみられる。従来の研究では、

忠こそは、こうして求婚者の列に加わる。忠こそその登場がやや唐突で、琴の名前にも錯誤があるなど、前巻との接続が荒っぽいという印象は拭えない。しかし、それだけに、さまざまな物語をとりこみつつ成長していく、長編物語の成立過程が見えるようでもある。¹⁵

と述べられるのであるが、忠こそがあて宮に思慕することは唐突でもなく、先にあげたようにあて宮の返答に付随する蓑笠を着た人形が複数であることを考慮すると、あて宮への求婚者が徐々に増えることを意味していると思われる。

忠こそその和歌の後、場面は三月となる。東宮をはじめとする懸想人たちがあて宮に贈歌を送る。この贈歌も先の題詠が羅列されるのと同様に男性が歌を送り、それにあて宮が何も返答しない「御返りなし」、「例のいらへたまはず」、「御返しなし」もしくは手紙を捨てる行為が書かれている¹⁶。その中でもあて宮は3名の人物には返事をしている。一人は東宮からであり、東宮からの歌だと正頼は恐れ多く思い、正頼が和歌を考え、それをあて宮がそのまま書き写して送っている。二人目は仲忠への歌で、孫王の君¹⁷を仲介してあて宮に和歌を送る。「あて宮御覧じて、人々の中に、こともなしと思す人なれば、かく書きつけて賜ふ¹⁸」とあるように、多くの懸想人の中でも仲忠には一目置いていることがわかる。そして、兵部卿の宮にも返答している。次が兵部卿の宮とあて宮との贈答歌である。

¹⁵ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、278頁頭注。

¹⁶ 東宮、源宰相、兵部卿の宮、平中納言、三の皇子、仲忠、仲頼、侍従の君、行政の総勢9名があて宮に贈歌する。

¹⁷ あて宮付きの女房。

¹⁸ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、281頁。

兵部卿の宮より、
「山彦も答えぬ空に鳴く鶴は天の河原に一人臥すかな
この日ごろ、里住みのかひなさに、内にのみなむ」と聞こえたま
へり。あて宮
答へ憂く思ほゆるかな蘆鶴のつるてふ名をも一人鳴かねば¹⁹

兵部卿の宮の和歌は自身を「鶴」にして、「天の河原（宮中のこと）」にただ一人佇む身を嘆く。「山彦も答えぬ」とあて宮からの返事が来ないと訴えているが、あて宮は兵部卿の宮には返歌を送っている。「答え憂く（お答えしにくい）」と始まる返歌は「葦鶴」は一人で鳴かないものなので、兵部卿の宮の周辺にはほかに女性がいるのでしょうかと、私について気かけないで欲しいと切り返している。

返事をしなかったり、和歌を捨てたりするあて宮が兵部卿の宮には東宮と仲忠同様に返歌するのには、とりあえず返事をしておかないといけない人物という思考が働いていると考えられる。兵部卿の宮にはないが、あてて返事をする理由を書くのも『うつほ物語』の特徴である。返事をする・しないという観点から、あて宮にとってその人物に対する人間関係の重要度がみられるのは興味深い。

3. 手紙の役割

手紙の内容や書かれた理由などを考えることは、物語展開を分析するうえでも必要である。『うつほ物語』には数多くの手紙がみられるのだが、今回の一例だけみても、全体の物語の流れから手紙をみていくことの意義を強調できると思われる。

高木和子は『源氏物語』をあげて手紙の料紙などの研究、消息文などの文体研究、手紙からみた人物論研究、表現機能としての研究などの先行研究をあげて、物語の進行との相関のうえで手紙を捉える研究はいまだ十分ではないと指摘する。『源氏物語』の手紙を「当時の優美な風俗の反映」であるとする味方は短絡的であり、物語の主題と密接な関係のうえで手紙に注目すべきであると、以下のように述べている。

手紙について、単に恋愛や結婚に不可欠な平安朝の風俗という実態的側面に回収されることなく、作中世界における手紙という交流の形式に注目し、あくまで物語の主題的情況に相関し、変移し、深化するものとしての手紙の機能、手紙による場面構築の方法について考えたい²⁰。

¹⁹ 中野幸一校注・訳者『新編日本古典文学全集 うつほ物語①』小学館、1999年、279、280頁。

²⁰ 高木和子「手紙から読む源氏物語」（『女から詠む歌 源氏物語の贈答歌』青簡舎、2008年、153頁）。

このような点から高木論は、桐壺巻から宇治十帖までに登場する手紙を段階的にながめ、手紙に賦与される役割が徐々に深化されていくことを明らかにした。特に作中での登場人物が多くなるほど、その手紙の交流の度合も増幅して、手紙と物語との相関関係が複雑になると述べる。『源氏物語』の手紙は、物語の構成を突き崩すような力を持つということである。

手紙という情報媒体から作品との特質を論じる研究は、『源氏物語』を中心に少しずつ論じられるようになっていく²¹。一方で『うつほ物語』はこれからといってよいだろう。すでに田中仁によって『うつほ物語』全巻の手紙についてはひととおり整理され、『うつほ物語』の手紙と贈り物との関係性についての研究²²、『源氏物語』と比較して『うつほ物語』は手紙という文字を使った人との関わり合いが多彩であることを論じた研究がある²³。田中論文が『うつほ物語』にみられる手紙を抄出した一覧は有益であり、ほかの文学作品と比較することで『うつほ物語』の手紙とは何か、分析する土台となることを述べておきたい。

おわりに

日本における最古の手紙は外交文書であり、478年に雄略天皇が宋の順帝に送った手紙であると言われている。個人間の私信では奈良時代の『正倉院文書』に万葉仮名で書かれた和文の手紙がみられる。『万葉集』には尺牘文という書簡文が収められ、その後の手紙は空海が最澄に送った『風信帖』、藤原佐理の『離洛帖』などが著名である。

物語や日記には多くの手紙がみられ、『竹取物語』にはかぐや姫が帝と翁に手紙を書き残す。『落窪物語』『蜻蛉日記』『和泉式部日記』の手紙、『紫式部日記』の「消息文」も有名である。世界には書簡体小説といわれる小説があるが、日本文学の歴史で書簡体小説がよくみられるようになるのは江戸時代からである。その前には、平安時代後期以降に成立したといわれている短編物語集『堤中納言物語』に書簡文体の形式がみられる。その短編のひとつ『よしなしごと』は、隠棲を決意した僧侶が、弟子の女性に必要な品を調達するようお願いする文面の書簡で、旅の用具から、住居の調度、日用の雑貨、沢山の食品まで、大変細かく、受け渡し場所までも指定して、秘密を保持する。それらがすべて手紙形式で書かれ、実在と虚構が混在とする世界が繰り広げられ、いわゆる書簡文体の構成がみられる日本文学では初めてのものである。そして江戸時代になると、井原西鶴の浮世草子である『万の文反古』のように、手

²¹ 福田孝「手紙の機能」(『源氏物語のディスコース』白馬書房、1990年)は『源氏物語』全巻の手紙について論じた研究である。

²² 田中仁「『うつほ物語』の贈り物と手紙」(『親和国文』41巻、2006年12月)。

²³ 田中仁「宇津保物語の手紙—その形」(『古典文学論注』1巻、1990年)。

紙による形式ですべての話が展開する小説が登場する。現在私が研究対象としているのは書簡体小説という、手紙のやりとりだけで物語が展開する作品ではなく、物語や日記文学の中にみられる手紙であるが、将来的には書簡体小説も視野に入れて研究していきたい。

『うつほ物語』をはじめとして実は物語にみられる手紙の研究はあまり進んでいないというのが現状である。なぜなら、物語や日記文学にみられる手紙を論じるにはいささか困難が生じるからである。田中仁は『源氏物語』の手紙を論じる時に、「手紙と手紙ではないものの境界線をどこに引くべきなのか、よくわからない²⁴」と、手紙の置かれた曖昧な状況を的確に指摘している。最終的に手紙の定義として、田中は「自己の思いや意志を伝えようとして他者に宛てて書いたもの、あるいは自己の思いや意志を伝えようとして送った物²⁵」を手紙であるとする。誰かに「伝え」ということが手紙であるという広範囲な捉え方であるが、あまりにも対象を広く受け入れてしまったため、結局手紙の定義といったものがかなり不明確なままになっていることも否めない。そもそも手紙とは何か、という基本的な問いから始まることを認識しつつ、物語が展開するうえで、手紙という記されたものがいかに機能していくのか、今後も手紙に着目する研究を展開していきたい。

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²⁴ 田中仁「源氏物語の手紙」(『源氏物語講座 第七巻 美の世界・雅びの継承』勉誠社、1992年、148頁)。

²⁵ 注24田中論文148、149頁。

Part III:
Law, politics, society

コロナ禍における首相記者会見演説の批判的談話研究 —人称表現と発話の機能との関係を中心に—

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narrative analysis, personal pronouns, pragmatic functions

1. はじめに

本稿は、コロナ禍に行われたトップリーダーの記者会見での演説についてナラティブの構成と人称表現の使用の分析により、誰に何をどのように伝えたのか、また聞き手との関係性をどのように捉えているのか、という点について分析したものである。

2020年3月11日世界保健機関 (WHO)によりパンデミックが宣言されて以来、世界中の社会生活において様々なパラダイムが変更された。先が見通せず収束が予想できない脅威に人々は現在でも不安を抱えている。とりわけ、パンデミック初期には、新型コロナウイルスの実態、感染力の影響や、感染対策の在り方などについて多くの人々が専門家の知見や政府の情報発信に期待を寄せていたと言える。

当時の首相 (以下、発話者)によるコロナ感染に関わる記者会見は、計10回 (2020年2月29日–8月28日)行われ、総時間3時間にわたる報道は、高い視聴率を得ている¹。主要メディアでは、新型コロナウイルスや感染状況、感染対策に関して、専門家による情報や政府による給付金等各種支援対策の進捗についても連日報道されていた。視聴者はトップリーダーである首相の演説にさらなる情報を期待していたことと思われる。しかしながら、記者会見を聴いて我々にできたことは主要メディアによる報道と同様の事柄についての確認だけであったと言える。と同時に、発話者による人称詞表現の頻繁な使用が筆者は気になった。

¹ ビデオリサーチによると、安倍元首相による緊急事態宣言発出の記者会見 (4月7日)のNHKニュースの視聴率は26.3%であった (<https://news.yahoo.co.jp/byline/suzukiyuji/20200409-00172360/>)閲覧日時2020年10月12日15時)。

発話者は記者会見において視聴者に何を語ろうとしたのか、また、発話者は会見会場の報道関係者を含めて視聴者との関係性をどのように捉えていたのかについて考察することが本稿の目的である²。

緊急事態宣言発出が行われた記者会見の演説のナラティブ分析によりどのような文脈で宣言発出が行われたのかについて分析し、新型コロナウイルスに関わる記者会見の演説全体で使われた対称詞と発話機能との共起関係を見ることで、発話者が聴き手である聴衆との関係性をどのように捉えているのかについて読み解く。

2. 政治ディスコースに関する研究

政治ディスコースを題材とした言語研究としては、まず、東 (2009、2010) による社会言語学的研究が挙げられる。東は日本やアメリカの政治家たちの演説について、Tannenが提唱したラポートトークとリポートトークによる分類、文末表現の使い分けや使用語彙の特徴などから、日米の政治家たちの弁術の特徴を比較している。

本稿における研究姿勢である批判的談話研究 (Critical discourse studies、以下CDS)は、言語分析そのものが目的ではなく、政治ディスコースに見られる権力構造やイデオロギーの解明を目的としている。

Fairclough (2001)は、サッチャー夫人のラジオインタビューの分析により、サッチャー氏と聴衆とのパワー関係を数々の指標から示している。

出水 (2010)は、Fairclough (2001)の枠組みにより、小泉純一郎氏の郵政解散演説を分析し、新自由主義という社会的コンテキストから分析を行っている。

韓 (2018)は、Van Leeuwenの正当化ストラテジー (grammar of legitimation)日本と韓国の政治家による街頭演説の内容を比較対照している。

野呂 (2021)は、ドイツのメルケル首相 (当時)がロックダウンの徹底を市民に向けて訴えた演説を分析し、民主主義の形態を示しつつ、実際には人々に一定の行動を強制するという民主主義を否定するものになっていることを指摘している。

谷口 (2020)では、首相記者会見の演説に見られるパワー関係について「皆さん」と発話行為との関係を中心に分析している。しかしながら、局所的な分析にとどまっていることから、本稿では、演説のナラティブの構造にも注目し、谷口 (2020)をさらに発展させたものとして、対称詞と発話機能との関係に注目して分析を行った。

² 本稿の目的は、政府の政策内容や発言内容そのものを批判しているものではないことを断っておく。

3. 理論的背景—Fairclough (2001)

最初に、本研究のアプローチであるCDSについて概観する。CDSとは、言語の一般化や個別化を目指す通常の言語研究とは異なり、「現実社会の不条理を改善すべく、人々が社会を読み解く力、「批判的リテラシー」を身につけることを目標としている」³

Faircloughは、言語使用を社会的実践の一形態として捉え、権力の様相について、まず、記述ステージ (Description)、解釈ステージ (Interpretation)、説明ステージ (Explanation)の3つの次元 (dimensions, or stages)に区分している⁴。

「記述ステージでは、ディスコースにおいて人が発話や行為の「内容」を制約しているかどうか、相手との「関係」を制約しているかどうか、人々が担う社会的役割、あるいは「主体」の社会的位置づけを制約しているかどうかである。(中略)「内容」には「経験的価値」、「関係」には「関係的価値」、「主体」には「表現的価値」が対応している。経験的価値とは、ディスコースを発する人のこれまでの経験がディスコースの内容にどのように表れているか(その人の知識や信念など)を指す。関係的価値とは、そのディスコースにおいて社会関係がどのように表れているかを指す(「～君は」という敬称をつけて呼んでいれば、その人のほうが目上だと(と思われたい)という関係的価値の現れと言える)。表現的価値とはその人が対象をどのように評価しているかを指す。」⁵

さらに、フェアクロー (2008)は、3種類の価値について次のように説明している。

経験的価値は、単語がどのような分析体系に基づいているか、言い換えや繰り返しがあるか、文法においては、動作主を明示するかどうか、能動態か受動態かなどが指標として挙げられる。関係的価値としては、婉曲語法的表現があるか、モダリティの特徴、代名詞weやyouの使用とその範疇などである。表現的価値としては表現的モダリティの使用などが挙げられる。経験的価値は内容、知識や信念、関係的価値は関係および社会的関係と関わっている。また、表現的価値は主体および社会的アイデンティティと関わっている。⁶

³ 名嶋義直編『「ことばとその周辺」を批判的に読み解く—メディアのことばを読み解く7つのこころみ』ひつじ書房、2017年、5頁。

⁴ Faircloughの理論の詳細については、Fairclough2001、フェアクラフ2012等を参照されたい。

⁵ 野村康『社会科学の考え方—認識論、リサーチ・デザイン、手法』名古屋大学出版会、2017年、264–266頁。

⁶ フェアクロー著、貫井孝典ほか訳『言語とパワー』大阪教育図書、2008年、134–172頁をまとめたもの。

意味の次元 Dimensions of meaning	特性の価値 Values of features	構造的効果 Structural effects
内容 (Contents)	経験的 (Experiential)	知識／信念 (Knowledge/beliefs)
関係 (Relations)	関係的 (Relational)	社会的関係 (Social relations)
主体 (Subjects)	表現的 (Expressive)	社会的アイデンティティ (Social identities)

表1 形式的特性：経験的価値・関係的価値・表現的価値
Fairclough (2001:94)、フェアクロー (2008:137)をもとに筆者作成

4. データ

当時の首相安倍晋三氏による公式記者会見、計10回の冒頭演説 (2020年2月29日、3月4日、3月28日、4月7日、4月17日、5月4日、5月14日、5月25日、6月18日、8月28日)の音声を記録、文字化した⁷のちに、官邸ホームページの資料により内容を確認した。

5. 分析と考察

公式記者会見の冒頭発言における主なトピックは以下のとおりである。⁸

⁷ 文字化の規則は宇佐美まゆみ「改訂版：基本的な文字化の原則 (Basic Transcription System for Japanese: BTSJ)」

<https://ninjal-usamilab.info/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/BTSJ2019.pdf>, 2019に従った。総時間は演説のみであり、演説後の質疑応答は除く。また、コロナ禍における安倍元首相の演説は2020年2月29日から8月28日の辞任演説まで計14回行われたが、そのうち3月22日於防衛大学、8月6日広島被爆者追悼演説、8月9日長崎被爆者追悼演説、8月15日戦没者追悼演説の4件は、本研究の分析対象から省いている。

⁸ 谷口龍子「コロナ禍の首相記者会見に見られるパワー関係—人称代名詞「皆さん」と「行為要求」の共起を中心に—」東京外国語大学論集No.101、2020年、147–158頁。

会見日	時間	発話 文数	主なトピック
2020/2/29	19' 00"	80	外出自粛要請→学校臨時休校要請の報告→エッセンシャルワーカーへのねぎらい→経済面での緊急対応策実施の明言→ダイヤモンドプリンセス号における患者の状況報告→PCR検査実施の状況報告→治療薬への言及
2020/3/14	19' 00"	49	コロナウイルス感染症に関する特別措置法改正案成立の報告→緊急事態宣言発出せずの明言→専門家による現況評価→マスク配布開始報告→3密下における社会活動の奨励→卒業生への祝福→雇用調整助成金の実施報告→日本経済、地域経済への対応意思の表明→医療提供体制の必要性明言→他国との連携→クルーズ船乗客への検疫対応終了報告
2020/3/28	20' 00"	91	海外の感染状況との比較→東京都ほか外出自粛要請への協力のお願→政府対策本部設置の報告→渡航、イベント開催自粛要請→治療薬承認状況説明→来年度予算成立の報告→中小企業への対策説明→東京オリンピック開催延期報告
2020/4/□	24' 47"	116	エッセンシャルワーカーへの慰労→医療機関の限界についての言及→1都1府5県への緊急事態宣言発出→外出自粛の呼びかけ→感染者数の推移と予測→外出自粛の呼びかけ→中小企業への経済対策の提示→緊急事態宣言の詳細説明→移動、外出自粛のお願い→ワクチン、治療薬の開発状況説明→民間の感染対策への工夫例示→東日本大震災の克服についての言及
2020/4/17	18' 01"	87	個々の感染予防対策へのお礼→感染者数増加の報告→外出自粛の呼びかけ→緊急事態宣言区域拡大(全国対象)の報告→拡大理由の説明(クラスター発生等)→10万円給付金の表明→事業者/観光業者/飲食業者への支援表明→エッセンシャルワーカーへのねぎらい→外出自粛協力依頼

会見日	時間	発話 文数	主なトピック
2020/5/4	22' 39"	115	国民への感謝表明→感染者減少の報告→国民への感謝→医療現場の過酷な状況説明→緊急事態宣言の延長表明→雇用調整助成金の表明→国民の協力への感謝→詳細な感染予防策ガイドライン策定の表明→検査体制拡充、保健所の体制強化の意思表明→治療薬開発の状況方向→医療従事者差別への憂慮表明→国民の外出自粛協力への感謝→第二波発生への懸念表明→感染防止策に対する国民の協力をお願い
2020/5/14	21' 21"	109	感染状況、医療提供体制、監視体制に関する基準策定報告→感染者減少の報告→緊急事態宣言解除(39県)→感染者減少の報告→感染予防のためのガイドライン策定の報告→解除地域の住民へのお願い→2次補正予算編成着手の意思表明→中小企業向け持続化給付金開始の報告→PCR検査体制拡充の報告→治療薬承認の状況報告→国民への感謝
2020/5/25	21' 55"	102	感染症犠牲者へのお悔やみ→緊急事態宣言解除宣言(全国)→エッセンシャルワーカーへの感謝→感染状況について他国との比較→イベント関係拡大方向の表明→事業者支援の約束→アプリ導入予定の表明→PCR検査体制拡大の意思表明→医療、介護従事者への給付金付与の意向表明→高機能マスクや防護具などの配布強化の意向表明→水際対策の強化の意思表明→他国への協力の意思表明→民主主義、基本的人権、法の支配の堅持表明→G7サミットにおける途上国のための特許権プールの創設提案の意向表明→国民への協力感謝
2020/6/18	19' 36"	91	国会議員逮捕についてのお詫び→新型コロナウイルス発生(於武漢)からこれまでの経緯回顧→特措法成立について野党への感謝→PCR検査対象拡大の報告→接触確認アプリ導入(翌日より)の説明→唾液によるPCR検査の紹介→社会経済活動本格化の表明→入国時のPCR検査実施の表明→未来投資会議の紹介→憲法改正条文作成の報告→安全保障環境での緊張度の高まり→安全保障会議での議論の必要性の強調

会見日	時間	発話 文数	主なトピック
2020/8/28	12' 28"	58	国民、医療従事者への感謝→検査能力拡充の必要性強調→予備費による今後の感染防止対策について詳細説明 第一次安倍内閣への言及→持病悪化の報告→総理大臣職辞任の表明→国民への感謝→自民党による今後の政策推進への確信→国民への感謝

表2 コロナ禍における首相記者会見の主なトピック (谷口龍子「コロナ禍の首相記者会見に見られるパワー関係—人称代名詞「皆さん」と「行為要求」の共起を中心に—」東京外国語大学論集No. 101、2020年、151-152頁。

5.1 ナラティブの構成パターン

10回の記者会見のうち、国民の生活に最も影響を及ぼす緊急事態宣言の発出前後のナラティブの構造は以下のとおりであった。

① 記者会見2020. 4. 7

エッセンシャルワーカーへの感謝→医療機関の限界についての説明→緊急事態宣言 (1都1府5県対象)の発出→外出自粛の呼びかけ→感染者増加の報告→外出自粛の呼びかけ→経済対策の説明

② 記者会見2020. 4. 17

エッセンシャルワーカーへの感謝→感染者増加の報告→外出自粛の呼びかけ→緊急事態宣言 (全国対象)発出→クラスター発生の報告→給付金支給の表明

③ 記者会見2020. 5. 4

国民による感染防止対策協力への感謝→感染者減少伸び悩みの報告→医療現場ひっ迫の報告→緊急事態宣言の延長宣言→雇用調整助成金支出の表明

これらのナラティブの構造はいずれも協力者への感謝、状況報告、宣言、外出自粛のよびかけ、助成金支出の表明といった同様のパターンを形成している。

緊急事態宣言を発出し、その協力への見返りとして助成金を支出する政府が感染対策に尽力する人々に感謝を示している。

5.2 対称詞「みなさん」と共起する発話機能

日本語の自然談話において、対称詞の使用にはかなり制限がかかると言われている⁹。本研究のデータは自然談話ではないが、人称詞「みなさん」が総数で229回使われていることがわかった¹⁰。これは他の人称表現と比べて著しく多い。229回のうち、対称詞としての使用が132回あった。そこで、分析の対象を話し手と聴き手との関係性が見える対称詞に絞り、発話機能との関係を分析した。

話し手の発話意図については、オースティン、サールを経た発話行為 (speech act) からハリディの発話機能まで様々な理論や発展がある。谷口 (2020) では、発話行為と人称表現の関係に言及しているが、分析をより精緻化させるために村井・松本 (2021) の発話の機能を参考にして修正を行った。村井・松本 (2021) では、発話の機能について19種類のカテゴリー化を行い、『日本語日常会話コーパス』 (Corpus of Every Japanese Conversation) に見られる自称詞、対称詞と発話機能の対応関係について分析し、対称詞が自称詞と同様に最も出現しやすい「陳述」のほかにも、「導入」¹¹ 「評価」¹² に出現しやすい傾向があることと指摘している。

分析の結果、対称詞としての「みなさん」と「国民のみなさん」は「要求」としてもっとも多く使われ、「国民のみなさん」と「医療関係者のみなさん」は「感謝」の対象としても使われていることがわかった (表3) を参照されたい)。国民や視聴者の「みなさん」に対しては感染防止対策への協力に感謝するとともに、さらなる感染防止対策の徹底を要求している。谷口 (2020) では「感謝」は行為者と受益者との二項対立を示すことが指摘されている。「要求」も要求する側と要求される側という二項対立である。「感謝」および「要求」における対称詞「みなさん」を多用する裏には、政府と聴衆とを区別化する意識があると言えよう。例1) は国民に対する感謝の表明を示す発話、例2) は国民に対して感染対策への理解と協力を要求する発話である。

例1) 最低でも7割、極力8割、人との接触を削減する、この一、目標の下、可能な限り一、御自宅で過ごしていただくなど、国民の皆様には一、大変な御協力を頂きました。-(5/4)

例2) ' みんなで、前を向いて頑張れば、きっと、現在のこの困難も、乗り越えることができる、国民の皆様、御理解と、御協力をお、願ひ申し上げます。-(5/4)

⁹ 現代日本語研究会編、小林美恵子「自称・対称詞は中性化するか 女性のことば・職場編」ひつじ書房、1997年、113-137頁など。

¹⁰ トピック「まん延防止等重点措置の適用の要請」として2021年12月17日と12月22日に行われた岸田首相の記者会見において対称詞「みなさん」の使用は各1回のみであった。

¹¹ 慣習的な挨拶、相手への呼びかけ、人の紹介、会話の導入的な発話など。村井・松本 (2021)

¹² 事故や他者、事物や状況に対する評価を行う発話を公的・否定的療法とも分類する。村井・松本 (2021)

表現の種類	要求	感謝	意思	思考	陳述	謝罪	その他	合計
0 {含「みなさま」}	15	1	7	2	6	0	0	31
国民の-, (地域)の-	13	10	7	5	4	3	0	42
医療関係者の-	1	10	5	0	1	0	0	17
企業、事業者の-	5	3	8	2	1	0	0	19
陽性/感染者/患者の-	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	5
高齢者の-	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
保健所/介護施設/保育所/教育現場の-	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	5
野党/国会議員の-	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
学生・児童生徒の-, 卒業生の-	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	5
保護者/ご家族の-	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	4
総計	36	31	34	11	14	4	2	132

表3対称詞「みなさん」と発話の機能との関係 (筆者作成)

5.3 自称詞の使用

対称詞としての「みなさん」の対立軸としての自称詞の使用はどうであろうか。本データにおいて自称人称詞「わたし」「わたしたち」の使用は60回（「わたし」20回、「私たち」41回）と「みなさん」の使用頻度と比べるとかなり少ない。発話機能はいずれも「意思」¹³と「思考」¹⁴が大半を占め、国民を取り込んでコロナと闘う姿勢や必然性を訴えている。以下に実例を挙げる。

¹³ 「意思」は自身の決意や義務の表明、約束などを含む(村井、松本2021参考)。

¹⁴ 「思考」は現在や過去の状況に対する推測、仮定や仮説などの思考、理由や言い訳など(村井、松本2021参考)。

例3)私たちはこの恐ろしい敵と、不屈の覚悟で戦い、続け…抜かなければ、ならないのです。(3/18)

例4)私たちは、コロナの時代の、新たな日常を、一日も早く、作り上げなければ、なりません。(5/4)

例5)私たちは、今回の感染症を乗り越えた後の、新しい日本の姿、新しい、正に、ポストコロナの、未来についても、しっかりと、描いていかなければなりません(6/18)

また、谷口 (2020)では、「ウィルスという見えない敵に、大きな不安を抱くのは、私も、みなさんと同じです」(4/7)という発言に注目し、「視聴者は発話者と同じ立場であると認識していないだろうという推測を踏まえた発言であり、発話者と視聴者の区別化が通底にあることがわかる」と指摘している¹⁵。このことはFairclough (1989)の「計略的ディスコース」(strategic discourse)としての「統括的個人化」(synthetic personalization)として捉えることができる。Fairclough (1989)および林(2008)では、聴き手の「抱え込み」(containment)によって、聴き手との連帯を示唆する一方で、実際には自身のパワーを行使することがその目的であると指摘している。

6. おわりに

以上、コロナ禍における首相の記者会見冒頭演説のナラティブ構造と人称表現と発話の機能との対応を観察してきた。演説における力点は、視聴者に対するコロナ感染対策の徹底の呼びかけであることが明らかになった。また、そのための方策として、エッセンシャルワーカーや感染対策に協力している人々への感謝の表明、医療体制のひっ迫など現状の報告や感染対策への協力の見返りとしての給付金等の支給に言及している点が指摘される。

さらに、発話者と視聴者の関係性については、コロナに立ち向かう「私たち」と述べるように、発話者と視聴者との連帯を演出しつつも対称詞「みなさん」の多用により発話者と視聴者との二項対立の意識が通底に存在していることが明らかとなった。

本研究は、基盤研究B「代名詞代用・呼びかけ表現の通言語的研究」(令和2年～5年：課題番号:20H01255)、及び2020年度東京外国語大学国際日本学研究院競争的経費「コロナ禍におけるトップリーダーによる演説の画像および音声データのマトリックス化・文字化・翻訳作業」(谷口龍子)の成果の一部である。

¹⁵ 谷口龍子「コロナ禍の首相記者会見に見られるパワー関係—人称代名詞「皆さん」と「行為要求」の共起を中心に—」東京外国語大学論集No.101、2020年、154頁。

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学歴：国際基督教大学博士号取得、専門：語用論、談話分析、批判的談話研究

近年の著書：「コロナ禍の首相記者会見に見られるパワー関係一人称代名詞「皆さん」と「行為要求」の共起を中心に」東京外国語大学論集No.101、2020年。「彼らはどのように理解されたいのか—日台バイリンガルのナラティブ分析試論」東京外国語大学論集No.98、2019年など。

中国人若者世代の意識調査 2022年 —中国人留学生を対象に—

永興日本語学園
横田葉子 Yoko YOKOTA

キーワード：中国人留学生、留学動機、留学後の意識、TEM図

Keywords: Chinese students, motivation, trajectory equifinality approach

1. 背景

2020年からの新型コロナウイルスの感染拡大で、来日したいが来られないという多くの中国人留学生の中国国内待機が続いた。筆者の勤務する日本語学校では、待機中に継続してオンライン授業を行い、彼らのモチベーションが落ちることがないように支援した。

現在、日本にいる留学生の外国籍を見ると、中国籍が圧倒的に多い（日本語学校のみでの在籍になるとベトナム国籍が多い）。彼らは大学・大学院受験を希望し、来日する。筆者は、日本語学校で中国人留学生と接しているが、この15年の間に、彼らを取りまく環境、彼ら自身の意識も随分変化してきた。本稿は、筆者勤務校における留学生を取りまく環境の変化と現状である。

(1) 経済状況の向上

15年前は、当校ではアルバイトをする学生が多く、夜間のアルバイトなど、経済的に自ら働かなくてはならない生徒が少なくなかった。授業中、疲れて寝ている生徒もいた。しかしながら、現在、勤務校で、経済的事柄のためにアルバイトをしている学生はほとんどいない。大学の学費の相談においても、経済的窮状を訴える生徒はいない。彼らを送り出す両親世代の経済状況が飛躍的によくなっていると思われる。2020年以降留学生入国を停止していた日本政府は、コロナの状況をみて徐々に緩和する方向へ向かっている。しかし、飛行機チケットの高騰という問題があり、2022年4月現在、中国—日本は片道日本円で30万円はくだらない。日本に来ることを躊躇する若者もいる一方、価格を気にせず来日する生徒も多い。

(2) 留学動機

近年、目立つのは、他国へ留学したが、その国の文化習慣が合わなかった、だから、日本に来たという例である。アメリカ、イギリス、ドイツ、など欧米諸国が目立つ。理由は、

- 治安に対する不安（ヨーロッパ某国で夜8時以降外出時に暴漢に襲われ金銭を奪われたという者もいる）、
- 文化習慣の違いからなじめない、
- 日本の方が安心でき、親が日本留学を望む、
- 日本は（欧米に比べ）就職しやすい、等である。また、留学後の「移住」をも視野に入れている者もいる。これは、比較的年齢の高い層である。

(3)留学後の意識

学部進学希望者は、親の勧めという者が少なくない。大学受験時の生徒で明確な目標・目的を持っている者は少ない。

大学院進学希望者の多くは、修士の学位取得が目的である。3年制生大学修了者は、中国では大学院へ進学できないので、日本での大学院進学を目指す。4年制生大学修了者で、母国での大学院進学競争が厳しく、日本での進学の方が容易であろうと来日する。

2. 実践研究としての目的

以前に比べて、日本語学校の進学指導は難しくなっている。理由は、①様々な理由で来日し、留学したいと思うものの、進学できるような強い目的意識や、さらには、学習習慣さえついていない者がいる。②留学生を一種のお客様化して捉えている留学ビジネスの拡大という事実がある。日本の大学では、書類さえ提出すればほぼ合格という大学、大学院がある。受け入れる日本側に留学生ビジネスで儲けるという意識がある限り、実力のない留学生でもビジネスとして受け入れたい大学の意向が優先される。双方が需要と供給の関係を保ち、ますます、留学生ビジネスの成長を促している。その中で仕事をする者として、留学生の意識への理解を深め、彼らに対するサポートの質を向上させたいというのが本実践研究の狙いである。

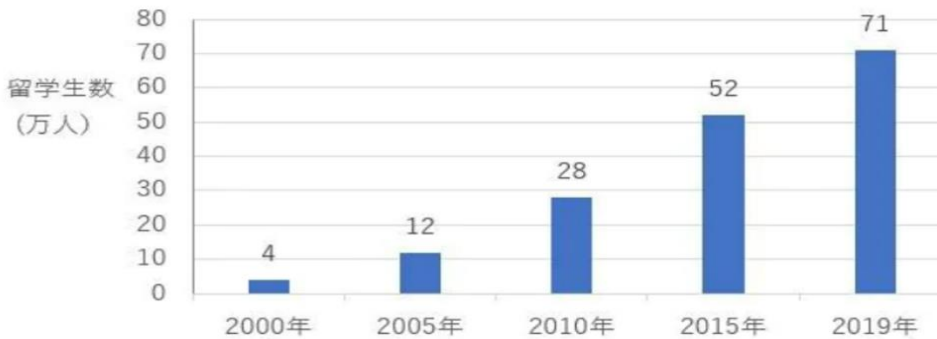


図1 中国から海外への留学生 (中国国家统计局資料)

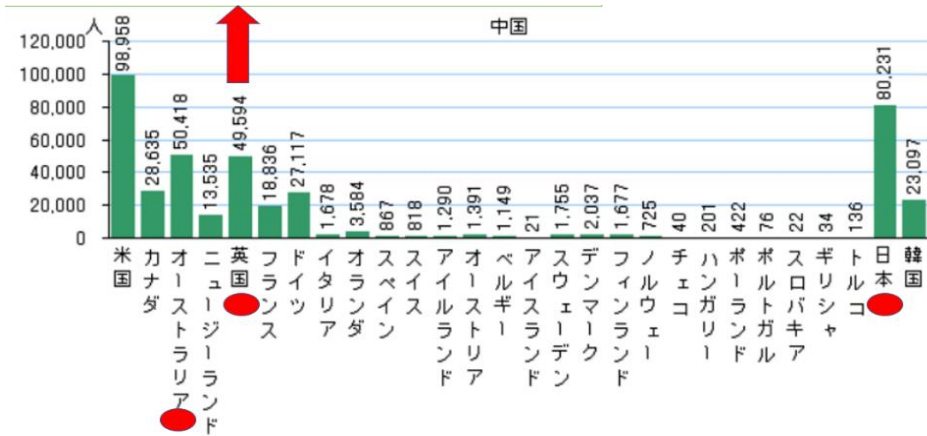


図2 本川裕・社会実情データ図解2007年 中国から海外への留学生

図2は、中国人の留学先。米国が減少し、英国、オーストラリア、日本が増加している。

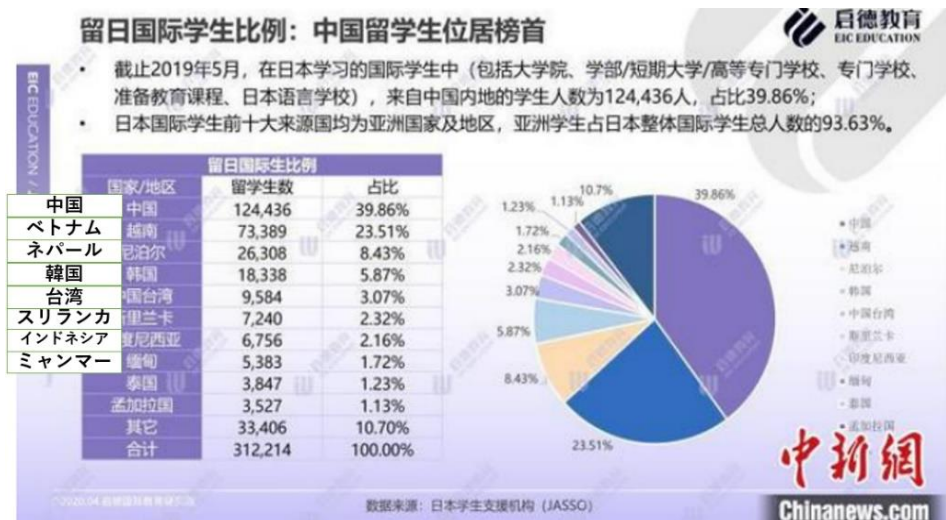


図3 日本の留学生(国別)2019年中新聞記事

3. 先行研究

翟一達は、中国人の社会意識の変遷の中で、「中国人の生活において最も重要だと思われる3つの内容は、家庭、仕事、友人であった。…20年間で家庭、友人、余暇時間の重要性は高まっているが、仕事と政治の重要性は減っている」「収入配分の社会意識について、1990年代から2007年まで効率と収入格差の容認が主導していたが、2012年に収入配分の平等志向に転換した。」「民営企業より、国営企業が好まれていたが、社会全体の国営企業を好む意識が減少しつつあることは間違いない。」「国民の安心できる生活に責任を持つべき主体について、2007年までは個人が責任を負うべきと思う傾向がやや強かったが、2012年に政府が責任を持つべきだとする方向に転換した。」「中国社会全体にいて競争が評価されて、競争は悪いものではなく、良いと思われている。ただし、不正競争の悪影響によって、競争が良いと思われる傾向が減少しつつある。」とまとめている。この研究は、対象者は中国人一般（18歳-87歳）である。筆者は、社会意識は年齢によっても大きく異なるを考える。小野田・欧陽・超は、80后（80年代以降生まれの中国人）と消費者という観点で意識調査をしている。消費パターンによって80后を四族に分類した原田・余研究も用いている。四族の呼称は「月光族」「洗練族」「透明族」「飯族」といい、意識のパターン化を図る。80后、90后という明らかに、それまでの中国人と意識の異なる世代に注目が注がれた研究もあるが、実際には、80后も2022現在では40代、90后も上は30代になっている。現時点での若者世代は、2000年以降に生まれた10代から20代前半であり、彼らの意識は80后90后とも異なると考えられる。社会意識といえば、多様な視点があるが、本研究は、海外志向の若者の意識という点にしばって考えたい。また、年齢的には、80代後半から2000年以降まで、30代前半～10代後半という年齢を対象に考える。

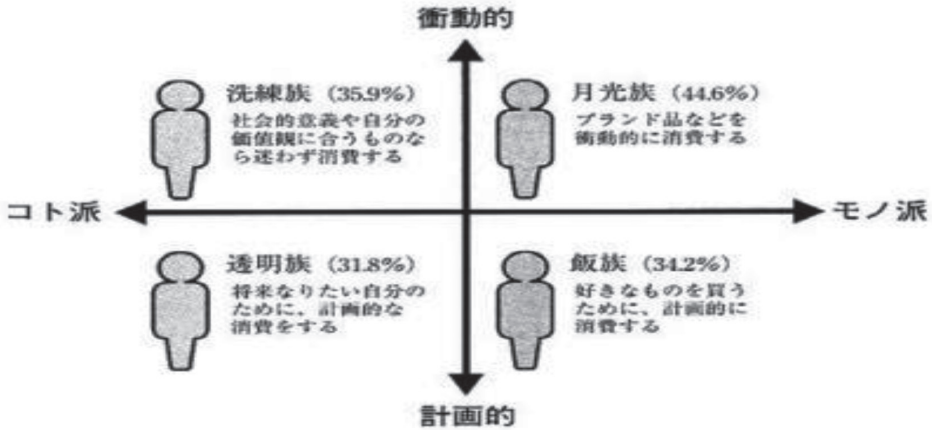


図4 小野田・欧陽・超：消費パターンによる80後の4族

4. インタビュー調査

4.1. インタビュー調査の対象者と方法

海外から日本に来る人々の情報を収集している期間としてのJob Serach Japanによると、中国人の日本に留学する理由は、一般的には、以下のようになる。

①高いレベルの教育、②日本の少子化により、日本の高等教育機関には留学生がほしいというニーズがあるから、入学しやすいのではないか、③高等教育の非常が欧米と比較すれば安い、④日本社会や文化への関心、⑤生活面の安全性、⑥卒業後に就職が欧米に比べて容易であろう、等。①～⑤は、アンケートによる結果で、内容が日本の現状に合致しているかどうかは別として、留学希望者の意向である。

(1)研究対象者

勤務校(東京都内日本語学校)在籍・卒業18歳～34歳：中国人男性・女性

(2)研究方法：インタビュー

①インタビュー①留学の動機：5名 (1名は留学とりやめ)②意識の変容：3名

②TEM図：インタビューをもとに、「意識の変容」をみる。明確にするために、TEM図を使う。(TEM分析の差異に使う図を利用する。)

③インタビューはオンラインで実施。一部対面。

4.2. インタビューによる聞き取り「留学の動機」

(1)A：中国人男(来日時23歳・対面インタビュー時24歳)

- 中国の受験は、受験ではなく、「戦争」のようなものだ。中国で高校の歴史の教師になりたいが、自分は3年生大学卒業で「学位」がない。日本で「学位」をとり、中国にもどって教師になりたい。本来は歴史を勉強したいが、歴史科目で大学院に無理なら、なんでもいから、行ける大学院で修士をとりたい。
- 年生制大学進学ができずに、3年生の大学へ進学した。(日本の大学における資格審査に合格できなかったのである。)日本の大学院には、学部卒の学位がなくても受験一入学できる大学院がある。しかし、専門はIT関係である。Aは、ITには興味がなかったが、学位を得るために、この大学院に進学した。

(2)B：中国人男(来日時33歳・対面インタビュー時34歳)

- 中国の4年生大学(理系)を卒業して、中国の国産メーカーに就職した。しかし、給料は上がらず、10年同じ仕事をしてきた。転職を2回したが、いずれも同じ仕事で、これ以上、給料のアップ、生活の向上、自分の望む仕事はできないと思い、悩んだ末、日本留学を考えた。大学院卒業後は、日本で就職し日本に住みたいと考えている。
- 教師コメント：Bの年齢を考えると、大学院卒業後の年齢は、35歳を過ぎることになり、その後、日本で就職するとなると難しいのではないかと考え、現時点での就職を勧めたが、本人は「大学院の学位をとれば、いい会社に就職できる。」と思い込んでおり、公立の大学院を受験したが、不合格だった。(大学の専門と大学院進学希望の専門が異なり、その大学院の勉強もほとんどしていない状況での受験は無謀だったと、教師は考える。その後、私立の大学院を受験。合格して、通学している。)本人は、「移住」ということを真剣に考えており、「日本は少子化で、IT関係の大学院を卒業しさえすれば、大企業に就職できる。」と考えている。

(3)C：中国人男(オンラインインタビュー時22歳 ※来日せず)

- 高校を卒業後、大学に進学した。しかし、自分は貧しく、周囲は比較的経済的余裕がある学生ばかりで、このままでは、よい仕事、よい生活を望めないと思った。軍隊に入り、2年間働いた。除隊したときの金を留学費用にあて、留学を考えている。(オンライン時)しかし、コロナ禍で、いつになったら日本に行けるのか全くわからない。(2021末時点)オンラインの授業料もかかる。このままでは、留学をあきらめざるをえないかもしれないと思っている。
- 教師コメント：Cは、気持ちは焦っているが、留学する準備が十分ではなく、オンライン語学の授業も落ち着いて受けることができない状況になった。そのため、結局、オンライン授業の3か月が終わった時点で、自主退学にいたった。Cは、「慶応大学の経済学部に行きた

い」と強く想っており、行きさえすれば未来が開ける、と思い込んでいた。

(4)D：中国人女(来日19歳・オンラインインタビュー時20歳)

- 高校生の時、進学校にいた。学校の勉強が厳しく、受験競争が激しかった。精神的に耐えられなくなり、病院で薬を処方してもらい、学校にもほとんどいけなくなった。このままでは、大学にも行けない。家族の理解を得て、日本留学を考えた。高校生の時、日本の大学の先生の心理学の本を読み、この本を書いた先生のもとで勉強したいと強く想うようになった。自分のように、精神的に悩んでいる若い人の助けになるような仕事がしたいと思っている。
- 教師コメント：非常に優秀な生徒であり、日本語学校のオンラインプログラムでは飛び級で上のクラスにいった。大学は、自分の希望する大学に合格し、今は元気に通学している。

(5)E：中国人女(来日26歳・オンラインインタビュー時28歳)

- 中国内陸部で大学を卒業したが、仕事がない。大学の同級生と結婚したが、夫にはが仕事がない。ふたりで、日本に来て、日本語を勉強して、仕事を働きたいと思った。
- 教師コメント：夫は中国の少数民族で、大学を出たものの仕事なかった。夫婦で来日したが、妻の方が日本語の上達のはやく、短大を経て介護職に就くことができた。夫は、日本語学校に通いながらレストランでアルバイトをしていたが、大学・専門学校へ行けるレベルではなく学費もない。将来どうするのか。

4.3. インタビューによる聞き取り「意識の変容」—TEM図から

TEM図は、意識の変容と、その変容に何が影響を与えたかをみる図である。ここでは、影響そのものの分析というより、留学前後のストーリーをわかりやすくするための手段としての図と考える。赤い部分は本人への励ましの要因、青い部分是否定的要因、後半の黄色い部分は日本語学校卒業後の時間となる。

(1)F：中国人女(来日18歳・オンラインインタビュー時21歳)

- 1年目は、希望の大学に不合格で、でもあきらめたくなくて、2年目がんばった。結果は、希望校に合格。達成感と満足感で、とてもうれしい。生活は充実している。
- 教師コメント：Fは、1回目受験時、5校受験して1校だけ合格した。しかし、行きたい大学ではなかった。筆者は、この大学を勧めたが、本人は「浪人」を希望し、他の予備校に移映り、1年後、再度

受験した。自分の希望する大学に合格した。結果として、「自分が考える『いい大学』」に合格したわけだが、その後の大学生活は、サークル活動やボランティア活動などを通して、生活を楽しんでいる。教師は、妥協を勧めたわけだが、それを蹴って、自分の意志を貫いて成功した例である。

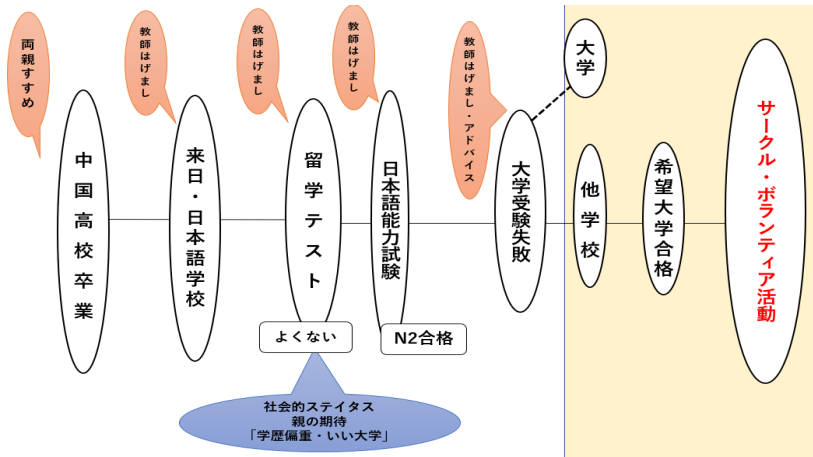


図5 F TEM

(2)G：中国人女(来日22歳・オンラインインタビュー時23歳)

- 手紙ママ「大学院は、勉強したい人がいくところなんでね。私は学位をとるために、進学しましたが、別な途もあったのではないかと思います。家族や周囲の評価が気になり、修士の学位をとることが目的となっていました。働いて、そこで何か問題を持って、それで大学へもどるということもあったのではないかと思います。日本や、ヨーロッパでは、30代、40代の方が大学院で勉強しています。(彼女の友達はある国へ留学し、そこで、社会人が大学院で勉強しているのを見て驚いたという。)先生が、勉強したいから大学院へ行くのだということを言いましたが、その意味がわかりました。」
- 教師コメント：Gは中国のランキング大学を卒業している。社会学を学びたいということで、日本の有名大学を受験したが、全て失敗した。日本語力はあり、理解力も深いですが、思い込みが強く、他者のアドバイスをきかない。最後には、大学時代、交換留学で勉強したことのある、地方の大学に進学した。大学院進学後に、自分で現実と対峙することで自分の方向性を見出したということがうかがえる。

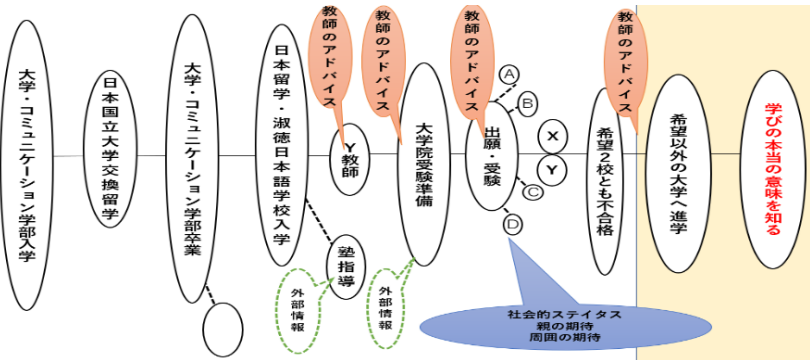


図6 G TEM図

(3)H：中国人女(来日20歳・オンラインインタビュー時32歳)

- 彼女が留学した大きな理由は、「家から出たかった。高校まで、私は、自分のことを自分でしたことがない。全部、おじいさん、おばあさん、おとうさん、おかあさんが世話をしてくれ、何一つ自分でしたことがなかった。それが嫌で嫌でしかたなかった。」
中国の大学と日本の大学の交換留学プログラムで来日、卒業後、日本の大学院へ進学。その後、地方の役場の教育委員会で中国語文化の紹介を小中学校でする仕事を2年間した。大学にもどり、教員をするかわら、大学院博士課程へ進学、現在は、地方国立大学の教員をしながら博士課程取得を目指している。
- 現在、博士課程在学中であるが、修了した後は、帰国するといっている。社会人として母国での経験がないことを考え、中国で、社会人経験をしたいと考えている。

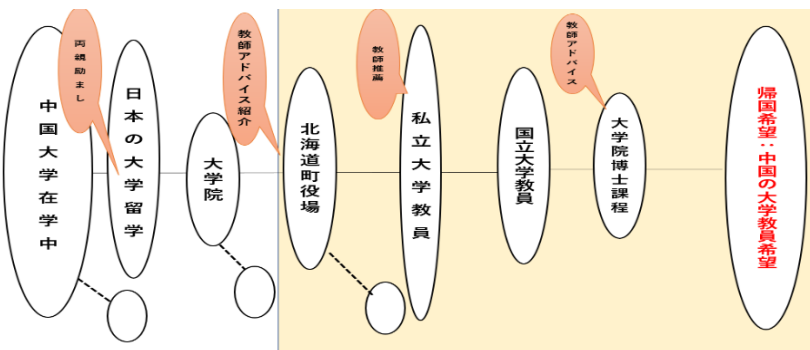


図7 H TEM図

5. 考察—インタビューを終えて

調査 (インタビュー)は、対象者は筆者が勤務している日本語学校の在學生 (過去に在学した學生)に限られている。中国人留學生の現状を一般化できるものではない。当校に約15年間勤務する筆者から見て、留學生をとりまく現実が大きく変化していることは事実である。社会の変化に伴い、人の意識そのものが大きく変わっている。

今回のインタビューは事実を知ることのみで終わった。個々のケースの人・環境を知ることができたが、そこから何を読み取れたかは十分ではない。

現在、日本は、①少子化、②少子化による人口の減少、③人口の減少による経済の停滞、等、大きな課題が山積している。教育界という視点で見れば、少子化による大学の定員割れ問題が大きくなっている。また、本稿では触れていないが、外国人労働者の増加にともない、義務教育における外国人児童・生徒の増加の問題もある。

一方、中国には、①急激な経済成長が鈍化し、経済成長に停滞がみられる、②競争社会の過激化—大学受験に関わる競争、③沿岸部と内陸部の格差、大都市と田舎の格差、等 GDP世界2位となり、今後米国を抜くと言われる経済力を持ちながら、人々をとりまく社会環境は、必ずしも安定しているとは言えない。それが、若者の心理を不安にしていることが、本稿のインタビューからも読み取れる。大学院を目指す多くの留學生がいうことは、①家族、親戚、近隣の人、周囲の人の評価が気になる。②学位を取らなければ、何事もできない、という意識。③競争・圧力に負けて、精神的に不安定になっている生徒が増えているという事実がある。親自身も不安になっている。

留学後の経緯をTEM図でみると、筆者はそれぞれの生徒の成長とともにその時々でアドバイスをしてきたが、そのアドバイスよりも、留學生活の中で、様々な事に出会い、自ら状未来への方向性への基軸になるものをつかみとっているように思える。しかしながら、留學生は教師のアドバイスを「不要」と思っているのではなく、そのアドバイスが考えるきっかけにもなっていることもうかがえる。他者からの意見に対して自分はどう思うかということから、自身の考えを整理されてくる。Gのケース：「その時は、先生の言うことがわからなかったけれど、後で、実際に経験して『そういうことか』とわかる。」ということからも、教師のアドバイスに即効性を期待する必要はない。いつか学習者には伝わるかもしれない、という可能性で十分である。自分が変わった、あるいは何かをつかみとったということ、自分から私に発信するという行為にそれが現れている。

多数の留學生が何を求めて日本に来るかは、社会の変化とともに変わる。多くの留學生を受け入れることになった日本社会も、①社会全体としての多文化社会、②教育機関内の多文化コミュニティ、両者を日本全

体として統一的指針を持って受け入れるべきであろう。現在、筆者が、留学生を日本の大学・大学院へ送り出すときの疑問は、①大学(大学院)の公的教育機関としての方向性、②大学として経済的基盤を確保するという理由からくる留学生確保の方向性、この2つを大学(大学院)はどのようにとらえているのかということである。大学(大学院)のアドミニストレーションと連絡をとることが多いが、アドミニストレーションと大学教員の意識に差があるのではと感じることも少なくない。増加する留学生を受け入れる準備もないまま経済的要求から日本人学生の不足を留学生で満たしているという大学がある。ほぼ留学生のみで成り立っている大学院もある。

大学(大学院)や政府機関に提言することがこの実践論文の主たる目的ではないが、留学生に関わる者として、今後の日本の高等教育機関の方向性、留学生を受け入れる側の留学生対応をそれぞれの機関が個別に考えるのではなく、全体として大きな指針が必要ではないかと考える。

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Part IV:
History, religion

Understanding a *mon* – Japanese heraldry and its significance

Keywords: *mon*, family crest, Japan, significance

1. Introduction

Japanese family crests are symbols representing specific families or individuals. They may have different names depending on their function and importance, but the word *mon* is the word that describes them all, meaning “crest”. Although the beginning of Japanese heraldry dates back to the 12th century¹, its origins can be traced earlier, even during the period of influence of the Chinese Tang Dynasty (618–907) on many aspects of Japanese social life. Created on the basis of decorative patterns, they are characterized by decorativeness and simplicity, often expressing the wealth or social status of the owner. Over the course of history, crests in Japan have changed and found a number of new applications, gradually seeping from the battlefield into everyday life and finding their place in almost every area of life. Some practices of using *mon* have survived to the present day, preserving the memory of the former glory of Japanese heraldry.

Heraldry has a lot to offer in learning about and experiencing Japan. Its development is closely related to the course of history, and illustrates the changes that have taken place in society. By studying Japanese heraldry, we explore both history and art. In this way, we can get acquainted with the culture and learn about the traditional symbolism of Japan.

2. The origins of heraldry in Japan

Japanese heraldry takes its origins in the culture of the court aristocracy (*kuge*)². During the Tang Dynasty, the imperial court was greatly influenced by Chinese culture. As early as 701, the banners of the emperor Monmu

¹ *Family Crests of Japan* (New York: ICG Muse Inc., Tokyo, 2001), 17.

² Hatoba Shōryū and Hatoba Yohiji, *Mon no jiten* [Crest dictionary] (Tōkyō: Raichosha: 2020), 332.

(683–707; reign 697–707) were said to depict the first heraldic patterns, entirely borrowed from Chinese mythology³. One of the oldest Japanese chronicles, *Nihon shoki*, mentions symbols such as the sun, moon, peacock, White Tiger, three-legged crow or Qing Long – Blue Dragon, in Japan referred to as *seiryū*, which, among other things, were to appear on these banners⁴.

China was an inspiration in the fields of religion, science, culture, art and even politics. At that time, many items with stunning ornaments and symbols referring to the flourishing Chinese culture were brought from the continent to the Japanese Islands. Presumably, it was the richly decorated clothes of the members of the Chinese court that had the greatest impact on the first designs in which the source of Japanese crests is traced. A kind of confirmation of this statement is the word “crest” itself – in Japanese *mon*, written with a Chinese logographic sign 紋. This mark can be divided into two symbols, meaning “thread” and “decoration”. And although these are not the only meanings of these signs, when combined, creating the word “crest”, they bring to mind associations with embroidering on clothes⁵.

Among the patterns from China, one could find the well-known motifs of *mokko* (melon), *karahana* (Chinese flower)⁶, or characteristic geometrical patterns representing diamonds, circles, and hexagons. Initially, they were used to decorate the official clothing of the Japanese court and were called *yūsoku mon* 'yō.

However, Japanese heraldry developed through another social class. Although the first symbols used for identification appeared among the court nobility, this class was very small and almost all families knew each other. Only among warriors, who depended on the characteristic graphic markings used on the battlefield to identify an opponent to kill, did heraldry take on greater significance⁷.

During the Kamakura period (1192–1333), the use of crests spread and their popularity grew, but at that time they were still very general, often identifying fairly large groups, both military and relations. It was not until the 14th century, when the division of great families into smaller ones, narrowed down the use of the *kamon*, i.e. the family crests. At that time, *mon* were created in large numbers to correspond to new surnames and to represent newly formed families. Also, the practice of

³ John Dower, *The elements of Japanese design. A Handbook of Family Crests, Heraldry & Symbolism* (New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1971), 3.

⁴ Merrily Baird, *Symbols of Japan: thematic motifs in art and design* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2001), 141.

⁵ Dower, *The elements*, 3.

⁶ Baird, *Symbols of Japan*, 17.

⁷ *Family Crests of Japan*, 17.

adopting a substitute crest, the so-called *kaemon*, being an addition to the main coat of arms (*jomon*), caused chaos and gave rise to the first Japanese armorials⁸ and the principles of using mons, expressing the growing importance of the family symbol.

3. The Edo period and the fall of Japanese heraldry

In the Edo period (1603–1868), when the peace in the state pushed military identification into the background, family crests, which up to then had appeared mainly on armor and other items related to warcraft, also began to be placed on everyday objects. In this way, *mon* took on a new meaning, in which their decorative value began to come to the fore. Thanks to this, this period can be considered the end of the traditional Japanese approach to heraldry.

At that time, crests also spread to other social classes that had not previously used them. Among them were townsmen, craftsmen, and even actors and prostitutes. The meaning of the *mon* gradually expanded to include the function of a trademark and a popular decorative motif. The Japanese crest was no longer just a symbol representing the family.

The Edo period also brought a changing fashion for specific types of symbols or styles of crests, often leading to paradoxical situations in which respected families abandoned centuries-old *mon* in favor of more fashionable ones, in line with the prevailing trends. Crests gradually penetrated into almost all areas of life. They appeared on kimonos, furniture, and other everyday objects, even festive cakes took the shape of a family symbol. Temples and palaces were also marked with *mon*⁹.

However, it was the feudal system that was most dynamically driving the development of heraldry in Japan. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the feudal system was abolished and the availability of Western-style clothing increased, Japanese crests slowly began to disappear from the streets¹⁰. The end of World War II also brought with it further social changes that had a negative impact on Japanese heraldry, taking it to the background. The new Japanese society slowly ceased to focus on multigenerational, closely related families, opting for nuclear families, which, being subject to new lifestyles and focusing more on the individual than on the centuries-old pedigree, ceased to be interested in traditional ancestral crests¹¹.

⁸ An armorial is an illustrated work containing comments and descriptions of coats of arms and people or families who use them – Michał Głowiński, Teresa Kostkiewiczowa, Aleksandra Okopień-Sławińska and Janusz Sławiński, *Słownik terminów literackich* [Dictionary of Literary Terms] (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1988), 178–179.

⁹ Dower, *The elements*, 19–22.

¹⁰ Marius Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 781.

¹¹ *Family Crests*, 12.

In spite of everything, many of the old heraldic practices survived until the 21st century. *Mon* can still be found on ceremonial kimonos during important occasions, in front of shop entrances on hanging *noren* curtains, and in the logos of popular Japanese brands such as Mitsubishi and Sumitomo¹². There are also craftsmen who design Japanese crests, such as Hatoba Shōryū¹³, doing their work in a way that has remained constant for hundreds of years.

4. Traditional *mon* design

Japanese coats of arms, called *mon*, are characterized by an uncomplicated and modest design. The simple appearance of *mon* is based on mathematical symmetry, as well as sparing use of colour. Japanese crests are mostly black and white designs. However, even though a *mon* is simple, its creation itself is multi-dimensional and requires focus on the multi-step process as a whole.

A *mon* is created using lines and circles, to achieve their characteristic appearance. Designed in such a way, they represent perfect symmetry, known to the Japanese from *sangaku*. *Sangaku* can be defined as a kind of art form depicting geometric patterns in the most aesthetic way possible¹⁴. These are the characteristics that link it to Japanese heraldry.

The process of creating a Japanese coat of arms requires the use of tools specially created for this process (see Figure 1). This makes it easy to achieve their unique look and shape, based on a circular plan, made up of only intersecting circles and straight lines. Such tools must be able to precisely outline these two shapes and join them together. A person who can use these devices is a heraldic painter called *monsho uwaeshi*. This term includes the concept of *uwa*, which can be translated as the top drawing or sketch. In combination with the concept of *shitae* (lower image), which is understood as an initial sketch, it means a finished, ready image. The term refers to the drawing of coats of arms on kimonos as the finishing touch to a product¹⁵.

¹² Dower, *The elements*, 23.

¹³ “Kakejiku Art”, accessed on April 10, 2022, <https://www.kakejikuart.jp/shoryuhatoba/en.html>.

¹⁴ Fukagawa Hidetoshi, Horibe Kazunori, “Sangaku-Japanese Mathematics and Art in the 18th, 19th, and 20th Centuries”, *Proceedings of Bridges 2014: Mathematics, Music, Art, Architecture, Culture* (2014): 111, <https://archive.bridgesmathart.org/2014/bridges2014-111.pdf>.

¹⁵ “Enchanting Edo: Craftsmen strive to protect ‘kamon’ family crest for modern Japan and world”, *The Mainichi*, November 8, 2020, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20201106/p2a/00m/0et/016000c>.

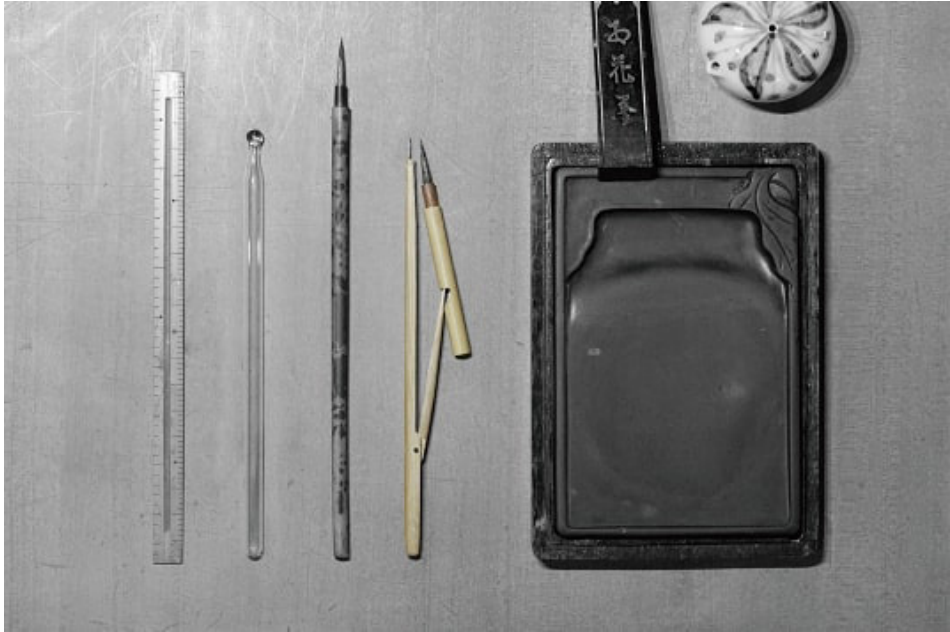


Figure 1: Tools used in creating a *mon*.

Source: <https://www.kyogen-kamon.com/>

Coats of arms are drawn with ink using small brushes made of natural bristles. A ruler is used to draw straight lines. However, since drawing a straight line with a brush is very difficult, due to its softness, the ruler has a special recess for an additional, rounded rod that acts as a hand stabilizer. It is held in the same hand as the brush and, sliding smoothly inside the recess, allows a straight line of the same thickness to be drawn along its entire length. When making circles, the *monsho uwaeshi* uses a traditional bamboo compass called a *bunmawashi*, or *mawashi* for short. The drawing part in this type of compass is also a brush specially adapted for this task. After creating a sketch using the above-mentioned tools, the finished design is then transformed into a template, which is later used in the process of applying the crest to the fabric. Therefore, among the tools used by heraldic painters there are also small, precise knives and boards, which constitute the backing, most often made of cherry wood¹⁶. It is a technique that has survived almost unchanged since the Muromachi period (1336–1573)¹⁷.

¹⁶ “Monshō uwaē” [Heraldic painting], Kiryu City, accessed April 10, 2022, https://www.city.kiryu.lg.jp/kankou/bunkazai/1010700/kunisentaku/1001990.html?_cf_chl_jschl_tk__=P-4w9xmbx_0PpuOLO_RljGhFEvQrhGxEv.6_kKZl89Af9-0-16N989.12-9-0-169259.

¹⁷ Hatoba Shōryū and Hatoba Yohiji, *Mon no jiten*, 4.

The *mon* placed on a kimono or *haori* is usually about 3.6 cm, which means that it is smaller today than in the Edo period when it was about 3.8 cm. For female *mon* it is now about 2.2 cm, which is also smaller than in the Edo period¹⁸. For this reason, designing a *mon*, although it does not seem to be a particularly complicated process, requires a lot of concentration and precision. When drawing, one follows the design sequence, starting with creating a circle and its axis of symmetry on which to base the entire pattern. Then, depending on the created coat of arms, individual elements of the design, from the outline to the details, are applied with the help of circles and lines¹⁹.

The name *monsho uwaeshi* refers to drawing crests on kimonos as the finishing touch to a product, so designing a *mon* with lines and circles is just part of the work of a traditional heraldic painter. However, in order for the template prepared by him to be used on the fabric, the material supplied to the coat of arms painter must be properly processed. First, the fabric should be discolored in designated places where the images of the *mon* are to be placed. Chemical bleach is used for this process, which is often prepared on the spot by the *monsho uwaeshi* himself. The mixture is then applied to the material, previously secured with an additional template, allowing for precise discoloration of only the required shape and maintaining sharp edges. Most often it is just a circle shape. The chemical agent is activated by water vapor, above which the discolored piece of material is placed for a short time²⁰. After the entire process, the bleach is removed, as leaving the chemical there for too long could damage the fabric. In this way, a small section or sections completely devoid of color are obtained. In these places, the previously prepared, actual templates of the crests are placed. Using a special brush, a dye matching the color of the material is rubbed into the fabric through a template, which must then be fixed with hot steam²¹. A pattern obtained in this way, however, requires precise correction and finishing, which is done with small, precise brushes. Most often, it involves sharpening edges or drawing missing elements in more complex patterns, such as the stamens of flowers or the eyes of animals²².

During the Edo period, this whole process became a craft skill, passed down from master to apprentice. In many cases, heraldic painting was also a profession

¹⁸ Kiryu City, “Monshō uwaē”.

¹⁹ “Uwaē” [Printing figures], Kamon no hiroba [Wide area of family crest], accessed April 12, 2022, <http://park17.wakwak.com/~chitaya/uwae.html>.

²⁰ “Monshōuwaeshi Sentaya monshō kōugei” [Heraldic art of painter Sentaya], Aun web, accessed April 12, 2022, <http://aun-web.com/portrait/9776.html>.

²¹ Kiryu City, “Monshō uwaē”.

²² “Kiryū tegaki monshō uwaē” [Kiryū hand-drawn crests], JTCO Nihon Dentō Bunka Shinkō Kikō [JTCO Japan Traditional Culture Promotion Organization], accessed April 13, 2022, <http://www.jtco.or.jp/japanese-crafts/?act=detail&id=367&p=3&c=14>.

inherited from generation to generation. Some of these *monshō uwaeshi* families prevailed in their profession until the 21st century.

5. Symbolism of the Japanese crest

Symbolism can be understood as the non-literal meaning or nature of a thing. It is strongly related to the cultural heritage of a nation or region. In Japan, symbolism was greatly influenced by Chinese culture, but almost every era introduced new meanings and trends to the general Japanese symbolism, extending it with fresh contexts and innovative uses of old symbols. This happened until the Meiji Restoration in 1868. It can be considered the beginning of a great cultural change in Japan, which inhibited the dynamic development of symbolism. However, it would be more correct to see 1868 as the moment when Japanese symbolism spread and settled in the social consciousness in a stable form²³.

Japanese family crests are closely related to traditional symbolism. Many, if not all of the themes used in *mon* have figurative meanings. Moreover, many of them were chosen as a symbol to represent the family precisely because of the non-literal content they carried with them. In order to emphasize their individuality and uniqueness with the help of a family crest, symbols with a clear and legible meaning were selected²⁴.

During the process of selecting a symbol to be included in the *mon* of a specific family or person, very different assumptions were made. First of all, the crest was to convey selected information about the person or family to whom it belonged. In fact, several categories have arisen in which to divide the symbols used in coats of arms. According to the division by American historian John W. Dower, five of these categories can be distinguished. These are commemorative crests, martial crests, superstitious and auspicious crests, religious crests, and crests of denotation (see Figure 2). However, these categories do not have clearly defined boundaries. Many of them also overlap, but are able to give a fairly broad view of the symbolism in Japan at the time they come from²⁵.

²³ Baird, *Symbols of Japan*, 9.

²⁴ *Family Crests*, 37.

²⁵ Dower, *The elements*, 25.

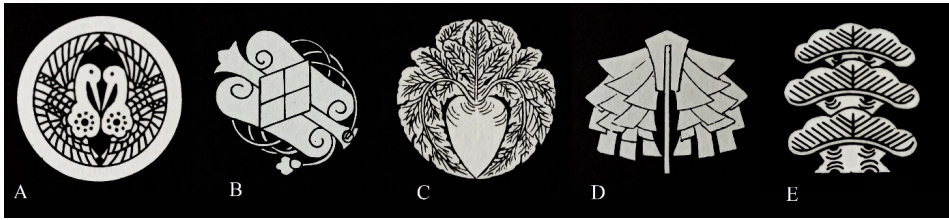


Figure 2: A) Commemorative crest with facing cranes; B) martial crest with military fan; C) auspicious crest with radish; D) religious crest with *gohei* referring to Shintō; E) crest of denotation with pine.

Source: John Dower. *The elements of Japanese design. A Handbook of Family Crests, Heraldry & Symbolism*. New York, Tokyo 1971.

The commemorative crests contain a symbol or symbols referring to a great event in the history of the family or commemorating an important ancestor (see Figure 2A). They can also perpetuate an act perceived by the holder as honorable and which one wishes to commemorate²⁶.

Martial crests are characterized by the symbols contained in them referring to the art of war (see Figure 2B). Among them, there are symbols depicting items used by warriors, elements of armor, or weapons. However, the martial crests also included animals whose symbolism referred to war and combat, such as the dove, which was the messenger of the god of war, Hachiman²⁷.

Superstitious and auspicious crests are a category that includes both *mons* referring to superstitions, as well as those that were to ensure the prosperity of the family or the person to whom they belonged (see Figure 2C)²⁸. Most often, in this category, symbols were selected whose meanings were to act like a talisman, ensuring happiness, wealth, long life or prosperity. Among them were pines and cranes, symbolizing a thousand years of life²⁹.

Religious crests are characterized by a reference to symbols related to philosophical beliefs or systems that the owner of the coat of arms wanted to refer to (see Figure 2D). Probably the most coats of arms falling into this category were created during the Sengoku period (1467/1493–1573). The four systems most commonly referred to are Shintō, Buddhism, Christianity, and Chinese philosophy³⁰.

Crests of denotation are such coats of arms with a symbol directly referring to the surname of the family that used it (see Figure 2E). Examples of such coats of

²⁶ *Family Crests*, 38.

²⁷ Dower, *The elements*, 27.

²⁸ *Family Crests*, 40.

²⁹ Dower, *The elements*, 29.

³⁰ *Family Crests*, 38.

arms are those representing pine (*matsu*), belonging to the Akamatsu and Matsuo families. On the other hand, the Tachibana family was represented by a coat of arms representing a mandarin³¹.

6. Crests in modern Japan

The first large-scale uses of crests took place among the warrior class. It was thanks to the samurai that the Japanese heraldic system developed and spread to many seemingly unrelated areas of life. In the past, a *mon* was placed on military banners, armor, clothes and everyday objects. However, with the Meiji Restoration, Japanese admiration for heraldry waned as a result of dramatic social and cultural changes. Progressive westernization displaced *mons* from everyday use. Heraldry, however, survived in official symbols, city flags and company logos, finding a place where it managed to survive over the years.

The most important crests that have survived from their heyday to the 21st century are those appearing in the national symbols of Japan. Although Japan does not have any official state emblem, the Emperor's crest, in a way, fulfils this role. This *mon* represents a 16-petal golden chrysanthemum (see Figure 3A) and was first used by Emperor Godaigo (1288–1339; reign 1318–1339). It was established as the official imperial emblem by the government proclamation of August 25, 1869. In 1871, however, an ordinance was issued restricting the use of this crest only to the imperial house³². Another example is the government seal of Japan, the emblem of the prime minister, which bears the original Paulownia *mon*, used by the Toyotomi family. A *mon* with Paulownia (see Figure 3B) was adopted as the emblem of the Japanese government after the Meiji Restoration³³.

³¹ Dower, *The elements*, 33.

³² Elena Rudneva, Tatyana Spichenko, M. Shtan'kola, V. Skvortsova, A. Shcherbinin, "The origins of Japanese national symbols", *SHS Web of Conferences* (2016): 3, https://www.shs-conferences.org/articles/shsconf/abs/2016/06/shsconf_rptss2016_01094/shsconf_rptss2016_01094.html.

³³ Liza Dalby, *East Wind Melts the Ice: A Memoir Through the Seasons* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 51.

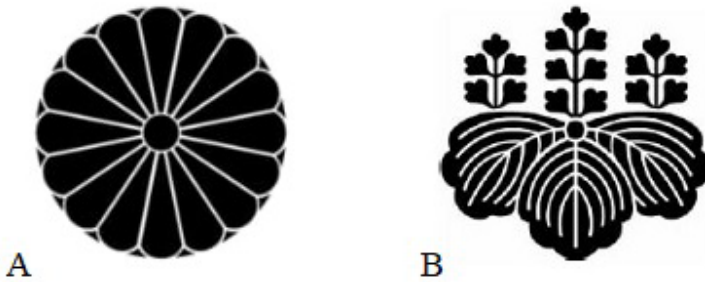


Figure 3: A) 16-petal chrysanthemum crest; B) paulownia crest.
 Source: D.F. Phillips (Ed.). *Japanese heraldry and heraldic flags*. Danvers 2018.

Some Japanese companies use crests or heraldic elements in their logos. At the beginning of the 21st century, the number of long-established Japanese companies was 26,000, of which 141 had been established before the Edo period and 2,619 during the Edo period³⁴. Among them are companies such as Mitsui and Sumitomo, inheriting the store's emblem from past eras to the present day³⁵.

Old *mons* are also used on the official signs and flags of Japanese cities and towns. For example, the city flag of Kanazawa is composed of *kanji*, which means gold, and the heraldic symbol of the plum blossom (see Figure 4A). The city of Nagoya adopted the crest of the Owari family, which represents the *kanji* character for the number 8 (see Figure 4B) encircled. Another example is the flag of the city of Shimamoto (see Figure 4C). It shows the crest of the city, modeled on the *mon* of Kusunoki Masashige (1294–1336), which was given to him by Emperor Godaigo. Lord Kusunoki was associated with the city, so he transformed his *mon*, *kikusui*, or chrysanthemum floating in the water. The emblem element representing the chrysanthemum is made of the 島 (*shima*) *kanji*, while the water waves are formed from *kanji* 本 (*moto*)³⁶.

³⁴ “Tokubetsu kikaku: chōju kigyō no jittai chōsa” [Special plan: Survey of the actual situation of longevity companies], Teikoku Data Bank, accessed April 20, 2022, <http://jojoinn.co.jp/08-rink/ginowanRC/R-joho/100%20company2013.pdf>.

³⁵ Shimura Yoko, “Study on the Social Cultural Value of the Crest and Its Significance: A Comparative Study of the Japanese Kamon and Company Logos”, 21 *seiki shakai dezain kenkyū* [21st Century Social Design Research] : *Rikkyo journal of social design studies* 16 (2016), 109.

³⁶ Kariyasu Nozomi, “Heraldic devices on modern Japanese flags”, in *Japanese heraldry and heraldic flags*, ed. David Phillips (Flag Heritage Foundation: Danvers, 2018), 138–141.



Figure 4: A) Flag of Kanazawa; B) flag of Nagoya; C) flag of Shimamoto.
 Source: Nozomi Kariyasu (created for a book “Japanese heraldry and heraldic flags” edited by D.F. Phillips).

In the 21st century, the original popularity of family crests declined. Many Japanese do not know their *mon*, although almost every Japanese family has at least one. *Kamon* often has themes related to nature, but it seems that few people can distinguish plants or animals in the family crests and understand the meaning of the motif. This is probably because modern people’s view of nature has changed. And while there are regional differences, the history of nearby living families and the history of the region have become difficult to convey due to the movement of people and the development of nuclear families since the modern era³⁷.

In contemporary Japanese society, a *mon* is used in a traditional way, mainly in ceremonies such as weddings. For this reason, the possibility of the traditional use of a family emblem depends on the type of ceremony. As for the form of the wedding ceremony, in the 1960s only 2.2% of weddings took place in church, and 84.5% were Shintō ceremonies. But since the 21st century, church ceremonies are 64.2% and Shintō only 18.2%. Instead of a traditional-style wedding, brides and grooms choose a celebration that emphasizes the connection of individuals, not whole families. The effect of this type of change is the decreasing number of occasions during which traditional clothes, marked with family coats of arms, are used³⁸.

Regarding the social dimension of Japanese heraldry, some conclusions can be drawn from the degree of Japanese interest in *mon*. In the 21st century, the dominant type of households are nuclear families, so people no longer concentrate in multigenerational families that cultivate tradition. Despite this, people are increasingly looking for peace and respite in the family, and cultivate the bonds that connect with it. On such ground, the *mon* has a chance to gain a new role as a link between family members, as a symbol of belonging, or act as a talisman from the ancestors. Similarly in the case of crests representing temples, often used during feasts and festivals, they are signs

³⁷ Shimura, *Study on the Social*, 107.

³⁸ “Nihon no kyoshiki sutairu 50-nen no hensen” [50 Years of Wedding Style in Japan], Buraidaru Sōken [General Bridal Research], accessed April 16, 2022, https://souken.zexy.net/research_news/2011/06/50---22642---0caf.html .

that are well associated with local communities. Thanks to this, *mons* of deities and temples can become symbols connecting social groups over and above family ties³⁹.

7. Summary

Japanese family crests, called *mon*, are graphic symbols that represent a family or individual by means of a fixed pattern. Their heyday was during the feudal period when they were most popular, but heraldic practices have not yet been completely forgotten. Moreover, to this day they are present in many areas of life, although their use is not as intense as it used to be.

Japanese heraldry is in many respects a system analogous to European heraldry, and can be an important source of knowledge in Japanese studies. By studying it, we can learn a lot about ancient Japan. But the crests contain not only the history and memories of the great deeds of the ancestors. The symbols found in them refer to Japanese culture and art. From what images were placed in the *mon*, we can determine what was considered noble or beautiful in a given era. Contemporary Japanese visual art also draws steadily from its heraldic heritage. Studying the changes and development of Japanese heraldry also allows us to look into the depths of Japanese society. What it was, what it is, maybe even let us know what it will be.

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³⁹ Shimura, *Study on the Social*, 108.

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A hitherto unknown Jesuit confessionary in Japanese language and script (ca. 1595) kept at Utrecht University Library¹

Keywords: *kirishitanban*, Jesuit mission press, confessionary, history of the book, Christian Raue, Adriaan Reland

Each of the extant titles of the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan qualifies as a bibliographical rarity. Few of these so-called *kirishitanban* have been preserved in more than three copies, and every other one is known in a single copy only. Hardly any new additions to the list of extant titles have been possible in recent decades, so that the only print not already listed in Johannes Laures' standard reference in its 1957 edition is the *Compendium manualis Navarri* (1597) found in 1985.² All other findings during recent decades involved either further copies of already known titles, or the resurfacing of previously known prints whose exact whereabouts had however become unknown over the course of time. *Fidesno quiō* (Book of faith; 1611), for instance, only became readily available to scholars after its rediscovery in Harvard's Houghton Library in 2009. Similarly, in 2016 the whereabouts of the *Exercitia spiritualia* (1596) became clear once more; it is now found at the Biblioteka Śląska in Katowice. The copies of the *Compendium spiritualis doctrinae* (1596) and the *Spiritual xuguiō* (Spiritual exercises; 1607) that have come into the possession of Sophia University in 2018 belong to this category as well.³ In terms

¹ The author would like to express his deepest gratitude to Dr. Bart Jaski and Drs. Frans Sellies at Utrecht University Library for their most generous support in November 2021 and beyond, as well as for digitizing the volume in question and making it freely viewable online (see <http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/resolver.php?type=3&obj=1285498612>). An earlier, shorter version of the present text was published online on the Special Collections website on 10 February 2022 (see <https://www.uu.nl/en/utrecht-university-library-special-collections/collections/early-printed-books/theological-works/a-hitherto-unknown-jesuit-confessionary-in-japanese-language-and-script-c-1595>).

² Johannes Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko: A Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Mission in Japan. Third, Revised and Enlarged, Edition* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1957).

³ See Kawamura Shinzo, "After More Than 400 Years, Rare *Kirishitan-ban* Volumes Have Been Returned to Japan," *Sophia magazine* 7 (2018): 31. Judging from the photos these are the former

of further copies of known prints, recent years have seen the discovery of a copy of the *Contemptus mundi* (1596) at Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (2017), a copy of the *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* (1603) at the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro (2018), and a copy of the *Sanctos no gosagueô* (Acts of the saints; 1591) at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (2021).

In November 2021, a hitherto unknown Jesuit print from Japan could now be identified, shortly after the present author noticed the following entry in a mid-18th century library catalogue from Utrecht:⁴

“Compendium Christianæ Doctrinæ, lingua & caractere Japonico, ex Christian. Ravii donatione.”

[A compendium of Christian doctrine in Japanese language and script, from a donation by Christian Raue.]

Initial research on the book behind this most promising entry soon led to a recent publication by Bart Jaski, keeper of manuscripts and curator of printed books (*rariora*) at Utrecht University Library, stating in a footnote that “Ravius also donated [...] V oct 852 rar, a compendium of Christian doctrine printed in Japan, which Reland studied, as he added its title in Latin.”⁵ A short email exchange later, several photos of the book made clear that V oct 852 rar constitutes a confessionary in Japanese language and script, printed by Jesuits in late 16th century Japan.

The Utrecht confessionary

The printed text spans 50 double pages of circa 12.8 × 19 cm (the first unnumbered, the rest counted as 1–49), preceded and followed by a single unprinted leaf. The overall structure of the volume is as follows:

- 1 unprinted leaf, with a handwritten dedication of the book to the library on the recto
- 1 unnumbered leaf, containing the words “Salvator mundi” and the monogram “IHS” on the recto in print
- 1–40: main text of the confessionary, ending with an imprimatur on fol. 40v

Manila copies, kept there in the Augustinian Convent and Franciscan Convent respectively, as first described in Johannes Laures, “Neue Funde zur japanischen Jesuitendruckerei” [New discoveries concerning the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan], *Monumenta Nipponica* 4, no. 2 (1941): 613 and 614. The copy of *Spiritual xuguiō* was later presumed lost in Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 76.

⁴ *Auctarium catalogi bibliothecæ Trajectino-Batavæ* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Apud Joannem Broedelet, 1754), 30.

⁵ Bart Jaski, “The Manuscript Collection of Adriaan Reland in the University Library of Utrecht and Beyond,” in *The Orient in Utrecht*, ed. Bart Jaski et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021a), 322, fn. 5.

- 41–45: first appendix, a glossary of Chinese characters in the main text, arranged in the order of their appearance
- 46–49: second appendix, a glossary of Christian terminology (Latin and Portuguese loanwords) as used in the main text
- 1 unprinted leaf, containing the handwritten signature “Joaõ” (and again “J”) on the recto

The first printed page here corresponds to the first printed page in the previously known confessionary printed in 1598, which has been preserved in a single copy at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome (call no. CCC M.VIII 41) that also served as the basis for Bernard Petitjean’s (1829–1884) *Toganozoki kisoku* (Rules for confession) in 1869.⁶ The words “Salvator mundi” found on that page have commonly been treated as the title of the later confessionary. The next page, however, which is occupied by an actual title page in the 1598 edition, containing in Latin the simple title of *Confessionarium*, as well as an indication of its time and place of publication, is left empty here. The main text beginning on the following page reads largely the same in both editions, but it is clearly not the same in terms of page layout, printing types and script choice, for instance.

Now, the output of the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan is typically divided into an earlier and a later stage, which in the case of prints in Japanese script corresponds to ca. 1591–1593 and 1598–1611 respectively.⁷ While several prints dating from the years in-between have been preserved, they are all printed in the Roman alphabet throughout. The Utrecht confessionary now may help to fill this gap of several years to some extent.

In terms of printing, the Utrecht confessionary clearly still belongs to the earlier type. The printing types appear to be same as those seen in the only two works in Japanese script representing the earlier stage: the *Doctrina* of 1591 and the volume of 1593 commonly referred to under its incipit, *Bauchizumo no sazukeyō* (On administering baptism). Thus, the confessionary comprises, besides *hiragana* syllabograms, relatively few Chinese characters (less than 200 in total), no ligatures apart from ones for *taru* and *tamō*, no examples of *kana* with added diacritics for initial *p-* (*handakuten*),⁸ no repetition marks with added diacritics for voiced obstruent initials (*dakuten*), and only a single repetition mark used for *kana* and Chinese characters alike. The three early prints in Japanese script also share

⁶ See Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 57–58, no. 19, and 140–141, no. 69.

⁷ See, e.g., Toyoshima Masayuki, ed., *Kirishitan to shuppan* [The early Christians in Japan and publishing] (Tōkyō: Yagi shoten, 2013), 137.

⁸ The still earlier non-cursive printing types (*katakana* and a handful of Chinese characters) that are only attested in a small number of fragments (see Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 35–36, no. 6) did actually already feature *handakuten*. See, e.g., *poroshimo* from Portuguese *próximo* ‘neighbor’ for such a case in the fragments preserved in the binding of the 1598 confessionary.

another characteristic, namely the lack of a title page and any explicit indication of their respective time and place of publication.⁹ In all likelihood this is not due to text loss, as has sometimes been assumed,¹⁰ but rather it appears that there were no title pages to begin with. The Japanese-language imprimatur following the end of the main text of the confessionalary (40v) is reminiscent of its counterpart in the volume of 1593 as well.

The above-mentioned features of the earlier confessionalary are in stark contrast to the later one printed in 1598, which belongs to the later stage both in terms of the printing types used and in that it has a title page giving among others the time and place of publication. The confessionalaries in Utrecht and Rome are textually very close to each other, but they represent different stages of what may be considered to be the same work. In fact, from the annual letters of the Jesuits it had long been known that 1598 was not the first time a confessionalary was printed in Japan. An earlier print is already mentioned in letters dated 1595 as well as 1594.¹¹ It is thus likely that the Utrecht confessionalary represents such an earlier edition, dating either from 1595 or somewhat earlier – and whatever the exact date may be, this copy constitutes the only surviving one of that particular edition.

A preliminary comparison of the two versions of the confessionalary has brought to light about one thousand textual differences – the majority of which are, however, merely orthographic in nature and related to the change in printing types. In about 530 cases, *kana*-only spellings are replaced by spellings using Chinese characters only, or mixed spellings. The opposite direction is also attested in about 160 cases, with Chinese characters being replaced with *kana*, but this is largely limited to grammatical items or light verbs, such as 成共 → なりとも for *-nari-to-mo* ‘even (if),’ 以て → もて for *motte* ‘by means of,’ or also 有 → あり for *ari* ‘to exist.’ There are also about 200 cases of added (and only rarely omitted) diacritics, reflecting the availability of more printing types equipped with diacritics. Finally, there are some cases involving revised *kana* spellings and other miscellaneous changes, e.g. とゝのふりたる (6v) → とゝのほりたる (4v) or たもふ (47v) → たまふ (26v).

There is further a number of stylistic changes, arguably as an attempt to polish the text – making it less colloquial and more conservative. Thus, certain verb forms resulting from sound change are avoided in the later version, e.g.: おはつて (34v) → をはりて (22r), さぐつて (38v) → さぐりて (24v), or also のぞんで (19r) → 望みて (12v), つゝしんで (39v) → つゝしみて (25r). This similarly applies

⁹ The manuscript copy of the 1591 *Doctrina* kept at the University of Tokyo (General Library, call no. A00:X25) has no title page either.

¹⁰ Thus e.g. in Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 38 and Kōso Toshiaki, *Kirishitanban seisen, Santosu no gosagyō no uchi nukigaki, kaisetsu* [A selection of Jesuit prints from Japan, *Excerpts from the acts of the saints*, Explanatory remarks] (Tōkyō: Yūshōdō, 2006), 3.

¹¹ See Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, 58 for a reference to a 1595 letter by Luís Fróis. Toyoshima, *Kirishitan to shuppan*, appendix, 10 additionally refers to a 1594 letter.

to verbs with secondary *y* stems formed by analogy in post-classical times: くはゆ (6v) → くはふ (4v). Another post-classical feature is avoided as well, with attributive forms being changed to final forms before interrogative *-ya*, as it was originally supposed to be in Classical Japanese grammar: にくじきしたるや (18v) → 肉食したりや (12v). The latter two changes were, however, executed in an inconsistent fashion. Finally, *tokoro-no* to end a prenominal relative clause as a loan translation from Literary Chinese *suō* 所 is omitted in the single instance it is seen in the older version (4v; cf. 3r in the 1598 edition).

Leaving grammatical and stylistic revisions aside, one of the most notable amendments is certainly when the Buddhist term *nyūmetsu* ‘entering Nirvana; death (esp. of Buddha)’ (fol. 33r, 33v) to refer to the death of Jesus Christ is replaced with the neutral and thus in this context arguably more appropriate term *shikyo* ‘passing away; death’ in 1598 (fol. 21v). A parallel change is also observed between the earlier editions of the *Doctrina* (1591/92) and the later ones (1600).¹² In both works, the change is best interpreted as a change in interpretation, as the glossaries appended to several Jesuit prints up to the mid-1590s attest to a neutral understanding of the term,¹³ whereas a clear-cut Buddhist understanding is only found later on.¹⁴

Substantial deletions or additions are only rarely seen between the two versions. A notable exception is a passage reading in translation: “First, those who are going to receive it [= the Eucharist], must not blacken their teeth beforehand and abstain from drinking and eating from the preceding midnight.” The underlined portion is left out in the later edition.¹⁵

The early history of the confessionary in Utrecht

The dedication by Christian Raue (or Ravius; 1613–1677) on the first, unprinted leaf sheds some light on the provenance of the confessionary. It runs as follows:

¹² Kamei Takashi, Hubert Cieslik, and Kojima Yukie, *Nihon Iezusukaiban Kirishitan yōri* [The Christian catechisms printed by the Jesuits in Japan] (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1983), 137.

¹³ There are at least three cases translating *nyūmetsu* as ‘to die, dying’: *Doctrina* (1592), p. 110 (“Nhūmet. Xisuru. Morrer.”), *Fides no dōxi* (1592), fol. Ss6 v (“Nhūmet. i. Xinuru coto.”), and *Contemptus mundi* (1596), fol. Ff3 v (“Nhūmet. Xisuru coto.”).

¹⁴ See, e.g., *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* (1603), fol. 182r for its understanding as ‘the death of Buddha’: “Nhūmet. Morte de Fotoque.”

¹⁵ *Mazu kore o sazukari-tatematsuran hito wa sono mae ni ha o kuromuru koto naku mae no yonaka jibun yori nomimono shokubutsu o tatsu beshi* まつ是を授り奉らん人は其前にはをくろむる事なく前の中時分よりのみもの食物をたつべし (11r), as opposed to just *mazu kore o sazukari-tatematsuran hito wa sono mae no yahan jibun yori nomimono shokubutsu o tatsu beshi* 先是を授り奉らん人は其前の夜半時分よりのみもの食物をたつべし in the 1598 edition (7v).

In nomine DEi. | Codicem hunc Chinensem | impressum | Florentissimæ
Bibliothecæ Publicæ | VLTRAIECTINAE | ex suâ | æternæ sui affectus erga
hanc | Academiam memo- | riæ | L. M. Q. D. D. D. [= libenter meritoque dat,
dicat, dedicat] | Christianus Rauus Berli- | nas. | 15 Jan. 1644.

[In the name of God. This printed Chinese book gives, devotes and dedicates
with pleasure and as a favor to the most prosperous public library of Utrecht
out of his own [library] to the eternal remembrance of his affection towards
the university here – Christian Raue of Berlin. 15 January 1644.]

At the time of this dedication, Raue was giving lectures on Oriental languages in Utrecht. From the many other stages of his career, two later ones are of special interest here:¹⁶ In 1649 he became fellow and librarian at Magdalen College, Oxford, whereafter Queen Christina of Sweden appointed him professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala University. Later he became royal librarian in Stockholm. Incidentally three of the most substantial Jesuit manuscripts from Japan came into the collections of Magdalen College and of Queen Christina at some point, the latter by 1650 at the latest.¹⁷ Their exact provenance remains uncertain, but the fact that Raue was owner of a Jesuit print from Japan no later than 1644 now opens up the possibility that he was also in some way involved in the acquisition of these Jesuit manuscripts.

While it is uncertain how Raue came into the possession of the confessionary, it seems most plausible to assume that he purchased it in the Netherlands. In fact, a large number of Jesuit prints and some manuscripts can be demonstrated to have been in Dutch collections in the 17th century, many of which were auctioned at some point. Their owners included Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), Reinier Pauw (1564–1636) and his son Adriaan Pauw (1585–1653), Ernst Brinck (1582–1649), and especially Leiden professor Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) – under whom Raue had studied Arabic in 1637–38. Note also that John Selden (1584–1654), one of the few known English owners of Jesuit prints from Japan at the time, also happens to have been a supporter of Raue. It was also Selden who redeemed the manuscripts and books which Raue had left with a London merchant when leaving for Sweden.

Coming back to the text of the dedication we note that the language of the confessionary was misidentified by Raue as being Chinese. Recall that, unlike the confessionary of 1598, this edition does not have a title page in Latin indicating

¹⁶ On the life of Raue see especially G. J. Toomer, “Ravis [formerly Raue], Christian [Christianus Ravius] (1613–1677),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁷ The manuscripts from the collection of Queen Christina are now at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. One contains a Latin version of the Jesuit *Compendia* of philosophy, theology and cosmology (Reg. lat. 426), the other a miscellany by Manoel Barreto (Reg. lat. 459). Ms. 228 at Magdalen College is a Japanese version of the same *Compendia*, lacking however the part on cosmology.

its geographical origin. The situation is different in the brief explanation following the dedication and written in a different hand, which Jaski has identified as being that of Adriaan Reland (1676–1718).¹⁸ It reads as follows, corresponding perfectly with the description provided in the 1754 catalogue:

“Compendium doctrinae | Christianae | lingua et caractere Japonico.”
[A compendium of Christian doctrine in Japanese language and script.]

Interestingly, the language of the text is correctly identified as Japanese here for the first time. The Christian contents as such, regardless of the language of the text, may have been easy to tell owing to the first printed page, with the monogram “IHS” in the center being sufficient to identify it as a Jesuit print. However, Reland was almost certainly also capable of identifying the *hiragana* in the text as what they are. He may even have been able to decipher at least, e.g., some of the Latin and Portuguese loanwords written in *hiragana* and found throughout the volume.

Specimens of writing from Japan had been known in Europe since the 16th century. The first appearance of a handful of *hiragana* in a European print dates back to the Jesuit *Cartas* of 1570. Inventories of *hiragana* in the form of the *iroha* poem appeared shortly afterwards in the works of Blaise de Vigenère (1523–1596) and Claude Duret (died 1611), with Andreas Müller (1630–1694) in the late 17th century pointing out some of the errors in these earliest sources.¹⁹ Another, somewhat fuller overview of the Japanese syllabaries was provided by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) – but this was printed only in 1727 and thus too late for Reland. While he was certainly aware of at least some of these publications, judging from his long-known interest in Japanese,²⁰ Reland was more importantly also himself in the possession of some prints and manuscripts in, and on Japanese. For one, he was the owner of the later of the two grammars of Japanese written by João Rodriguez (ca. 1561–1633), the *Arte breve da lingoa Iapoa* printed in 1620.²¹ On

¹⁸ Jaski, “The Manuscript Collection,” 322, fn. 5.

¹⁹ On the work of Müller in particular, but also of his predecessors, see Sven Osterkamp, “The Japanese studies of Andreas Müller (1630–1694),” *Kyoto University Linguistic Research* 29 (2010): 77–151.

²⁰ See Adriaan Reland, *Dissertationum miscellanearum pars tertia, et ultima* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Ex Officina Gulielmi Broedelet, 1708), especially 103–119. For a study, see Yoshimachi Yoshio, “Reirando zatsuroku shō” [An excerpt from Reland’s *Dissertationes miscellaneae*], *Onsei no kenkyū* 7 (1951): 229–244, and now also Otto Zwartjes and Paolo De Troia, “André Palmeiro’s *Epistola* (Macau 8/V 1632) *cum paradigmate Orationis Dominicae*,” in *Missionary Linguistics VI*, ed. Otto Zwartjes and Paolo De Troia (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2021), 14–22.

²¹ See the auction catalogue *Pars magna bibliothecae clarissimi & celeberrimi viri Hadriani Relandi* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Apud Guiljelmum Broedelet, 1718), 48, entry no. 485: “*Arte breve de Lingō [sic] Japōa dello Padre Rodrigues*. 1625. [sic] — Catechismus lingua Tunchensi [sic]

fol. 7r–v it provides an overview of *hiragana* together with Romanizations, both in *iroha* order and in the form of a ‘table of fifty sounds.’ A manuscript deriving from Reland’s collection likewise contains the *iroha* poem in both *hiragana* and *katakana*, together with another incomplete *iroha* poem in *hiragana* only.²² All *kana* and Chinese characters in this manuscript are accompanied by Romanizations. It seems plausible that it is these sources that Reland relied on when he gave several *hiragana* and *katakana* together with Romanizations in a letter addressed to Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze (1661–1739).²³ He could thus have simply compared the confessionary with the specimens of Japanese (as well as of Chinese) he had at his disposal in order to correctly identify the script and language of the confessionary.

The fragments seen in the binding

At times, fragments of the products of the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan also figure as waste paper in the bindings of other books. Incidentally, known cases include the copy of the 1598 confessionary kept at the Biblioteca Casanatense, which is especially notable as it features fragments preserving otherwise unattested prints.

The Utrecht confessionary is of interest in this respect as well. It features two related fragments, one each in the front and back cover. Of these, the fragment

scriptus Romæ.” The second title refers to Alexandre de Rhodes, *Catechismus pro ijs, qui volunt suscipere baptismum in octo dies diuisus* (Romæ: Typis Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1651), with which it is still bound together. The volume is now found at the Biblioteca Nacional da Ajuda (call no. 50-XI-3).

²² Now at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 429. The author would like to thank CrossAsia and its digitization on demand service for making the manuscript available online in November 2018.

The manuscript corresponds to *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum [...] quibus omnibus quondam usus est [...] Hadrianus Relandus* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Apud Guiljelmum Kroon, et Gisb. Tim. a Paddenburg, 1761), 4, no. 42 of the manuscripts in folio: “Varia Specimina Literarum & Scripturæ apud orientales, aliosque populos usitata.” Also see Bart Jaski, “Appendix 2: The Manuscript Collection of Adriaan Reland,” in *The Orient in Utrecht*, ed. Bart Jaski et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021b), 443, A fol 42.

The incomplete version incidentally provides us with another example of the last verse of the *iroha* being followed by the characters *kyōjō* 京上, on which cf. Sven Osterkamp, “Onmon *iroha zakkō*” [Miscellaneous thoughts on the various *iroha* in *han’gūl*], in *Ryūkyū shōgo to kodai Nihongo* [Ryukyuan and pre-modern Japanese: Toward the reconstruction of Proto-Japanese-Ryukyuan], ed. Takubo Yukinori, John Whitman, and Hirako Tatsuya (Tōkyō: Kurosio, 2016), 57–63.

²³ Johann Ludwig Uhl, ed., *Thesauri epistolici Lacroziani tomus I* (Lipsiae: Impens. Io. Frid. Gleditschii, 1742), 315–316, no. 257 (dated 17 February 1715).

found in the back cover coincides entirely with a portion of text on fol. 41r of the *Doctrina* in its 1591 edition, from a passage on the Ten Commandments, as a comparison with the single extant copy kept at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (call no. Barb.or.153.pt.A) shows. It even contains exactly the same misprint in line 4 (giving *adari* for expected *atari*). Most of lines 1–8 and 11 are legible, while lines 9–10 are barely visible due to folding. In the transcription below portions of text supplied on the basis of the Vatican copy of the *Doctrina* are given in square brackets.

	科を知事専也	
弟	御おきてのまんだめんとは何ヶ条[有や]	
師	十ヶ条也 是即二に分る也 初の三ヶ[条は]	
	でうすの御いくほうにあだ[sic]り奉り[今七]	
	ヶ条はほろしもたがひの徳の[為也]	5
	第一御一体のでうすをうや[まひ]た[つと]	
	ひ奉るべし	
	第二貴き御名にかけてむな[しき]ち[かひ]	
	[すへからす]	
	[第三どみんごいはひ日をつとめまもるべし]	10
	第四汝の父母にかう / \ す[べし]	
	[第五人をころすべからず]	
	[第六じやいんをおかすべからず]	
	[第七ちうたうすべからず]	

The fragment found in the front cover is of even greater interest. It is again closely related to the 1591 edition of the *Doctrina*, coming from its chapter on the sacraments, specifically about the Sacrament of Penance. However, while the visible portion of text is similar to fol. 68r (lines 1–8) of the *Doctrina*, it is not entirely identical with it. The text as such is the same, but the first three line breaks occur in different places, and the exact choice of *kana* is different as well in several instances. This may either mean that there were several variant editions already in 1591, or that we are dealing here with a fragment from another (presumably slightly later) edition of the *Doctrina*, which however was still mostly identical to the 1591 edition. In either case the fragment gives us a glimpse of an otherwise unknown edition of this key text published by the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan.²⁴ Again, portions of text in square brackets are supplied here on the basis of the Vatican copy.

²⁴ According to Laures, “Neue Funde,” 288, Joseph Schütte found a fragment covering pages 40r–v of the 1591 *Doctrina* at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu in 1940. It might be worthwhile to compare this fragment with the 1591 edition once more to see whether they fully coincide or not.

師	へにてんしやのさからめんと也是即[ばう] ちずもをさづかりて以後あにまのやま[ひ] となる科をなをさるゝすひりつある[の] らうやく也	
弟	へにてんしやはいくつにきはまるや	5
師	三にきはまる也一にはこんちりさんと[て心] 中のこうくはい也二にはこんひさんと[てこ] とはにてざんげする事也三にはさ[しち] [はさんとて所作をもて科をくりをするこ] [と也]	10
[弟	真実のこんちりさんをば何と様に持べ] [きぞ]	
[師	でうすに対し奉りておかしたる科を真] [実にくい悲み時分をもてこんひさんを申]	

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On *Hagakure* and other "sanctities" – a crooked mirror image of Japanese history

Keywords: *Hagakure*, *bushidō*, *seishinshugi*, Yamamoto Tsunetomo, Tokugawa Ieyasu, Mishima Yukio, factors of military might, Battle of Nomonhan, Battle off Samar

Introduction

One can hear or read opinions on the Japanese on many occasions, especially in the case of natural disasters (one could find plenty of them after the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami), such as these:

The Japanese are unshakable in the face of any odds, since the samurai spirit is, and always has been their ethical pillar, because they have been, since antiquity, natural born warriors. Concurrently: the sword – *nihontō* is and always has been a samurai's soul, and his basic weapon.

Let us begin the crusade against such stereotypes from "radiographing" a very special book – namely *Hagakure*. Although *Hagakure* is inseparable from the socio-historical phenomenon of *bushidō*, this paper does not intend to discuss all the intricacies of the very complicated process of the latter's creation. Such a discussion would be impossible, taking into account the limitation of the paper's volume, and pointless, since a very comprehensive description of that process can be found in the book *Inventing the Way of the Samurai. Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushidō in Modern Japan* by Oleg Benesch (2016). The objective of this paper is by far more modest: it questions the popular beliefs of many people fascinated with Japan, including many professional Japanologists, whose field of research, or deeper interest lies outside the history of Japan.

According to those beliefs *Hagakure* is a book containing the ancient wisdom of the samurai that provided Japanese army with its moral backbone in the form of fighting spirit, which, in turn, allowed them to score victories over enemies superior to them in terms of military technology. This paper will demonstrate that *Hagakure* had no ancient roots, had little to do with the samurai, neither was it the

foundation of the idea of the famous Japanese fighting spirit – *seishin*, although during the 1930s and 40s it became a useful tool, helping to instill this fighting spirit into young Japanese men’s hearts (rather than minds). Moreover, this alone was definitely not sufficient to counter the military might of potent enemies, as the paper also demonstrates.

The discussion of *Hagakure* will consider several subjects, therefore this chapter is divided into several sections. The first is devoted to its origins, and the process of gaining popularity. Next we will analyze its character, and later its relation to the historical facts. Further, we will look at the role it played in the Japanese military doctrine of the 1930s and 40s, and finally we will try to understand the roots of its popularity in intellectual circles in the West after World War 2.

Origins and its rise to dizzy heights

The book *Hagakure* was completed between 1710 and 1716 and comprised various thoughts and stories told by Yamamoto Tsunetomo (1659–1719) to Tashiro Tsuramoto (1678–1748) who wrote them down. Yamamoto was a retainer of the lord of Saga *han*, Nabeshima Mitsushige, who died in 1700. Since Mitsushige banned *junshi* – suicide after the death of one’s lord, Tsunetomo shaved his head and went to seclusion. After 1710, he was accompanied by another samurai, Tashiro Tsuramoto who was listening to Tsunetomo’s heroic stories about the old samurai and his views on the duties of the samurai, writing them down.

Tsunetomo asked him to burn *Hagakure* after reading it, but was, however, ignored and the manuscript survived, remaining in the custody of the Nabeshima lords of Saga till the end of the Edo period (1603–1868)¹. At that time, even in that *han*, very few samurai could have read it, while outside Saga, where it was prohibited, it might be heard of exclusively by shogun’s spies and/or high ranking officials of the Bakufu². The situation changed only in the Meiji era (1868–1912), when it was no longer banned, but it was printed no earlier than in 1906, gaining little attention from the broader public³. It was also practically ignored by scholars debating the essence of *bushidō* as too parochial to fit the requirements of the national ideology, despite the fact that after the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905) the nationalistic and militaristic version of *bushidō* was *en vogue*. Only in the 1930s could it find a broader audience. As is clear from the above, practically no *bushi* in the Edo period knew about its existence, let alone

¹ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1997), 279.

² Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 280.

³ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 199.

studying or even reading it. On the other hand, it would have been a bit weird to learn what it meant to be a *bushi* from a fellow who never had seen a real battle, as was the case of Yamamoto.

Only after its return some 30 years later, in the wake of rampant militarism, was its usefulness recognized by the forgers of the militaristic ideology as a potential ideological basis for transforming young Japanese males into *nikudan* – cannon fodder. This way the spiritualism glorified by the military which played a crucial role in the Japanese military doctrine after the Russo-Japanese war, was tied to *bushidō*. Contrary to this, the belief, according to which *Hagakure* was inseparably tied to the ethos of the samurai, serving as their popular "handbook" is extremely persistent.

In the book *Taming of the Samurai* by Eiko Ikegami, the chapter on the *Hagakure* and its role as a source of information on the Edo period samurai is 21 pages long⁴, and *Hagakure* is presented in the context of the Edo samurai ethos⁵, as an example of what she calls ethnomentality, but not as the life guide of the samurai, or manifestation of a typical attitude of the *bushi* of the epoch, which will be discussed further.

Character

Now let us pay some attention to the content of *Hagakure*. At the beginning, I wish to stress that this content may be very valuable, but only from a rather specific point of view, namely as a manifestation of the state of mind of some samurai in the Edo period. Apparently, Eiko Ikegami has the same opinion in this respect⁶. In that period the samurai lived in a sort of schizophrenic condition, enjoying a special position in society due to being warriors, but what it really meant to be a warrior in a period of permanent peace (from the point of view of a dozen of generations, the Pax Tokugawa was permanent) was a sort of a riddle.

The spectrum of reactions to the duties of the samurai in the peaceful Tokugawa society was certainly broad, but to my best knowledge this problem has not yet been thoroughly investigated. It seems, however, that reactions varied from full acceptance of the role of administrator, manager or scholar, with some *pro-forma* practicing martial arts, and feeling happy, like Ferdinand the Bull, not to be forced to kill or to be killed on the one hand, and deep frustration due to the lack of opportunities to demonstrate ones martial prowess in battle on the other.

The *bushi* who felt very uneasy and frustrated with such an existential split, tried to find a way of ridding themselves of it, and Yamamoto Tsunetomo with his

⁴ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 278–298.

⁵ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 278–279.

⁶ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 278–279.

Hagakure can certainly be considered as an example of this. It was certainly not a problem of all *bushi* at the time, since many of them managed to smoothly adapt to their peace-time duties. An example of such a samurai was Asahi Monzaemon (1674–1718) who kept writing a diary, describing life in Tokugawa Japan, from 1684 to 1717, from which one could conclude that he definitely did not long for the tumult of battle⁷.

The content of *Hagakure* can be described as thanatocentric, which is somehow synthetized in the rather broadly known sentence: „Bushidō means death” (variations in particular translations do not change the meaning, and the Japanese original sounds: *bushidō to iu wa shinu koto*), which is the heading of the 4th chapter⁸. *Hagakure* is certainly a manifestation of the state of mind of the most bellicose individuals among the samurai, and as such should be studied. To use it as a life guide, however, is in my view a complete misunderstanding.

With its cult of death, it is the manifesto of a necrophile (understood not as a sexual deviant, but as a person fascinated with death, corpses, decay etc., according to the definition by Erich Fromm) and it may seem abominable to anybody who is a biophile, i.e., someone treating death as a natural phenomenon, but interested in life and affirming it⁹.

Another feature of *Hagakure* consists in rejecting deeper reflection. As an example one can use Yamamoto’s criticism of the Akō *rōnin* for postponing their revenge, instead of immediately killing lord Kira, who was the bane of their lord¹⁰. In general, the attitude of Yamamoto in this respect can be summarized as: lots of spirit and little or no brain.

The third feature of *Hagakure* consists in what Eiko Ikegami names “honorable individualism”¹¹, and namely the obsession on individual martial performance with no attention paid to co-operation in battle¹².

***Hagakure* vs historical reality**

Here, I refer to the problem of the relations between the image of an ideal samurai, created by Yamamoto, and the historical reality, attempting to find

⁷ Luke Roberts, “A Transgressive Life: The Diary of a Genroku Samurai”, *Early Modern Japan* 5 no. 2 (1995): 26.

⁸ Yamamoto Tsunetomo, *Hagakure shō* [Hagakure Analects] (Saga Ken Chūtō Kyōiku Kai, 1941), 10.

⁹ Erich Fromm, *Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (London: Pimlico, 1997), 439–441.

¹⁰ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 26.

¹¹ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 378.

¹² Krzysztof Stefański, “The Unlearned Lesson of Nomonhan”, *Analecta Nipponica*, no. 7 (2017): 196–197.

out whether the widespread belief that the rules according to which Sengoku period *bushi* lived and acted were concordant with the "commandments" contained in *Hagakure*, is based on solid premises.

I will start by trying to find out whether the samurai ethos was thanatocentric, as *Hagakure* might suggest. Under closer inspection, one can conclude that there are few if any examples supporting such a supposition. When one looks at various *kahō* – family codes of the Sengoku period (1478–1590), one will hardly find anything related to samurai death as a duty. Apparently *daimyō* were interested in living retainers.

For sure, there were some individuals who might seek death in battle, but the majority of *bushi*, knowing that the chance of dying in battle was quite high anyway, were far from dreaming about it. The *daimyō*, too, didn't prompt their vassals to seek death, for the obvious reason – the military might of each *daimyō* depended largely (though not exclusively) on the number of retainers who are alive, and not dead.

During that period, a majority of *daimyō* cared about not wasting the lives of their retainers, and my favorite examples, given by Sadler, are related to Tokugawa Ieyasu (1549–1616; as a shogun 1603–1605) who participated in dozens of battles and saw tens of thousands fallen, yet he was against pushing Tokugawa retainers to die a dog's death – *inuji*. He, for instance, ardently opposed *junshi* – the ritual suicide of retainers after the death of their lord. When retainers of the fourth son of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Matsudaira Tadayoshi (1580–1607), committed *junshi* after his death, Ieyasu scolded the then shogun Hidetada (1581–1632) for not preventing it.

Sometime later, after his other son had died in Echizen, Ieyasu sent there a letter openly forbidding such acts. Explaining his attitude he said:

... If a retainer is so devoted to his lord as all that, he ought to keep him alive to look after his successor. That's what I call loyalty. Of course there may be exceptional cases where he shows his loyalty by giving his life for his lord, but this useless *junshi* is just dying a dog's death...¹³.

No wonder that during the Edo period *junshi* was strictly forbidden.

Another example of his abomination to wasting his retainers' lives is associated with an episode that occurred during the siege of Ōsaka, when some *hatamoto*, i.e. retainers of the shogun Hidetada (1579–1632), ran away during a fierce charge by

¹³ Arthur L. Sadler, *The Maker of Modern Japan: The life of Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu* (Rutland/Tokyo: Charles Tuttle Company, 1992), 336.

the castle's defenders. Hidetada was angry and disgusted with such performance of his retainers, he did not consider punishing them by either forcing them to commit seppuku, or even to confiscate their fiefs, but planned upon returning to Edo to limit the punishment to making the names of the "culprits" public. This, however, never happened, since Ieyasu opposed even such a mild punishment¹⁴.

These episodes clearly show that during the period of frequent and intense battles the samurai neither sought nor contemplated death, and for this reason alone *Hagakure* should not be considered as a source portraying the typical attitude to life during the epoch of large scale disruptions and the abundance of smaller and larger battles.

What is extremely symptomatic, apparently, in the whole debate about *bushidō* that started in the late 19th century, is that the figures of great chieftains did not play an important role, and judging from the absence of Tokugawa Ieyasu's name in the index of Benesch's book, the great shogun was totally ignored in that debate. This shows the actual inconsistency of the *bushidō* ideology, supposedly based on the *bushi* ethos but lacking the slightest reference to the expectations of great warlords concerning the duties of their retainers, that during the Sengoku period decisively influenced those retainers' lifestyles. It is particularly true in the case of Ieyasu, who can arguably be considered as the greatest commander of the samurai era, being a genius of both the art of war and politics, to say about him being also a perfect judge of human nature. Ignoring his views of what should and could be expected from subordinates may serve as a measure of the weirdness of the discussions during the procedure of inventing "the way of the samurai".

Speaking of *Hagakure*, however, Yamamoto expresses his disdain for those who oppose the useless death of the samurai, saying something like: "no death of a samurai is in vain since it is the samurai's destiny". This is in apparent contradiction to Ieyasu's views in this respect. For me it looks really strange that someone who never participated in, or even saw a real battle dared to question the opinion in this respect of someone like Ieyasu, who participated in many battles and saw the death of thousands of people. Worshipers of *Hagakure*, however seem not to notice this.

Contrary to Ieyasu, who did not see the destiny of a samurai in dying, even if in vain, *Hagakure* preached the cult of death¹⁵, which was gladly adopted by the armed forces decision makers of the 1930s and 40s.

In one of my earlier papers I wrote:

... I review the climactic stage of the process that was supposed to turn Japan into a superpower, i.e. the war in Eastern Asia and the Pacific, including both the "Black Knight"- style fighting spirit manifested by Japanese

¹⁴ Arthur L. Sadler *The Maker of Modern Japan*, 290–291

¹⁵ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 279–282

soldiers and sailors, as well as the innumerable war crimes committed by them during that war.¹⁶

With the Black Knight I was not mistaken. Benesch quotes in his book a symptomatic fragment from the 1938 book *The Spirit of Hagakure Bushidō* by Matsunami Jirō (1900–1958), one of the most influential prophets of *Hagakure* style *bushidō*:

have we not cried often at the moving and tragic tales of those whose guns broke, so they swung their swords; their swords broke, so they swung their arms; their arms broke, so they used their legs; their legs were also injured, so they used their torsos; with but one fragment of flesh, one splint of bone remaining, they faced the enemy and fought on.¹⁷

This fits so perfectly the piece of the screenplay for the episode with the Black Knight in the comedy ridiculing the commonly accepted image of chivalry: *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, that one could even wonder whether the idea of this episode might have been taken by the movie scenarists, Graham Chapman and John Cleese from Matsunami.

As for the individualism or even egotism peeping out from *Hagakure*, one can find in the Japanese past such attitudes among samurai, but this was true for warriors from the times preceding the Sengoku period, and attempts to force them to act in concert, although occasionally successful, like in the case of battles led by Minamoto Yoshitsune (1159–1189), were typically met with aversion, resistance and contempt¹⁸. Already during the Ōnin war, however, the ability to co-operate on the battlefield became the key to victory, and during the Sengoku period it became one of the pillars of the art of war.

This shift could be explained in the following way. In the Heian Period (794–1185), when the state administration was still quite strong, no *bushi* could gain anything without approval from the imperial court and administration. One's ability to impress the decision makers with one's fighting prowess (in the right cause, of course) was the only way to get a reward. This was also the case during the Kamakura (1185–1333) and early Muromachi (1333–1467) periods, although the decision makers were no longer located in the court and imperial administration, but in the *bakufu*.

When the Muromachi *bakufu* lost its grip on the *bushi* class, however, Japan became a "self-service land", where the only way to gain something consisted in gaining it sword in hand. In such an environment, fighting efficiency became the key to success. Local warlords – *daimyō* – became overlords, making decisions about alliances, clashes of arms and trying to grab as much land as they could on

¹⁶ Krzysztof Stefański, "On the Revival of Hideyoshi's Folly", 83.

¹⁷ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 202.

¹⁸ Eiko Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai*, 98.

their own. To do that, they had to build-up well working fighting machines in the form of large and well equipped armies, armed and trained to fight as coherent entities and not as loose, amorphous groups of individuals. This began during the Ōnin war (1467–1477) and lasted until the fall of Ōsaka castle in 1615. Later, apart from quenching the Shimabara uprising (1637–1638), no wars were fought on Japanese soil until the late 1860s, and the only way to preserve one's domain or to obtain a better one, consisted in strictly obeying the rules of *Buke shohatto* [*Various Points of Laws for Warrior Houses*; 1615], and it was the Edo *bakufu* who decided about rewards and punishments. Under Pax Tokugawa the art of war became almost a lost lore, and no show of martial skills could bring a reward.

The role of *Hagakure* in the military doctrine of the 1930s and 40s

Undoubtedly, the role of *Hagakure* in the 1930s and 40s was enormous¹⁹, but was it good for the military doctrine? The answer must be negative. And this is why.

Let us begin with the attitude of the fanatical officers towards anything they considered to be a lack of fighting spirit. There was no “magnanimity” like that of Ieyasu in Ōsaka, which was in sharp contrast with the treatment of such episodes by the officers of Imperial Army, greatly intoxicated with *Hagakure*'s ideas, during the war in the Pacific, where soldiers were expected and forced to perform suicidal charges on the enemy's positions, with extremely rare exceptions. One of them was due to general Kuribayashi Tadamichi (1891–1945), commanding the defense of Iwojima, who explicitly forbade any suicidal attacks before killing at least ten Americans. Kuribayashi could not save the island, but prolonged the fighting, and cost the Americans one of the highest tolls of victims during that war²⁰. Apparently the general, like Ieyasu, was against sending soldiers to die a dog's death.

To judge the importance of the fighting spirit for the military might of the army, it is necessary to think about the factors influencing military might in general. They can be most roughly divided into two classes: material and immaterial. The first class, in turn, can be divided into two main subclasses: weapons (all means allowing to harm the enemy: guns, cannons, military planes, tanks etc.) and supporting equipment (means of transportation – railway, trucks, other cars etc.; means of communication – radios and telephones, coding and decoding machines etc.; means of acquiring information – optical equipment like binoculars, radiolocators, air recon etc.; means of sustaining health and the good mental and physical condition of soldiers – field hospitals, providing of food and medical materials etc.).

¹⁹ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 186.

²⁰ Ōkawa Ryūhō, *Iōtō, Kuribayashi Tadamichi chūjō reigen* [Iwojima, Lt. general Kuribayashi Tadamichi's message] (Tōkyō: Irihpress, 2015), 23–32.

The second class can be roughly divided into three subclasses: psychophysical (physical fitness, mental resilience etc.), intellectual (tactical skills, ability to plan, co-operate, and deceive the enemy etc.) and emotional or spiritual (fighting spirit, identification with the objectives of the military actions etc.).

It was clear that in the longer perspective Japan had no chance to achieve superiority over the US in the class of material factors. Therefore, turning towards immaterial factors was a natural choice. The problem, however, consisted in the apparent lack of understanding that the immaterial factors are not limited to fighting spirit, which the Japanese mistakenly contrasted with matériel. As a consequence, after the enemies had pulled themselves together in mid-1942, the Japanese began to suffer defeats more and more frequently.

The Allies were able to achieve practically all their operational targets, losing far fewer soldiers than their Japanese opponent (the ratio typically was between five and ten to one in favor of the Americans). Exceptions were rare, and probably the best known such example is connected with the already mentioned battle of Iwojima, where the ratio was reduced to just two and the defenders' forces kept the Americans at bay for more than a month, despite the overwhelming superiority of the latter in manpower, weapons and other equipment. The credit for this, as was said above, is to be given to General Kuribayashi, who took care of preparing the system of fortifications, worked out optimum tactics and, last but not least, forbade explicitly any suicidal charges prior to collecting a certain number of kills. In this case, the defenders demonstrated not only fighting spirit, but brains, too.

The most spectacular example of efficiency of combined fighting spirit and clever tactics in the Pacific war, however, was demonstrated not by the Japanese, but by American Taffy 3 in the battle off Samar during the landing operation on Leyte on October 25th, 1944. The commander of the Taffy 3, Rear Admiral Clifton A. Sprague (1896–1955) and the crews of his ships clashed with the incomparably more powerful Japanese Center Force under the command of Vice Admiral Kurita Takeo (1889–1977), and engaged it for almost two and a half hours, preventing the Japanese attack on the landing group and American bridgehead on Leyte. The Americans combined fierce attacks with cunning use of rain squalls and smoke curtains to conceal their ships, which considerably reduced efficiency of Japanese artillery fire. Although the relative losses of Taffy 3 were higher than the relative losses of Kurita's Center Force, the Americans managed to sink three Japanese heavy cruisers, and eventually forced the Japanese to withdraw²¹.

The Japanese army got a warning about not relying solely on *fighting spirit* a few years earlier, during the battle of Nomonhan (May – August '1939), in which it suffered defeat to the Red Army. The latter was superior in terms of weapons

²¹ James D. Hornfisher, *The Last Stand of the Tin Can Sailors* (New York: Bantam Dell, 2005), 152–349.

and equipment (despite incomparably more difficult logistic conditions), not much inferior as for fighting spirit and, importantly from the point of my conjecture, with an overwhelming superiority in the category of intellectual immaterial factors: intelligence and reconnaissance, efficient deception, as well as clever operation planning, smart tactics and very good co-operation of services: infantry, armor, artillery and airforce. As a result, the Japanese 6th Army suffered a crushing defeat²². The outcome of the battle had certain important consequences, namely the Japanese gaining respect for the Red Army, which some Western historians consider to be the main reason why Japan did not join Germany on the invading, after Germany's invasion of the USSR in 1941²³. At a more general level, however, after Nomonhan nothing changed in the Japanese military doctrine. Although a special investigation board correctly identified the flaws of the Japanese methods of waging war, its conclusions were in practice totally ignored by the decisive circles of the army, and Japan entered the war with its brainless fighting spirit as the main trump card²⁴.

Some sober and clever officers, however, understood the importance of the Nomonhan lesson. In the final paragraph of his book, General Tamada Yoshio (1891–1989), who successfully commanded the 4th tank regiment in the battle, wrote [the translation is mine – K. S.]:

The Nomonhan Incident was a divine revelation. Had its results been thought through in depth and the above accounts [Tamada's assessment of the performance of the Japanese side in the battle – K. S.] digested, perhaps Japan would have proceeded on its way as a part of the world and, who knows, perhaps the Great East Asia War might have been avoided.²⁵

Unfortunately for Japan and its neighbors, this revelation was ignored by the decision-making circles and the opportunity slipped away.

Roots of worldwide popularity

As far as its proliferation is concerned, it was a matter of the late 1930s and early 1940s, when *Hagakure* became an obligatory piece of equipment of every

²² Alvin D. Coox, *Nomohan. Japan Against Russia*, 1939 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 818–841.

²³ Stuart D. Goldman, *Nomonhan 1939: The Red Army's Victory that Shaped World War II* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2012), 183–184.

²⁴ Krzysztof Stefański, "The Unlearned Lesson of Nomonhan", 199–200.

²⁵ Tamada Yoshio, *Nomonhan no shinsō — sensha rentai chō no shuki* [The facts on Nomonhan – notes of the tank regiment commander] (Tōkyō: Genshobō, 1981), 214.

soldier, becoming a sort of holy book of the Imperial Japanese Army²⁶. Though it may seem strange, after WW2 it became a subject of interest and admiration in intellectual circles of the West, and in this matter little changed till our times.

Why was Yamamoto posthumously chosen to become an influencer, teaching people – mainly soldiers but not only them, what they should do, what was right, and what was wrong?

Immediately after the war *Hagakure* was heavily criticized in Japan, though it was still praised and admired but only in right-wing nationalistic circles²⁷, but in the West intellectuals began to consider it as a valuable source of idealistic philosophy. In my view, this was caused by the fact that among those right wing nationalists there was a very good and popular writer – Mishima Yukio (1925–1970), who was apparently fascinated with *Hagakure* enough to write *Introduction to Hagakure* (*Hagakure nyūmon*, 1967).

In light of the above, it is quite easy to explain the eruption of admiration for *Hagakure* among Western intellectuals. Mishima was considered (with good reason) to be a very good, if not a great writer, and this was supposed to imply (with no good reason) that whatever he had written must have been right and deeply wise, as if it never happened (and in reality this happens quite often) that not very wise ideas or even pure nonsense is written in beautiful language. In other words, Mishima's standing in the eyes of Western intellectuals has become a kind of certificate of *Hagakure*'s greatness, which it does not, to my view, deserve.

Conclusions

Hagakure was in the focus of the above considerations. It was certainly an important component of the Japanese militaristic ideology of the 1930s and 40s. Even in this respect, however, its importance is overestimated, since not only its influence on the ethos of the samurai was null, its message contradicted the practice of the Sengoku period *bushi* and it was barely recognized during the Meiji and Taishō eras, but this was not the root of the *seishinshugi* – spiritualism that had become the pillar of the Japanese military doctrine after the Russo-Japanese war²⁸, well before *Hagakure* became popular. On the other hand it proved to be an indispensable tool for instilling *seishinshugi* into the hearts of recruits for the rapidly expanding imperial army. Therefore, the value of *seishinshugi* for military might was also discussed, and the conclusion was drawn that its simplistic exclusiveness in the Japanese martial doctrine led to disregarding other immaterial

²⁶ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 199.

²⁷ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 244.

²⁸ Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 119

factors of military might, with a pitiful outcome for the overall performance of the Japanese armed forces.

Today's broad popularity (but with almost no deeper knowledge) of *Hagakure* in the West is, in my view, the result of Mishima Yukio's fascination with it.

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Krzysztof Stefański The author, a theoretical physicist by primary profession, has for the last twenty five years devoted an increasing share of his time to research in the field of Japanese studies. His interests are focused on certain problems of Japanese history, comprising such areas as history of the material culture of Japan, evolution of the Japanese art of war, and a critical inspection of the links between the ideology of the 1930s and 40s and the actual way of life of warriors in pre-modern Japan.

Part I: Language, linguistics, education

Andrej BEKEŠ

WA-marked topic in Japanese: from local enigma to discourse delimiter

The aim of this paper is to show the importance of viewing and understanding language related phenomena in their natural context – discourse, exemplified by the thread of research leading from the syntactic properties of WA-marked topics in Japanese to its textual properties. Postwar research on WA-marked topics has seen different approaches: besides more descriptively oriented approaches, there were also those based on generative grammar.

Sentence based approaches contributed some significant insights regarding the meaning and syntax of WA-marked topics. Nonetheless, deeper insights into the nature of WA-marked topics, such as the “topic/contrast” duality, or that such topics are an important mechanism to provide coherence, could only be achieved once the related phenomena were observed within discourse. In addition, as an illustration of the discourse based approach, two findings by the author, based on case studies, are discussed. One is the distinction between topic co-referential chains and non-topic co-referential chains, and, the other one, based on this insight, is the additional role of WA-marked topics as discourse content delimiters, even within the same topic chain.

Patrycja DUC-HARADA

Calques in Modern Japanese – Classification and Main Factors Determining Their Occurrence

The paper is devoted to an analysis of linguistic calques observed in modern Japanese, introduced from the Meiji era to the present day, and it serves two major purposes. The first one is to propose a classification of modern calques, in order to demonstrate various calquing mechanisms and present this phenomenon in more detail than it is usually described. The second purpose is to discuss two major factors determining the establishment of Japanese calques. The first one – a need – refers mainly to the calquing processes observed in the second half of the 19th century, while the second one – ongoing trends – can be demonstrated on the examples of calques introduced to Japanese sociolects in the 20th and 21st centuries. The material for the paper is based on the examples of vocabulary occurring in various sources, primarily research publications, dictionaries and lexicons, as well as via the analysis of Internet data.

Shinko HATTORI 服部真子

発音学習を効果的に授業に取り入れるために—教材は授業をどう支援するのか—

コロナ禍で授業の多くがオンラインとなり、SNSの世界も音声コミュニケーションの新しい場が増えている。こうした劇的なコミュニケーションスタイルの変化の中、日本語教育においても時代の要請に対応していくことが課題になっている。本研究では、相互理解の要となる発音教育、とりわけゼロレベルからの発音教育の問題に焦点を絞る。発音学習を積極的にかつ継続的に授業に取り入れることを目指し、従来の書籍教材のみならず、日々更新されるYouTubeを含めWeb上での学習ツールを調べ、最新の情報に基づいた、日本語学習者への教材利用の提案と今後の課題を明らかにする。

Effectively Incorporating Pronunciation Learning into Classes: How Teaching Materials Support Classes

As many lessons have moved online due to the COVID 19 pandemic, the use of voice communication has also increased on SNS. In the midst of these, dramatic changes in communication styles, ensuring that Japanese lessons are able to meet the demands of the times, have become an important issue. In this research, we will focus on pronunciation education, particularly zero-level Japanese pronunciation, which is key to mutual understanding. Aiming to actively and continuously incorporate pronunciation learning into lessons, we propose the use of teaching materials made for foreign learners of Japanese language and clarify future issues based on the latest information, by investigating not only conventional written materials, but also learning tools (including YouTube) on the Web that are updated daily.

Hirofumi INOUE 井上博文

小学校国語科教科書の対人評価語彙の傾向性と語彙構造

本稿の目的は、小学校国語科教科書に記載された対人評価語彙の650語を対象に、その全体的な傾向性と意味的な観点からの特徴を述べることである。全体的な傾向として、例えば、主に物語や伝記に出現する、学年進行にともなって語彙量が緩やかに増加する、品種では形容動詞、名詞、形容詞の順で語彙量が多い、ポジティブ評価の語の割合が高い、語種では和語と漢語が主であることなどが認められた。また、意味的な観点からは、言語活動の様態に関するものが極めて少なく、動作・行為の様態に関するものと精神の在り方に関するものが多い。対人評価語彙は、個々の文化圏のコミュニケーション環境における言動の在り方の指標として機能する。

The Tendency and Lexical Structure of Person-Descriptive Vocabulary in Elementary School Textbooks in Japan

The purpose of this paper is to describe overall trends and features from a semantic point of view, targeting 650 words of person-descriptive vocabulary in an

elementary school language textbook in Japan. Firstly, as an overall tendency, for example, the words appear mainly in stories and biographies; the words gradually increase as the grade progresses; there is a wide vocabulary of adverbs, nouns, and adjectives; the words also have a higher percentage of positive rating words than negative ones; furthermore, from the view point of classification of Japanese words, Japanese and “Kango” or Chinese-derived words dominate. Secondly, from a semantic point of view, there are very few words related to how to speak, and many words related to the mode of movements, actions, and states of mind. And lastly, interpersonal evaluation vocabulary functions as an index of how words and actions should be used in the communication environment of each cultural area.

Arkadiusz JABŁOŃSKI

Locative or dative? The adnominal (case) marker *-ni* in contemporary Japanese

The Polish National Science Center (NCN) project OPUS 10, project number 2015/19/B/HS2/00147, entitled “Towards a coherent description of Japanese grammar – The Polish dictionary (lexicon) of Japanese grammar terms”, was commenced in 2016 and finalized in 2021. The contents of this paper are based on the morphological description of Japanese nominal elements presented in the lexicon (Arkadiusz Jabłoński, *Polski leksykon japońskich terminów gramatycznych* [Polish lexicon of Japanese grammar terms], Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2021) and in two English monographs (*Japanese Nominal Elements as Abandoned Parts of Speech*, Dąbrowka: Wydawnictwo Rys, 2021; *Case in Japanese – A Morphological Approach*, Dąbrowka: Wydawnictwo Rys, 2022). The paper provides arguments supporting the hypothesis that it is reasonable to consider the adnominal Japanese marker *-ni* not only as a synthetic and inflectional case marker, but also as a marker of one case labeled as the locative case, with the main function of marking the designate in terms of a static point/place in space and time, with its dynamic applications viewed as the extensions of the primary marking.

Grażyna KRAMM グラジナ・クラム

対馬方言に見られる九州方言の要素

対馬は、日本本土（北部九州）から約150キロ離れた離島で、歴史的に韓国と日本の架け橋の役割を果たしたことで知られている。地元の人々は対馬方言を使っている。対馬方言は九州方言の一つとして分類されているが、その方言にはどのような特徴があり、また他の九州方言とどのような共通点があるのだろうか。そしてなぜ九州方言に分類されることになったのであろうか。格助詞、接続助詞、逆接、指定の助動詞、終助詞などのような対馬方言の九州方言と共通の特徴を考慮して、紹介したいと思う。

Tsushima dialect as one of the Kyushu dialects

Tsushima is a remote island situated about 150 km from the Japanese mainland (northern Kyushu) and is known for its historical role as a bridge between Korea and Japan. The inhabitants use the Tsushima dialect. The Tsushima dialect is classified as one of the Kyushu dialects, but what are its characteristics and what does it have in common with other Kyushu dialects? And why is it classified as a Kyushu dialect? I would like to introduce the Tsushima dialect in consideration of its common features with the Kyushu dialect, such as case particles, conjunctive particles, inversions, designated auxiliaries and final particles, etc.

Koji MORITA 森田耕司

ポーランド語のアスペクト体系から見た日本語のテイル形

ポーランド語を母語とする日本語学習者にとって、日本語のアスペクト形式の一つであるテイル形は習得が困難とされているが、その要因はどこにあるのだろうか。そこで本稿では、その習得困難要因を探ることを主な目的として、日本語とポーランド語のアスペクト体系が根本的に異なることに留意しつつ、不完了体・完了体の形態的対立によって実現されるポーランド語のアスペクト体系の観点から日本語のアスペクト形式であるテイル形を考察する。

Japanese *teiru*-form seen from the viewpoint of the Polish aspectual system

For Japanese language learners whose mother tongue is Polish, it is difficult to learn the *teiru*-form, which is one of the aspect forms of Japanese. What is the reason for this? In this paper, the main purpose is to find out the factors that make it difficult to learn, and to research the *teiru*-form, which is the aspect form of Japanese, from the viewpoint of the Polish aspectual system realized through the morphological opposition between the imperfective and the perfective, keeping in mind that the aspectual systems of Japanese and Polish are fundamentally different.

James Harry MORRIS

Japanese Texts in the Digital Age: Thoughts on New Possibilities in the Transcription of Pre-Modern Japanese

This paper is a preliminary investigation into the new transcription possibilities that have been opened up by the inclusion of historical *kana* in the Unicode Standard. After exploring some of the issues associated with the transcription of historical Japanese sources, the paper presents a case for the adoption of historical *kana* transcriptions alongside modern *kana* transcriptions arguing that the use of historical *kana* transcriptions opens up new avenues for research on historical orthography and the diction of individual authors or scribes. The paper also outlines some of the limitations created by the use of “variant” *kana*.

Rie OGUMA 小熊利江

ロシア語母語話者による日本語の母音の曖昧化とその習得過程

モスクワの大学で日本語学を専攻するロシア人を対象に、発音の不自然さに関する調査を行った。発音の不自然さは7種類に分類され、そのうち「リズム」、「単音の音色」、「イントネーション」の3つの分野の不自然さが多かった。「単音の音色」では、特に「母音の変化・曖昧化」の現象が多く、なかでも「う」と「お」の発音が互いに曖昧になっており、この音韻対の発音は習得が難しいことが推察される。不自然さの生じる原因として、学習者による音韻の範疇の設定が適切でないことが考えられる。日本語能力レベル別の分析によって、レベルが上がるにつれて学習者の母音の不自然さが減少し、音韻の範疇が修正されて習得が進むことが示唆された。

Acquisition Process of Pronunciation of Japanese Vowels by Russian Native Speak

The study investigates the acquisition of Japanese pronunciation in a JFL context, in order to utilize the results for Japanese speech instruction. The purpose of the study is to take a closer look at the acquisition process of pronunciation, in particular the phonetic features of inaccuracy and unnaturalness of Japanese pronunciation by Russian native speakers. In this study, Japanese vernacular-style speech is examined. The subjects are 51 Russian university students in Moscow and the speech materials for analysis are the students' story-telling of a 5-frame manga.

The study revealed that the students' pronunciation inaccuracy was categorized into 7 areas and the major problems were the speech rhythm, the segmental sounds and the intonations. Further investigation of the segmental sounds indicated that the pronunciation of vowels was the most unnatural feature, specifically distinguishing Japanese /u/ and /o/ sounds among them. These vowels were often perceived differently because the students seemed to have an inappropriate phonological category for each vowel. However, the categories were gradually adjusted towards the appropriate ones corresponding to the language level. From the observation of the accuracy of vowels, systematic changes can be hypothesized in adjusting the categories in the acquisition process of the vowels.

Irena SRDANOVIĆ, Harumi KASEDA

Practical activities in vocational education for foreign students of Japanese

Although important progress has been made in recent decades in career guidance and counselling within universities, a more systematic approach is needed in vocational education, both in theory and practice, which is also the case for Japanese language study programs. This research presents the results of practical activities related to the topic of career planning that were organized for foreign students of

Japanese language at the Yokohama College of Commerce in Japan and the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula in Croatia in winter semester 2021 through surveys and a virtual workshop within the framework of Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL). The analysis of the tasks conducted and students' responses reflects the different levels of awareness of their career planning in relation to their background and motivation, and confirms the relevance of conducting these sorts of practical activities and the necessity of providing more support to Japanese language students in preparing for their future careers.

Kazuko TANABE

On the Use of *de+irassharu* and *de+orareru* in Spoken Japanese

The present study examines the declining use of *irassharu* in contemporary spoken Japanese by comparing *de irassharu* and *de orareru*. A survey was conducted in July 2021 among 400 working adults in either their 20s or 50s, with 100 men and 100 women of each age group. The results showed that men in their 20s were significantly more active users of *de irassharu* than men in their 50s. There was also a noticeable upward trend in the use of *de orareru* among men in their 20s. Thus, the formation of a sociolect centered around young men can be seen.

Part II: Literature, theatre, film, arts

Damian Dudús

Hori Tatsuo's (1904–1953) Essays on the Works of Marcel Proust (1871–1922)

In this paper the author presents and examines all the essays by the Japanese writer Hori Tatsuo about Marcel Proust and his famous novel *In Search of Lost Time*, written between 1932-1934, at the time of Hori's greatest fascination with this author. Hori's novel *Utsukushii mura* (*Beautiful Village*), written in 1933, is said to be directly influenced by Proust's writing. The essays are: *Purūsuto zakki* (*Scribblings on Proust*, 1932), *Zoku-Purūsuto zakki* (*More Scribblings on Proust*, 1933), *Bungakuteki sanpo* (*Literary Walk*, 1932), *Furōra to fōna* (*Flora and Fauna*, 1933) and *Purūsuto no buntai ni tsuite* (*On Proust's Style*, 1934). The essays are a record of what Hori thought about Proust's literature and, albeit to a lesser degree, how he perceived Proust's influence on his own writing. They are a valuable reference for those interested in the topic of European influences in Japanese literature. A thorough examination of these texts can give a better understanding of how Proust's influence could materialize itself in the later works of the Japanese author.

Mami FUJIWARA

Re-reading Lafcadio Hearn's Short Fiction, *Ningyō no haka*, Applying Jack London's Interpretation of Hearn's Understanding of Japanese Culture

Ningyō no haka has been studied as a proof of Hearn's interest in Japanese culture, especially the superstitions believed by the common Japanese people. However, the aim of this paper is to shed light on a new aspect of the text, which is how recounting memories are represented in the text, while referring to Jack London's interpretation of Hearn's understanding Japanese culture, and reading the text while keeping in mind two words and phrases in the text that are idiosyncratic to English-speaking readers. Through reading this story from this perspective, of how Hearn adopted the story based on a certain local community's memory and transformed it into 'our' story, will be grasped more clearly.

Kaori HARADA 原田香織

能楽の文学性に関する諸問題 - 現代の新作能に関する一考察 -

能楽は古典芸能であり演劇・戯曲であると同時に、レーゼドラマ・読む演劇として文学的性質を併せ持つことにより、テキストとして日本古典文学という研究領域にも属する。それは能楽台本つまり謡曲詞章の文学的特質に起因し、世阿弥の能作理念を示す能楽論書『三道』の理論に拠りながら、詞章は綴れ錦という特殊な韻文体、和歌言語により劇が展開する故である。舞台空間上の身体所作は囃子方の音楽性によって場が醸成される一方、能は、修辞法により作品の主題と共に作品全体を貫く文学的イメージがなされ、かつ「神・男・女・狂・鬼」には人類全体が抱える普遍的なテーマ性がある。特に新作能は現代社会の持つ諸問題を扱うが、古典的な世界の先にある現代の普遍的な問題とは何か。現代の再生芸術という領域から古典芸能を見た際に、能楽はどのような文学的価値を存するのか、能の新しい可能性について論じる。

A Study of the literature of *nō* Theatre from the viewpoint of Modern *nō* works

Nō is a classical performing art, at the same time, it has the essence of a literary, reading drama, so it belongs to the realm of Japanese classical literature as well as being a traditional performing art.

It is due to the literary expression, of the *nō* script, namely, the *yokyoku* verse, and which is based on the Noh theory book *Sando* that shows Zeami's Noh philosophy, whereby the verse is developed using a special rhyming style called Tsuzure Nishiki and the Japanese poetry *waka* language.

While the physical movements on the *Nō* stage are cultivated by the musicality of the *hayashikata* musicians, *nō* has a literary image that penetrates the entire work together with the theme of the work using the rhetorical method, and "God, Man, Woman, Madness, Demon" have a universal theme that humanity as a whole has.

In particular, new *nō* deals with the problems of modern society, but what are the universal problems of modern times beyond the classical world? We will discuss the literary value of Noh from the standpoint of the realm of modern regenerative art, and think about the new possibilities for *nō*.

Agnieszka KAMROWSKA

Anime Landscapes and Real-life Places

The article focuses on anime with realistic settings based on Japanese locations and on new practices among viewers inspired by these films. Japanese animation is famous for its ability to create fantasy landscapes and otherworldly sceneries, yet it is not known for its pursuit of realism. Animation, as a medium, is used for creating new worlds rather than depicting the existing one. But in the last two decades, by presenting real sites in Japan, anime has made a remarkable shift in its orientation towards realism. Director Shinkai Makoto has established his career by rendering digital images of places from his surroundings and turning them into movies. Many other animators followed in his footsteps and created series depicting real-life locations from Tokyo as well as rural Japan. Kyoto Animation Studio is famous for using detailed renderings of real-life locations as settings of its *nichijōkei* anime series. These new practices in creating anime have resulted in new practices among viewers, such as *seichijunrei* and *butaitanbō*. In these new fan practices the evolution of anime as a medium can be observed, from one that creates fantastic landscapes into the one that gives a new visibility to existing locations.

Akiko KASUYA 加須屋明子

旅と芸術—東影智裕を中心に

「旅」は人々の憧れをかきたて、遙かな想像の世界へと誘う。2019年末以降世界を襲ったコロナ禍によって、緊急事態宣言が発令されるなど異常事態が続き、移動が大きく制限される中、「旅」への渴望は一層高まっていた。

馴染みの場所を物理的に離れ、異郷を経めぐる旅もあれば、日常の洞察を通して旅人の視点を獲得することもある。人生そのものを旅に譬えることもできる。

旅は、比喩的表現も含めて様々に解釈され、多様で豊かな芸術作品を生み出し続けてきた。旅にまつわる移ろい彷徨う感覚や、儚い無常観、故郷喪失の寂寥感などは、芸術家にとって本質的に共有される感覚かもしれない。つまり芸術家自身が、居場所を探してさまよい続ける「旅人」とも呼べるのではないか。

こうした観点より本稿では、「旅」と芸術との関係について考察を行う。とりわけ、兵庫県生まれの東影智裕(1978-)に注目し、彼がポーランドと日本とを行き来した際に強く感じた「ずれ」と表現の変遷を中心に論じた。

Travel and Art – focusing on Higashikage Tomohiro

‘Travelling’ stirs people’s longing and takes them to far-off imaginary worlds, and the thirst for ‘travel’ has grown even stronger amidst the ongoing extraordinary events, such as the declaration of a state of emergency and the severely restricted mobility caused by the corona disaster that hit the world at the end of 2019.

Some journeys involve physically leaving familiar places and travelling through foreign lands, while others involve gaining a traveller’s perspective, through insights into everyday life. Life itself can be likened to a journey.

Journeys have been interpreted in many ways, including metaphorically, and have continued to produce diverse and rich works of art. The sense of wanderlust, ephemeral impermanence and the loneliness of losing one’s home that is associated with travelling may be a feeling that is essentially shared by artists. In other words, artists themselves could be called ‘travellers’ who continue to wander in search of a place to stay.

From this perspective, this paper examines the relationship between travel and art. Particular attention will be paid to Higashikage Tomohiro (1978-), who was born in Hyogo Prefecture, with a focus on the “gap” he felt strongly when he travelled between Poland and Japan, and the changes in his artistic expression.

Kinga LASEK

Tokyo – the city of wanderers in the early 1920s as seen through the eyes of *Diary of a Vagabond’s* protagonist

Hōrōki (Diary of a Vagabond, 1928–30) by Hayashi Fumiko (1903–1951) became a bestseller after it was published in book form in 1930. The protagonist, and at the same time the narrator of this novel, calls herself a vagabond because throughout her childhood she traveled constantly with her mother and stepfather around Kyushu. The protagonist’s diary begins when she moves to Tokyo. Her homelessness, however, continues. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how the reader can explore the streets of Tokyo in the early 1920s by following the protagonist created by Hayashi Fumiko. A girl struggling with poverty witnesses the development of mass culture and consumerism. At the same time, whether she wants it or not, she becomes involved in these social changes, so the reader has an opportunity to experience them with her. As a person from the lower classes, she observes the life of the capital’s rich and mighty. Tokyo is, for her, a place offering hope for a better future and a place threatening to destroy her. It draws her into its districts and begins to correspond with her inner states.

Samuel L. LEITER

Parting the Bamboo Curtain: Kabuki Invades Chinese Stages, 1955 and 1960

Japan's *kabuki* theatre made its first foreign tour in 1928, visiting the USSR, but it did not tour abroad again until 1955. Then, in the middle of the Cold War, it visited the People's Republic of China (PRC). During the next decade, *kabuki* troupes visited the USA, the USSR, and Europe. In 1960, five years after *kabuki*'s first visit to the PRC, it returned in what is the least well-known of its postwar tours.

These China tours were examples of cultural interchange at a tense time in Sino-Japanese relations. Surprisingly, they were also part of a surprising amount of contemporary Sino-Japanese theatrical interchange. The 1955 tour was led by mainstream star Ichikawa Ennosuke II. More provocative, however, was the 1960 visit, which involved an all-communist company, the Zenshin-za. Their tour was documented in a little-known Japanese book written by the company's members.

These essays recount their awestruck reactions to Chinese politics and culture. They even include discussions of Chairman Mao's theatrical policies. Unhappy with policies at home, the Zenshin-za saw in the China of 1960 a progressive nation on the brink of a new utopia. They had no idea that the Cultural Revolution, six years away, was waiting in the wings.

Hiroko NISHIGUCHI 西口拓子

翻訳文学の挿絵の系譜

西欧と日本は絵画芸術で相互に影響を与えあってきた。浮世絵が世界に影響を与えた一方で、江戸時代には、蘭書の挿図など舶来の絵画資料から日本の絵師が受けた影響も看過できない。

西洋の作品が数多く日本語に翻訳されるようになるのは明治以降である。それでも江戸時代には『ロビンソン・クルーソー』が翻訳されるなどの例もあった。ただし、原作の英語からではなく、オランダ語版を翻訳底本としており、挿絵もオランダ語版からの模刻であった。明治期に刊行されたイソップ寓話の邦訳にも、英語版の挿絵を手本にして描いた挿絵が添えられている。

グリム童話の日本での受容は明治以降に始まるが、それは日本における洋書の移入の系譜上に位置づけることができる。挿絵の移入の方法にも一致点が見いだされる。

The tradition of Japanese illustrations for translated texts

European and Japanese art have influenced each other. Many painters derived inspiration from Ukiyo-e. On the other hand, Japanese paintings in the Edo period were also influenced by book illustrations imported from the Netherlands.

The enthusiastic translation of literature, especially from Europe, took place in the Meiji period. Although in fact, there were some translations carried out in the Edo period, for example, *Robinson Crusoe*. However, this was not directly translated from the original English version, but from a Dutch one. The illustrations of this book were imitations of those of the Dutch version.

A version of Aesop's fables from the Meiji period was illustrated by three Japanese artists, but they clearly used the English illustrations as models for the Japanese version. Some were arranged in such a way that they befitted the translated text better.

The reception of the Grimms' fairy tales in Japan dates back to the Meiji period. Its illustrations are based on this tradition, since the way of taking models from illustrations of the original books remained the same.

Senri SONOYAMA 園山千里

『うつほ物語』の手紙

昨今、手紙を書くことは少なくなっていると思うが、世界の文学をみても、手紙という手法で物語が展開したり、手紙が人物造型に重要な要素を与えたりする文学形態は多くの国の作品でみられる。今回は古代の物語文学に描かれる(手紙)の分析をおこなう。特に『うつほ物語』の手紙に着目して、誰かに何かを伝えるということが手紙と言う文字として記載された時、どのような現象が起きるのか考察する。『うつほ物語』は日本最初の長編で、『竹取物語』から『源氏物語』への過渡期にある物語としても注目されるが、研究自体はあまり進んでいるとはいえない。手紙という観点から『うつほ物語』の描写に着目していく。

The Letters in *Utsuho Monogatari*

Although letter-writing seems to be less common these days, in the world of literature there are many examples that letters can play an important role in the development of a novel's action or in showing the characteristics of its author. In this article, I will analyze selected letters in Japanese ancient narrative literature. In particular, I will focus on the letters in the *Utsuho Monogatari* and consider what happens when the act of communicating something to someone takes the form of a letter. The *Utsuho Monogatari* is Japan's first full-length story, and is also notable as a transitional form of this genre, which can be placed between the *Taketori Monogatari* and the *Tale of Genji*, but the research on this subject is not very advanced. The main interest is how the narration in the *Utsuho Monogatari* can be interpreted from the perspective of letters.

Part III: Law, politics, society

Ryuko TANIGUCHI 谷口龍子

コロナ禍における首相記者会見演説の批判的談話研究-人称表現と発話の機能との関係を中心に-

本稿は、コロナ禍に行われた計10回の首相記者会見の冒頭演説を対象に、ナラティブ構造、および人称表現と発話の機能の関係について分析し、批判的談話研究のアプローチにより発話者と視聴者との関係性を読み解こうとした試論である。

分析の結果、非常事態宣言の発出にあたり、エッセンシャルワーカーへの感謝表明、外出自粛の要求、感染状況の報告、給付金支給の明示などナラティブの構造のパターン化が見られた。さらに対称詞「みなさん」が発話の機能「要求」や「感謝」において頻繁に使われていることから、政府と視聴者との二項対立の意識が発話の裏側にあることが示唆された。

A Critical discourse study of speeches by the Prime Minister at Covid-19 press conferences, with a focus on the relationship between personal pronouns and pragmatic functions.

This paper analyzes the narrative structure and the relationship between personal expressions and pragmatic functions seen in the recordings of the opening remarks by the Prime Minister at ten Covid-19 press conferences in total, and attempts to unravel the speaker-hearer relation through an approach of critical discourse studies.

As a result of the analysis, we have discovered patterns of narrative structure, when declarations of states of emergency were issued. For example, we have observed expressions of gratitude to the essential workers, requests for self-quarantine, reports of the infection situation and clear indications of the payment of benefits. Furthermore, since the symmetry “*mina-san* (everyone)” is frequently used in connection with the pragmatic functions “request” and “gratitude”, we consider that the utterances reflect a binary opposition between the government and the audience.

Yoko YOKOTA 横田葉子

中国人若者世代の意識調査 2022年—中国人留学生を対象に—

日本は中国人留学生が多い。その数は増加している。筆者は、長年、東京都内の日本語学校で中国人留学生の大学・大学院受験指導をしているが、留学する中国人若者の意識、彼らを取りまく環境は大きく変化している。広く世界全体の変化のみならず、中国社会・日本社会にもそれぞれ固有の変化がある。中国人留学生対象に、留学動機、留学後の意識の

変容などを中心にインタビューを行う。グローバル社会といわれる現代、国を超えて移動する中国人若者の意識を知り、人の意識と共に、社会背景の変化をも読み取る。

Awareness survey of Young Chinese people studying in Japan

This study is about how students from China transformed their motivations and consciousness over the period of their studying Japanese and staying in Japan. As a Japanese language teacher, I have been teaching Japanese to Chinese students for over 15 years and I realize that the reasons for students to study in Japan are becoming more diverse. Recently, the social and economical environment surrounding them has been getting much more different than before. Not only all over the world, but also China and Japan have different situations than before. The study of these students awareness was analyzed using TEM.

Part IV: History, religion

Zuzanna BARCZYK

Understanding a *mon* – Japanese heraldry and its significance

Japanese heraldry is one of the most uncommon and inspiring collections of traditional coats of arms in the world. According to researchers, the history of *mon* – Japanese coats of arms, can be dated back even to the Chinese Tang Dynasty and still appear in the modern world. Over the years, their presence in the everyday life of Japanese people has changed and new heraldic practices have formed. In modern Japan, coats of arms have found use in design graphics and logos, while not entirely losing their traditional dimension. To understand *mon*, one needs to understand their history and structure, including the complex processes of designing or applying a coat of arms to a kimono. And by being able to understand Japanese coats of arms, we can learn something of Japan itself – about its history, art, and society.

Sven OSTERKAMP

A hitherto unknown Jesuit confessionary in Japanese language and script (ca. 1595) kept at Utrecht University Library

In November 2021, a hitherto unknown Jesuit confessionary in Japanese language and script dating to circa 1595 was identified in the Special Collections of Utrecht University Library. It is closely related to, and represents an earlier version of the well-known confessionary of 1598, preserved in a single copy at the

Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome. Furthermore, two fragments from the *Doctrina* in its 1591 edition and another otherwise unknown edition are preserved here as waste paper in the binding.

The paper provides an outline of this newly identified Jesuit print from Japan, touching upon its provenance and previous owners, as well as its structure and contents. Based on an in-depth comparison with the 1598 version, both differences in the printing types used and textual differences (e.g., revisions with regard to terminology and stylistics) are briefly discussed.

Krzysztof STEFAŃSKI

On *Hagakure* and other "sanctities" – a crooked mirror image of Japanese history

The objective of this paper consists in pointing at various distortions of the image of Japanese history, arising from misunderstanding, ignorance, or intentional misinformation. We focus the discussion on the holy book of the Imperial Japanese Army – *Hagakure* – unmasking the false common beliefs concerning its origin, its connection with, and its influence on the ethos of real samurai. On the other hand we point at its influence on the military doctrine of the Japanese armed forces in the 1930s and 40s, and the development of its obsession with fighting spirit. Finally, we formulate a conjecture concerning the reason for its popularity among the intelligentsia of the West after World War 2.



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